Communication Colloquy

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WORD SPEAK

BY ANDRÉ GOERITZ

See word, hear word, touch word, smell word
The unfolding of a word reveals the world
What do you see?
What do you hear?
What do you feel?
What do you smell?
In exacting amputations reality unfolds itself to me
Reveal yourself in the night sky—aghast once more

Do you remember the boy?
He lives inside always screaming
Can you see him…blind?
Can you hear him…shout?
Can you feel him…kick?
Can you smell his…death?
He is, as you are, reminded of the scars that bear
The epoch of the day

I stand upon its rim, waiting, waiting
No utterance, no revelation, in time no space
Truth in word is not complete

FASHIONED FROM THOUGHT

BY ANDRÉ GOERITZ

A thought not formed yet
Naked in a fetal position
Words in all manner and order
Floating formlessly in your mind

Mind what you think, mind that thought
Tend it well, take care in its formulation
For it may become reality
On which the words will tend your tread
That road of thought you'll walk on

While unformed—take care—beware
Think carefully of influences
What infiltrates the mind's eye
Influences your way of life
You'll become what you've denounced
Now denounced by others

Do not judge in condemnation
Acts of others different from yours
For those same acts, while not in today
Are in for you tomorrow

As those thoughts that come to mind
Clear as day or starry night
Those thoughts now coming thick and fast
Bringing forth a multitude of possibilities
So many paths of wonderment
All and every one to see—which?
Is dependent entirely on thoughtful formulation

D/EVI/ANCE

BY ANDRÉ GORITZ

Characters:

Richard: thirties

Elizabeth: thirties

Simian Bystanders:

Nimm: older

Stagg: younger

Time/Setting:
Anytime. A bare room with a wooden chair.

Scene I

A huge heavy door stands upstage center firmly closed. Enter Elizabeth stage left. There is a loud thump at the door. Elizabeth pauses momentarily to look in the direction of the disturbance. Another thump, louder this time. Elizabeth regards the door once more and exits quickly stage left. Richard enters stage right.

Richard
Elizabeth, I'm home.

Richard looks around and sees a chair upstage left. He brings the chair to the center of the room. He kneels down beside it sensually caressing its legs; he moves closer and gently kisses the back of the chair. He is about to sit down but changes his mind. There is a loud thump at the door. Richard steps back, hunches over and sways curiously from side-to-side moaning gently. There is another thump at the door, Richard stands up, looks toward the door and walks hurriedly off right. Enter Elizabeth stage left.

Elizabeth
Darling, where are you? I thought I heard you come in…

Elizabeth eyes the chair and stops dead in her tracks. She is visibly upset. She takes the chair and frantically places it back into the corner of the room.

Elizabeth
Not again.

Elizabeth sways gently from side-to-side hugging her body. Richard enters stage right and dances rhythmically in time with Elizabeth's swaying. Slowly their bodies become entwined in movement but they do not touch. Together Richard and Elizabeth dance until there is a loud thump at the door. They separate.

Richard
There you are pet, I've been looking all over for you, how are you?

Elizabeth
Fine. Just fine.

Richard regards the chair carefully and looks at Elizabeth.

Richard
The chair's moved. How curious. I was convinced that I placed it into the center of the room. Do you suppose I was mistaken?

Elizabeth
No darling. You weren't.

Richard
So then, if I'm not mistaken, as you've so correctly pointed out, why then is the chair in

the corner of the room as opposed to the center of the room. Hm?

Elizabeth
Perhaps I moved it. Hm?

Richard
Why? Why would you do that? I specifically moved the chair to the center of the room because I wanted the chair to be in the center of the room. Why is that so hard for you to grasp? Center. Corner. Center. Corner. Why? Hm?

Elizabeth
I don't know. Why is it such a big deal? I wanted it out of the way. *(Pause)*. Why are you back so soon? I wasn't expecting you.

Richard
Evidently.

Richard walks to the chair and pauses momentarily. He picks it up and places it firmly into the center of the room.

Elizabeth
Richard, please.

Richard
How was your day?

Elizabeth
Fine. *(Pause)*. Fine, it was just fine. How was yours?

Richard
What?

(Pause)

Elizabeth
Your day, how was your day?

Richard
It was fine. Just fine. *(Pause)*. Why?

Elizabeth
I was just curious that's all.

Richard
Hm.

Richard caresses the chair gently. Elizabeth regards him carefully.

Richard
Smooth, the wood is smooth, like a baby's bottom.

(Pause)

Elizabeth
What?

Richard
Wouldn't you say?

(Silence)

Elizabeth
I can't do this anymore Jack.

(Pause)

Richard
What did you call me?

Elizabeth
I...

Richard
The name's Richard, try to remember that. Please.

Elizabeth
Richard, yes of course. *(Pause)*. Richard?

Richard
Elizabeth.

Elizabeth
I want to have a baby.

Richard stares at Elizabeth and laughs mockingly.

Elizabeth
Richard don't. This isn't funny?

Richard ·
I always knew you were…how amusing.
Wouldn't you say?

Elizabeth
No, not at all. I'll do this with or without you.

(Silence)

Richard
(Distracted)
Beg pardon?

Elizabeth
You heard me.

Richard
(Pointedly)
Yes, I heard you, but never the first time.
(Beat) You can't. It isn't viable.

Elizabeth
Viable. What are we talking about here?
We're not talking about an inanimate object.
This is the real thing.

Richard
Thing. Sounds fairly unreal to me. And since
when were *we* talking. Sounds to me like
you're doing the talking and much of the
thinking—or lack thereof.

Elizabeth
Don't start in Richard. Look me in the eye and
tell me you don't want this. It's exactly the
same as that. *(Points to the chair).*

(Silence)

Richard
It's unthinkable, unimaginable in our lifetime.
I don't think you've fully thought this through.
I think you live in some imaginary world where
everything is idyllic and rosy, that's just not
reality darling. I've always been convinced
that you don't really have it together. You

struck me as a little flighty. Disconnected from
reality. Off in your own world somewhere.
Quite silly really.

Elizabeth
Me silly? I hardly think I compare to your silly
quirks and pretences. If you could just let go of
your damn ideals we could get on with life.
Without pretences.

(There is a sharp knock on the door).

Richard
Answer the door pronto, attend to my needs,
my *needs*, I have many and all must be
attended to equally. Are you sure all my needs
have been met? Yes, of course Etty. What was
I thinking? Ideals, can't have *those*, what in the
world was I *thinking*. What is life without
ideals? Keep smiling however you feel
Richard, remember it's not your needs that
concern us, your needs are as dispensable as
your services. Richard, what do you mean by
identity? You're not supposed to express *that,*
you don't need an identity. Firstly, you will
live by our means, by our ideals, you will not
express, but learn to repress. Secondly, you
will repress everything including your
thoughts, your need to feel, to love, and most
importantly society will constantly punish you
for your deviant behavior—

Elizabeth
Richard please—

Richard
You will live by our moral codes, view our
advertisements geared purely towards our
moralistic point of view, engage in activities
appropriate to our lifestyle, and remember, the
majority thinks it's ideal therefore it is—

Elizabeth
Please, stop…

Richard
There is no room for deviancy if the moral
majority perceives your lifestyle *choices* as
disgusting, unnatural, and problematic—

Elizabeth
Stop. (Pause). Talk to me.

Richard
What Etty, what do you want to hear?

Elizabeth
Richard, I've thought this through carefully. We have to fight for the right to be who we are regardless of what anyone thinks. I've thought about this for a long time, I'm not recklessly jumping into this. I'm taking charge of my body once and for all. You're either going to do this with me or not. If you can't do this for me, do it for your own self-respect. Stand up for yourself and believe in what's right. When you finally understand who you really are, then maybe you'll stop being so miserable. I want you to think about this—if you go on thinking that hiding behind a veil of lies will bring you happiness—think again. How can you live inside your own skin knowing that you're lying to me, to your colleagues, and worst of all, to yourself? If you can go on deceiving yourself—living as someone else, thinking that that will bring you happiness, think again. *(Pause).* Have a baby with me Richard. Be stronger than you ever thought possible, be who it is you want to be and I know it's not the Richard standing before me now. You'll feel so much better once we do this Richard. Future generations *depend* on people like us, people who know themselves and aren't afraid to show it.

(There is a loud thump at the door. Richard starts to laugh hysterically).

Richard
Come in.

(Silence)

Richard
I said, come in. *(Pause).* COME IN.

Blackout.

Scene II

A young Simian sits hunched over in a chair in the center of a bare room. He sits with his back arched, his posterior protruding, his arms almost touching the ground. An older Simian, walking almost upright, paces back and forth. Both look human.

Nimm
Stand up.

Stagg
(Exhausted)
I can't.

Nimm
You can, you're just being stubborn. Come on get up.

Stagg
I told you, I can't.

Nimm
Or won't, which is it?

Stagg
I've told you before, this isn't working. No matter how badly you want this, it's not going to happen. I *can't* do it.

Nimm
Or won't. You're selfish. Do you have any idea how this makes me feel? Can't you understand that this isn't normal? Come on get up. Once you start you'll find that it'll feel great.

Stagg
Please. I can't.

Nimm
Have you no shame? You're making me sick. Do you know that? You sicken me. You're revolting. You're a revolting piece of shit. Do you have any idea what this is doing to all of us? Don't you want us to be proud of you? How do you think your family will feel when

you finally walk upright without ever having to use your arms again?

Stagg
They should be proud of who I am regardless of how I walk, upright or otherwise.

Nimm
You ungrateful—

Stagg
I'm not like them. I can't help the way I am. I can't change. This isn't a choice.

Nimm
STAND STRAIGHT YOU DEVIANT LITTLE BASTARD.

Stagg
Stop it. *Please.*

Nimm
Why can't you be like everyone else? It's shameful. Do you know that? Do you hear me? Shame, shame on you.

Stagg
I want to use my arms, let me use my arms. I'm not supposed to walk straight. It doesn't feel right.

Nimm
I don't care how you *feel.* It doesn't matter what you feel on the inside, what matters is how you look and behave on the outside.

Stagg
I'm not like you. I won't hide who I am.

(Pause)

Nimm
What are you trying to say? In what way aren't you like me? I can tell you that what you're attempting to do is defy the natural order. Nature doesn't like to be fucked with. I won't tolerate this sort of behavior. You've brought enough shame on all of us and enough is enough. I'm sick to death of you imagining

you're different. Now, I'm not going to ask you again, I want you to get up out of that chair and stand up straight. If I have to beat you into position—I will. Now, do-as-you're-told and *stand straight.*

(Pause)

Stagg
No.

(Silence)

Nimm
What did you say?

Stagg rocks back and forth in the chair and moans softly to himself.

Blackout

Scene III

Same setting as Scene I. The upstage door is wide open. The chair is broken and its pieces scattered about the floor. Richard dances by himself in a provocative manner—stage center. The dance is slow, sensuous, and erotic. There is no music accompanying the dance.

Richard
Oh, how good it feels to be a man, manly, masculine, butch, virile.

Enter Elizabeth. She moves slowly about the room and doesn't seem to notice Richard.

Elizabeth
See my womb, how full it is.

Richard
I love my masculinity. I love my manhood. I love how I feel—how I react as I pleasure myself.

Elizabeth
Growing, ever larger. Growing inside—all of us.

Richard

The universal language of sex and sexuality. I understand the inner workings of my biological predisposition to move like a man, walk like a man, and fuck like a man.

Elizabeth

Feel it kick, feel it writhing. It hates, it *hates*.

Richard

Coming into my own. Understanding the universal truth. Reproducing another generation of individualized misconceptions, misrepresentations, and misunderstandings.

Elizabeth

Contracting, breaching, come forth little one, come forth. Reveal yourself. Reproach yourself.

Richard

Spewing out the insides. Together we are one, one and always, alone.

Richard & Elizabeth
(Simultaneously)

Truth, what is truth? Is it something to seek or is it inherently within us waiting to be expressed?

Elizabeth stands in the center of the room twisted, contorted, her legs slightly apart, her arms raised to the ceiling, her head lolling uncontrollably. Richard contorts his body into twisting, writhing spasms, until he stands hunched over, back arched, posterior protruding, his arms almost touching the ground. He sways from side-to-side moaning softly to himself.

Blackout.

BROKEN

BY JORGE LOMELI

FADE IN:

INT. POLICE CAR - SAN PEDRO, CA - AFTERNOON

DETECTIVE JOHN BOYLE, 55 year old Caucasian, 6 feet 4 inches, slightly overweight but muscular, and two other units stake a drug house. Boyle sits in the passenger seat of an unmarked police car drinking whiskey from a flask. He places the flask back in his jacket and grabs his walkie-talkie and adjusts the volume.

OFFICER PHILLIPS in the driver's seat looks at Boyle in disgust.

> BOYLE
> (to Officer Green)
> What?

> OFFICER PHILLIPS
> (looking away)
> Nothing sir.

> BOYLE
> Nothing huh?

Boyle lights up a cigarette and takes a drag.

> BOYLE
> Just wait til you stop being wet behind the ears
> and you end up like me.
> (looking at Officer Phillips)
> Then we'll see if it's nothing.

Boyle throws the cigarette out of the window. His breathing becomes heavy. He wipes the sweat from his brow.

> BOYLE
> I hate these fuckin' small cars!

INT. DEBELLA'S LIMOUSINE - SAME

SALVATORE DEBELLA, Italian, 54 very well dressed, and son GIOVANNI DEBELLA, 28, dressed in designer clothes, Italian American-descent, ride in the back of the limousine. DeBella's DRIVER and BODYGUARD sit in front.

The Driver rolls down the privacy panel.

> DRIVER
> We're at the checkpoint now boss.

> DEBELLA
> Good.

The privacy panel raises back up. DeBella pulls out his cell phone.

> DEBELLA
> (over the cell phone)
> Did they pick up the drugs?
> (pause)
> Good. I'll be there to pick up my money then.

DeBella smiles and stretches his arm across the back seat. He crosses his legs and sits comfortably.

INT. POLICE CAR - SAN PEDRO, CA - CONTINUOUS

Boyle fidgeting in the car seat sees the limousine pass by and go up the driveway.

> BOYLE
> (through a walkie-talkie)
> All units look alive. DeBella has just arrived.
> (pause)
> Dispatch, what's the status of the search warrant?

DISPATCHER (O.S.)
Wait one unit 9, I'll get that information to you.

Boyle pulls out a set of binoculars and watches DeBella and Giovanni being greeted by armed men.

DISPATCHER (O.S.)
The E.T.A. on the warrant is ten minutes unit 9.

BOYLE
Roger, copy that Dispatch. Unit 9 out.

INT. POLICE VAN - CONTINUOUS

INTERCUT:

DETECTIVE SAM LYNCH, Caucasian, 33, sits in the back of an unmarked police van with members of the S.W.A.T. team.

LYNCH
(through the walkie-talkie)
Boyle we can't wait ten minutes we have to move now!

BOYLE
We can't move in without a search warrant. Sit tight and wait.
(pause)
Lynch did you hear me?

Lynch shakes his head in a disapproving manner.

LYNCH
Loud and clear!
(To a S.W.A.T. Member)
Go outside and join unit 3 in the back perimeter.

SWAT MEMBER 1
(confused)
Sir?

LYNCH
I gave you an order! Get the fuck out there with unit 3 now!

SWAT member 1 exits through the back of the van.

INT. DRUG HOUSE - SAN PEDRO, CA - BACK ROOM - CONTINUOUS

DeBella and Giovanni are placing packs of money into black leather gym bags.

BODYGUARD 1
(to DeBella)
Why do we have to pack this up for boss?

Giovanni points at the Bodyguard.

GIOVANNI
It's not your place to question what we do. You do as you are told! Got that?

DeBella laughs. He pats and pinches Giovanni's face.

DEBELLA
See that? Already knows how to give orders.

Giovanni smiles and pulls his head away. Gunfire is heard from outside. Giovanni reaches for a gun inside of a desk.

DEBELLA
Get rid of that thing now!
(to Bodyguard 1)
Find out what's going on.

INT. POLICE VAN - CONTINUOUS

LYNCH
(over walkie-talkie)
All units move in, we've been compromised.
Lynch and the S.W.A.T. team pile out of the van and move in towards the drug house.

INT. POLICE CAR - CONTINUOUS

INTERCUT:

BOYLE
(over the walkie-talkie)
Lynch what the hell is going on?

Lynch stops running and pulls out the walkie-talkie.

LYNCH
Our position has been compromised. We've moved in.

BOYLE
Lynch order the team back!

No response.

BOYLE
Lynch do you copy? Order the team back.
(angrily to himself)
God dammit Lynch!

Boyle stumbles out of the police car and runs towards the house.

EXT. DRUG HOUSE - CONTINUOUS

S.W.A.T. members break down the front door with a battering ram. Several armed men open fire from inside. S.W.A.T. member 2 is shot in the head and falls to the ground.

Boyle runs up to the house, crouched, with his gun drawn. He jumps over the body of the fallen S.W.A.T. member.

Gunshots are heard from inside and outside of the house.

INT. DRUG HOUSE - CONTINUOUS

The S.W.A.T. team begins to clear each room of the house.

Lynch runs through a long dark hallway towards the back of the house leaving the other S.W.A.T. members behind. Boyle follows Lynch.

The space around Boyle begins to get smaller. Boyle's breathing intensifies. His vision blurs.

BACK ROOM -- Lynch enters into the center of the room and points his weapon at DeBella, Giovanni and the Bodyguard.

LYNCH
Everybody on the ground now!

Boyle enters the room and sees a gun by Giovanni's hand.

BOYLE
Drop it asshole!

All men turn and look at Boyle. Boyle's hand is shaking. His eyes burn from his sweat. He fires his weapon.

The bullet pierces into Giovanni's chest.

LYNCH
Ceasefire!

Lynch grabs Boyle's weapon and points it to the ground. S.W.A.T. team members enter the room with weapons raised.

DeBella falls to his knees and holds Giovanni in his arms. Giovanni gurgles blood.

DEBELLA
(pointing to Boyle)
You fucken piece of shit! You're dead! You'll pay for this...

The S.W.A.T. team separate DeBella from Giovanni's body. DeBella and the bodyguard are placed in handcuffs. Lynch walks over and picks up Giovanni's gun.

INT. DRUG HOUSE - LIVING ROOM - LATER

The CORONER takes away the dead body of Giovanni. Boyle watches the body being rolled by. His hands won't stop shaking.
Lynch walks into the room.

BOYLE
Did you get anything out of them?

LYNCH
They aren't talking and they want their lawyer
now.

· BOYLE
Have you found the drugs we were looking for?

LYNCH
We haven't found shit, alright?

OFFICER VASQUEZ walks up to Lynch.

OFFICER VASQUEZ
Sir we've finished searching the house. We
have nothing.

LYNCH
Take DeBella and his guard into custody.

Boyle grabs the arm of Officer Vasquez and
steps in front of Lynch.

BOYLE
What the fuck are you doing?

LYNCH
My job Boyle. ·What the fuck does it look like
I'm doing?

BOYLE
Your job was to stay put until we got the search
warrant! I'm not letting anyone go until that
search warrant gets here!

LYNCH
What do we hold them on Boyle?

BOYLE
I don't care! This is all your fault you piece of
shit glory hound!

LYNCH
Fuck you!

Lynch begins to walk away. Boyle grabs his
arm.

BOYLE
I'm not taking the fall for this one Lynch! I
have a man down, a dead drug dealer's son and
no search warrant.

LYNCH
That's your problem. You should have been up
with the S.W.A.T. Team instead of playing the
look out bitch and boozing it up!

Boyle grabs Lynch by the collar and slams him
up against the wall.

LYNCH
What?

Officer Vasquez pulls Boyle off of Lynch.

OFFICER SHELBY walks in.

OFFICER SHELBY
Where's Detective Boyle?

Boyle turns around.

BOYLE
That's me. What do you want?

OFFICER SHELBY
I have something I think you need sir.
Boyle snatches the search warrant from officer
Shelby's hand. He looks at the search warrant.

BOYLE
Well I'm glad someone around here is thinking.
(to Officer Shelby)
Get the fuck out of my face now!

Officer Shelby stumbles backwards.

                    BOYLE
              (to Officer Vasquez)
Gather whatever evidence we have. Log it in.
              (to two other officers)
You two! Take those men into custody and
      make sure their rights are read.

Boyle exits the room.

EXT. DRUG HOUSE - SAN PEDRO, CA -
CONTINUOUS

Boyle walks around the side of the house. He
takes out the flask and takes large swigs of
whiskey.

                    BOYLE
              (to himself)
Fuck!

THE WEST WING:
VIRTUAL DEMOCRACY FOR A DIVIDED NATION

BY DEBORAH E. R. HANAN

When the series pilot for NBC's *The West Wing* first aired on September 22, 1999, it was clear that creator Aaron Sorkin and the show's co-creators had declared ideological war on conservatives and the Religious Right who had fueled the senate and congressional investigations into the Bill Clinton presidency. Ironically, as *The West Wing* continues to enjoy huge popularity and critical acclaim, voter apathy still hovers at an all time low and over 50% of the voters in the last national election did not cast their ballots for the current president.

This research offers some possible explanations for the unlikely weekly engagement of millions of viewers who tune in to watch a show about government and politics in a country where a majority of citizens appear completely disaffected by real world government and politics. It argues that, for many, this show has become a site where that disaffection is dismantled, as real world politics and power are not only contested but faith in the democratic process is invigorated and the public servant is often redeemed. As Chris Lehman in <u>Atlantic Monthly</u> magazine writes, "… *The West Wing* sets out, week after week, to restore public faith in the institutions of our government, to shore up the bulwarks of American patriotism, and to supply a vision of executive liberalism" (93). In the virtual world of *The West Wing,* the Republic is led by a White House where every vote counts and where both character and intellect matter. For one hour every week, the American people are exposed to and have become more familiar with the ideology behind *Josiah Bartlet's* (read Aaron Sorkin's, Martin Sheen's, and the Democratic Party's) virtual presidency than they are with the principles guiding the real men and women who have occupied the White House since the show's inception. This condition is one to which the G.W. Bush media relations' team has only recently begun to respond.

By studying the ways in which this show has potentially shaped American political discourse and the methods by which it may be transmitting transgressive messages, this research contributes to the broader Cultural Studies project concerned with the way power relations are reinforced, challenged, enhanced and limited through popular culture texts.

Burning Down the House:
The Final Years of the Clinton Presidency

1998 was not a good year for Democrats or Republicans. After years of dogged investigation led by Republican adversaries in the U.S. House of Representatives, the Democrats' most popular president since JFK, William Jefferson Clinton, became the second President in the nation's history to be impeached. However, time would later prove that both parties would suffer from the public relations fallout from these impeachment proceedings. For example, only one month before Congress voted to impeach Clinton, a Harris Poll of American voters reported that 57% believed "the Republicans in Congress are just out to get the President." However, 52% of them also believed that it would be "tough to feel confident in the truth of anything the President may say in the future" ("Americans to GOP"). To many Americans, the charges of obstruction of justice and lying to a Grand Jury about an affair with a White House intern were frivolous and motivated by mean-spirited partisanship.

The Congress named Kenneth Starr as the House's Special "Independent" Prosecutor

in charge of the investigation. Unfortunately for Starr and the Republican-led Congress, the popular press soon revealed that he was neither independent nor had he ever prosecuted a case before investigating Clinton's involvement in Whitewater, a case that was later abandoned due to lack of evidence. Starr, a devout conservative Christian and former Solicitor General for his fellow Texan and Clinton rival, Pres. George Bush Sr., lacked credibility as an independent prosecutor. Further, Starr's apparent obsession to bring down the Clinton presidency, through a series of costly investigations that led nowhere, was not lost on the public. The Special Prosecutor's tactic of leaking unsavory tidbits of Clinton's sexual escapades to the press, who were only too willing to print them for the salacious appetites of their readers, backfired on conservative Republicans, and Republicans lost their solid majority in the House during the November 1998 Congressional Election.

Still, for the Democrats, the facts presented about the scandal made it impossible for even the most loyal in the Party to deny that Clinton himself was the most effective force in undoing his own legacy. This was also certainly not the last impression that Vice President Al Gore wanted Clinton to leave with voters just as Gore was heading into the final stretch of his own bid for the presidency.

By the time The West Wing first aired in September of 1999, the impeachment die had already been cast, and Democrats and Republicans alike were both facing an uphill battle in trying to convince voters that either party deserved to lead the nation into the 21st Century. In what has since been argued by many to be a flawed strategy for Gore, the Vice President distanced himself from the popular, yet flawed, Clinton, losing the ability to exploit the successes he and Clinton had built together during the previous seven years. Additionally, voters began turning away from the major parties in notable numbers, as the Independent and Green presidential candidates suddenly became critical voices in determining the outcome of the 2000 presidential election.

In the end, a Supreme Court decision would become the final act that would determine the presidency belonged to the son of Clinton's former nemesis, ending the fate of a handful of votes that were cast in Governor Jeb Bush's (brother of G.W. Bush) state of Florida. Cries of disenfranchisement by many voters whose ballots were discounted solidified the bitter division between Democrats and Republicans, and further enhanced the atmosphere of disillusionment with government and the democratic process. It was in this atmosphere of political turmoil and disillusionment that The West Wing emerged.

Television Whistle-Stops

Before considering the impact The West Wing may have on its viewers and the current administration, it is important to assess the historical role that television has played in national politics prior to the series appearance. According to John Storey, in 1996, the average American spent nearly two-thirds of their waking hours watching television (Storey, 1996, 9) and most Americans' awareness candidates' positions, current events, national and social issues are mediated by this technology. The Kennedy-Nixon televised debate is a classic example of how dramatically the medium can influence the outcome of national politics. On television, Nixon's dour appearance and lack-luster performance contrasted sharply with Kennedy's camera-friendly face and affable, expressive demeanor. Although many Americans who only heard the event on radio claimed that Nixon won the debate, the majority of Americans who viewed the match on television disagreed and declared Kennedy the victor. From that moment forward, a politician's ability to perform effectively on television has become paramount in the minds of political campaign strategists.

Many have criticized popular television's increased role in determining national elections and U.S. social and foreign policy. They contend that popular television pollutes the political process by sidelining issues and positions, exchanging content for

entertainment, and duping the masses into giving "bad" politicians and "bad" policies their support. This argument converges with several points of criticism that theorists from the Frankfurt School have offered regarding popular culture. Central to Marxist criticism of media or "Culture Industry" products is the notion that the masses lack the critical thinking skills necessary to resist the hidden propaganda that permeates popular culture. Applying the model of critical analysis proposed by Adorno & Horkheimer in their essay "Enlightenment as Mass Deception" to popular television's political prowess, the candidate or issue transforms from a governing authority or substantive issue into a popular culture product. As such, a "negation of style" (During, 37) occurs in that ideology becomes vague and the details that discern one candidate from another or one issue from another disappear only to be replaced by the candidate's or issue's entertainment value.

However, other analysts that take a more hopeful perspective of the dynamic between television products and television viewers, framing television as yet another conduit for educating and engaging the public on political issues and candidates. Trevor and Shawn Parry-Giles argue that the presence of social and political discourse on television involves and instructs those Americans who have either lost interest, or who were never engaged by other forums where these issues had traditionally been discussed. They insist that "American political discourse is increasingly democratized via technology and media" (Parry-Giles, 158). As an example, they offer Clinton's effective use of MTV appearances and talk shows, appearances that resulted in an increase of (mostly Democrat) voters under the age of thirty participating in the 1992 and 1996 elections. This was a voting bloc that had, for many years, expressed little interest in the election process or political candidates. In their essay "Reassessing the State of Political Communication in the United States," Parry-Giles also characterize critics who resent popular television's political influence as "elitist" and charge that their

displeasure stems from their own decreased ability to influence the political sphere. They conclude, "One reason for the criticism of democratized politics is that political office seekers are circumventing the traditional media elites who have determined the nature and state of political campaigns in the past. As candidates reach more voters through non-traditional television outlets... media and political elites are marginalized" (163).

Regardless of whether television's influence has had a positive or negative influence on the democratic process, it has clearly become an indispensable medium in 21st Century politics and outreach to untapped voting blocs.

The Sorkin Agenda: "The Country's Loyal Opposition"

Before *The West Wing* aired, the show's creator, executive producer and main writer, Aaron Sorkin, had already established himself in both film and television with *A Few Good Men, The American President, Malice,* and the short-lived but critically well-received television series *Sports Night.* However, it wasn't until *The West Wing* debuted that Sorkin would become a source of public interest in his own right. Since his arrest in 2001 at a Burbank Airport for possession of narcotics, (Sorkin has admitted to being addicted to "free-basing" cocaine), his own conflicts between personal scandal and professional success have begun to resemble that of the president whose ethical dilemmas have inspired many of the series' plot lines. Like the Lewinsky scandal became forever linked to Clinton's presidential record, Sorkin's addiction to drugs has been inextricably linked to the show and his creativity. Similarly, just as Clinton's conservative critics tried to use the Clinton scandal to topple his popularity, Sorkin's conservative critics in the media frequently point to his drug-abuse and arrest when criticizing the show's content.

However, setting his personal difficulties aside, Sorkin has still unofficially become, as Tad Friend at <u>The New Yorker</u>

referred to him, "the country's loyal opposition" to the current administration of G.W. Bush ("Talk of the Town"). And despite his own repeated denials that *The West Wing* is directed by any particular political agenda, he has recently become highly critical of the media's reluctance to criticize the Bush administration since the World Trade Center bombings. Even more significantly, he has actively recruited several like-minded and outspoken Democrats to help recreate a fictional presidency whose ideology is, more often than not, oppositional to that espoused by President G.W. Bush.

In what could be seen as an outright challenge to conservatives, Sorkin and co-producers John Wells and Thomas Schlamme cast the controversial and "left-of-liberal" Martin Sheen as *President Bartlet*. Sheen has been arrested over sixty times for his involvement in anti-nuclear and military-base protests and served as Mayor of Malibu until his controversial positions to declare the town a nuclear-free zone (as well as a sanctuary for aliens and the homeless) were made public. Additionally, he not only campaigned tirelessly for Al Gore during Campaign 2000, he was and continues to be a vocal opponent to the right-wing agenda in general and G.W. Bush in particular. Among the many other biting references, Sheen has called G.W. Bush a "white-knuckle drunk" ("Martin Sheen"), "a moron" (joshlyman.com) and once told a Madison Capital Times reporter, "I may not know much about governing, but I play a guy who does – and so does George W. Bush" (Nichols, 1-A). In George magazine, published one month before voters were to go the polls to select the next president, Sheen gave this assessment of G.W. Bush's abilities as a political leader:

> I think he's a bully. I don't think he has any heart. That scares me. I've seen him. I've watched him – he's like a bad comic working the room. He's too angry. He talks too loud. He's acting compassionate – it's not

real. It's not there. I think he's full of shit, frankly." (Waxman)

Even Sheen's son, actor Charlie Sheen, has taken to publicly bashing G.W. Bush. Charlie Sheen was hosting *Saturday Night Live* when an audience member during his opening monologue asked him if he would "ever want to follow in [his] father's footsteps to play the president of the United States." In a not-so-veiled reference to Bush's own history with drugs and alcohol and less than stellar intellectual capacities, Sheen replied, "I don't know.... I've done cocaine, I've been arrested, I'm not too smart.... No one would believe I could play the President of the United States" (transcript from filmjerk.com).

In what can easily be viewed as further insult directed towards the conservative and Religious Right wing that now controls the Republican Party, show producers enlisted Rob Lowe to play the part of *Sam Seabourn*, Deputy Communications Director. Mr. Lowe acting career was nearly derailed by unsubstantiated rumors that he had engaged in sex with an underage minor while he attended the 1988 Democratic Convention in Atlanta. Unwavered by this event, Lowe remains a self-declared "political junkie" who "has been active in Democratic party politics since the 1980s" (Challen, 93).

Sorkin, Sheen, and Lowe, are also joined by actor John Spencer who plays *Leo McGarry*, the President's Chief of Staff and most important friend and ally. Spencer, like the character he plays is also a "die-hard Democrat" whose own political views are much "further left that the character [he] plays" (Challen, 103). When visiting the set in August of 2001, I got the chance to speak to Spencer about the politics of the show and whether he ever worried that they might be alienating conservative viewers. Spencer said that although the cast and creators of the show were "pretty much all Democrat" and "probably far more liberal than the characters they portrayed," he also suspected that the show's popularity was based in part on viewers who like to argue with the semi-liberal agenda of *Josiah Bartlet*. He then added that

conservatives and the Religious Right had infiltrated television and radio broadcasting and had been determining the direction of these mediums for the last few years, and then quipped "it's our turn now."

In addition to the all-Democrat cast and production team that works to guarantee *Josiah Bartlet's* reelection season after season, Sorkin also solicited and secured several consultants who have worked within the Democratic and Republican parties to be advisors and writers on the show. Among the Capitol Hill insiders working with *The West Wing* are Dee Dee Myers (President Clinton's Press Secretary and former Spokesperson), Patrick Caddell (Democratic pollster), Lawrence O'Donnell (Chief of Staff for the Senate Finance Committee and former Senior Aide to Senator Daniel Moynihan), Marlin Fitzwater (Spokesperson for Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush Sr.), and Peggy Noonan (conservative political strategist). The show has become so popular among Beltway operatives that many others have also solicited the show's creators in hopes of also landing work with the production. Among those who have publicly expressed interest are Clinton's former Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, Press Secretary, Joe Lockhart, and Chief of Staff, John Podesta, as well as Senator Chris Dodd. It was even reported in USA Today that *Meet The Press* host Tim Russert would "like to go one-on-one with *President Sheen,*" presumably as a recurring character in the show (Williams).

In much of the posted correspondences that can be found on fan sites for the show, the discourse involves issues and topics confronted by the *Bartlet* White House. These postings reveal viewers' interests in foreign and national policy, world geography, political leaders, and the major political parties. Some of the discussions revolve around criticism of the show's "accuracy" regarding these topics while others debate the positions taken by *Bartlet* and his staff.

Although Sorkin professes awareness of the educational potential of the show, he disavows any responsibility to educate the public in his role as the show's writer and producer. In a *PBS* interview that aired September 27th, 2000, interviewer Terence Smith queried Sorkin about entertainment and the public's increased reliance on popular television over traditional news media for developing political acumen:

TERENCE SMITH: That raises a question that perhaps you can get at issues, including serious issues, that news organizations find hard to do.

AARON SORKIN: It raises a question, and it also raises a problem, which is that, as I said, my first, if not only, obligation is to entertain. A news organization has a much different responsibility. I might not be telling you the whole story. I might not be telling you a story in a manner that is properly sophisticated. I would hate for anyone to limit the scope of their education on a subject to me. And, frankly, every teacher I've ever had in my life would agree with what I've just said.

TERENCE SMITH: And yet polls show that the American public draws some, or even a lot, of information about politics from late-night comedy and perhaps the White House from *The West Wing.*

AARON SORKIN: Perhaps. And because of that, despite the fact, once again, we're writing a television show here and not a newspaper, we do take that responsibility seriously. We want people to have faith in us. I can justify those two things by simply saying, when that stops

happening, when we lose our credibility, the show isn't as good. (Transcript from *NewsHour*, PBS.com)

Although the official stance of West Wing's creators may be to provide entertainment only, their publicly stated political beliefs and activities belie a liberal bias that is often reiterated by the characters on the show.

Encoding and Decoding: The Ideology Behind *Josiah Bartlet*'s "Dream Presidency"

There is something unnerving about discussing the ideology of a television show or its characters. However, as those who have examined the 1989 *Murphy Brown*-Dan Quayle controversy have shown, this is not the first time that Cultural Studies theorists have found this kind of analysis necessary, and for good reason. Although it is true that television products are inevitably imbued with the ideology of the creators who code these programs, the nature of transmission cannot guarantee how these messages will be decoded. However, this does not prevent "encoders," (such as television writers) from engaging in what Michel de Certeau calls "semiotic guerilla warfare" in order to challenge the current dominant authority and encourage resistance to ideologies with which they do not agree (Storey, 1996, 26). But as Stuart Hall is also careful to point out, "Before [a] message can have an 'effect' (however defined)… it must first be appropriated as meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded" (During 509).

Sorkin has repeatedly denied that *The West Wing* is encoded with anti-Republican messages or that it is coded against conservatives or the Religious Right by design. However, this has not prevented viewers and critics from presuming that such encoding has taken place and responding to that perception. For example, in his article "Our Remote Control President," Michael Wolffe questions the verity of Sorkin's claim of the show "not having anything to do with politics." Wolffe

writes, "[If you start to think about it, if you really were staging a new kind of coup, a media coup, a kind of reverse *Wag The Dog,* not the government creating a fake film, but the film community creating a fake government, you probably wouldn't want to talk about it either" (Wolffe, 45). From the conservative Media Research Center comes this remark regarding the show's perceived political agenda: "Another new episode of *The West Wing* airs tonight, Wednesday May 10, and should continue the show's liberal crusading as it approaches the season-ending plot lines" ("Cyberalert"). Ted Olsen, whom G.W. Bush appointed Solicitor General and is a frequent contributor to the online magazine <u>Christianity Today</u>, often spars with the show's perceived anti-Bush and anti-Religious Right stance in his editorials. Mr. Olsen is a prominent voice of the Religious Right and successfully argued in front of the Supreme Court to ban the recount of the Florida ballots, a decision that guaranteed G.W. Bush the presidency. Another writer, Bill Goodykoontz, wrote in an article that appeared in the <u>Arizona Republic</u>, "*The West Wing* is, of course, one big sound bite, often so idealistic it would be embarrassing if it weren't so well done" ("On Tube").

A survey of commentary written about the show indicates that many also assume a political agenda and liberal encoding is behind the development of the show's main character, *Josiah Bartlet* and that he has been patterned after the former Democratic President, Bill Clinton. Further, the potential of this character's popularity to influence the outcome of the national elections was not lost on journalist Jeff Simon of the <u>Buffalo News</u>. He wrote, "[T]his show – which gives us the liberal president we all hoped Bill Clinton had been – is the first show of its kind to be running concurrently with a presidential election. George W. Bush, then, may not be the first candidate to run against a candidate as well as the comic jackdaws of late night television, but he's the first who ever had to run against the finest series in prime time network television" (www.buffalonews.com). Some viewers appear to agree. In a CNN poll issued during the 2000

Presidential campaign, of the total 8,988 who responded to the question "If these candidates were on the November ballot, who would be your pick?", *Josiah Bartlet* was selected over both the major parties candidates. These poll results gave *Bartlet* a 5% lead over Gore and a comfortable 7% lead over G.W. Bush ("CNN Quick Vote").

It took the unlikely source of former Vice President Dan Quayle to bring to the public's attention the most striking example of how television encoding and decoding processes can be perceived and/or utilized as political strategies. Quayle feared that television, through the voice of T.V. character *Murphy Brown*, had the power to persuade millions of female viewers to become single mothers because the show featured a main character who was, at once, Democrat, liberal, feminist, and a single mother by choice. His characterization of the program and

Murphy's single mother status as being antithetical to "family values" became one of the biggest controversies the Bush-Quayle ticket had to face in their failed 1992 bid for re-election. Long after Quayle's initial sound bite was released, the *Murphy Brown* issue became a rallying point for both sides, who fanned the controversy to open up a broader discourse on the differences between the two major political parties.

However, Cultural Studies theorist John Fiske defines the limits for "TV's essential powerfulness" when he writes "[t]elevision often acts like a relay station: it rarely originates topics of public interest (though it may repress them); rather, what it does is give them high visibility, energize them, and direct or redirect their general orientation before relaying them out again into public circulation" (24). Fiske's observations seem to concur with Sorkin's own perceptions regarding the position the show plays in the discourse surrounding politics. For example, responding to the number of clergy and others who have asked to consult with the show's producers on the way *The West Wing* handles the topic of religion's role in American politics, Sorkin remarks, "People are very willing – in fact,

they're eager – to put their 2 cents in. I think they really like the fact that the conversation is taking place at all in prime television" (Patriot News, March 10, 2001).

So far, during the course of the show's first three seasons, it has been undeniable that the characters of *Josiah Bartlet*, his wife *Abbey*, and his staff are, at their core, anything but liberal Democrats. Despite the military actions and politically expedient stances that *Josiah Bartlet* occasionally takes, these episodes always manage to offer reasoned rationales for the liberal left and centrist ideology that these characters promote; rationales that real-world Democrats have not been able to successfully articulate to the public in years. During *Josiah Bartlet's* presidency, he has traversed and successfully survived many political minefields including gays in the military, hate crimes legislation, campaign finance reform, personal scandal and a resulting

Congressional investigation, tax reform, affirmative action, abortion, hand-gun legislation, prayer in public schools, same-sex marriage, the death penalty, American war crimes, the India/Pakistan conflict, trade relations with China, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, NAFTA, and reparations for the African-American descendants of slaves. As a faithful Catholic, *Bartlet* struggles frequently with faith and the political decisions he has to make. But in the end, the character defers to secular positions that are more in keeping with the Democratic Party's platform, which advocates the separation of church and state.

As a Nobel laureate of economics, *Bartlet* must often make tough policy decisions that are at odds with the Democrats' long-cherished relationship with American unions. In short, Aaron Sorkin, *et al*, have given us what Albert Auster, writing in the <u>Chronicle of Higher Education</u>, has called, "something truly bizarre: an ethical, cohesive, high-minded, and efficient White House.... [that has] put the first Hispanic justice on the Supreme Court, forced teamsters and trucking firms to resolve their contract differences, pushed crucial budget bills through Congress, and headed off a nuclear showdown between India and Pakistan.

They've even bombed Syria – in retaliation for its murder of an American citizen – without starting a Middle East war" (Auster, 1).

Despite expectations to the contrary, *The West Wing* Republican and conservative characters are rarely portrayed as inarticulate buffoons who have somehow faked their way into the political spotlight. Their views often resonate with a particular logic and thought that are founded in good intentions, qualities that are less than obvious in the real-world political discourse of warring sound bites and photo ops.

What makes this show so successful, and a potential concern for G.W. Bush and any Democratic candidate that will come up for election in the future, is that *Bartlet* doesn't dismiss his opponent's platforms out of hand, unless they are presented by the radical voices of the Right. Instead, he and his staff, more often than not, are willing to carefully consider conservative positions frequently held by real-world Republicans. The episodes outline a presumed Republican logic behind the positions taken, and then *Bartlet* and his staff proceed to systematically dismantle these positions and reveal them to be logically flawed. In addition, the *Bartlet* White House is also not afraid to go after Democrats who no longer wish to act in the public's interest. As a result, either by intention or, as Sorkin infers, creative coincidence, *The West Wing* has effectively become a weekly 60-minute infomercial on the quality of candidates, positions, logical paradigms, and rationales that compose the Democratic Party. This could prove to be a challenge for G.W. Bush when he comes up for reelection in 2004, and one that his campaign strategists have begun to address through more frequent appearances of the President during primetime.

In addition, some observers have concluded that the show's popularity reflects that a large liberal constituency exists amongst television viewers, a population which real-world Democratic candidates have failed to reach. Michael Wolff states, "The fact that the viewing audience doesn't seemed bothered by the [pro-Democrat] bias might suggest what

most of pop culture suggests: people are a lot more liberal than they vote" (45).

Regardless of whether assertions are true that there is indeed a vast pool of Democratic voters waiting to return to the polls, a survey of a majority of the literature and commentary written about *The West Wing* indicates that the show counters the G.W. Bush agenda. Among those viewers who continue to resist the legitimacy of G.W. Bush's presidency, this show can be decoded as a site of struggle; a place in which the conservative platform of the Republican authority is contested and where the liberal candidate and agenda achieve victory. It is potentially a site where 'the power of the forces of dominance' can be acknowledged and then challenged by the 'popular tactics by which these forces are coped with, evaded, or resisted'" (qtd. in Storey, 1996, 27). For these viewers, Aaron Sorkin's intentional or unintentional coding of the series becomes irrelevant.

"A Message from the President": Establishing Legitimacy and Authority through Hyper-Reality and Verisimilitude

How does a fictional television President become a potential political adversary with which to be reckoned? One explanation can be found in the legitimacy that has been accorded to popular culture's involvement in the political process by politicians, critics, and the public at large. The latter half of the 20th Century witnessed the increased integration of politics and entertainment as film stars became presidents, television and basketball stars became congressmen and senators, and pro-wrestlers became governors. Within this context, it becomes evident that it is no longer possible for the public to make political decisions that are not, in some way, informed or influenced by the sphere of popular culture. Campaigns are waged and issues are debated in television "town halls" and by political pundits who, themselves, must first become members of the Screen Actors Guild before they can appear on the air. In his theoretical work explaining the process of hyperrealism, Jean

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Baudrillard identified this phenomenon as "the dissolution of T.V. into life, the dissolution of life into T.V." (Storey, 1998, 179). By the time *The West Wing* entered the political arena in September of 1999, the boundary between entertainment and politics was already barely distinguishable to most the viewing public.

But this alone does not explain the legitimacy this show has acquired among politicians themselves. In January 2001, Rob Lowe reported to the Washington Times that Bill Clinton told him the show "is renewing peoples' faith in public service" (popmatters.com). The parade of Washington dignitaries who visit the set has certainly contributed to the impression that the show possesses some, yet to be quantified, value among politicians. Pop Matters film and television critic Lesley Smith writes, "The show operates both as TV drama and as commentary on contemporary U.S. politics... part of *The West Wing's* potential appeal lies in its perceived reality 'ratio' between the fictional and what audiences interpret as 'real life'" (Smith).

Sorkin, *et al,* go to tremendous lengths to ensure that the audience believes in its transport into the private sanctum of the most powerful political leader in the world. At a Burbank soundstage, the production design team has recreated every detail of the White House, a set in which the majority of all scenes are shot. Verisimilitude, or the appearance of truth, is *The West Wing's* most effective quality for maintaining its credibility as both a popular award-winning show and a political contender.

But *The West Wing's* verisimilitude is not achieved solely through visual replications of a cherished national locale. The show works because its characters do struggle with their ideologies, something to which real-world politicians are reluctant to admit publicly. Michael Wolffe speculates that, in some ways, *The West Wing* is more authentic then their real-world counterparts because *The West Wing* characters and plot lines reveal the dysfunction and internal conflicts that abound within real-world politics. Wolffe argues, "This not only works as compressed drama and supplies any

number of simultaneous narratives, it is what large numbers of Americans experience" (Wolffe, 45). Peter de Jonge of the New York Times also points to the show's realism, remarking, "*The West Wing* has become one of the most popular shows in America because, among other things, Sorkin has been able to give his kindler, gentler, nobler White House enough verisimilitude to seem tantalizingly possible" (de Jonge).

However, the show's potential to enter national political discourse is due, in large part, to the established and ever-increasing political authority that the show's lead actor, Martin Sheen, has acquired during his career. His long history of voicing unbridled opposition against Republican candidates, and his ability to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars for Democratic candidates and legislation, has put him on the A-list of every Democratic candidate around the country and strengthened his character's believability. Sheen has capitalized on his ability to "wink and nod" with the public as their "president" and has used his bolstered authority as an opportunity to educate the public on his own political and policy positions; positions that counter those held by the G.W. Bush. His presence in popular culture as both activist and actor has generated a hyper-real condition whereby "the distinction between simulation and the 'real' implodes; [and] the 'real and the imaginary continually collapse into each other" (Storey, 178).

Most recently, Sheen urged Americans to stop an impending war against Iraq by participating in a virtual March on Washington -- a call in and fax campaign designed to demonstrate to the Senate and the White House public opposition to the war. With Sheen's help, over 400,000 Americans answered this call to action. In the past, Sheen's has generated "A Message From The President", a commercial e-mail for the charitable watchdog environmental organization Defenders of Wildlife. In the letter, Sheen urges Americans to oppose Bush's proposed oil drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge. He also has done commercial voice-overs aimed at supporting a ban on diamond imports that come from mines

that fund terrorist and rebel groups in Africa and has done campaign commercials for Handgun Control Inc, exposing G.W. Bush's record on gun control. Most significantly, he has rarely failed to question, whatever the forum, Bush's intellectual capacities or competency as President. Sheen's off-screen political prowess and liberal stances resulted in the Green Party soliciting him to be Nader's running mate in the 2000 election (which he declined). Today, rumors can be found all across the Internet and in the popular press that Sheen will be a candidate in the 2004 election.

If the show's status as the most honored dramatic series in television history, or the numerous polls taken that have given Sheen victory over current real-world candidates is any indication of political success, then we may soon witness an onslaught of political science majors switching to theatre arts in the coming years. Michael Wolffe observes that, *"The West Wing* extends the Reagan model – not just an actor changing careers and becoming president, but an actor who just plays the president becoming as potent a symbol as the actual president" (46). Sheen as *Bartlet* (and vice-versa) provides stunning evidence that, as Fiske claims, in our postmodern world, the media "no longer provide 'secondary representations of reality, they affect and produce the reality that they mediate'" (Storey, 179).

Conclusion

Despite the naysayers who claim that the American people have lost interest in political discourse, the popularity of *The West Wing* casts considerable doubt on that assertion. The television medium, having already been established as an expression of reality (albeit hyper, virtual, and mediated), has the profound ability to impact real-world activities and positions of authority not only in the dry, designated zones of news and debate programming, but also in its fictional narratives. Political parties are just beginning to explore these possibilities as they court the favor of production companies that create

shows like *The West Wing* and other shows like *The Court*, and *Mr.Sterling*.

After the events of September 11th and our subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the Bush administration has retreated from their previous position of framing the film and television industries as their opponents. Instead they have "requested" that these industries refrain from criticizing the President and the actions of his administration. Industry notables were even invited to a series of meetings with White House officials to "dialogue" about ways that the industry could bolster "patriotism" (Wood, 1). However, when the Democratic mayor of Washington, D.C. spurned Republican notables by asking the cast of *The West Wing* to star in a series of PSAs aimed at attracting tourists, this may not have been the level of cooperation the Bush White House had in mind. The city, whose tourism industry was economically devastated by the attacks, produced four commercials in which the actors remark, "We make history. Want to come see?" and Martin Sheen's request to "See Washington in a whole new light."

Right wing political strategists have been waged their own counter-coup against Sheen's continued popularity and media assaults on their agenda. For example, in Fall of 2000, gun industry lobbyists hired Sheen's brother, Joe Estevez (whose voice apparently sounds just like Sheen's) to do commercial voiceover promoting legislation that was pro-handgun, confusing more than a handful of Martin Sheen's fans.

In a more direct example of the appropriation of the show's popularity, NBC's Tom Brokaw anchored the one-hour special *"Inside the Bush White House: The Real West Wing"* that transitioned seamlessly without commercial interruption into the fictional *The West Wing*. In a attempt to usurp the virtual President's good favor with the public, the Bush public relations team admitted to packing the real-world President's and his staff's schedules so as not to fall short of the expectation the *Bartlet White House* had set regarding White House hours. (On the show, *Bartlet* rarely gets more than five hours of sleep

and his staff often work late into the midnight hours). The January 16, 2002 special, that aired before a *West Wing* episode repeat, easily outperformed the show by almost half a million viewers and became the first of several G.W. Bush forays into prime time television.

But, as *The West Wing* concludes its fourth season, the show's continued popularity with fans, politicians and television critics remains undaunted. However fictional, each week *President Bartlet* and his staff deliver the promise of democracy and the redemption of political leaders that many voters crave through the perceived encoding of liberal ideology. *The West Wing* reminds us all that in the hyper-real stew of American television, political plot lines and television characters have the real potential to not only stimulate national debate, but jettison future candidates and their agendas into powerful positions within the very real-world of national politics.

[*Update:* Since the completion of this research, several sudden and significant changes in the show's production team and narrative direction have taken place, including the dismantling of the show's creative team. This comes on the heels of tremendous pressure from conservative groups on NBC to dismiss Martin Sheen from the show for his anti-Bush, anti-war activities. Although no formal announcement has been made that the actor will be relieved, the series of recent events have left some liberals and Democrats wondering whether the pressure to diminish Sheen's virtual political authority before the launch of the presidential campaigning for 2004 has worked.

On May 1st, 2003, only two weeks before the end of the fourth season, in what can best be described by many fans as nothing short of "shock and awe," NBC announced that producer and lead writer Aaron Sorkin, along with director Tommy Schlamme, would be leaving the show immediately. The announcement came only two months after Rob Lowe, who plays *Sam Seabourn*, had left the show; and one week after *Friends* star Matthew Perry joined the cast as a Republican lawyer

hired as Associate Counsel by the Bartlet White House. In episode #421, only one day before the Sorkin/Schlamme announcement, *Vice President John Hoynes* (played by Tim Matheson), left his post in disgrace when it is discovered that he had leaked classified information to his mistress who just published a "tell-all book." On May 7th (episode #422) the President's daughter *Zoe*, played by Elizabeth Moss, was kidnapped at gunpoint, an incident that led to the season finale's troubling ending and mass speculation by fans and television critics about the future of *The West Wing*. In the season finale (episode #423), which aired May 14th, Martin Sheen's character, *President Bartlet*, invoked the 25th Amendment and "temporarily" stepped down because he doubts his ability to guide the country while his daughter is captive or possibly dead. Since episode #421 had already eliminated the Vice President, *Bartlet* has no other choice than to hand the Presidency over to the Republican Speaker of the House and greatest political foe, *Speaker Glen Walken* (played by John Goodman). Viewers were left to wonder if the entire Democratic cast will be replaced next Fall, since it seems unlikely that Goodman's character would retain Bartlet's Democratic staff given their opposing ideology and contentious history with one another. Viewers get a hint of this tension when, after being sworn in as President, *Walken* disrespectfully interrupted *Bartlet* mid-sentence and abruptly barked "you are relieved." Further, as the show's ratings have dropped 4.2 points behind Fox Network's *American Idol Wednesday*, there is reason to suspect that NBC plans to cancel the show in its entirety, possibly as early as next season.

The significance and impact of these recent dramatic changes on the show's encoding of liberal ideology and transgressive messages are prime areas of investigation for future research. But, when doing so, I caution researchers to consider both creators' and viewers' contributions to the process of meaning making before coming to any conclusions that, ultimately, the conservatives and the Right Wing triumphed in diluting the

show's impact on upcoming elections. Richard Just's comments in "Cerebral Vortex: How Aaron Sorkin, the brains behind TV's smartest show, got the last laugh" underscores the formidable importance of viewers' perceptions when he writes about Sorkin's presumed self-exile from the show:

> On some level it was a self-indulgent and unfair ending to what has been a brilliant four-year run for Sorkin: self-indulgent because, on the surface, it seemed to be more about his own squabbles with NBC than about the show itself, and unfair (at least to viewers) because Sorkin left so many important plotlines to be resolved next fall by a successor who cannot possibly be up to the task. But on another level it was a brilliant ending, because it resonated with the suspicion held by many Americans that the idiots are very much in charge -- not just at NBC but in Washington as well. (American Prospect)

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TEMPORAL REFERENCES
IN PRESIDENTIAL WAR RHETORIC

BY AMY JUNG

In rhetoric, time is of the essence. Indeed, speakers continue to value time both as the impetus for their rhetoric and to structure their rhetoric. The timing of rhetoric has been the study of critics from Lloyd Bitzer and Edwin Black to Jeff Bass, but one aspect of time has been overlooked within studies of war rhetoric; the use of time itself.

How do references to time function rhetorically within war rhetoric? How can temporal references[1] be used strategically to support a president's justifications for war? Can the way an orator refers to "the past few months" determine the audience's perception of that time period? This analysis of President George Bush's 1991 Address Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf will demonstrate that depictions of time are vital to war rhetoric.

This study will begin with an exploration of the international context of Bush's speech before surveying relevant textual analyses. Through close textual analysis I will demonstrate how the temporal references promote three established themes of war rhetoric—urgency, savagery, and optimism—which in turn support the president's justifications for war. Close textual analysis provides the lens through which I will examine the temporal references (including dates, temporal adverbs, and verb tenses) within Bush's speech.

Events Leading to the Persian Gulf War

Beginning with the Second World War, America has held a prominent role in the economic and political stability of the Middle East. After World War II, President Truman began Middle East partnerships that traded military assistance for direct access to oil. Subsequent presidents fostered relationships with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel, and even Iraq (Little, 513-540). The goal was to "promote regional stability and to preserve Western access to Mideast oil without incurring the painful costs of military intervention" (Little, 537).

Under Ronald Reagan's leadership, Vice-President George Bush and military leaders provided intelligence information to Iraq in its struggle against Iran in the 1980's. The Reagan administration feared that Iran would "overrun the important oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf" and threaten stability in the entire region (Tyler). In a then-secret program, the U.S. offered satellite intelligence to Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein. Using the information on the position of Iranian troops, Hussein unleashed poison gas on Iranian troops. Publicly, Bush chastised Hussein for his use of chemical warfare, but continued military and financial support of Iraq even when Hussein turned mustard gas on his own people, the Kurds of Northern Iraq ("Decade").

To fund his war against Iran, Hussein borrowed money from other Arab states, including Kuwait ("Decade"). In 1990, Kuwait required repayment of the debts and began to pump oil from a field on the boarder with Iraq, a field whose ownership was in dispute. Hussein protested and on August 2, 1990 invaded Kuwait, declaring it a province of Iraq,[2] and began amassing troops near the

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[1] In this paper "temporal" will be used in the strictest sense, as pertaining to time.

[2] This was not the first time Iraq had sought to annex Kuwait. In 1961, Iraq claimed that Kuwait had been a part of Iraq prior to World War I and should continue to be under Iraqi control. See Kuwait's Official Information

Saudi Arabian boarder ("Backgrounder"). President George Bush and other world leaders feared that Hussein would continue his attacks by invading Saudi Arabia, a major source of the world's oil. The UN Security Council quickly authorized economic sanctions against Iraq and on August 7, Saudi Arabia requested American troops to provide a defense against Iraq's possible attack ("Timeline"). Bush sent 230,000 of the eventual 500,000 ("Gulf War") U.S. troops over to begin "Operation Desert Shield," a primarily defensive operation that lasted five and half months. Hussein declared the beginning of a *jihad*, or holy war, and continued to build up military forces in Kuwait.

On November 29, the UN Security Council authorized "use of 'all means necessary' to eject Iraq from Kuwait" and on December 17 issued a deadline of January 15, 1991 for Hussein to withdraw all Iraqi forces from Kuwait ("Timeline"). On January 16, 1991, when Hussein had made no move toward withdrawal, American troops began "Operation Desert Storm," an offensive operation using air strikes and missiles aimed at targets in Iraq and Kuwait.[3] Bush spoke to the American people

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site at http://www.kuwait-info.org/For_Students/history_of_kuwait.html

[3] In choosing distinct names for the operations—Shield and Storm—Bush used simple, familiar terms to structure public perception of the war efforts. Governments carefully craft their titles for military operations, knowing that names affect public perception. More recently, the George W. Bush administration scrapped its original title for the anti-terrorism operations in Afghanistan—"Operation Infinite Justice"—in favor of the less vengeful and arrogant "Operation Enduring Freedom" ("Rumsfeld"). "Operation Anaconda," an aggressive operation attacking Taliban fighters, gave the public the image of American troops as a strong snake, able to maneuver Afghanistan's rough landscape and labyrinth of caves to find and destroy the enemy ("Operation Anaconda"). "Operation Noble Eagle," a defensive military operation to protect Americans on their home turf, depicted the military as wings of the national bird protecting as if from above ("Operation Noble Eagle").

Bush's use of Operation Desert Shield was understandable as a defense against attack. "Storm," however, was different. Storm is a more temporal term than shield, anaconda, eagle, or even justice. Because a

two hours after the attacks began, promising, "We will not fail" and announcing that 28 of the eventual 34 other nations ("Gulf War") were joining in the attacks against Iraq.

Over the next 39 days Hussein launched Scud missiles at Israel and Saudi Arabia, most of which were intercepted by U.S. Patriot defensive missiles. Hussein waged economic and environmental war by setting fire to 200 of Kuwait's oil wells and dumping over 1.5 million barrels worth of crude oil into the Persian Gulf. When he sent tanks and thousands of troops into Saudi Arabia they were defeated by U.S. Marines, and troops from other countries ("Timeline").

On February 22, Bush demanded that Iraqi troops withdraw from Kuwait by February 23 or the allied troops would begin a ground war. Hussein did not withdraw by the deadline and the ground war began. After heavy Iraqi casualties over the next four days, Hussein announced the full withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. When Kuwait's flag was flying over its capital on February 27, President Bush declared the end of Operation Desert Storm ("Timeline").

Before beginning the attacks on Iraq, Bush's administration issued "Operation Desert Shield Ground Rules" to govern the content of media reports (Patterson, 20). These twelve rules limited the information, pictures and images the media would disseminate during the war. The strength of the government's claim that these rules would prevent the public animosity toward the war that was rampant during the Vietnam War has been debated.[4] The primary role of these Ground Rules was to force the media and the American public to

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storm has a beginning, middle, and end, it is bound by time whether it lasts moments or several days. Bush was preparing America and the world for a clear beginning of war and an unknown duration of the conflict.

[4] Oscar Patterson III selected a random sample of news reports during the Vietnam War to determine if the Ground Rules would have prevented sensitive material from being broadcast during that time. Patterson found that few news reports during the Vietnam War contained the sensitive materials limited by the Ground Rules and therefore, the Rules would have had little impact on reporting during Vietnam.

depend on the military and the government for information regarding the war. Kathryn Olson noted, this allowed Bush to begin "packaging media presentations to replace rather than stimulate deliberation, and simultaneously making relevant information difficult to obtain, thus precipitating predictable reactions from the news media" (Olson, 64). As part of her study of front page coverage during the Persian Gulf War, Patricia Dunmire summarized previous studies, saying that "the media played a central role in promoting and justifying the policies and agendas of the Bush administration and the U.S. military" (Dunmire). The Ground Rules limited American's exposure to controversial information, forcing the media and the nation to depend on Bush's information.

On, January 16, 1991, just two days after the Ground Rules were announced, President Bush gave his Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf in which he justified the need to wage war against Iraq. In this speech he offered few specifics of the war, its locations, or even allied countries. He choose instead to focus on periods of time, and the events that occurred in each, to explain his decision to initiate attacks and to motivate the American public to support his decision.

Bush's text is worthy of analysis for several reasons. First, this speech has not been subjected to rhetorical analysis and is therefore a fresh specimen for study. Also, the speech is riddled with references to time, which makes it a prime candidate for a study of how references to time can function in a variety of ways within a text. Finally, the named enemy in the speech, Saddam Hussein, has re-emerged in recent presidential speeches, allowing for future comparisons of the use of time in multiple speeches addressing the same enemy over time.

Rhetorical Studies of Time

Most studies of time focus on the *timing* of rhetoric not the use of *references* to time. One example of this is Jeff Bass' study on the timing of anti-war rhetoric in controversial wars. In this study Bass suggests that as more time passes during a controversial war, rhetoricians must deal with the legal, moral and economic arguments that arise (Bass). Lloyd Bitzer listed urgency, or limited time, as an aspect of the exigence, or imperfection, that creates a rhetorical situation (Bitzer). Bruce Gronbeck expanded on Bitzer's definition of a rhetorical situation by suggesting that "our sense of 'rhetorical timing'...is a product of the interaction among" audience expectations, an appropriate rhetor, a rhetorical message, and the form (Gronbeck, 86). Edwin Black demonstrated the importance of carefully timing messages within the political context during presidential elections (Black, 125).

A handful of articles have addressed the role of time and discovered new dimensions of the analyzed texts. Michael Leff examined the role of verb tenses in a Lincoln address to demonstrate that timing plays a role, not only extrinsically, or within the time context, but also intrinsically, creating a sequential structure within the text (Leff, 1988, 27). After studying a speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. Robert Hariman said, "When a critic examines the uses of time in a public address, we have an opportunity to grapple with significant questions about the nature of rhetoric and the practice of rhetorical criticism" (Hariman, 205). Thus, if time is used significantly within an address, not to investigate its use is to overlook "significant questions about the nature of rhetoric and the practice of rhetorical criticism" (Hariman, 205). Even Hariman, however, focused on the timing of King's speech within its political context and was concerned primarily with the public perception of time and its role within politics.

One study, by Nathan Light, looks at how "time was constructed in political rhetoric about the Gulf War" (Light, 5). He suggests that time is not an entity with fixed form and is therefore only understood through change (change in security, activity, etc.). Light argues that in the Gulf War "Poetic language and ritual events" limited direct references to time and thus "simplified the idea of war and thus gave a sense of security to the military operation" (Light, 5). According to Light, President Bush

examine temporal references and their interactions with the rest of the text.

Rhetorical Functions of Time in Bush's Address

In his speech, Bush uses many references to time,[5] including temporal adverbs and phrases ("*Tonight*," "*as I report to you*," "*while the world waited*"), numerical times ("*August 2d*," "*the next 100 years*"), and chronological or clustered verb tenses ("he *failed*," "*we now believe*," "this *will not be*"). Through a close textual analysis, I will examine Bush's use of specific or general words, repeated phrases, and chronological patterns to demonstrate how the use of references to time support the president's justifications for America's war on Iraq.

Past research on war rhetoric has determined several predominant themes that contribute to successful war rhetoric. This study will examine how one key element—time—can be strategically used to promote three themes of war rhetoric—urgency, savagery, and optimism.

Urgency and the Timeliness of War

The first theme used by Bush to support his justifications for war is the concept that war against Iraq is both urgent and timely because inaction equips and encourages the enemy in his debauchery. Lloyd Bitzer examined the role of urgency in rhetoric when he suggested that an exigence—a key component of any rhetorical situation—is "an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be" (Bitzer, 20). In war rhetoric, war is only urgent and timely when "rhetoric has proven impotent" and human lives are held "in the relatively immediate balance" (Artz and Pollock, 163). Bush, then, needed to demonstrate that there existed an exigence—Hussein's attack on Kuwait—which

could not be solved by more rhetoric and was endangering people.

Bush begins by emphasizing the urgency of the war: "*Just two hours ago*, allied air forces [attacked Iraqi forces...]. These attacks continue *as I speak*." The harsh urgency is accentuated by the specific, numerical time ("*two hours*") as opposed to a softer, generic time such as *recently* or *not long ago*. In the second paragraph, Bush uses a numeric time ("This conflict started *August 2nd, when* the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor") again to emphasize that today's war can directly be traced to one specific day that is completely the enemy's fault. These numeric times and temporal phrases begin Bush's explanation of the exigence, or imperfection, that requires war. According to Bush, Hussein had attacked a smaller, weaker country without provocation. In the same paragraph, Bush adds, "*Five months ago*, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait." Hussein's attack on Kuwait is presented as an exigence that needs correcting.

Bush then addressed the issue of the timeliness of war. According to Michael Leff, timing has two primary functions in rhetoric: the internal structure or patterns and the external *kairos* or "fitting, appropriate, or timely response to a given situation" (Leff, 1986, 383). In his analysis of the internal structure of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, Leff discovered a repeated pattern of past/present/future verb tenses. This chronological pattern "gathers its ideas, images, and rhythms in a sequence that prepares the auditor to regard [Lincoln's constructed connections between secular and sacred] as an inevitable process" (Leff, 1988, 30). Lincoln used a repeated pattern of time to "achieve [his] purposes" (Leff, 1988, 27).

Throughout his speech, Bush uses a similar chronological structure to achieve his purposes—to justify the timeliness of war—by explaining how the *past* has lead to the *present* need for war, and what the *future* consequences would be, both of going to war and avoiding war. In paragraph two, "*August 2d when* the dictator of Iraq invaded" and "*five months ago*"

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[5] All italics in Bush's speech are mine.

explain how the past has lead up to *"Tonight."* Paragraph three overviews the past attempts at peace made by the allies ("This military action [...] follows *months of* [...] diplomatic activity" and *"This past weekend* [...] the Secretary-General of the United Nations [...] came back from Baghdad with no progress"), paragraphs four and five list the actions currently being taken by the U.S. and her allies (*"Now* the 28 countries [...] have no choice but [...] force" and *"As I report to you,* air attacks are underway"), and paragraph six predicts the results of the war ("Iraq will eventually comply...*when peace is restored*"). The chronological pattern of temporal adverbs is repeated throughout the speech.

Bush modifies this chronological pattern as the speech progresses. Toward the beginning, Bush emphasizes how the past affects the present, but in the final third of the speech, the past takes back stage with only one temporal adverb ("Thomas Paine wrote *many years ago*: *'These are the times* that try men's souls'") while the future is emphasized along with the present ("we're [...charting] the future of the world *for the next 100 years,*" "It's better to deal with this guy *now* than *5 years from now,*" and "what's going to be *next?*"). In the beginning and middle of the speech, the past supports Bush's claim of exigency by establishing the context and justification for war, but toward the end, Bush looks to the future as another motivation for war; if America doesn't deal with Hussein today, they'll have to deal with him later.

Through this pattern, Bush depicts the dictator as an imperfection, which justifies his decision to set the wheels of war in motion. The pattern, in fact, is like a wagon wheel with spokes running from the hub of the wheel to the rim. Each repetition of the past-present-future pattern is a spoke supporting his rim, or decision to begin attacks. Each time the chronological pattern is repeated, a new spoke is added to support his attack on Iraq. On a wagon wheel, the more spokes support the rim, the stronger the rim will be. Similarly, the more times Bush uses time rhetoric to explain how the past has led to the current need for war and

that the future depends on this war, the stronger his rim, or timely decision to attack Iraq, will be.

When Leff initially discovered this pattern of past-present-future in one of Lincoln's speeches, it was repeated twice within four paragraphs. In Bush's text this chronological pattern is repeated nine times in the 26 paragraphs, providing nine temporal spokes to support his decision to move forward in waging war with Iraq.

In addition an exigence, or imperfection, Gronbeck suggests that urgency necessitates "a response *now* rather than *then*" (Gronbeck, 86). Bush needed to show how action was timely now and could not wait. In essence, he needed to convince America that continued patience would yield negative results. Robert Ivie writes, "War is not represented positively but considered a necessary and legitimate agency when other, more desirable, methods such as diplomacy have failed" (Ivie, 1974, 341). According to Bush, more time will not change Hussein; America has a responsibility to prevent Iraq from making further attacks on the family of nations. The American people have to understand and agree that if they don't stop Hussein, he would not go away or stop on his own; he will continue in his evil and destructive ways until prevented from taking further malicious actions.

Bush acknowledges this requirement; "Some may ask: Why act *now*? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait *no longer.*" He uses temporal adverbs to explain how a lack of military action had not encouraged Hussein to make any positive responses. In paragraph three he indicates that the current military attack "follows *months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity*" and that *"This past weekend,* in a last-ditch effort," the UN Secretary-General tried and failed to convince Hussein to leave Kuwait. In addition, "Sanctions were tried *for well over five months*" to no avail. The enemy is not going to leave his new territory, regardless of the diplomatic pressure applied.

But demonstrating that Hussein would not leave of his own accord was not enough. Bush had to suggest that continued perseverance would only exacerbate the situation. As Ivie noted, "Continued perseverance after reasonable efforts have failed is portrayed as only encouraging the enemy to pursue his evil practices" because "evil practices perpetuate themselves and gain momentum if they are endured, if they are not stopped by force" (Ivie, 1974, 344/5).

Bush shows that patience has not brought positive change but allowed Hussein to increase his potential to do harm on a massive scale. In paragraphs 8-15, Bush uses recurring and similar adverbial phrases to demonstrate that not only will diplomatic negotiations fail, they will allow the enemy to amass more weapons, cause more harm and foster his illusion of grandeur. Bush asserts that "while the world waited" Hussein "maimed and murdered, innocent children," and "sought to [posses]…a nuclear weapon." "While the world waited" Saddam "met every overture of peace with open contempt." "While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war." The phrase "while the world waited" is repeated or paraphrased seven times to indicate negotiations had been tried many times and had been consistently rejected. Bush concludes, "we now believe that only force will make him leave." This use of temporal adverbs emphasizes the repeated negotiations attempted by the international community and depicts Hussein's responses as monstrous to support Bush's implication that "rhetoric has proven impotent" (Artz and Pollock, 163).

Bush not only had to prove that Hussein wouldn't leave on his own and that the situation would continue to spiral down, but he also had to prove that human lives would continue to be lost unless the allies attacked. Artz and Pollock state that, "to be humanly urgent, a situation must hold lives in the relatively immediate balance" (Artz and Pollock, 163). Bush's claim that "while the world talked peace and withdrawal" innocent children were being injured and purposely killed, demonstrates that lives were at stake, but

his intimation that "while the world waited" Hussein amassed chemical weapons and possibly even a nuclear weapon brings the risk to American soil. According to Bush, American's has no choice but to fight.

Bush establishes the urgency and timeliness of the war by presenting Hussein's actions as an exigence and stating that if the dictator is not stopped now he will continue to ignore diplomatic negotiations and endanger human lives. Through the use of specific, numeric times, chronological patterns of temporal adverbs, and repeated temporal phrases, Bush justifies his military attack in the Persian Gulf.

Savagery of the Enemy Compared with America's Civility

The second tactic Bush employed to justify war is emphasizing the enemy's savagery and America's civility. In "Images of Savagery in American Justifications for War," Robert Ivie used the Johnson administration as an example of how "the enemy is portrayed as a savage, i.e., as an aggressor, driven by irrational desires for conquest, who is seeking to subjugate others by force of arms. This image of the enemy is intensified by a contrasting image of the United States as a representative of civilization" (Ivie, 1980, 281). To Ivie, the enemy's savagery is displayed in three comparisons against the U.S.: the enemy is forceful (violent) while America is tolerant and promoting freedom; the enemy is irrational (driven by animal instincts not thought) while America is rational and thoughtful; and the enemy is aggressive (perpetrating voluntary and initial attacks) while America is defensive (reacting with involuntary but necessary responses). An enemy who irrationally and violently attacks would make America seem valiant, righteous, and civil for immediately waging war.

In order to portray the enemy as savage and the U.S. and her allies as civil, Bush used temporal references to portray the U.S. and allies as freedom-loving rationals who were forced into defensive action, and Saddam

Hussein as violent, irrational and aggressive (Ivie, 1980, 281). Bush begins the speech by saying, "*Just two hours ago*, allied air forces [attacked Iraqi forces]." Initially, these references to time sound similar to other famous war speeches, specifically Roosevelt's Day of Infamy speech which begins, "Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy – the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked..." (Roosevelt). Bush, however, does not begin with a description of the enemy's actions but of ours. Initially, it appears that the allies are attacking not defending, but Bush spends the remaining twenty-five paragraphs explaining how the allied attacks are actually not aggressive, but defensive. He flips the expected defense rhetoric to attack rhetoric, then proceeds to justify the "defensive" attack as civil and necessary.

Bush begins his portrayal of the allies as civil in paragraphs 8-14 when he uses a repeated pattern of temporal adverbial phrases to directly compare Hussein with the rest of the world. This pattern begins, "*While the world waited,*" and continues with a description of Hussein's actions during that same period of time. These references to periods of time do more than mark the passage of months; they portray the world as consistent, patient, longsuffering and rational in dealing with the enemy. Bush repeats the timeframe, "*While the world waited,*" five times to indicate that the allies are very patient and peace loving. He uses the phrase, "*while the world talked peace and withdrawal,*" to demonstrate the rational negotiations attempted by the U.S. And the phrase, "*While the world prayed for peace,*" presents the allies as God-fearing defenders who sought an end to the hostilities. With these three phrases, Bush depicts the U.S. and allies as civil, peaceful, rational, and defensive.

In contrast, every reference to Hussein reinforces his savage image. Every timeframe in this section pairs the rational, peace-loving allies with Hussein's repeating pattern of savagery. Bush uses past-tense verbs when describing Hussein's actions to show a repeated pattern in the past, and to suggest that this

pattern is not getting better but becoming more dangerous to individuals, the Middle East and the world. Bush portrays Hussein as forceful and violent by saying the dictator "*maimed* and *murdered,* innocent children." Bush suggests Hussein's irrational or animalistic nature by saying the efforts of the U.N. had been in vain in part because Hussein has tried to hold back time; "Saddam clearly felt that by *stalling* and *threatening* and *defying* the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him." Hussein is seen as aggressive because he "*raped, pillaged,* and *plundered* a tiny nation, no threat to his own" "certain that *time* was on his side." By listing graphically Hussein's actions or inaction during the previous five months, Bush portrays Hussein as an actively evil savage whose actions continue to spiral in depravity.

This pattern, carried over seven paragraphs, supports Bush's declaration of war based on Hussein's malevolent nature. Bush depicts Hussein as a cruel tyrant who will continue to beat up his neighbors unless he was forcefully prevented from doing so; only "*when peace is restored*" will Iraq become "a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations." As Ivie noted in his study on Lyndon Johnson's justifications for the Vietnam War, these contrasts "generate rhetorical force by activating the national hierarchy of values which subordinates the ideal of peace to the necessity of preserving freedom" (Ivie, 1980, 281). Through a pattern of temporal adverbial phrases paired with past-tense verbs, Bush justified his attack on Iraq by depicting the enemy as without values and completely cruel.

Optimism of a Quick and Complete Solution to the Conflict

Finally, to rally the American public behind his attacks, Bush needed to foster the optimism that a quick war would be waged and won. As Ronald Reid suggested, "although history provides a few examples of zealots who are willing to martyr themselves in a lost cause," America needs to believe they can and, in fact, are winning the war (Ride, 272). In

some countries martyrdom is an accepted and even revered method of war (Palestine comes to mind) but in the past two hundred years, Americans have shifted from zealous martyrs into cautious defenders of their property and rights. Bush needed to convince Americans that their military men and women would soon be home to tell a victorious tale, not that they would go down in glory.

The first technique Bush uses to promote optimism is to explain why Hussein has been successful thus far; American hasn't been fighting back. Bush introduces this seed of optimism in the second paragraph by using past-tense verbs to overview the outrages perpetrated by Hussein in the previous five months ("Iraq *invaded*," "Kuwait…*was crushed*; its people, *brutalized*," and "Hussein *started* this cruel war"). Bush then announces, "*Tonight*, the battle has been joined." Through this progression, Bush implies that up till now Hussein has seemed powerful only because America has not joined the fight. With America's involvement, the conflict will be conclusive and quick. Additional temporal phrases like "This military action…*follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity*" and "*This past weekend*, in a last-ditch effort" depict America as a patient, peace-loving giant who will talk peace and withdrawal for only so long before taking defensive action. According to Bush, the only reason Iraq has been winning anything up till now is because America has not been fighting back. "*Now*…we will not fail."

Bush employs references to time to support a second means of fostering optimism: he portrays the result as a foregone conclusion. He speaks of the time "*When peace is restored*" as a certain time, not a possible "if peace is restored." Later he proposes a "new world order" that will be forged "*When we are successful*—and we *will be*…" He even quotes an American officer "What we're doing is going to chart the *future of the world for the next 100 years*." This stress on the certainty of a positive end to the war contributes to the overall optimism of the speech.

The tone of Bush's future tense verbs also contributes to this portrayal of a sure win. Bush does not suggest possible outcomes of the war, but states clearly and repeatedly that victory will, not might, be achieved. In a single paragraph, Bush declares that "Hussein *will leave* Kuwait," "Iraq *will* eventually *comply*," "Kuwait *will be* restored," and "*will* once again *be* free." The result of the conflict, according to Bush, is "We *will not* fail." Bush only uses the less certain future verb, "*may*," twice in the final paragraph when speaking of God's blessing on America and her troops. "*May* God bless each and every one of them," and "*may* He continue to bless our nation," suggest that only the blessing of God is beyond Bush's guarantee. All other results are certain.

However, to convince his audience that this would be a quick win, he had to address a potential stumbling block in the minds of Americans; how this war would be different than the Vietnam War. Bruce Gronbeck offers four variables that, when done well, interact to create *kairos* or appropriate rhetorical timing: an appropriate rhetor, a rhetorical message, the language formality and intensity, and, most vital to this study, the audience expectations. "Audience expectations are psychological states-of-mind which build steadily or pulsate through some situation" (Gronbeck, 86). Gronbeck goes on to say that audience expectations can arise in "*cyclical events* where through experience, tradition or whatever, we know *what* ought to be said *when*" (Gronbeck 87). In this case, America was about to enter a foreign war between neighboring countries halfway around the world, a similar situation to the beginning of America's involvement in the Vietnam War. Bush needed to explain how this war was different from the Vietnam War, which lasted for far too many years.

In paragraph 16 Bush says he has empowered the military to do whatever they need to do to win quickly and to protect American lives. He then directly compares this war to Vietnam, and reaffirms that this will be different; "I've told the American people *before* that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here *tonight*." Positive

temporal phrases such as *"as quickly as possible,"* *"will not go on for long,"* and *"as soon as possible"* reinforce that Bush understands America's desire for a quick, complete, low-casualty war.

Bush also uses a cluster of future-tense verbs to separate this war from the past. "This *will not be* another Vietnam," "Our troops *will have* the best possible support," "they *will not be asked* to fight with one hand tied behind their back," "fighting *will not go on* for long," and "casualties *will be held* to an absolute minimum," all indicate that the future will be bright. Unlike Vietnam where many Americans felt the troops were unsupported, vulnerable and expendable, in this war American soldiers will be supported, protected and brought home quickly.

By using positive phrases of time and future-tense verbs Bush reassures the American public that this war is unique from the Vietnam War. Promising that, "this *will not be* another Vietnam [...] I repeat this here *tonight*" lessens one strong objection to the war, allowing the rest of his optimistic message to fall on more receptive ears.

However, of the tactics covered by this study, this tactic of promoting optimism is the least emphasized by Bush and receives the fewest number of references to time. This may be because Americans perceived themselves as the stronger of the two countries. According to Reid, "Maintaining public optimism seems not to be a serious rhetorical problem when a nation is winning a war, especially if the cost of winning seems relatively low" (Reid, 285). Bush fosters optimism but does not waste much time on what he apparently believes Americans already think: we are currently winning, and, in the end, will prevail against the enemy.

Conclusion

Time is vital to war rhetoric. How a president controls the timing of a speech and how periods of time are depicted influence how the nation responds. In his speech announcing war with Iraq, Bush used temporal adverbs, numerical times, and chronological verb tenses to convince the nation that the time for peace had passed. Bush presented periods of time, and the actions within each, in different ways to elicit specific responses.

Bush accentuated the harsh *urgency and timeliness* of the war by using concrete numbers and dates to shift the audience from passive abstraction to jarring reality. He used a repeated pattern of past-present-future adverbs to support his timely decision to wage war. Listing Hussein's past and degenerative actions, paired with repeated temporal phrases describing America's negotiation attempts, suggested that rhetoric was impotent and war was the only way to prevent further cruelty by the enemy.

To create an image of the *enemy as savage*, Bush used a repeated pattern of temporal adverbial phrases to directly compare what Hussein and the world each did during specified periods of time. This created a picture of a cruel, careless, arrogant dictator who hated the world's peace-loving patience.

To inspire *optimism of victory* he contrasted Hussein's past actions with America's past patience, implying that Hussein had been winning because no one else had joined the fight. His use of concrete future verbs suggests that all America needs to do to win a fight is join it; victory is a forgone conclusion. Emphasizing present and future time during portions of the text disconnected this war from "back then" in Vietnam and the mistakes that were made in that war.

Of the studies on the rhetorical function of time, few have looked at time within the text, and of those only Light addressed how time can be depicted. Light, however, studied "Poetic language and ritual events," and overlooked the use of direct references to time (Light, 5). I have attempted to demonstrate that the ways in which a rhetor specifically refers to time and the actions occurring within, can directly impact the persuasive nature of the text.

Preliminary investigation of the role of time in war rhetoric suggests further areas of research. Does time play a similar vital role in non-presidential war rhetoric? What is an

audience's actual response to similar use of temporal references? As times change, does the role of references to time change also? In a comparison between wars in the past centuries and today's microwave-fast wars, how have leaders modified their depictions of the duration and actions occurring within the time of conflict? How can a rhetor use references to both finite and infinite time persuasively? For example, Vietnam was a seemingly endless—infinite—war and Bush depicted the Persian Gulf war as a quick, complete and relatively low-casualty—finite—conflict.

Michael Leff wrote, "Though it is not always recognized as such, the intersection of time and rhetoric has played a persistent and crucial role in the history of our discipline" (Leff, 1986, 383). Time will always be vital to war rhetoric, extrinsically and intrinsically, regardless of how the times change.

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THE SHADOW WORLD OF SECRETARIES
IN A CITY GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION:
AN APPLICATION OF MUTED GROUP THEORY

BY TINA LEISNER MCDERMOTT

Introduction

Gender and ethnicity are the most commonly evoked differences among people when discussing dominant versus non-dominant cultures. Typically stated, men overpower women, and whites overpower people of color. In a government organization, however, sexist and racist behaviors are supposed to be ameliorated by strict adherence to federal and state hiring and employment laws. In my experience working in a municipal government organization, I have found that discrimination based on gender and race has given way to a more subtle form of discrimination based on professional status. In this particular organization, there are ample women in management positions, and increasing ethnic diversity. The dominant/non-dominant group interaction is based almost entirely on professional status. Where there is power and domination, there is subordination and resistance (Foucault 1979), and this site is no exception. Within the administrative offices of the organization, it is the clerical workers who are at the bottom rung of the ladder, and who must communicate the most delicately with the powers above them in order to maintain harmony on the job and dignity within themselves.

This study examines the communication behaviors and situations of clerical workers within the context of the power structure in the municipal organization that I will call the City. All of the clerical workers in this study are women. However, many of their supervisors are also women, who are part of the dominant group. I have chosen to explain the power differences between the groups based on status

and not gender for that reason. The purpose of this study is to utilize the muted group theory as an explanation of the communication experiences of secretaries in an organization that adheres to a strict hierarchical structure and job classification. I hope to focus the lens away from gender, for a moment, and towards status as a defining aspect of power relationships between people at work.

The City government serves a population of approximately 100,000. It is located in the midst of a metropolitan city, and prides itself for its small town feeling and responsive city services. The original City Hall building is a gem of art deco architecture with bas-relief ladies and men in dignified poses befitting of government buildings since Classical times. The floors and walls of the lobby are lavishly swathed in elegant, imported European marbles. A domed ceiling encapsulates the lobby, topped by a large frosted glass and bronze circular light. Heavy bronze interspersed with glass circles line the grand staircase with more Classical motifs. Every time I walk through the lobby, my heels click and reverberate loudly, underscoring the hushed, hallowed feeling of being in an "important" building. It is a building where men and women have been working for over six decades, during which time gender and professional roles have evolved, along with the technology utilized to produce the work that people do.

The organizational hierarchy starts at the top with the City Council, a body of five elected members, and the City Manager, who is appointed by the City Council. Executive Directors head each department, with managers, supervisors, and a multitude of

professionals (planners, engineers, lawyers, etc.) below them. Secretaries, clerks, line workers, custodians, and other non-degreed professionals are at the bottom of the flow chart.

The days have long gone when secretaries were expected to do little more than fetch coffee for their bosses and mind the phones. These days, knowledge of multiple computer applications and observable communication skills are prerequisites of the job. In addition to using the computer, relatively menial tasks still take up a large part of many clerical workers' days, such as filing, answering telephones, delivering documents, and photocopying.

I decided to combine a participant-observation approach of my own work site with interviews of one secretary in my office, and two secretaries and one clerk from other departments in the City. By using interviews in combination with ethnography, I was able to broaden the scope of my study beyond my own office and into other City departments. Choosing my informants was a delicate decision due to issues of trust and confidentiality. I had gained the trust of my informants by having established friendly co-worker relationships with them over the years. Since my informants were not chosen randomly, this careful choosing represents the limitations of my sample as to the generalization of my data to the overall population of clerical workers. However, I feel my method was justified for two reasons. First, had I asked people I did not know well, I might have raised suspicions within the organization. Second, because my informants had trust in me cultivated by our personal relationships, they were more likely to answer my questions honestly and without fear of loss of confidentiality (i.e., their real names are not used in this paper). Richardson faced the same conundrum in his Borderlife Project, and asserted that due to the delicate subject matter and the fear some subjects might have of getting into trouble, the loss of randomness in sampling was amply compensated for by the "openness and trust" of the informants (4). I

did not interview any managers or supervisors for this project. Mainly, this limitation was because, again, I did not want to raise suspicion within the organization, and since I am a secretary there, I thought managers might not be as honest with me as persons on my level would be.

My methods of data collection included taking notes of conversations and incidents that not only occurred around me, but that I was a part of. Hawes notes that conversations between observer and subjects are "admissible evidence" in qualitative research because the self must be fully implicated in the data in order to have full meaning (7). Conquergood concurs that ethnographic study demands "co-presence" of the researcher in order to offer a communication experience, rather than mere information (182-183). Due to my deep involvement in the site, I had a depth of knowledge of the personalities involved, and the underlying historical meanings of the interactions that took place. My interviews were enriched because my informants did not have to explain a lot of background for me to understand the players and situations they relayed to me.

As themes of my observations and interviews emerged, I became increasingly aware of the operative dynamics of power in everyday interactions between secretaries and their supervisors. My informants revealed that sometimes they felt excluded from discussions of important decisions that affected them, that they were not acknowledged adequately for the work that they performed, that they often held back from saying what they really wanted to say to their supervisors, and that they were restrained from advancing professionally due to their status as clerical workers.

Langellier stated that "Studying the communication and performance of ordinary people invites researchers to listen on the margins of discourse and to give voice to muted groups in our society" (243). In my research, I hope to "give voice" to the frustrations and concerns of a marginalized, and thus muted, group. Muted group theory was identified by anthropologist Edward

Ardener when he observed that ethnographies of culture tended to be taken from male perspectives of both the ethnographer and the informants of the culture, thus suppressing the feminine voice or perspective. Shirley Ardener augmented the theory by noting how women's discourse is generally suppressed in public, thereby leaving women with only masculine words and meanings to express themselves in male dominated societies (Kramarae, 1-5).

In Women and Men Speaking (1981), Cheris Kramarae further asserted that men's and women's use of language privileged men's speech over women's based on their traditionally divided roles in society as breadwinners in the public sphere versus nurturers in the private sphere. She advocated that masculine power over language serves to mute and silence women in many aspects of society, including in public discourse, written discourse, education, technology, and on the internet. (see also, Kramarae ; Wall and Gannon-Lear.)

The muted group theory has broad application to other marginalized groups in society. Mark Orbe's study of culturally non-dominant groups (members of differing ethnicities and sexual orientations) and their communication with dominant white groups in the workplace sought to advance Ardener's and Kramarae's muted group theory by applying it to minority cultures and examining their coping strategies. He found that "muted groups do not necessarily remain muted, but instead create strategies to overcome their mutedness" (Orbe, 158). The point, as E. Ardener explained, is that mutedness does not equate with silence, but with limitations: "[T]he important issue is whether they are able to say all they would wish to say, where and when they wish to say it" (qtd. in Wall and Gannon-Lear, 22).

Most recently, Wall and Gannon-Leary amplified the theory by reviewing Carol Colfer's study of communication between diverse groups of people in superior/subordinate positions of social status. They conclude that muted group theory is ripe for further research in communication

scholarship because of its "political, economic and institutional" implications for negotiating reality (27). Interestingly, however, they attempt to steer the theory forward as one of heuristic value in terms of women's speech only, rather than contextualizing mutedness or inarticulateness in the framework of social status, as Colfer's work implied.

In this study, I apply muted group theory to status prescribed by the hierarchy of the workplace. I argue that a muted group is defined as one on whom dominant groups exert subtle or direct power in attempts to control and/or limit their speech and actions. I observed that clerical workers, as a non-dominant group, are often muted by the power structure inherent in the hierarchy and internalized by managers. The interactions that I have documented ranged from casual or small incidents, to incidents big enough to have an impact on the person's job. Whether it was a passing remark or an official policy, secretaries and clerks at this site must negotiate communication with their supervisors and each other based on their status as a marginalized and often muted group. From my interviews, observations, and personal experiences, three consistent themes emerged that made the muted group theory come alive: being chained to the desk, invisibility, and restricted access to speech situations.

Chained to the Desk

"You're kind of chained to your desk for the most part... I mean if someone has to go to the restroom, you have to say it... and you can't go, 'well I'm gonna go across the street and get a candy bar,' -- you can't ..." (Michelle)

The City provides minimal space for most clerical workers, and oftentimes, two people are fitted into spaces meant for one. Work space is a huge issue because the City and its administration have grown. Even though temporary bungalow buildings have been erected, and an office building next to the main City Hall has been leased, there never seems to be enough space. My own desk is

almost comic in its proportions. If my co-worker and I move our chairs back at the same time, we literally bump into each other.

During my interviews, all of my informants made statements like they are "tied to a desk" or "chained to the desk." Two secretaries told me that they could not go to the bathroom or walk out for any reason without notifying their co-workers so that "coverage" in their area was maintained at all times. "I pretty much have to be there at my desk, from the start of the day to the end of the day," said Jennifer, who repeatedly stated throughout her interview that she wished she had more flexibility in her job.

Cassandra told me a story that perhaps best illustrates the potentially dehumanizing aspect of the requirement to stay at one's desk. She arrives to work at 7:30 every morning, and it is her habit to go to the kitchen, make toast and pour a cup of coffee.

> I got counseled about leaving my desk to make my toast in the morning, taking time away from the office, or what have you. I said, if you think that the 2 ½ minutes I spend making my toast in the morning is gonna make a difference (laughing), then by golly I'll just make it at home and bring it in cold to eat, OK? (laughs)… yeah…

In another department, Jennifer's co-workers became co-conspirators in enforcing the stay-at-your-desk rule. Her boss had encouraged her to develop relationships with secretaries in other divisions located throughout the building where she works. So, she would get up to make copies and then stop off at someone's desk to develop relationships, as instructed by her boss. One day, some of the other secretaries got very upset that Jennifer was away from her desk for a long period of time, and they reported her to the office manager for being "MIA." Jennifer laughed as she told me the story, but it was a serious offense to her at the time, and she since transferred out of that division.

In Foucault's (1979) discussion on the imposition of discipline by institutions, he details the "art of distributions" or the "distribution of individuals in space" as a means of controlling the location and activities of bodies. He traces the historical development of factories and sites of mass manufacturing, monasteries, prisons, hospitals, and fortresses, all of which were sites where there were a great number of people to be controlled against for theft and abuses by workers and for accountability of the work process. Discipline by means of space management requires locating an individual by "elementary location" or "partitioning" (143), which prevents "the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals," and promotes "anti-desertion, anti-vagabondage," thus creating "docile bodies." In reviewing the evolution of supervised work spaces in terms of discipline, Foucault explains:

> Its aim was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using (143).

The secretaries I interviewed are subjected to the same institutional control as described by Foucault. If they are not at their desks when they are supposed to be, it is not only noticed, it can be reported, and they can even get in trouble for it. The very structure of the hierarchy of the organization allows such control of certain workers to take place, as those in managerial positions have offices of cubicles with higher walls for privacy. Mumby explains that power "can be exercised both intentionally and unintentionally, but most importantly by virtue of its integration into organizational structure" (116). Cassandra's counseling by her supervisor on leaving her desk to make toast, Jennifer's "MIA" report by

her co-workers, and the inability of Michelle and her co-workers to get up and get a snack or use the restroom without first clearing it with the others, is evidence of a structural integration of the exercise of power.

Jennifer's story articulates the forces of hegemony in the organization by the fact that her co-workers (her equals) reported the stay-at-your-desk transgression. Mumby states that "the process of hegemony works most effectively when the world-view articulated by the ruling elite is actively taken up and pursued by subordinate groups" (123). The ideology upheld by the ruling class in the organization had successfully become "embodied in the systems of signification of the organization" (119) in the sense that the subordinate class took up the cause and policed itself by turning Jennifer in for her transgression of the rule. In her ethnography of an interior design firm, Markham noticed that the proof of hegemony in operation is that the workers display an acceptance of and active participation in a system that controlled them in "painful ways" (16). It is doubtful that Jennifer's co-workers enjoyed being chained to their desks, but the hegemony embodied by the rule is so pervasive that they felt they must abide by it even to the point of turning in a co-worker.

Active participation in hegemonic practices by the subordinate class need not always be the case. In my office, my co-worker and I covered for each other frequently, as a form of resistance to the stay-at-your-desk rule. If she wanted to take a break over the allotted 15 minutes, she told me with a conspiratorial tone that she had to "run a quick errand," which was our euphemism for going over 15 minutes. In case anyone was looking for her, I covered her by saying something like, "Oh she just left on her break" even if it was over 15 minutes ago. Outwardly, to the rest of the office, we performed submission to the 15 minute break rule. Murphy found compliant outward performance in line with hegemonic forces to be a common practice among flight attendants. She observed resistance to domination by breaking the rules when the flight attendants knew they could get away with

it, for example selecting opportunities to wear comfortable shoes instead of high heels (against company rules) when they knew the dominant gaze was not watching them. Murphy suggests that outward performance of hegemonic participativeness can be just a front stage affectation to cover for the hidden transcript, or backstage performance of resistance (500).

For the secretaries that I interviewed, the expression of indignation regarding the physical constraint to stay at the desk all day is more poignant when compared to the relative freedom that the clerical workers say their supervisors have to move around. Most of my informants expressed understanding regarding the need to provide coverage for the office, especially as it pertains to assisting the public, who come in needing assistance. The sting came when I asked them how much autonomy they had compared to their supervisors. Every one of them responded not only with similar answers, but with similar voice tones (preceded by audible gasps and sighs) and physical gestures (rolling eyes, smirks, a sudden leaning back in the chair), which I interpreted as sheer exasperation.

Each of these secretaries were subjected to the forces of a power structure that dictates the whereabouts and physical movement of one class of workers, but not another. All expressed an understanding of the need to be available to the public and people from other departments who need their assistance, but simultaneously expressed a resentment over the fact that the restrictions/freedoms are not applied equally due to professional status. Perhaps such bodily constraints are the physical component to the muted group theory in that members of the muted group (to paraphrase E. Ardener) are not able to 'do all they would wish to do, where and when they wish to do it.'

Invisibility

"I don't think people necessarily look down on secretaries, I think they look more, like, over their heads, as if they're not there" (Cassandra).

Many secretaries and clerks do stellar work for which they do not get the recognition they feel they deserve. The ritual of Secretary's Day does little to address this dilemma (although most do not refuse the flowers and luncheons). The old Dolly Parton song, "Workin' 9 to 5," said it well: "They just use your mind, and they never give you credit." I posit that this is another example of the dynamics of muted group theory, in that a muted group is not heard by those in more powerful positions, either because the marginalized group members have given up on speaking, or because they do speak and are ignored. Following are two examples from my interviews to illustrate this point.

Dianne, is a litigation secretary who works for two trial attorneys and a paralegal. Her response to my question "What is your role in the office?" was quick and to the point: "To make sure everybody else looks good without stepping on anyone's toes."

Dianne reported that she often went above and beyond her job title duties in an effort to assist her bosses and impress them with her abilities. She received words of appreciation, but she deduced from her observations of the organizational culture, that promotions and title upgrades for legal secretaries rarely happen in the Attorney's office. She finally decided to "hold back" from more challenging work because she felt that continuing to show off her capabilities would only add to her already heavy workload, and that she did not get enough recognition for it anyway. In response to my question, "Do you ask for more challenging work?" Dianne said:

> No, it would never benefit me in any way other than self gratification, and I'm not gonna stay there long enough to need that, I've come to that conclusion – it's just never gonna happen, it's not gonna change... it's just the way they have it set up – the task delegation. The more challenging work doesn't belong to my job category ...

Later in the interview, I asked Dianne what her supervisors did not know about her. Her response was accompanied by tears:

> I'm smarter than they are – all of them for the most part, though the lawyers there are very good at what they do. I'm probably a better lawyer than some people – that's what my husband [a lawyer] tells me. And I'm a much better paralegal than [she] is, and I will never do anything to let them know because it won't do me any good... Even if I passed the Bar tomorrow, in her [one of her bosses] eyes, she'd say, 'Oh, I remember when she was a secretary...

Cassandra encountered similar frustrations at her job in a different department. She has worked for the City for 7 years. She supervises two other clerical workers, handles the budget for the department, and has recently completed a college degree (paid for by the City's tuition reimbursement program); she is anxious to utilize her skills at full capacity. Her biggest complaint about her current position is that she would like more challenging work, but is not given the opportunity. "I dislike the fact that I'm not challenged, um, my boss has made it clear that what he expects is secretarial support." He has given her verbal support "Oh you're so talented, and da, da, da, da..." but Cassandra is clearly denied opportunities to take on more challenges. One example of this occurred when the issue of outdated fees came up in the department's budget. She suggested that she do a comparative analysis with other municipalities. Her boss's response was: "That would be a good job for a management intern that we're gonna bring in." When Cassandra related this incident to me, she paused with an incredulous look on her face, and I felt the weight of the disappointment as she re-lived it in the moment of telling me the story. In another incident, she applied for two positions as an Administrative Analyst – one in her department and one in another department. The other department

interviewed her and she made it to the number two candidate position. Her own department did not even invite her to interview.

Invisibility is a symptom of the muted group. A member of a marginalized group is either not seen for who s/he really is, ignored when s/he speaks, or s/he does not even bother to speak because of exasperation with the whole situation. S. Ardener explained that:

> The 'mutedness' of one group may be regarded as the inverse of the 'deafness' of the dominant group, as the invisibility of the former's achievements is an expression of the blindness of the latter. Words which continually fall upon deaf ears may, of course, in the end become unspoken, or even unthought (qtd. in Kramarae 31).

The examples of Dianne and Cassandra bring to light Ardener's inverse relationship model of the dominant group's deafness and blindness to the muted group.

The nature of the superior/subordinate relationship leads to a natural desire to create a positive impression about one's work abilities (Zaidman, 671). In the mind of the subordinate, such a positive impression might logically lead to a raise, bonus, or promotion. Dianne's statement that she "will never let them know" the full extent of her capabilities because "nothing would ever come of it" is clearly because she believed that doing so would fall on blind eyes and deaf ears. She felt that if she "passed the Bar tomorrow," her supervisors would still not perceive of her as anything other than a secretary -- they could not see her for what she really could be. The impression that she wished to project -- that of someone intelligent and capable of more than her job title reflected -- was not seen by the dominant group, as they persisted in not

acknowledging her efforts to achieve beyond what was expected of her[1].

In Cassandra's example, she did not silence herself, but instead spoke up and was soundly rejected twice. Here again, S. Ardener's inversion model is useful in viewing the communication dynamics of power through the muted group perspective. Cassandra reported that "my boss and I go backwards and forwards over my skills." Although he is aware of her talents (he compliments her on her work) and her college degree, he is reticent to see her as more than just a secretary. By refusing to see and acknowledge the impression Cassandra has of herself, her boss succeeds in suppressing Cassandra by keeping her in her clerical place. The refusal to see Cassandra is so pervasive in the structure of her department that she was denied an opportunity to interview for a job promotion. The proof that she qualified for this position was in the fact that another department (located just across the room from where she currently works), not only gave her an opportunity to interview for an equivalent promotion, but rated her the number two candidate.

The emotions that accompanied my informants' responses are proof that such suppression leads to great frustration and anguish. During both of these interviews, Dianne and Cassandra had an opportunity to vent their frustrations to an empathetic listener. Because they were muted or suppressed from saying or reacting in a free manner at the time of the actual interaction (the narrated event), they both found that by telling the story (the narrative event), they got their moment to express how they truly felt when someone was actually listening. Dianne, with tears, told me outright and without reticence that she thinks she is as intelligent as any lawyer. Telling it brought her to tears because she could never say that, even in a milder way, to the attorneys she worked with. Cassandra has to carry on and continue to work with the people who did

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[1] Dianne was relatively new to the office. Towards the end of my study, Dianne left the organization for a job with more professional responsibilities.

not give her a chance to promote, so she never showed them the incredulous look on her face that she showed me. The tensiveness between the telling of the event and the actual event told about is similar to Madison's "theories of the flesh." Through the performance of their narratives, with me as an audience, Dianne and Cassandra righted themselves back towards self dignity, by un-suppression, and by saying what they really would have wanted to say in the realm of the dominant group, and in the actual moments of interactions. By the telling, the two women made themselves visible and heard, if only to me, and if only for a few minutes.

It is important to uncover barriers to success for any group of people. The stories reported here correlate with Baker's study of clerical workers (1992). When workers were bored but not busy, they resisted telling their supervisor because they feared that doing so would only result in being assigned more busy work, which was typically repetitive data entry or filing. She observed that many workers were interested in using the time to learn and apply new skills; however, supervisors rarely allowed them to do so. Not allowing workers to upgrade and enhance their skills locks them in a vicious cycle, leaving them stuck in dead-end positions.

Restricted Access – Notes from the Field

During my research, one of the most subtle yet striking examples of being a member of a muted and marginalized group occurred in the Attorney's office where I work.

Wednesday mornings in the Attorney's office are always charged with animated talk about what happened at the previous night's City Council meeting. The talk can range from poking fun at the regular "gadflies"[2] who hurl insults at the council members, to the more serious matters of policy and budget. On this particular Wednesday morning, the air was positively electric as the eleven city attorneys

reported to work and convened in the common areas of the kitchen and hallways to discuss the last night's council meeting. A decision had been made by the City Council to immediately commence the hiring of a new, in-house attorney and secretary. This news impacted many levels of our office, including office space (there is none left), office dynamics and personalities, budget, and politics.

Meanwhile, on this eventful morning, the secretaries, too, reported to the same office, poured coffee in the same kitchen, and settled down at their desks in the same hallways that these discussions took place. As the lawyers' conversations swirled around the secretaries, I became acutely aware that the attorneys did not acknowledge us as participants in the discussions. They did not give any "cues" to invite any of the secretaries to "take the floor" nor to partake as listener-participants (Sacks, 697). I asked one of the attorneys, "What's going on?" She replied by waving her hand nonchalantly, "Oh, nothing."

At lunchtime, all of the legal secretaries went out to celebrate a birthday. Once we settled down at the table, the first topic to come up was the very same topic: the new attorney and all of its ramifications. One secretary, who sits in the front of the office, had overheard the most, so she relayed to us everything she had heard. We then proceeded to make our own analyses, jokes, and comments about the future of the office and how it might affect us. That was the only moment of opportunity that we were free to have the same discussion that had taken place earlier in the morning by those above us in the hierarchy. Temporarily released from the boundaries of the hierarchy of our office, we shared information, asked questions, gave opinions, and made jokes. We could speak the utterances that we all had wanted to that morning, but were prevented from doing by virtue of being shut out by the dominant group in the office. Thus, a shadow discussion ensued. Once outside the reaches of the ears and eyes of the office, we were freed from the implicitly felt constraints not to speak and not to join in the morning discussion with manager level employees.

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[2] *Gadflies* are the "regulars" who attend City Council meetings and harass and annoy city officials, rather than address legitimate City business.

Whether it was intentional or not, the attorneys made it clear that the secretaries were not to be included in the discussions about the office changes, even though those discussions took place in the common areas where all were intermingling. Individuals treated as "auditors" to a conversation, as peripheral participants regardless of their physical distance from the speaker, are treated as second class addressees by speakers. They are not intended as the direct receiver of the speaker's message. (Ladegaard 91) The reason for the exclusion of second class listeners involved in this particular discursive behavior lies in the power and hierarchical relationships between upper and lower level workers, revealed in the need for the secretaries to have their shadow meeting later that day.

There was no logical or business reason that the discussion could not have been open to everyone in the office. As Hawes explains, "relationality exercises power" (7).

The lawyers expressed an internalized power structure to maintain the hierarchical order of things. Status differentials define the relationships in the Attorney's office, which allows for the exclusion of clerical workers from the dominant group's discussions. Strategically, the secretaries overcame their mutedness by taking their "turns" away from the gaze of the dominant group. Such communication behavior is consistent with Orbe's findings of co-cultural groups who, lacking in power, had distinct coping strategies for dealing with their mutedness. Although the strategy of shadowing discussions of the dominant group did not emerge from his study, this could be explained by the fact that he only used interviews and focus groups with his informants, not participant observation. His informants may not have wanted to admit such behavior; in fact, they may not have been aware of it, even if they did it. Murphy, who did participant observation, found abundant backstage behavior in response to marginalizing forces. The flight attendants that she observed had "hidden transcripts," backstage mechanisms to circumvent the official discourse that held power over their

speech, movement, and manner of dress. Similarly, the secretaries exercised their speech rights backstage. I am not saying that this was an act of resistance or defiance, but it was certainly a coping method for those subjected to a morning of subtle messages that restricted their inclusion in the office discourse.

Conclusion

Overall, I do not wish to give the impression that I have a personal axe to grind with the City that has been the subject of my research. In many ways, the City is a very pleasant place to work, and many people value the stability, proximity to their homes, and the fair pay and benefits, including myself. My purpose was to shed light on the dynamics of communication when it becomes stifled due to status differentials among people at work.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this research is that it reveals a need for further study regarding the notion of obstacles in the workplace for women (the "glass ceiling"). Of the four women I interviewed, the gender split on their bosses was even: two had male bosses and two had female bosses. The only detectable difference in their complaints or levels of satisfaction was Jennifer, who had a male boss. She seemed the most content in her job and got along with her boss very well. Perhaps not coincidentally, she was also the least ambitious of them all. I conclude that the divisions creating dominant and non-dominant groups in the City are based on professional status, not gender.

Wall and Gannon-Leary promote the study of muted group theory as a means to examine the economic impact of dominant/non-dominant interactions (27). Colfer (in Wall & Gannon-Leary) called for "the elites" to "create a supportive environment for members of non-dominant groups to speak up and be heard." The reality of rising numbers of women manager begs the question: Do women managers help break the ceiling for other women in lower positions, or do they help to keep them down? Research on this question

might prove revealing. Perhaps power is, after all, gender neutral.

Additionally, the City, along with other public organizations, provides a tuition reimbursement program as a benefit to its employees. It may be necessary to do further research as to the utilization of skills and education of employees whose education is paid for by the tax payers.

In this paper I have ascertained that the muted group theory is applicable to organizational ethnography based on the dynamics of power through individuals' status in the workplace. Using the methods of interviewing and participant observation, I identified three themes that emerged as symptoms of the muted group model in the City organization: rules to stay at the desk; invisibility, or not being seen and heard for who you really are; and restricted access to speech situations. All but one of the women had ambitions of progressing professionally beyond the job of secretary and they were subjected to communication barriers that potentially impacted their ability to do so. Living in the shadows is not, after all, where most people want to be.

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RIGGS UNTIES YOUR SOUL

BY MELINA C. ADDUCI

Marlon Riggs' *Tongues Untied (1989)* is a fine exponent of performative documentaries. This film, while borrowing styles from the other modes, is faithful to its performative traits becoming one of the most renowned documentaries in its mode. Riggs accomplishes this through the effective application of two key performative mode qualities: constructing for the viewer an alternate subjectivity, here a black gay male one, regardless of the viewer's position and provoking a reaction in the viewer, what Nichols calls "evocation of feelings" (97). Bullert comments that "for social movements that have not reached a threshold of credibility in the mainstream media, being heard and defining one's image on one's own terms is a political act. Knowing that silence and invisibility walk hand-in-hand, Riggs made a film where he took an active role in shaping the description of the black gay experience" (121). Riggs' theatricality and poeticism are not part of an act or a technique, it is his style as a filmmaker and that is what makes *Tongues Untied* so believable.

Tongues Untied is an epic poem about black, gay men who are considered society's pariahs. It highlights a gender-racial issue, one of society's deepest fears. Marlon Riggs tells the tale from the other side. He is an unorthodox, activist African American, homosexual who decides that it is time to "end the silence" and make himself, and his community, be acknowledged by society. Essex Hemphill, who is a poet and one of the film's main characters, shows us the path of an early and ongoing struggle that the black gay community suffers. The film takes us through a contrasting world of idyllic love and mankind's hate. In brief, the film chronicles the experience of being a black gay male and getting over, white, and even black, homophobic, religious discrimination and surviving rage, repression, silence and AIDS. It is a story of revolution.

Riggs' main intention is to give "voice to the voiceless," (Bullert, 92). He does this by applying the performative technique of drawing the audience's attention to Riggs' subjectivity, his point of view (Nichols 96). Speaking right through the camera to the viewers, he tells them exactly how it feels. Bullert writes that it "showed the challenges of using the medium to bring marginal perspectives to a diverse public" (121).

Sequence #5, clearly illustrates this subjectivity device. Riggs creates the feeling of a fragmented identity by strategically using interactive techniques and re-enacting subconscious experiences. This could also resemble avant-garde film techniques of dream-like or subconscious-like images (Bordwell & Thompson, 583). The filmmaker also uses testimonies that contribute successfully in getting his point across.

Subconscious images become effective in understanding the creator's position. Cleverly, Riggs only shows close-ups of mouths chanting a chorus of hostility, calling out names and insulting the conflicted character. Riggs uses an unusual form of re-enactment which is not the actual experience of a particular situation but the impact that caused and the way it was recorded in the character's mind when this events occurred. The fact that we do not see entire faces is not arbitrary but purposely designed as an image of what society represents, a faceless but imposing voice.

Sequence #5 also defines the creation of feelings for the viewer that might, otherwise, be unattainable. Riggs makes the viewer feel what the character felt: paranoid, unwanted and stigmatized. Riggs use of the slur spewing mouths in a close-up talking to the camera was

calculated to disturb the viewer to the point of wishing for an end to the spiteful mouths.

In sequences #2 and #14 Riggs wisely utilizes contrasting parallel montage to represent his view of the two different worlds that subsist in the same society. Through the strategy of using mainly found footage, the director, who carefully selected these images, so as best to bring the audience into his perception of the world; "the hatred [that] is felt by black gays from the African-American community," (Bullert, 95). The example seen in sequence #2 shows images of black men in amorous relations followed by police brutality footage. This sequence seeks to patch together contrasting images of an unconditional love versus hatred and prejudice at its worst, creating a feeling of estrangement.

At the same time, sequence #14 blends images of consummated love and liberation. To the rhythm of a doo-wop quartet singing "Hey boy, can you come out tonight?" we see a black and white photograph of two black men in Army uniforms embracing each other juxtaposed with footage of black/gay demonstrators singing "hey-hey, ho-ho, homophobia's got to go." Photographs of Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King tie the struggle of African-American gays to the civil rights movement.

Tongues Untied successfully carries out its goal of provoking the audience. It combines the performative's quality of being **poetic and evocative** with the document's **evidential and referential** techniques (Nichols, 97). Because performative documentary's task is, according to Nichols, mainly "stressing subjective aspects of a classically objective discourse" (95), Marlon Riggs uses his discourse as an artist uses his brush expressing his emotions artistically but not forgetting his duty as a communicator.

The poetic verse used in sequence #10 exudes anger and self-critique. It also puts the "form" into performance. Essex Hemphill speaks his poetry in this sequence where there is a built-up of frustration, anger and disappointment ready to SNAP. The verse is one of Riggs' sharpest weapons to cut through

and get to the viewer's heart. Hemphill recites: "[his} body contains as much anger as water," evoking a vivid image easy to be pictured by the viewer. Pain and guilt, usually ready emotions to identify in oneself, are two other emotions the film effectively evokes. "Anger unvented becomes pain, unspoken becomes rage, released becomes violence."

The demonstration of blacks discriminating against blacks evokes heartbreak. There is nothing as tragic as being rejected by your own brothers. Riggs uses dance, music and poetry to passionately tell his compelling story of searching for acceptance in a society with racist whites who stigmatize him for being black, and homophobic blacks who stigmatize him for being gay (Bullert, 94).

To complete the analysis of a performative documentary we must consider what properties render a performative work a "documentary." Sequence #15 is a good example of what Rosen would define as a *documentary*: "factual, realistic, based on real events or circumstances" (66). Sequence #15 uses combined hardcore facts of death, distrust, brotherhood and liberation. Riggs wisely combines combustible facts about the issue. He adds even more drama to the facts when he presents himself saying he has a time bomb ticking in his blood, he is HIV positive. The film contains as much truth and facts in this segment as any other sequence in the film. However, the condensation of the facts creates valuable closure for the film. Also, the usage of original footage and newspaper clippings gives the film the appearance of a researcher's scrapbook filed with real people and real events. Newspaper obituaries are shown to convey the magnitude of Riggs' loss of friends, comrades and community to AIDS.

An in-depth analysis of sequence #10, "The Anger" helps to illustrate how effectively performative *Tongues Untied* is. First, he uses subjectivity and evocation of feelings by recitation of poetry written by himself, Essex Hemphill, Steve Langley and others. As I discussed above, Riggs' paintbrushes are his words and he constructs his piece from them.

This sequence is mainly the discourse and performance, Riggs' strongest point for the film, which recreates the lacking imagery and lets the viewers' own mind put a picture to Riggs' words. This sequence discusses the source of this community's rage, prejudice, shame, pain, fear, guilt but ultimately self-acceptance: the truth that cannot be and will not be silenced.

Tongues Untied plays with tension and distension. The purpose of this constant provocation is for the viewer to not be able to relax and become bored by the repetition of the same issue. Continuously new angles to the problem are presented. Riggs explores the problem but not without showing the solution as well. First he takes the viewer by the hand through a series of soul digging and struggle by other tormented members the black gay male community. However, Riggs' does not let the hand go when he finally shares his discoveries and his secret with his audience. The faces of friends and people he has known flash on the screen, African-American men, most in their thirties, dead from AIDS.

Riggs' performativity is not so much part of an act, or simply a technique, it is the very style of his identity, which is what makes it so believable. Riggs does not pass any of his issues with tangent statements nor he just dips his hands into them; he dives into these issues and brings the core to the surface for us to see and experience. The film does not try to persuade its audience with "voyeurisms", nor "fresh-caught action", "see it to believe it," or "fly on the wall" techniques. Riggs gets his point across by performing open-heart surgery on his viewer, by bestowing his issues to the audience, by bluntly spitting them out for the audience to digest them. Marlon Riggs "[...]know[s] the taste of [his] own spit," he makes you taste it too.

> "I was mute, tongue-tied, burdened by shadows and silence. Now I speak and my burden is lightened, lifted, free."
>
> *-- Marlon Riggs (1989)*

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DELUSIONS IN MODERN PRIMITIVISM

BY KIMBERLY GLOUDEMANS

Delusions in Modern Primitivism (2001) by Daniel Loflin borders textual examples of observational-reflexive documentary in which "the processes of social exchange and representation" (Nichols, 1994, 56) are viewed through methods of *cinema verite*, or direct cinema, that "stress the nonintervention of the filmmaker" (38). In that, there is a complex bifurcation that teeters elements of technical representation and artistic augmentation. While *Delusions in Modern Primitivism* mirrors observational cinema through mere technicality, it also addresses complex underlying issues of reflexive "mockumentaries." Likewise, Loflin through what Nichol's describes as "fictional neorealism," seems to engage Walter Fisher's Narrative Paradigm Theory of argumentation, and does so by organizing his argument within the contexts of *narrative coherence* and *narrative probability* (Baaske and Hollihan, 1994). In theory, Loflin creates an overwhelming element of believability in which the audience "buys into" the representation of film actors as socially oppressed "social actors." Ultimately, the audience engages within a certain "fly-on-the-wall" psychology and internally encompasses film actors as social actors within peculiar circumstances that deal with issues of self-definition, societal oppression and the upcoming trends of scarification as a facet of cultural communication; in that, Loflin never specifies any actuality of realism within the presentation of events. Instead, it is left within the interpretive means of the audience to decide whether *Delusion in Modern Primitivism* exists as an observational documentary or reflexive "mockumentary."

While *Delusions in Modern Primitivism*, as a whole, is described as "dangerously believable" (Fournier, 2000), the casual presentation of social actors fundamentally adheres to the argumentative constructs of the Narrative Paradigm Theory, and observational methods of neorealism. Indeed, the social actors are constructed within Loflin's conceptual domain, but that domain is sheltered beneath a blatantly constructed argument: the trends of body modification are continuously evolving into new extremes, and these extremes are motivated by an altered method of cultural communication. Within seventeen minutes, the audience is introduced to Jerome, a societal outcast, who has turned to tattoos and piercing as a personal method of expression and a artistic symbolism for his social struggle, societal oppression and quest for personal identity. Opposite of Jerome is Ray, the ironic "voice-of-reason" and social instigator who selflessly offers his services as a method of reaching cultural climax. Ultimately, Jerome pays Ray $500 to blow a hole in his left shoulder with a .38 revolver in a spectacular display of personal expression through scarification.

In the function of extemporaneous dialogue, seeming "social actors" express personal beliefs concerning current forms of body art, its social symbolism, methods of self-expression and new trends of scarification. While Nichols' description of observational documentary, "in its purest form" is completely "eschewed from voice-over commentary, music external to the observational scene, intertitles, reenactments, and even interviews," (38) there is an obvious structure present post-introspection. According to director Daniel Loflin, "...When people find out [its mock documentary], it just seems really obvious to them. It's not my intention, of course, to mislead people or make them feel stupid, but sometimes it just happens and...it makes me feel bad" (Fournier, 2001, 150). On the

contrary, Loflin presents an obvious display of reflexive strategies in the way it "upsets norms, alters conventions, and draws the viewer's attention" (Nichols, 1994, 69). Loflin uses stylistic reflexivity methods with a 16 mm camera, grainy film texturing, muted colors, jerky camera movements and eye-to-eye camera angles. Sequence #1 features the title "Warning" in bold, red letters, and a legal disclaimer over black that seemingly suggests to the audience that the circumstances that follow are indeed real, and should not be duplicated due to serious physical or neurological damage and, in extreme cases, even death. Director Daniel Loflin sees this "Warning" as a humorous social commentary on the dark, comedic aspect of the film; "There's this joking (sort of) warning: Don't try this at home" (Fournier, 2000). In sequence #2, Jerome is initially introduced by a hand-held camera that follows him from a modest apartment complex to the interior of a late-70s model Cadillac Sedan Deville; the camera is subject to the natural bumps and bounces of assisted-camera movements, and uses the simplest form of intertitles to name significant social actors. The raw, unadulterated approach adds to an overall element of realism and pseudo-observational cinema.

This notion of realistic presentation feeds again into elements of the Narrative Paradigm Theory, specifically narrative coherence and narrative probability. In essence, if story-telling is used as the fundamental method of argumentation, as in *Delusions of Modern Primitivism,* there must be elements of reality, of space and time within the presentation of plot and social actors, and a coherent representation of actor development and the relation of character motivation. Loflin continually feeds into the notion of "real" versus the "reel," when he uses performative artifacts of legal disclaimers, improvisational dialogue, and raw camera techniques that reaffirm the supposed reality of circumstance.

Within the greater argument that concerns body modification as a cultural voice, Loflin reflects elements of reflexive cinema as he produces a certain evolution of social actor

portrayal. While Jerome is first presented as a social delinquent "shot down by society," he personally describes his new obsession with scarification as a metaphor and motivation related to societal impression. In sequence #4, Jerome describes his collection of tattoos and body piercings as inadequate expressions of his ever-changing self-expression. The testimony is presented as a conversation with himself in which he rationalizes the violence against self observationally before the camera. For a moment, Director Daniel Loflin (O.C.), challenges his positioning in a voice-of-God styling that causes one of few interactions between camera, actor and director (O.C.). In sequence #13, Jerome later changes his previous motivation of cultural voice and finally acknowledges the trendy physical attributions of scarification, claiming "I hope I get some modeling jobs from this. I mean, look at me. Just put me in front of a camera. Put me in front of a camera."

In an in-depth sequence analysis of sequence #11, director Daniel Loflin encompasses all of these elements of observational-reflexive documentary. The sequence opens within the hallowed-confines of an abandoned car garage in which a hand-held camera follows Jerome through the scarification process. The sequence is charged with recurrent slow-pan camera angles, interrupted by occasional intrusions of boom microphones and crew equipment. This sequence is punctuated by the realism of Ray's testimony and camera-actor dialogue: "I know a lot of people aren't going to agree with what we're doing or even how we're doing it, um, but that's the risk you take." There is a certain demeanor in the presentation of dialogue that is casual, spotted with verbal fillers—communicative "ums" and "ahhs" that add to the realistic presentation of texts—and occasional triadic interactions between Ray, Jerome and the director (O.C.).

Jerome gives his statements from the blurred background stating, "Just like, you know, a painter might use a paint brush, alright? Or you know, a sculptor uses clay. That's the medium. Well, here the medium is a

simply a firearm." While Jerome's dialogue trails, the camera occasionally brings the actors in and out of focus while Ray enters and exits the camera point-of-view.

The moments following the actual shooting are further confused by erratic camera style and obvious chaos while the social actors come in and out of view by spinning camera angles. During these climactic moments after the shooting, the director (O.C.) continually asks, "Jerome, how do you feel? How do you feel?" Jerome, on the contrary, ignores the off-camera comments and crawls across the floor attempting to get to a waiting ambulance outside. It is in the later moments of the documentary that the utmost senses of realism are enacted by utilizing an observational sense of disorder and obvious lack of structure; ultimately, the argumentation set forth by Daniel Loflin, and issues of body medication as cultural communication reaffirm Jerome "as the perfect embodiment of all those crybaby pseudo-punks out there; [the] poor-me suburbanites who assume the world owes them something and who don't know how good they really have it" (Bertrand, 2001, 1). Ultimately, the Narrative Paradigm that is played out within *Delusions of Modern Primitivism* makes an evolutionary statement concerning body modification as the "mere canvas of the tortured artist" that begins with the confines of sympathy and ends with the subjective reflexivity of empathetic irony; the realism is engaged and the evolution of actor and argument is progressively attained.

While *Delusions in Modern Primitivism* is a "chilling documentary, especially since you spend the entire film wondering if A) Jerome is really going to go through with this, and B) if this film is real, or a put on," (Bertrand, 2001, 1) the film makes provocative statements concerning new cultural trends of the pop-culture, the current methods of body modification and the evolving extremes of such. Loflin makes his argument by the select presentation of social actors and the very contributions of their beliefs and actions, whether deemed responsible or irresponsible. Ultimately, the audience is pulled through a

personal epiphany concerning the motivations and metaphors of the social actors as each seemed to be motivated by underlying ulterior means. This notion, in and of itself, deals with the dyadic ethics of observational-reflexive documentary that reiterate the notion that things are not always what they seem, in which "only a close inspection of the credits provide the slightest top off" (Bertrand, 2001). As an introspective social commentary that mirrors the ethics of documentary film within the construction, or lack there of, of social actors, it allows for objective social suggestions and ethical statements that are neither negative nor positive. The Narrative Paradigm of *Delusions in Modern Primitivism* merely presents the circumstances as they develop, in the true fashion of observational film and reflexive elements that make arguments pronounced and socially significant, adding credibility, realism and wonder to a strong argument of public morale.

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TUPAC SHAKUR: BEFORE I WAKE

BY NOE MORENO

"Expository texts take shape around commentary directed toward the viewer; images serve as illustration or counterpoint" (Nichols, 1992, 34). The film, *Tupac Shakur: Before I Wake* is an example of an expository documentary. There are two film language techniques present throughout the film that empower the expository mode and give way to supporting the argument being presented: "voice of God" and the editing techniques of montage demonstrated with footage and photographs. With the incorporation of a "voice of God" along with an on camera voice of authority speaking on behalf of the text via a talking head and editing of visuals including footage and still photographs of Tupac Shakur, this film is believable and convincing.

Documentaries have always looked at historical events and the biographies of important or interesting people (Hampe, 1997, 10). This documentary looks into the life of one of the most prominent icons in rap music. The tragedy of his death at the young age of twenty-five in 1996 is still talked about to this day. Issues discussed in the film include the affiliation of his mother with the Black Panthers in the 1970's. Tupac had a troublesome childhood constantly moving around and not living with his parents. His love for Black people and the struggle to rise from poor repressed social living conditions is present in his music. The media tainted his name as a thug and a criminal but the essence of his soul and what he stood for are proven in this film. The events of the last year of Tupac's life are told by his personal bodyguard, Frank Alexander. Frank developed a close relationship with Tupac. Frank was a first hand witness in Tupac's life because he was with him to see how he lived and what he was about. Tupac's life was controversial and the media created an image of being a thug.

However, in the eyes of Tupac the word "thug" had a different meaning and was a social symbol of what was occurring in the inner cities of the U.S. to black people. The film is used to explain how Tupac was falsely accused of rape, was victimized and shot at numerous times and finally murdered. Interviews of rap legends "Eazy-E", Russell Simmons, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and Frank Alexander are used to support the idea of Tupac being a compassionate, talented artistic poet who was making music of real life situations and unfair conditions who was sending a powerful message with his music and ultimately his music and his life became dangerously connected which lead to his death. The night he was killed and the trouble surrounding the police investigation are discussed. The point of view from Frank Alexander give the film credibility because he created a bond with Tupac and was present the night Tupac was shot and killed.

The film's editing of visuals including footage of Tupac and still photographs helps make the film convincing. In sequence # 4 "All Eyes On Me" a heart warming story about Frank Alexander's niece Laveta is used to prove that Tupac cared about people and made time to help out. Laveta, who is in a wheelchair and was a part of the Make a Wish Foundation, was scheduled to meet Janet Jackson. Meeting Janet Jackson was canceled due to her schedule and Tupac arranged for Laveta to spend the day with him. Still photographs of Tupac with his arm around Laveta smiling and of Tupac kissing her on the cheek are shown while Frank is talking about how Tupac made time to see his niece. Footage of Laveta and her friends with Tupac in a recording studio telling jokes and laughing is shown. Interwoven with Frank's talking head describing Tupac's great gesture of

compassion is footage of Tupac recording music tracks and talking to Laveta, Laveta wearing headphones and rapping, and Tupac telling Laveta she could come any time she wants. The footage brings the viewers into Tupac's life and his studio recording sessions. It demonstrates the love he showed for Laveta and his sense of humor. The still photographs show his kindness and a friendly character.

More visual editing is demonstrated in sequence # 3 "Only God Can Judge Me". Still photographs and footage of Tupac being accused of rape and labeled a thug by the media are shown. This element of footage is important because it creates reality and credibility because Tupac's actual voice is heard and he defends himself from the accusations. Tupac explains how the prosecution's argument against him is not based on any evidence but rather on his physical appearance. He explains how he is depicted as a loud rapper and just because he has the words "thug life" tattooed on his stomach that makes him guilty. This is followed by a talking head of Dr. Michael Dyson who is the author of "Holler If You Hear Me: Why Tupac Matters". Dr. Dyson is heard saying that he interviewed a lot of women who knew Tupac and none believed that the sexual charges against Tupac were true. Dr. Dyson's words are inserted to supports Tupac's innocence. More footage of Tupac explaining how no evidence is present of semen or forced entry or fingerprints and how he is the victim. Footage of news programming is shown and a reporter's voice is heard saying that Tupac was attacked and shot five times by robbers at a recording studio. Followed is footage of Tupac in a wheel chair going to a court hearing the next day. This footage makes Tupac seem like the victim and all these bad things are happening to him but he still goes to court the next day to prove that he is innocent. In this sequence Tupac is shown and heard stating he is innocent and then shown the victim of a robbery attempt which put him in a wheelchair. These strong images support the argument that Tupac is falsely accused and is a victim while adding credibility with his voice.

The "voice of God" and talking heads give the text a voice of authority and give it a sense of truth and reality. Sequence # 3 uses "voice of God" to give authority and realism to footage of Tupac answering questions about the court case. The sequence opens with the "voice of God" explaining how Tupac maintained his innocence throughout the case followed by footage of Tupac defending himself in front of reporters. The "voice of God" is well used because it is telling the viewer what to think before any footage is even seen. At the end of the sequence the "voice of God" is heard saying that after being robbed and shot at, Tupac showed courage showing up to court bound to a wheelchair because he didn't want the court to think that being robbed and shot was a publicity stunt. The "voice of God" tells the viewers what to think once more and makes Tupac seem like a victim and full of courage to prove his innocence. This element of "voice of God" is powerful and convinces the viewer to support the argument before footage is shown and after it is over as well.

The in-depth analysis of sequence # 2, "Thug Life," exemplifies how the techniques of using an authoritative voice via a talking head interview connects with the editing of images to support a persuasive and credible argument of Tupac being a victim of his environment. The voices of others are woven into a textual logic that subsumes and orchestrates them (Nichols, 1992, 37). The sequence shows footage of Reverend Butts preaching against thugs in rap music, footage of Tupac saying to reporters that he is a thug because he came from the gutter and is still here and is a business man only, and Dr. Dyson used as a talking head interview to breakdown the acronym of THUG LIFE. This montage of images and words serve the purpose of convincing the viewer that Tupac is misunderstood by the public and media by claiming he is a thug, but not a thug in the criminal sense. Dr. Dyson is heard saying, "THUG LIFE- The Hate U Gave Little Infants Fucks Everyone... the difficulty of young black kids". This is followed by footage of Tupac holding a little boy on his lap explaining

THUG LIFE in the same way and adding, "What you feed us as seeds, grows and blows up in your face". This clarifies the meaning of THUG LIFE for the viewers and shows a political stand on the part of Tupac. Other talking heads of rap icons such as Russell Simons and Eazy-E are seen explaining that violence is not created by rap artists. Rap music is a way of telling and spreading a message of a reality that affects people on the street and inner cities. This places Tupac as an artist telling the truth of the reality of his people. Talking heads and footage support Tupac in being a thug because it stands for a social and political statement and not a criminal title.

The usage of talking heads in sequence # 2 is once again present with a Jesse Jackson interview. Jesse Jackson is used as a well-known political figure to clarify that he is not against rap or rappers but the reality of the unjust conditions that exist in black communities and ghettos. The "voice of God" is heard saying that Tupac showed a level of responsibility as a rap artist with songs such as, "Dear Mama" and "Brenda's Got a Baby" over a still photographs of Tupac holding a microphone. This authoritative voice and the images shown make the viewer believe that Tupac is responsible with his music and his message. Following these images a connection is made with Jesse Jackson as a talking head saying that the rap artist has a responsibility. This piece is well done and connects one image to the next with a continuous flow of supporting evidence to influence the viewer. Jesse is heard saying that there is an easy access to guns and footage of a gun is shown. This is influential editing and creates a montage of images over the message. Jesse supports rap because it brings attention to a reality of guns, unemployment, and drugs affecting children in pain. After these words are heard by Jesse a cut is made to footage of Tupac saying, "No matter what you think about me, I'm still your child. You can't just turn me off like that". This is followed by a still of Tupac and then the screen fades to black. Talking heads are used here along with an authoritative voice, stills of

Tupac, and footage of Tupac to convince the viewer that Tupac is a symbol of the children suffering in the U.S. Tupac is a responsible artist telling it like it really is.

The documentary exists to scrutinize the organization of human life and to promote individual, humane values (Rabiger, 1987, 4). A realistic look is accomplished in this documentary by the way video and audio are constructed. The combination of the "voice of God" with the stills and footage of Tupac along with supporting talking heads give, *Tupac Shakur: Before I Wake* a strong authoritative voice and belief that the film is telling the truth. This exemplifies what an expository documentary is all about and is believable. The viewer is told what to think by the "voice of God" at the beginning and ending of a sequence. The footage and images of a talking Tupac also create a reality of what Tupac stood for. The supporting talking heads added to the argument nicely. Given these film language techniques together they make the viewer believe everything that is seen and heard in a continuous montage.

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SANKOFA

BY CYNTHIA M. POLLEY

The film *Sankofa* (1993) challenges African Americans to realize the importance of their roots and to increase their understanding and appreciation of their ancestors who struggled against enslavement, oppression and racism. The story is set during the African Holocaust that removed millions of Africans from their homeland to provide forced labor in the Americas. Slavery stripped Africans of their culture, language, religion, and heritage and has had lasting effects on people of African descent. The director's purpose in making this film was to advocate a social change in African Americans which requires admitting, accepting and learning from the past in order to move forward in a positive direction.

The plot revolves around the experiences of a Black-American model, named Mona, who is sent on a spiritual journey into the past to experience the pain of slavery in order to gain an appreciation of her African heritage. The film begins in Ghana, at a castle located on sacred grounds, where Mona is on a seductive photo shoot with a White male photographer. Mona was oblivious to the fact that the castle was previously a warehouse for slaves awaiting passage to the western hemisphere; however, through drumming and chanting she becomes a slave and experiences the past. When Mona emerges in the western hemisphere she is Shola, a complacent house slave, who is reluctant to rebel for freedom even though the plantation owner repeatedly rapes her. Shango, a Jamaican slave, convinces Shola that violent action against the slaveholders is necessary to achieve their freedom. The antithesis of Shango is Joe, a mulatto, American-born, head slave, who accepts the ideals of his white captors and has no allegiance with the slaves or his African mother, Nunu. Joe finds comfort and guidance through Christianity and a priest named, Father

Rafael, who convinces Joe he is different from other slaves and that his mother is a heathen and a devil. The film ends after a slave rebellion during which Shola kills her rapist-owner and re-emerges, in Africa, as Mona who is now conscious of her African identity and heritage.

The film, *Sankofa* (1993), follows an African cinema model by focusing on people's circumstances during slavery rather than individual psychology often found in conventional cinema (Bambara, 136). The film focuses on the fact that slavery robbed a race of people and their ancestors of their identities and the communal struggles of Africans to gain their freedom and keep their dignity. As noted in "Third World Societies" colonizers used several tactics to rob the colonized of their identities including substituting native languages, religions, and history with those of the colonizer (Armes 11). However, as shown in *Sankofa* (1993), captured slaves were not passive about their condition and used several methods to keep their history and culture intact. Griots kept an oral record of events and through storytelling the news of births, deaths, and escapes were passed along to future generations. However, storytelling was just one form of nonconformance or resistance used by slaves. Another was flight.

The film seeks to correct the historical misrepresentations of how slaves achieved their freedom. The illusion that the Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves is taught to children at an early age; however, in *Sankofa* (1993), the director shows that slaves actively participated in gaining their own freedom through collectively organizing and rebelling for liberation and freedom. In the film, escaped slaves met with those still in captivity and plotted their escapes to the hills "one by

one." The director also shows that the illusion shown in some conventional films that some slaveholders were nice and treated their slaves respectfully was not true. Slaves did not come willingly from Africa to work in the Western Hemisphere nor were they allowed to leave at their own discretion. In addition, slaves were prohibited from freely practicing their religion, choosing a spouse, and deciding what to eat or wear. Some slaves rebelled against this treatment by feigning illness, fleeing, or deliberately sabotaging tools; and, in response the slaveholders used cruel and manipulative devices to force the slaves into compliance.

The director also shows that Christianity was one of the manipulative devices used by some plantation owners during slavery to control their slaves. Christianity was used as an instrument of oppression to convince slaves that African culture was evil and that slavery was God's will. In the film, Christianity was used to manipulate Joe to torture other slaves and to kill his mother. However, once Joe learned the truth about his birth which was the product of rape and that his faith was causing his evil behavior towards the other slaves he gained the strength to rebel against both the church and the priest. Christianity also played a role in Shola's socialization. She initially practices Christianity, but she realized that her faith wasn't protecting her from repeated rapes by her owner. And, it wasn't until she was beaten and threatened with death, by her owner and the priest, if she continued to associate with the "heathen" Africans, that she turned away from Christianity and was able to actively participate in a rebellion for freedom. The director shows through Joe and Shola that once the truth is realized a person is empowered to move forward.

The film follows a Third Cinema filmmaking pattern by emphasizing the class struggles that existed during this era. Justification of slavery was based purely on race (Appiah and Gates, 1733). Europeans noted differences between themselves and Black people during colonization and defined Africans as "black and savage" in relationship to themselves who were "white and civilized" (Miles, 39). Therefore, plantation owners felt vindicated in using a forced slave labor in the western hemisphere to support the plantation system. The director also shows that class struggles existed amongst the slaves. For instance, plantation owners often pitted the house slaves or head slaves against the field slaves by giving them so-called preferential treatment. Therefore, as shown in the film, the house slaves often weren't trusted with information regarding uprisings and rebellions against the slaveholders. And, by including this in the film, the director doesn't attempt to portray a fictitious image of slaves as a homogenous group of people with the same goals.

Gerima's intent with this film is to challenge and change the representation of slavery and Africans in cinema. As noted in "Colonialism, Racism, and Representation" the goal of Third Cinema directors is to correct the distortions of cinematic images, to tell history from an African perspective and to reclaim the past (Spence, 240). In an effort to tell the story from a Pan-African perspective the director rejects the traditional Hollywood star system and uses nonprofessional African and Caribbean actors whose interpretation of their condition appears more realistic and natural than if the same roles were played by professional actors such as Wesley Snipes and Whoopi Goldberg (Weaver, 89).

To show the diversity of enslaved people a mixture of dialects and subtitles are used in the film. The subtitled scenes add an emotional quality to the story because the viewer is able to understand the meaning of the words. For instance, during the scene where Nunu is singing an African lullaby to a baby, whose mother was beaten to death after attempting to escape, the subtitled words reveal the strong communal bonds and love that existed in slave communities. However, the film also shows that not all slaves had united goals.

Tragically, as the film points out, not all Africans were opposed to slave trade and some Africans directly assisted in the capture,

transport, and socialization of slaves. Conflicting interests of slaves on the plantation were expressed through the characters Joe and Shango. Joe's character represents acceptance of the system while his antithesis, Shango, represents rebellion. Physical traits such as Joe's light skin and green eyes were juxtaposed to Shango's dreadlocks, Jamaican accent, and freedom fighter colored clothing to make loyalties obvious. Gerima didn't attempt to deconstruct stereotypes that existed during slavery and he showed a connection between attitudes existing during slavery and the attitudes of some African American people today through the character Mona.

Mona is a modern day fashion model who was not in touch with her African heritage. Her lack of connection is verbally expressed when she shouts, "No wait, I am not an African" as she is stripped of her clothing, shackled and branded as a slave. With this statement the filmmaker is addressing the lack of recognition many African Americans have towards their African heritage and his aim is that, like Mona, these individuals will undergo an awakening. He also draws a parallel between the rapes Shola constantly faced during slavery with the exploitation of the modern day photo shoot to show that people are destined to repeat the past unless they recognize and understand it.

The sounds and symbols used in the film add to the interpretation of the plot. The director doesn't show the journey through the middle passage on the ship; however, metaphorically the journey is undertaken through whipping sounds during the film's transition from Ghana to the Western Hemisphere. In addition, props such as the carving of the Sankofa bird, given to Shola by Shango, conveys a message of looking to the past because the bird has the ability to look both forwards and backwards, which is the goal of the director for the film's viewers.

The filmmaker also follows the African filmmaking model by using music to reinforce cultural images. The film contains a mixture of gospel music and traditional drum music to connect American Blacks to their African past

(Weaver, 90). And, he also uses repeating series of barking dogs, which gives the impression that slaves are escaping and being chased in the distance.

A mixture of camera angles and lighting are used to evoke different feelings throughout the film. For instance, during the pivotal scenes the sky and background are almost completely dark which represents an end and a new beginning when the light returns. And, the day-to-day lives of the slaves are frequently shown from a bird's eye view with a buzzard actually looking down on the action. The buzzard in this film represents flight or fleeing or death if the slave is caught because the buzzard is a scavenger bird.

Slavery was a horrific institution and is a subject matter most people try to forget; therefore, it is rarely portrayed in conventional films. The goal of the director is for this film to cause African Americans to reflect on the strength and wisdom of their ancestors so they can move forward in an enlightened manner. This is expressed most vividly through the parallel characters of Mona/Shola who represents modern day slavery that is overcome through knowledge of the past. The film reminds us of the struggles and oppression an entire race of people worked to overcome, and challenges people to once again bond together to overcome the challenges faced in our communities. The purpose of this film is for people of African descent to realize we need to listen to the voices of our ancestors—listen to the drums—and only then can we move forward in a positive, united manner.

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THE SHADOW OF HATE:
A HISTORY OF INTOLERANCE IN AMERICA

BY AZADEH TAEFI

"The expository text addresses the viewer directly, with titles or voices that advance an argument about the historical world" (Nichols, 1992, 34). The film, *The Shadow of HATE: A History of Intolerance in America*, is a prime example of an expository documentary. It is created through the use of still photographs, live action historical footage and documented facts. The technical use of the "voice of God" narration allows the viewer to explore the roots of hatred in America, while viewing visual montages to support the argument of the filmmaker. The montages and narration, using documented historical facts, draw a very clear and believable picture of the injustices that have occurred in America's past, as well as the present.

"The expository mode...raises ethical issues of voice: of how the text speaks objectively or persuasively... Expository texts take shape around commentary directed toward the viewer; images serve as illustration or counterpoint" (Nichols, 1992, 34). The "'voice of God" narration in this film describes the inhumane acts that have been committed in America in the name of freedom. It parallels the freedom desired by some people, to the freedom deprived to) others. It shows the beginnings of America, with religious immigrants who sought freedom, and shows that once their freedom was achieved, they deemed themselves superior and took that same freedom and denied others more native to the land, their civil and human rights.

Historical facts that were introduced and provided by the "'voice of God" narration, were supported by the voices of the social "actors" in the documentary. They were voices from the past, voices of Chinese and Japanese immigrant who endured abuse from the white protestant community. The voices were from those remaining family members of those hurt by hatred in the past; people who still try to avoid it in the present. The massacres and events shown through photographs, footage and facts were complimented by the "testimonials" of the characters. Because the viewer is given actual historical images to view, the narration and character voices seal the argument and make the film highly believable, understandable and to some extent something that viewers of any descent can relate to. The conflicts raised are Native American murders, Chinese punishment, Japanese civil injustices and heritage claims by Hispanics and African Americans, and through the nature of the expository documentary the viewers directly get the facts.

The use of actual historical pictures and footage in the film expresses the opinions and argument of the director and makes the stories told believable. The grainy footage and black and white photos provide for an intimate setting, and one that is realistic and attainable for the viewer. Because we know that the images in the photos and the old films of historical events are real. the dialogue of the narrator and the characters gives us documented facts to support that claims. Since the picture drawn for us is so clear and believable, the viewer, on a conscious level or not, has motivation to act against the hatred that is in view and perhaps come up with a solution of the defined problems.

The first sequence establishes the beginnings of American culture through the use of dialogue and supporting pictures. It shows pictures of pilgrims moving with luggage and being persecuted. Then the narrator explains that they were not given religious freedom and had to settle in America to be free. Since the photos are old and dated, there is no actual

audio or action footage for many of the sequences in the film. However, the filmmaker inserted live sound affects that coincided with what was being told and what was being seen. If the viewer was shown the early settlers in their traditional clothes alongside a wagon, the sound effects of footsteps and the carriages could be heard underneath the narration. This technique made that film and photos come to life and it placed the viewer in the moment and made it extremely believable.

Once the settlers have been established as victims of religious persecution then the viewer is introduced to their darker side, the more prevailing side. We are shown pictures of them hanging African Americans and selling people as slaves. The very same freedom they sought after is being taken away from others. This allows the viewer to see the actions of hatred and violence, and make a decision, one most likely also made by the director, to judge that these actions are unfavorable and unjust and need to be diminished.

In sequence eight, the story turns from the poor and abused to the privileged. The viewer is introduced to a wealthy Jewish man who is accused of a horrendous crime. The initial photograph of him that we see, he appears to be smug and this, along with the assumptions of the people that is introduced by the narrator, creates a sense of anger with him for his alleged actions and crime. Through the use of hatred and hurtful comments of people made at the time, the viewer develops contempt for him and wants him to be punished. However, once this setup has been created through the "voice of God" narration, we are given narrated testimonial about his innocence. Through supporting arguments and factual proof we learn he is in fact innocent and a victim on his own for his established wealth and family heritage. This sympathy is heightened when a picture is shown of him hung due to the hatred and ignorance of other men. We learn once again what happens when people judge one another in pure ignorance and prejudice.

Certain sequences in the documentary show the viewer photographs, which were supported by narration and testimonials, and enhanced with sound effects. But as the documentary and sequences progress, the stories and timeline, periods of time when action footage is available and possible; the filmmaker uses the footage, while continuing to use photos and character testimonials.

For example, in sequence four we physically see the efforts of the Chinese immigrants and the products of their hard work. This image of appreciation is taken away from the viewer when we see they are killed in the snow banks. We feel sorrow and anger at the same time. We feel terrible for the injustices towards them and angry at the cause of their pain. The beauty of live action footage is that it creates a truth. It is in human nature to believe everything that is seen. We know that movies are fiction and yet when a character is shot or in danger we feel for them, we too sense the anxiety that they do and we are kept in suspense. So when we are presented with images and action footage from the past, actual documented footage, it heightens the emotions even more. Not only do we believe the validity of the story, but also we develop a stronger sense of sympathy and desire to right the wrong and avenge the victims of cruelty. Another image, shown alongside action footage of the Chinese making the railroad, is pictures of the elderly. A man and woman sit on a worn out brick step, in a busy alley, obviously poor and hungry, looking absolutely hopeless. It is true when they say a picture is worth a thousand words, because that picture alone sums up the injustices endured by the Chinese at a time when they helped create America. The images of the elderly and young children tug at the heart and allow the viewer to accept the behavior of the bad people as an act of injustice. Thus, not only do we believe the story, but we also feel outraged and want to act on it.

This film used exposition to set-up the stories. Through historical facts we were introduced to people. In each sequence the film's narrator would set up people to be good and victims. Then within that same sequence, once the viewer is aware of the circumstances

within the story, the image of the people would further turn into victims and good, or turn into the victimizer, as in sequence nine.

Sequence nine introduces the viewers to Henry Ford through the use of photographs. The narration is of high remarks about this innovative man. We hear of his great accomplishments as a businessman and his contribution to the employment of thousands. Then after this setup of a "great" man has been completed, it turns into cold hateful facts through the use of character voices. We hear testimonials that contradict the "factual" element of Ford being a good man, and it turns into a larger, more unknown fact, that he was a man of prejudice and one that ruined the lives of many in order to advance his own life and beliefs.

An in depth analysis of sequence five, "Japanese Immigrants," gives us the perfect example of an expository documentary through the use of still photographs, incorporated with live action footage and special sound effects, character testimonial voice over and "'voice of God" narration. The combination of these technical elements creates the whole story, completely believable. Emotions are raised and the viewer is convinced of the wrongs done to the Japanese immigrants, because not only do the narrator and characters tell us a story, but also we see what we are told and hear what was done as is it is being done.

The sequence starts with a slow zoom in on a picture of an elderly Japanese man holding his right hand to his heart in a park, proudly standing straight and displaying an American flag pin on his suit. The birds are chirping and the day is bright and the narrator compliments the Japanese by saying, "none were more proud of being American." A sense of patriotism goes through the viewer. We are shown their hard work as we see pictures of women working on farms, men loading fishing boats at the sea dock and girls selling fabrics in stores. A mother holds her baby close to her heart as she shops and holds an orange for the child to observe. The narrator, who tells us that the Japanese "transformed American agriculture" and were "successful in establishing their own businesses and farms," paints a beautiful picture of accomplishment and contribution. But then the sense of calm and happiness for the Japanese and their hard work is taken away when we are told they were "denied [their] rights as Americans."

The element that adds to the believability of the narration and the facts being told is the use of character testimonials. Though the film never shows us anyone of the characters, their voices are enough to grab the viewer's attention and allow us to consciously believe and accept their story. Because of the different, more "ethnic" voices heard, the viewer unquestioningly accepts what is being told as truth.

The first character testimonial is a Japanese man saying that their parents could not buy a home because they "couldn't become naturalized citizens by law." Even after hearing that they Japanese were denied the right to become citizens, the narrator tells us how eager they were to volunteer for the war efforts. This statement is further complimented by action footage of Japanese children holding the American flag and Japanese soldiers serving the United States Army. But "on December 71h, 1941, Japan's attack on the U.S. naval stations at Pearl Harbor" changed the lives of the Japanese people forever (Carnes, 92). Americans of Japanese-descent, "both alien and non-alien would be 'excluded' from the West Coast" (Carnes, 96). Immediately the effects of the war and the prejudice of man come in view as a man hammers a notice to detain Japanese people regardless of citizenship status. Justice and the element of "innocent until proven guilty" fly out the door because ignorance prevails. We seen that without cause, innocent people of all ages are arrest and fingerprinted. Businesses are sold and proud "Americans" hang hateful signs of "Japs Keep Moving... This is a White Man's Neighborhood" and "Japs keep out you rats." The color of skin and cultural heritage, once again in America, becomes the deciding factor of inhumane behavior and prejudicial injustice. The viewers are given the facts about the war and the actions of Japanese in Japan, but for us it has

no affect on the images we see. The viewer does not become outraged with Japanese people like the government did. In contrast, as we see small children sitting on suitcases in the street and on the sidewalk, we feel sympathy. When an American officer searches the bag of a Japanese man being taken on a train to their "concentration camps," we do not feel secure. The viewer does not see this action as a security for the nation, but rather a violation of all people in America. The reality of prejudice heightens and the fact that this could happen at any time to anyone becomes a harsh truth.

While the government felt that "the action taken with respect to Japanese in this country is justifiable on the grounds of military necessity," the narrator's comments of struggle for the elderly in the camps are heard much louder. A malnutrition man sitting on his bed is a slow lead into the picture of an elderly man hanging on a rope inside his room, having committed suicide. The filmmaker takes a very obvious "side" on the story and the elements of hatred in America, but the viewer does not sense that they have been cheated. We do not think that we are not being told everything, because we are told everything. The narrator tells the action of the government and the characters tell the story of the Japanese and the images create heightened suspense. We believe everything we see and are told because the arguments are supported by facts and visuals. As an American the viewer becomes disgusted with the actions taken and feels responsible for the human behavior observed. And in order to rid the country, and in essence the world, of this foul feeling, we must see what hatred does and remedy it with unity, trust and peace.

Methods and modes are tools, which help filmmaker's form, structure and shape thoughts. They are systems, which allow a director to take something that is a whole and examine its elements, and explore the different relationships it involves. Expository documentaries "propose a place-a vantage point from which different concerns, various features can become highlighted" (Nichols, 1976, 1). This type of documentary uses historical facts to create a story that needs to be told to the viewer. The compilation of documented historical facts, photographs, audio, live action footage, interviews, testimonials and sound effects, the filmmaker can structure their argument and point of view. The film *The Shadow of HATE: A History of Intolerance in America* is an ideal example of the expository documentary. It uses all of the above-mentioned elements to create a strong, well-supported argument against hatred, prejudice and violence in America. The techniques incorporated in the expository documentary are found in this film and it successfully creates believability and truth, and raises emotions to persuade action against hatred.

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REALISM, ANTI-REALISM, AND QUEER DOCUMENTATION IN *THE BRANDON TEENA STORY*

BY DEBORAH E. R. HANAN

The Brandon Teena Story is one of the more recent additions to the growing catalog of hybrid-style documentaries that emerged in the latter half of the 20th Century. Mixing key features associated with "expository," "observational," "interactive," "reflexive," and "performative" modes (Nichols, 1992, 38-68), filmmakers Susan Muska and Gréta Olafsdóttir have attempted to strike a balance between expectations of the genre to represent reality and a subject matter that challenges viewers to consider how reality is determined and constructed.

To that end, Muska and Olafsdóttir incorporate the expository techniques of testimonials, pseudo-monologue interviews, recurrent images, reenactments, unexpected juxtapositions, satire, suspension of temporal continuity between sequences, and mood-setting external music to direct the viewer towards a desired conclusion about an event that has already transpired. However, the filmmakers also veiled their authoring voices by incorporating observational techniques, such as fixed camera angles and filmed spontaneous action between the social actors and others not related to the production, to infer an almost "unfettered" ethnographic approach. By incorporating wild sound and "travelogue" images presented as real-time glimpses into the cultural milieu of small Nebraska towns, the film appears to be in a chronic vacillation between commentary and observation, as well as microscopic and macroscopic perspectives. However, with further examination into the other modes that inform this film, the filmmakers' continuous meta-commentary on the improbability of either objective reality or the possibility of its observation becomes quite evident.

Despite the reliance on expository and observational modes, these two styles are not the dominant way by which *The Brandon Teena Story* is organized. The various social characters the film features directly interact with the camera and the production crew more often than not. It is an interaction that, along with the subjects' restating of the filmmakers' questions, implicitly acknowledges Muska's and Olafsdóttir's authority. The lyrics in the external recorded music also provide constant editorial commentary; commentary which marks not only an interaction between the filmmakers and the text, to which the former is responding to the latter, but also between the filmmakers and the viewer.

Final considerations for including this film into the genre of documentary hybrids are the filmmakers' sometimes self-consciousness, sometimes playful use of the documentary format; use that is more in line with reflexive and performative modes (respectively). Although the reflexivity presented by Muska and Olafsdóttir is a more subtle commentary on documentary representation than pure reflexive films like Mitchell Block's *No Lies* (1972) offer, their argument is built on the proposition that reality is a construction and, therefore, could never be objectively "represented" in film. As a result, the reflexive elements of the film are presented mostly through inference and the explicit use of anti-realist signifiers that bracket the beginning and ending sequences in the film.

However, it is important to recognize that the strength of *The Brandon Teena Story* lies in its ability to transport the viewer into Brandon's world and the world of those who knew and loved him. This is done through various performative techniques meant to evoke in the viewer a willingness to collude

with a constructed reality to which most of the social actors had all agreed, but one which the majority of viewers had not initially brought to the film. Without this collusion, the social actors' testimonies and interviews (revealing their awareness of Brandon's "female" anatomic status despite their persistence to refer to him as "he") defy epistemological sense. This film asks viewers to consider subjectivity's involvement in defining gender's parameters, as we witness others' attempts to impose an identity on Brandon when traditional physical signifiers (such as genitalia, body structure, and skin quality) collide head on with cultural signifiers (such as attitude, behavior, and expectations). With few exceptions, the social actors in the film chose to ignore the anatomical set of signifiers (that which is most traditionally associated with defining gender identity) and fully embrace the notion of gender as a performative act.

What makes this collision even more poignant is that these social actors are not presented as feminist intellectuals or queer theorists. They are presented as largely uneducated, poor and working class people who are angered not by Brandon's selecting to identify with the opposing binary of a male gender, but his refusal to completely do so. They are visibly disturbed by what Brandon represents – a 3rd sex – someone that has forced them to question their own gender as possibly neither male nor female, neither gay nor straight. This is pretty heady stuff for most people to consider, let alone for an average viewer watching an 88-minute documentary.

To get viewers to consider gender as a performed construction, Muska and Olafsdóttir use the techniques of hyper-colorized images, surreal montages, as well as unrelated graphic and non-synchronous sounds. These performative devices help the filmmakers "suspen[d] realist representation" (Nichols, 1994: 96) and "make the proposition that it is possible to know difference differently" (Nichols, 97). Without these performative interventions it is unlikely that Muska and Olafsdóttir could aptly approach the topic of transgenderism or 3rd sex identities cogently or

make the murderous hatred that permeated the Nebraska landscape so palpable for mainstream audiences around the world.

The Brandon Teena Story

The Brandon Teena Story is based on the true life and 1993 murder of an XX-born female (Teena Brandon, a.k.a. Brandon Teena) who spent the majority of her young adulthood re-presenting herself to others as a "naturally born" male and, occasionally, an F-M transsexual. The story's main focus is on Brandon's life after his psychosocial conversion from female to male and offers exhaustive accounts of the effectiveness of his male construction when encountered by numerous lovers and friends. It also presents Brandon's deceptive and criminal past as it traces his drifting from the small town of Lincoln, Nebraska to the smaller Nebraska town of Falls City, aided by the illusory skills of check kiting and forgery. The post-mortem revelations offered by those that knew or encountered Brandon are interspersed with images of the social and cultural milieu of the three small Nebraska towns where Brandon lived, loved, and died. It is a documentary peppered with surreal accounts detailing both the moments that led up to the triple murder (Brandon was killed alongside friend Lisa Lambert and Lambert's boyfriend Phillip Devine) and the collective consciousness of lovers and friends who claimed they thought Brandon was anatomically male.

What is most telling about Muska's and Olafsdóttir's filmed examination of Brandon's life story is that all the social actors offer the same explanation for what motivated these murders. It is an explanation that had nothing to do with his deceptive criminal history, portrayed as commonplace for many Falls City youth, and everything to do with his deceptive social history. Brandon's true crime was to "betray" the town's understanding of what constitutes a heterosexual man and, as the film reveals, throw into question their own gender identities as heterosexual females and males. The filmmakers' exploration into the rape of

Brandon Teena committed by ~~his~~ murderers one week prior to the homicides is included to satisfy this argument.

Several lovers and even one of the rapists are clearly concerned by the implications of their sexual relations with Brandon, in that their own identities have suddenly been challenged. For example, Tom Nissen, one of the men that brutalized and raped Brandon, is horrified by the notion that after the rape townspeople began to refer to him as a "faggot" despite the revelation that Brandon was anatomically female. Similarly, a couple of female lovers expressed anger that they may have been duped into being lesbians, including a former fiancé that persisted on using the male pronouns of "he" and "him" when she described Brandon's lesbian trickery.

Only ~~his~~ friend JoAnn and ~~his~~ last girlfriend, Lana Tisdel, appear unmoved by Brandon's unveiling and gender discontinuity, and it is Lana's interviews that are the most provocative ones the film offers. Throughout the film she implicitly and explicitly states that her relationship with Brandon was not contingent on ~~him~~ possessing a sexual identity based on the binary categorizations of "male," "female," "heterosexual," or "homosexual." However, Lana is also curiously understanding of others' insistence that Brandon violated this norm and was, therefore, culpable in ~~his~~ own death.

Interviews of townspeople, ex-lovers, and friends, as well as the recorded, perversely cruel interrogation of Brandon by the town's sheriff reveal that the rape was met with cold indifference towards the victim and tempered compassion for the rapists, Tom Nissen and John Lotter. This indifference offers an explanation for the Sheriff's failure to act and arrest the suspects in a timely manner, resulting in the murders of Brandon, Lambert, and Devine at the Humboldt farmhouse. The final third of the film concentrates on the semi-concurrent rape and murder trials of Nissen and Lotter, Nissen's plea bargain, a transgender and transsexual protest outside the courthouse, family and friends of the victims and the

murderers, and Lotter's sentencing in which he receives the death penalty.

This 1999 film offers a glimpse into the rarely discussed areas of transgenderism and 3rd sex identities, but also is an exposé of intolerance, hate and "otherness" in America's heartland.

Re-presenting the "Reality" of Gender as Performative in *The Brandon Teena Story*

"[L]inking visual documentation with rhetorical fallacies, appearance with deception, visibility with demonstrations of what we do not or cannot know about the subjects depicted… register[s] a profound and crucial lesson about queer identity and documentary. The only truths that can be told about identity and truth are limited, and the truest statements, the most veracious documentation, can only document those limitations. Working with/in all these nots, all these impossibilities, these filmmakers gesture at what has been left out, not recounted, not seen, a very elusive and queer subject" (McHugh, 1997, 240).

Arguably, re-presenting the depth and breadth of gender identity has become inextricably linked to queer cinema and feminist critiques of patriarchal and epistemological knowledge. However, these post-modern approaches have still not fully satisfied the conundrum of how to present gender variant identities to Western audiences in a text that does not ultimately collapse them into a category based on some kind of binary aberration. It appears that this is precisely what the filmmakers' hybrid-documentary approach sets out to address.

The expository features in *The Brandon Teena Story* are most apparent in the non-

contiguous temporal-spatial editing of interviews, titling techniques and reenactments used to construct the film. In addition, the filmmakers consistently introduced non-synchronous music into the soundtrack to invoke a musical "delegate" for the expository "voice of God" narration that is usually present in this style. Despite the dominant role that interviews (most commonly associated with interactive filmmaking) play in this film, their interplay with these other elements is consistent with the instructional and informational motivations that characteristically inform the expository mode. Describing the motivations that generally underwrite this mode, Bill Nichols, in Representing Reality: Issues and Concerns in Documentary, states, "Exposition can accommodate elements of interviews but these tend to be subordinated to an argument offered by the film itself.... recurrent images or phrases function as classic refrains, underscoring thematic points or their emotional undercurrents...." (Nichols, 1992, 37).

In *The Brandon Teena Story,* Muska and Olafsdóttir use expository techniques in the service of reinforcing their cause and effect arguments repeatedly suggested throughout the film. This is evident in Sequence #4, "Moving On: Falls City, Nebraska," which visually opens with a map that traces Brandon's move from Lincoln to Falls City and is accompanied by the song "I Might Just Be." As the song plays through, the viewers are treated to a visual montage of Nebraska's pastoral and small town landscapes. The placid and subtle nature of the visuals allows the viewer to focus on the song's lyric that predominates in these scenes. When the song's lyrics conclude, "I just might be the best damn thing that you ever threw away," the montage of Falls City continues and an unidentified woman's voice begins to describe the homophobia of Falls City: "Falls City is a White community. Ah -- we may have had one or two families in here that were Black, but as far as a -- having gay people come in -- you know, Falls City would, I'm sure, escort 'em out of town.'" The small town footage continues but is then overlaid or interspersed with audio of the informants'

interviews, which all speak to the poverty and violent crime that permeates Falls City. As Nichols reminds us, this particular style of editing helps "establish and maintain rhetorical continuity more than spatial or temporal continuity. [C]uts that produce unexpected juxtapositions generally serve to establish fresh insights or new metaphors that the filmmaker wishes to propose. They may, as an aggregate, introduce a level of counterpoint, irony, satire, or surrealism to the text..." (Nichols, 1992, 35). Satirical and surrealist moments are abundant in *The Brandon Teena Story* and are critical to making the filmmakers' anti-realist arguments.

Music continues to narrate the scenes found in Sequence #4, as a pathetic sounding, low-energy and low-fidelity version of the song "Honky Tonk Angels" overlays grainy black and white footage of a young, cross-dressed F-M putting out a cigarette in front of a mirror. Later on in the sequence, similar footage of this same actor appears as a visual accompaniment to the Sheriff's interview that discusses Brandon's beguiling nature. These scenes are the filmmakers' attempt to "reenact" some of the emotional "reality" of Brandon Teena, although the reenactments are less overt as to their purpose than those typically constructed for traditional expository documentaries. A more direct example of expository reenactment occurs in Sequence #8 when Anne Lambert, mother of murder victim Lisa Lambert, gives oral testimony of the day she discovered the three victims at the Humboldt farmhouse. This testimony is accompanied by footage taken from inside a car as it moves along a desolate country road to her daughter's farmhouse where she found the victims murdered.

Another expository device used by Muska and Olafsdóttir is the appearance of a title assignation underneath the name of each interviewee when they appear. This traditional element is often introduced in expository documentaries to lend credibility to the informants and to impress upon the viewer the authority that these informants bring to the topic. In Sequences #4 and #8, all interviewees are accorded this authority. For example, in

Sequence #4, Lana appears with the titling "Lana Tisdel" and underneath the phrase "Dated Brandon." Similarly, murderer John Lotter's sister appears with the titling "Michelle Lotter" accompanied by the phrase "Brandon's Friend." This particular titling is meant to direct the viewer's attention to Michelle's knowledge of Brandon's relationship with Lana, and redirect their attention away from the deeds of her brother, John Lotter, that will be introduced to the viewer later on in the film. This is precisely why Michelle's appearance in Sequence #8 is accompanied by a new title assignation of "John's Sister." This name/assignation titling occurs for every one of the social actors presented almost every time they appear, with the curious exception of Brandon's rapist and murder, Tom Nissen. Sequence #4 concludes with an instrumental version of "Love Me Tender" as backdrop to two still photos, one of which appears with a chronological title that serves to substantiate Brandon and Lana's relationship and establish the time period that they were dating each other. Similarly, Sequence #8 opens with informational titling over the reenactment of discovering the victims in order to ascribe to the transpired events some sort of chronological meaning as well as help identify the voice of Lisa Lambert's mother, Anna Mae Lambert. In addition, to help satisfy viewers' referential expectations of the documentary genre of filmmaking, Sequence #8 features numerous historic news reports and recorded court testimony. These are similar to the photo stills included throughout the film that act to assure audiences of the veracity of this place, its people, and the events depicted. In addition, the expository techniques of informational titling and use of historic footage and stills all help to create for the viewer a sense of "pastness" that is characteristic in "classic" documentary filmmaking.

To aide in creating this ambiance of verisimilitude, Muska and Olafsdóttir also incorporate observational techniques that lend to the film a sense of transparency to the filmmakers' presence and, for the viewers, a perception that they are witnessing events as they occur. This contradicts much of what directs a purely expository documentary. The observational approach is also somewhat controversial in queer and feminist cinema circles when it is used to "examine" the lives of people who are deemed unfamiliar to mainstream audiences. Many times these subjects are objectified through the lens of the camera so as to reinforce their "otherness." For many, ethnography is considered to be a covert strategy of colonialism and hidden hegemony hiding behind the "objective" gaze of what Nichols has called the "ideal observer" (Nichols, 43). Trinh T. Minh-ha argues that the anthropological motives informing all ethnographies produce "nothing other than the reconstruction and redistribution of a pretended order of things, the interpretation or even transformation of [information] given and frozen into monuments" (Renov, 1999, 140). This is precisely what Muska and Olafsdóttir set out to do with Falls City inhabitants in the more voyeuristic scenes found in Sequence #4 and, to a lesser extent, in Sequence #11.

In Sequence #4, the film shows Falls City citizens enjoying what is a presumed typical pastime: Car Crash Derbies. This semi-ethnographic scene shows young White men and boys idling around a dirt lot as run-down pickups and station wagons slam into each other. Their gazes are vacant or angry, unaware of the filmmakers' presence at first. At one point, it becomes obvious that one man has caught on to the filming. It is at this moment that the voyeuristic quality of the scene ends and the filmmakers switch out of observational and back into the predominant interactive mode. Similarly, in Sequence #11, the camera captures JoAnn Brandon's emotional interview with news reporters at the sentencing of John Lotter. Because the news reporters are engaged in an interactive interview with her, she is seemingly unaware of Muska's and Olafsdóttir's presence. This observational moment is also broken when JoAnn realizes that she is being filmed by two sources and shifts her physical positioning towards the documentary camera and begins to interact through her direct gaze with the film's crew.

There is little doubt that the dominant mode that structures this hybrid documentary is interactive. The countless interviews offered in *The Brandon Teena Story* are used to "contribute to an interactive mode of representation, they generally serve as evidence for an argument presented as the product of the interaction of filmmaker and subject" (Nichols, 48). Sometimes the interactions between the film crew and the interviewees are implied, as seen in Sequence # 9 when Linda Gutierres (Lana's mother) begins her interview by stating, "Ah, Tom was quiet and uh – and – uh – I never seen Tom rowdy or anything. Tom seemed like a – a nice kid." Implied in this opening is that the filmmakers have prompted her to talk about her impressions of one of the murderers, Tom Nissen. Viewers also experience the implicated presence of the filmmakers in Sequence #10 when transgender Kate Bornstein, outside the courthouse at Nissen's and Lotter's trial, speaks directly to the camera about the violence that is often inflicted on "anyone that fucks with gender." Bornstein's response and direct address to the camera makes it clear that she is responding to a query of the filmmakers' regarding the environment of hate that gender variant people often face. Later, in sequence #10, when John Lotter's mother states, "I just – uh – you know, I told him that if he had done anything that he could tell me the truth," her response implies a prompting by the filmmakers to discuss what she told John when he was first arrested.

There are also a handful of times when the filmmakers select to make their presence more directly known to the viewer. For example, in Sequence #9 after Nissen states, "Well, I believe had I not met Brandon or Lotter, I wouldn't have been in no mess at all," one of the filmmakers off-camera asks, "and had you met Brandon and not Lotter?" Nissen's response is silence and marked discomfort. This is the same person we hear in Sequence #10 clearing their throat and chuckling in the background as Lotter nervously laughs stating that he knows the difference between speaking a death threat and acting on one (Lotter has maintained he is innocent of two of the murders).

However, the discussion of the hybrid status of this film is incomplete without addressing the performative and self-reflexive elements it presents to help make the complex argument that non-binary gender identities are part of the "reality" that the filmmakers are simultaneously attempting to deconstruct. The film begins as it ends, self-consciously aware of its abilities to tell Brandon's story, while simultaneously desirous of doing so. We see this dilemma translated graphically in the opening of the film (Sequence #1) when the distributor's logo, "*Docurama*: Everything Else is Pure Fiction," is soon followed by the filmmakers' production graphic that parodies MGM's world-famous roaring lion logo. This logo, *sans* lion and with mooing cow, acknowledges the fictional qualities upon which all cinematic endeavors (documentary or otherwise) are built. It prods and pokes at the realist assertion the film's documentary distributor makes, "everything else is pure fiction," and instead embraces the anti-realism edict that Alexandra Juhasz acknowledged as necessary for rhetorical filmmaking. In her essay, "They Said We Were Trying To Show Reality – All I want to Show Is My Video: The Politics of the Realist Feminist Documentary," Juhasz asserts that "[r]ealism as a style is unable to change consciousness because it does not depart from the forms that embody the old consciousness" (Juhasz, 1999, 191).

Although there are only two purely reflexive moments in *The Brandon Teena Story*, they are given primary positions, bracketing both the beginning and ending of the film. Claire Johnston, in her work "Women's Cinema as Counter Cinema," argues for the revolutionary potential that such moments of reflexivity can contribute to a film. Johnston remarks, "Any revolutionary strategy must challenge the depiction of reality... the language of the cinema/the depiction of reality must also be interrogated, so that a break between ideology and text is effected" (Johnston as quoted in Juhasz, 190). Therefore, when Muska and Olafsdóttir gradually turn the

camera –90° during the ending credits (Sequence #12) it seems unlikely that this is merely a quirky or thoughtless inclusion meant to elicit a laugh and then be forgotten. These two reflexive and bracketing signifiers speak to the viewers' expectations of realism and address it with the elusive response that re-presenting reality is a very problematic proposition.

However, Muska and Olafsdóttir have not challenged the notion of "reality" in its entirety, only it's objectivity. This film empowers emotional subjectivity with the authority usually accorded objectivity by excavating the sensibilities of the film's social characters as well as 3rd sex people who are trying to negotiate their identities in American culture. By incorporating performative devices such as hyper-colorization of images, unrelated graphics and footage, and wild sound, the filmmakers are able to evoke in some viewers the sense of violence, despair, and confusion that permeates the Mid West, as well as the intriguing nature and other-worldliness of Brandon's personal identity. For example, in Sequence #10 ("Lotter: The Fall(s) Guy") the beautiful, hyper-colorized Nebraska landscape, complete with cobalt blue-tipped golden hay stacks, serves as backdrop for the court testimony of Tom Nissen's matter-of-fact description of stabbing Brandon after he shot him because Brandon "was still twitchin'." The juxtaposition of this image to the audio creates a filmic correlation between Nissen's remarks and the landscape, between Brandon's death and animal slaughter, and, therefore, the "ordinary" quality of the murderer's actions and the surreal disregard for life that pervaded throughout the world in which Brandon moved. It is the filmmakers' desire to get viewers to experience this scene emotionally as the devices used evoke a repulsion and disengagement from the murderer's world, while eliciting sympathy with the fear that informed Brandon's decisions not to disclose his identity. Here the audience is encouraged to emotionally align with the "other" and dispense with the "normality" that Nissen represents.

A subplot that recurs throughout *The Brandon Teena Story* is the examination of why Lotter was held solely responsible for the killings. Through the use of the performative devices of more hyper-colorized images of the Nebraska landscape and collaged stills of John Lotter as a boy and young adult, filmmakers attempt to evoke the alienaton that followed Lotter throughout his own life. Lotter is also described by those who knew him as an outsider, an "other" deemed non-person in part because of his foster child background and, like Brandon, expendable because of it. On the other hand, Tom Nissen was described as an insider, a family man, and a "nice kid." Sequence #10 juxtaposes the Nebraska landscape and Lotter's childhood images against the audio of the prosecutor's arguments that describe Lotter as "evil, pure evil." The photos contradict that assessment and evoke some empathy with Lotter who was, according to Brandon's account, far less vicious than Nissen during the rape and who, according to his own account, was responsible for killing only one of the three victims – and that was at Nissen's instructions.

Muska and Olafsdóttir also incorporate the performative techniques of non-related graphic imagery and wild sound to visibly stage Brandon's memories of his journey from the embraces of young love to the loneliness of the grave. To that end, in Sequence #2 ("Setting the Stage") the filmmakers present a mole's eye view of a lonely blacktop (shot from a handheld camera in a moving car at night) accompanied by synchronous wild sounds from the road. This scene is recurrent throughout the film and, as such, serves as an emotional place to which the viewer will be asked to continually return when they consider the places and events that are revealed in *The Brandon Teena Story*. This scene places the viewer inside the heart of Brandon, whose drifting always held out for the hope the red flashing neon highway sign ("Nebraska... the good life") promised but never delivered. The three gunshots that transform the motto's medium to a regular green highway sign signal

the end of the performative devices used in this sequence.

The inclusion of this scene and several others in the film indicates the filmmakers' willingness to "not hide its signifieds" (Nichols, 1994, 97) and incorporate performative techniques. The mole's eye view from the wheel of the car eventually moves to the car's interior, positioning the viewer as subject and putting them in contact with details that set the stage for the historic events that soon unfold. In "Performing Documentary," Bill Nichols writes that the performative mode "seeks to evoke not the quality of a people's worldview but the specific qualities that surround a particular people, discrete events, social subjectivities, and historically situated encounters" (Nichols, 101). So, when the viewer cinematically experiences this lonely stretch of road, the filmmakers are attempting to evoke both the promise and the absurdity of Brandon's hope for "the good life" in this vast and darkened wasteland.

Putting It All Together:
A Detailed Analysis of Sequences #1 and #2

With the dozens of interviews that proliferate throughout the film, their can be little doubt that *The Brandon Teena Story* relies primarily on interactive techniques to organize the twelve sequences that this research identified. However, without the inclusion of expository, observational, reflexive, and performative techniques, it is unlikely that this film would have been able to carry the filmmakers' arguments based on the content of these interviews alone.

With the minor exception of transgender Kate Bornstein and Lana Tisdel, 3rd sex identities are not gender categories that the majority of interviewees directly acknowledge or hold any empathy towards. In addition, it is doubtful that the interviewees intended their words to be used as a critique of their collective conscience, xenophobic worldview, murderous guilt, or heterosexist opinions. Yet, through the hybrid documentary format, the filmmakers were able to critically assess the world

presented in which the social actors' lived, and the way they willingly or unwillingly incorporated a 3rd sex person into their lives. To illustrate how the filmmakers imposed this critique on the information presented, I have selected Sequences #1 and #2 because these sequences set the tone for the film and exhibit the seamless blending of all five modes of interactive, expository, observational, reflexive, and performative documentary technique.

Sequence #1 begins with the distributor's logo prominently filling the screen: "*Docurama*: Everything Else Is Pure Fiction." *Docurama* is a subsidiary of *New Video*, whose logo follows *Docurama's* in the sequence. *New Video* is a widely recognized entertainment company that distributes both fiction and non-fiction films worldwide. The third logo that appears is *Bless Bless Productions*, the film's production company. In purely reflexive fashion, and as if to dispute its own distributor's claim of authenticity, the logo lampoons the world-famous MGM roaring lion logo, replacing the lion with a mooing cow. This graphic takes a textual swipe at both the media giant and documentary proponents who don't recognize the construction of reality offered in many "authentic" or "classic" documentary films.

Sequence #2 opens in the performative mode by taking the viewer on a desolate highway at night. The sound of the wheels on the road and the occasional whipping of wind in the camera mic make this Nebraska road trip an uneasy and unnerving experience. A car honks and passes as its horn finally decays in the distance. The car pulls onto the graveled shoulder and the camera focuses on the blinking red neon sign that announces "Nebraska... the good life." The irony is impossible for viewers to escape since this empty and desolate road hardly feels safe or good for the car's occupants (read viewers). The car's headlights and the lights from the camera focus on the words and reveal the plainness of the sign that now appears to be merely a green highway sign. The highway's wild sounds are interrupted by a second audio track of three gunshots, timed several seconds

apart. Each shot is referential to an event that has already occurred. With these shots, the viewer is transported from the presentness and immediacy of feeling into the historical past and facts of Brandon's demise.

At this point in the sequence, the film shifts to a purely referential position by incorporating the expository technique of using a historical document (a local newscast) to set the stage for the filmmakers' argument. Through the voice of the newscaster, the film's viewers are given details regarding the events of Brandon Teena's murder, the names and photos of the other two victims, discovery of the bodies, Brandon's gender discontinuity, and the implication that this discontinuity may have been a motive for the killings. The film momentarily reverts to the performative highway scene upon which it opened, as if to remind viewers to stay with the original feeling that this stretch of road evokes. It dissolves into B & W footage of a blurred figure, meant to resemble Brandon (although, in actuality, it does not), smiling and moving towards the camera. This reenactment satisfies performative motivations as its inclusion is meant to evoke .in viewers a sense of Brandon's spirit. Once again, the road reappears and then dissolves into an actual still photo of Brandon, dressed as a gangster and holding a machine gun. Although this element could be evaluated as an expository moment, the use of this historical document in this scene serves both expository and performative motivations. On the one hand, in an expository application, this imagery relays information to the viewer about the film's subject and gives viewers a visual reference for all subsequent information. But, it is also possible to argue that the filmmakers are incorporating a performative moment by trying to evoke a sense of Brandon's interior/exterior conflict, an evocation supported by the opening song "It's A Heartache." This expository/performative composition happens throughout the film, similar to the way expository moments in the film *Sari Red* (Parmar, 1988) are used to create a purely performative documentary.

Examples of expository/performative composition are quite common in this work, as pre-recorded soundtrack material is a common narrative and evocative device used throughout *The Brandon Teena Story*. The lyrics of these songs fulfill the traditional "voice of God" narration that generally accompanies an expository documentary. Almost every song selected has greater associations within the larger culture and acts to contextualize and give meaning to the interviews and footage that proceed, follow, or accompany them. For example, in Sequence #2, Bonnie Tyler's 1976 country hit "It's A Heartache" is meant to inform the audience that Brandon's life was not some exotic anomaly of bizarre sexual practices in a remote part of the world, but a classic American tragedy of love, deception, and disappointment. The sadness and remorse that the songs' lyrics are meant to evoke, "It's a heartache, nothing but a heartache, hits you when it's too late, hits you when you're down. It's a fool's game, nothing but a fool's game, standing in the cold rain, feeling like a clown. It's a heartache," are underscored by performative uses of observational moments, such as kids on bikes, pastoral scenes of the surrounding landscape, and trains. Although these scenes inform viewers of the culture and texture of the Nebraska environs, they also evoke a nostalgia and sadness for the days when America's heartland held so much promise for the "good life" and the tragedy, for many, when that dream is never realized.

Conclusion

The Brandon Teena Story was a valiant attempt to recreate for audiences the experiences of 3rd sex persons who have not chosen America's more anonymous urban centers to live and love, but, instead try to render intelligible their identities in the provincial hamlets of the Mid West. In "Drag's Subversive Potential: Performativity and the Possibility of Resistance," Stephen Thierman laments, "We are not radically free to construct our identities as we see fit because we are compelled into a particular performance at the

moment of birth" (Thierman, 2002). However, by using the variety of techniques discussed in this research, filmmakers Muska and Olafsdóttir present viewers one individual that inhabited a female body and did manage to radically challenge and re-construct its importance on ~~his~~ identity. To that end, this documentary hybrid predominates with the bias and subjective stance found in the interactive documentary, but still fulfills viewer's expectations as to the historic importance of the event by incorporating numerous expository techniques.

Both the expository and interactive moments in this film are trespassed by observational, reflexive, and, primarily, performative devices, that make concrete the identity of those persons for which our language has no name. The interactive moments of the film make it possible to expose the flaws inherent in binary identifications of gender as its social actors aren't able to maintain consistency in their articulations about Brandon's identity within the boundaries of a bifurcated system. The performative devices throughout the film carry the event to a new level of historical understanding for the viewer. Nichols maintains that this performative approach "is less directed at proving what 'really happened' than in reframing what has been remembered, contextualizing it within a situated response of memory and collective affirmation" (Nichols, 99). It validates the subjectivity of emotions as something that can be and should be an examined part of "authentic" inquiry.

Finally, by traversing the boundaries of all five modes of documentary presentation, the filmmakers metaphorically present in this work what their subject presented in life: a defiance of inadequate categorization. Sadly, Brandon never received the same appreciation for ~~his~~ defiance that this film has enjoyed, but this documentary makes visible the presence of all the Brandon Teena's that walk among us.

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WOMAN'S REVOLUTIONARY IMAGE
IN THE WEIMAR CINEMA

BY CLARA JIMENEZ

Female images have always been put on display, their representations used for various purposes. The main ideas behind those representations have generally been to commodify, control, and punish women's femininity and sexuality. The female image has been used and continues to be used as a hegemonic device to secure the male-dominated world. However, this device becomes problematized when the female image is used to revolutionize the place of women in their ongoing struggle to gain more equal power relations within the dominant patriarchal society. By "revolutionary" is meant here that while the female image may still be used hegemonically to naturalize woman's subservient position in society, these images also show that females have always had the ability to declare themselves apart from the males of society and to gain an equal power relationship with them.

The image of the strong woman has been acknowledged in feminist theory. The second wave of the feminist movement studied such "women of strength," specifically women who have frequently projected oppositional images in the entertainment media, such as Barbra Streisand, Jodie Foster, Meryl Streep, Glen Close, Susan Sarandon, and especially Madonna, as well as earlier film stars such as Marlene Dietrich and Ida Lupino. This paper revisits the era of Weimar cinema (1920-1933), that which spawned Dietrich's persona, to look more closely at images of women and to seek, more specifically, representations of the "revolutionary woman" in them. Utilizing psychoanalytical-feminist theory (with a "military' twist), and focusing on G. W. Pabst's 1929 Weimar film *Pandora's Box,* this paper hopes to elucidate the potentially oppositional and disruptive nature of the female image in 20th-century Western culture.

Part of the New Objectivity period, in Weimar film (circa 1925-1930), *Pandora's Box* fits into the genre of the Kammerspielfilm (chamber-drama film). The female lead of Pandora's *Box* is played by the American actor Louise Brooks. Her character, Lulu, is a young beautiful, vivacious brunette who is a "working girl"—in other words, a high-class call girl. In the opening scene, the first shot of Lulu is a slight tilt down. The audience perspective is one of being above Lulu. Her place in society is of a lower status. However, she is happy in her world with Schigolch (played by Franz Lederer), her surrogate father, protector, and quasi pimp. She dances for him like a puppet when he plays the harmonica, almost in a clownish manner; ironically, she is dancing in front of a large painting of a clown, with a face that is similar to, if not in fact is, her own. Schigolch tells her: "You must be displayed to the public eye: I've brought along just the right man to do it!" Thus already early in the film is one of the first male attempts to commodify Lulu, her image, and her person to be put on display for a price. Before Schigolch can bring in Rodrigo Quast (Carl Raschig), his new business partner, Lulu's lover, Dr. Ludwig Shoen (Fritz Kortner), walks in, while Schigolch hides from him.

The doctor is obviously upset and distracted; he must break off his arrangement with Lulu, he tells her, because he is engaged to be married. Rather than being devastated by this news Lulu laughs as she asks him, "And because you are going to be married you won't kiss me?" She behaves nonchalantly when he tells her that his reputation and career are being damaged by their involvement. In a two-shot with the doctor, Lulu brazenly displays her

femininity and sexuality, manipulating the doctor's emotions and passions. She hides any hurt she may feel, due to what his statement implies about their relationship and, more specifically, about her. Joan Riviere, in her essay, "Womanliness as a Masquerade," (written, ironically, in 1929, the same year as the release of *Pandora's Box*), theorized "femininity as a performance of sexual difference by women who wish for masculinity" and who then "put on a mask of womanliness or femininity as a defense to avert the anxiety and retribution feared by men" (Petro, 113). While I agree that Lulu is certainly putting on a mask, I believe that there is more than mere defense at work here. Like a good military strategist, Lulu does not show the enemy any of her weaknesses. Throughout history, the mask has been used by many cultures during times of war. In many European societies, knights have used helmets with visors to protect themselves. Lulu's mask is not only her means of protecting herself but of "going to war," both with Dr. Shoen, and the patriarchal society he represents. Her mask of womanliness is not so much her defense, then, as her "full arsenal." To better understand the full implication of this, we must look at Patrice Petro's elaboration on Riviere's essay:

> ["Womanliness as Masquerade"] in fact marks a moment in German history when the decade-long experimentation with gender roles—which involved women's appropriations of masculine styles, gestures, and prerogatives—was in the process of being reversed and superceded in a performance of womanliness in all aspects of cultural life. (113)

This observation gives weight to my notion that the images of women, and women themselves, were not only coming into their own, but had also attained a degree of power that the patriarchal order found threatening. The "New Woman's" strength and power lay

both in the more overtly assertive and seemingly more conciliatory images that she was participating in producing and which, in turn, were transforming her own self-image.

In a similar turn of events in the film, the "working girl" Lulu does marry the respectable Dr. Shoen (the name itself translates as "nice"); however, the wedding bliss is over almost before it began. Entering the bridal chamber, the doctor finds Schigolch and Rodrigo, who had only been there to place roses on the bridal bed. The analogy of the flowers to the two men is that roses (love) come with thorns. When he sees the two men, the doctor realizes that he has let into his home not only a wife who is beneath his social class, but now he also has to deal with Lulu's lowlife friends as well. Distraught at the men's breech and flouting of social etiquette, he chases them out of the room.

The theme of crass bohemian behavior disrupting the decorum of the upper classes had already been evident in the earlier wedding party scene, when Lulu's friends invaded Dr. Schoen and his circle's bourgeois space. However, in the subsequent the mise-en-scene goes further, taking on the air of a circus as the men run through the crowd trying to hide from Dr. Schoen. They run away from him buffoonishly (an aspect that is exaggerated through undercranking), waving their arms and hands in the air like chimps or clowns. The doctor is humiliated as the crowd leaves, laughing at the spectacle, which reflects negatively upon Lulu due to the association with the uncouth men. Dr. Schoen returns to the bridal chamber, but again Lulu is not alone; the doctor's beloved son, Alwa, is there, and he has just declared his love to Lulu. The audience sees Lulu from the doctor's perspective, the camera angled downward. The doctor quickly grasps the situation and sends Alwa out of the room; grabbing a pistol, he tries to force to take it, telling her, "kill yourself…it is the only way to save both of us." Is this the demand of patriarchal society that woman sacrifice herself, to secure and maintain a male-dominated order, especially to keep clear the lines of inheritance? Janet

Bergstrom, in her article "Psychological Explanation in the Films of Lang and Pabst," helps us understand the complexity of the situation:

> Psychological explanation of *Pandora's Box* is complicated in large part because of the unresolved contradiction of Lulu's character. She is an enigma...[and] brings out the dimension of psychological vulnerability in others around her, and in ways that highlight unusual or perverse sexual tensions (such as the relationship between Dr. Sho[e]n and his son...(Kaplan, 179).

While this may be the case on one level, on another Lulu can be seen as standing outside the framework of patriarchal dominance. In spite of "giving herself" in marriage to Dr. Schoen, she is able, by "arming" herself with weapons of gender (and class), to repulse Dr. Schoen and Alwa in their father-son struggle over her. She has learned from all those nights spent in cafes and cabarets (her "boot camps") to withstand the emotional turmoil and onslaught of others.

Of course, in the patriarchal world of Weimar cinema, even, or especially, Lulu has her limits; in the quasi-flashforward to the trial (there is no flash back to the past), she is unjustly punished for the doctor's death. However, the audience, as privileged spectator, knows that she is innocent. She may have lost the battle, in other words, but not the war. For the audience, as proto-*feminist* spectator, also knows that Lulu is on trial not merely for the murder of her husband, but for her femininity and sexuality as well.

The mise-en-scene of the courtroom abounds with images of the different social classes—spectators, reporters, the judges, and attorneys—included together in pans to indicate the institutionalized illusion of unity among the classes, but also isolated and contrasted through cuts to reflect the underlying class conflict in a case essentially about a woman who has violated the boundaries of her designated social

position. Lulu herself is veiled and in mourning clothes. Her solicitous gaze, her femininity, and her sexuality work their charm on some of the jurors/judges; however, they do not have the desired effect on the prosecutor. His wife is in the court, and he is well established within the patriarchal order, and so is able to withstand Lulu's sympathy-provoking tactics.

Like a political prisoner of the male order, Lulu is sentenced for her husband's death. Schigolch and Rodrigo set the fire alarm ringing. Lulu is helped to escape, rushed out by Schigolch's men in the middle of the ensuing confusion. But like many other revolutionaries and outlaws, before and since, her freedom is short-lived. Unable to deal with the potent representation of independent and rebellious female sexuality, the threatened male order must use its twisted and misogynistic shadow self, in the person of Jack the Ripper, to fight against and kill the revolutionary image of Lulu (Kaplan, 179).

While her war against the prevailing patriarchal society is brief, and, at least superficially, unsuccessful, Lulu and her image mount a formidable attack against the demands of a patriarchal society, an attack that wrought considerable "collateral damage" and would serve as a model for future female "warriors." Even today, at the start of the 21st century, women must invariably resort to wearing masks. They must be strategic in their struggle with patriarchy to achieve socio-economic and relational parity. Lulu was a woman both of and outside her time, who in her character, her actions, and her images conveyed a compelling message that still resonates: women have always held *within themselves* the ability to obtain what is rightfully theirs.

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AMORES PERROS: DOG MEETS MAN

BY PATRICIA JUAREZ

In *Amores Perros* (2000) the dog fight serves as a metaphor for life in Mexico City, showing that life (for humans) means dealing with the collision of the classes, the fight for money and freedom, and the lust for a life other than the one that is currently being lived; in the end, like in the dog fight, some win and some lose. The bustling metropolis that is Mexico City plays host to the story that unfolds in *Amores Perros*. The city plays an important role in each of the character's lives, as they are all forced to live together and deal with their differences in a variety of ways, much like the dogs that roam the city must.

Amores Perros unfolds through the telling of the stories of six different lives. Octavio lives at home with his mother. His brother Ramiro and his wife Susana also live in the home with their son. Octavio is witness to the mistreatment Susana must endure at the hands of her husband. Octavio joins the dogfights, with plans to use his winnings to flee with his brother's wife, Susana. Daniel is a businessman who abandons his wife and two daughters for a beautiful supermodel, Valeria. A car accident soon puts Valeria's career on hold and she struggles to maintain her relationship with Daniel. El Chivo is a former revolutionary turned hit man who roams the city with his pack of dogs. El Chivo longs for a relationship with his daughter, whom he has not had any contact with in years.

The heavily populated Mexico City is home to a large and diverse group of citizens. With the population density reaching 800 persons per square kilometer in the 1990's, social classes are essentially forced to live alongside each other in a heavily populated area, which in turn leads to clashes amongst the classes (Pick, 58). This frustration can come in the form of envy or can be vented through violence. It is not surprising to see that along

with the drastic increases in population, the number of violent crimes also rose (Pick, 242). This is comparable to what is seen in the dog-fighting arena. Dogs that are bred to fight are usually anti-social, which results in hostile behavior when around other dogs (Kim, 30).

The role of the male in *Amores Perros* plays an important role in illustrating the ideas of power and status. Mexican culture places an emphasis on the male as the dominant sex. The fight for power among males is a result of the living situation in the city. Although females outnumber males in Mexico City (Pick, 59), it is males who are in greater competition. Tradition dictates that men must provide and women must take care of matters of the home (Wu, 175). Much like male fighting dogs, the males in Mexico City must fight for status and instinctively, a mate. In *Amores Perros*, male characters fight (or even kill) for money, status or a mate.

Each of the "stories" in *Amores Perros* deals with issues of money, status and loss. Octavio and Ramiro's male and sibling rivalry is comparable to that seen in the dog society. Octavio and Ramiro rival over money, which will give them a certain status. Again, the same can be said about the fighting dog. Although fighting dogs do not rival over money, their owner's chief concern is financial gain. Fighting dogs must fight older, more prestigious dogs in order to gain a desirable status (Habib, 23).

Susana, Ramiro's wife, is also the object of Octavio and Ramiro's male rivalry. Although Ramiro is not directly aware that his wife is secretly seeing Octavio, it is conceivable that his instincts make him suspect the possibility. Octavio and Ramiro's mother is also aware of the fact that something may be going on between Octavio and Susana, or that there may at least be intentions present. Again

the issue of population is what creates conflict. The family's living situation is a bit crowded, since it houses two families (Octavio and his mother, and Ramiro's family). This creates tension in the household, since it is essentially two males living with one available female. With dogs, such a situation leads to battles for the prize, which is the mate. This is also the case between the two brothers.

The financial situation in the home also creates a rivalry between the two brothers. Each of the two brothers strives to support Susana and her children. Status also plays a role in the financial rivalry. Ramiro cannot see his wife being supported by anyone other than himself. For anyone else to support his wife would mean a drop in Ramiro's status and role of the provider. The threat of dropping in status creates tension between Ramiro and Octavio. They, like the fighting dog, are both trying to reach a certain goal and attain a certain status.

El Chivo is portrayed as part of the lower class. Although he is a former revolutionary, his status has now dropped. Others only use him, like the fighting dog, for personal gain. As a hit man, El Chivo is used by a variety of people to either eliminate competition or to help a financial situation. Again, the same is true of the fighting dog. Dogs are made to fight in order to gain a certain status or for financial gains.

As a part of the "forgotten" class, El Chivo is portrayed (on the surface) as having feelings for no one but his dogs. He roams the city with his dogs, seemingly oblivious to the realities of the city. However, like the dog, he is aware of his surroundings and alert. El Chivo certainly has feelings and compassion for others, as he longs to rebuild the relationship with his daughter. His compassion also leads him to care for his dogs as if they are a part of his family, which is a gesture that does not show heartlessness towards others, but rather the opposite. In turn, his dogs show loyalty towards him.

The film shots used in select scenes in *Amores Perros* help illustrate the urgency of the city and the lives of the protagonists. Shots with quick cuts heighten the intensity of certain

moments. In the dogfight scenes, tight close-ups of the dogs involved in battle build up the idea of conflict in population. The dogfight scenes serve to illustrate the final resolution of conflict, which can be played out through violence. The automobiles in street scenes are shown moving quickly through shots and appear as a blur on screen. Such shots are comparable to the dogfight scenes, where speed and close-ups are used to create the feeling of the final point of a conflict, which plays out as a battle.

Voyeuristic shots and hand-held, shaky camera shots in *Amores Perros* highlight private moments. Close-ups of Octavio and Susana's faces show the passion and pains of their times together behind Ramiro's back. The close-ups during Octavio and Susana's intimate moments are comparable to the dogfight scenes in that both are acting out the idea of the fight for a certain status, though each does so in a different way. In the dogfight scenes, two dogs are fighting for a higher status. In scenes with Octavio and Susana, Octavio is trying to gain a different status; that of the provider. Such scenes also convey the feeling of urgency that the two are experiencing as a result of disrupting Ramiro's role and status.

When El Chivo is watching his daughter and his victims, close-up shots isolate him and create the feeling of the hunter; the hungry dog looking in on people and other dogs enjoying the fruits of life. However, close-ups of El Chivo do not reveal what he is thinking or what he is feeling as some close-ups do. Scenes with El Chivo also make use of voyeuristic shots from his point of view when he is spying on his family and daughter. Such shots also place him on the same level as the dog while still retaining the feeling of the human reaction to such situations.

After her car accident, Valeria's longing for her old life is shown through the use of shots from outside her window. She now illustrates the idea of the hungry dog looking at the rest of society and feeling a sense of separation. After Valeria's accident, the lighting in the shots of Valeria and Daniel's apartment is typically not bright, even in

daytime scenes. Although the apartment is an upscale apartment, the use of low lighting parallels Valeria's living space to the dog-fighting arena. She experiences some of the same feelings that the fighting dogs do. She, like the fighting dog, is essentially trapped in her surrounding. There is no way out for either her or the fighting dog other than fighting to the death for the dog and realistically accepting the situation for Valeria.

Amores Perros draws parallels between the dogs and the humans in Mexico City. Both populations must deal with crowded conditions and the film illustrates the different ways in which each population deals with (or is made to deal with in the case of the dogs) having to live with so many others. The dog and its life in the city is an important factor in the film, as it represents the human experience in a more basic form. In *Amores Perros*, the different dimensions of human relationships are shown through the relationship between dogs and their owners. Each of the characters interacts with their dog in a different manner and subjects their dog to different situations; some dogs are exploited for profit and some are revered as companions, much like the members of different social classes in the city treat each other.

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IDENTIFICATION FOR FREEDOM:
A BURKEAN ANALYSIS OF OMALI YESHITELA'S SPEECH

BY PATRICK CAMANGIAN

Introduction and Overview

Many African-American soldiers were sent to fight against the Filipinos in the Philippine-American war, from 1899-1902. According to Anthony L. Powell, many of these African-American soldiers who were "introspective and thoughtful" felt racial and ideological sympathy for other Filipinos, as also people of color, struggling to achieve freedom from U.S. oppression and that this contradiction was always at war with their notions of duty as American citizens (1998). Furthermore, a majority of African Americans became highly vocal in the anti-imperialist element and proclaimed the war in the Philippines was "an unholy war of conquest" (Powell, p.2). Consequently, an "unusually large number" of African American soldiers deserted the U.S. military while serving in the Philippines and joined the Filipino struggle for independence (Powell, p.1). Over a century later, this racial and ideological alliance and fight against United States imperialism amongst Americanized Africans and Filipinos still exists. Omali Yeshitela's speech on July 7, 2002, in San Francisco, California, at a conference titled, "Link Arms, Raise Fists! U.S. Troops Out of the Philippines Now!" is a demonstration of this continued coalition.

By applying Kenneth Burke's theory of identification, I will examine how Yeshitela fosters identification. First, I will explain and justify the use of Burke's theory and methodology. Then, I will illustrate the history between the United States and Philippines, the impact of U.S. imperialism on those islands and explain the connection of the Abu Sayyaf. Afterwards, an analysis of his speech will reveal how identification is established, maintained and encouraged. I will then explain how Yeshitela's speech into a larger global and historical context than the war on terrorism. To conclude, I will describe my contribution to Burke's theory of identification and analyzing war rhetoric and offer suggestions for further study.

The purpose of this Burkean approach will be to examine the facets of Omali Yeshitela's speech which foster identification amongst Filipinos, Africans and other colonized people worldwide. The identity formed here is an inherent dynamic that is defined in historical, cultural, national, and ideological pride, defense, definition and determination for oppressed people of color world-wide. This analysis will be directed in four directions: (1) how reclaiming cultural pride is fundamental to understanding; (2) how describing U.S. imperialism as a common enemy act as the basic premise of the audience, the speaker's and of other people of color's identification; (3) how deconstructing United States and European discourse elicits ideological and historical identification; and (4) how identifying with the fight against U.S. imperialism is vital to the liberation of colonized nations and people of color.

Theory and Methodology

In A Rhetoric of Motives (1969), Burke discusses how language is used to create identification with an audience and their world-view. He sees identification as stronger than persuasion. Burke examines how terms used to find common ground, membership, and ideology function to include while at the same time exclude opposing terms, other groups, and conflicting ideologies. For Burke, "A is not identical with ... B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they

are, or is persuaded to believe so" (p. 180). A speaker, in this instance, uses the point of view of a listener as the starting point to elicit a bond. By determining a possible commonality, language could be used to construct shared purposes and interests. Furthermore, this type of examination seeks to understand how language is used to communicate and elicit alliance more than agreement. The speaking engagement is analyzed to evaluate how discourse is a form of coming together, rather than a speaker communicating to a listener unilaterally. Through this lens, the audience and listener are seen to be forming a multi-lateral union.

According to A Rhetoric of Motives, the three main tenets to identification are perception, differentiation, and divisiveness (Burke, 180 - 187). Perception is our view of reality and determines the starting point upon which speakers and listeners meet. Differentiating is identifying only a part of oneself - particularly what is relevant to the identification. Divisiveness is the process of separating yourself, your ideas, and your group from others, or defining oneself through the depiction of another. Differentiation is a sort of selective rhetorical strategy to only foreground what commonalities are important in the speaking relationship. Divisiveness, on the other hand, is self-definition by describing an "other." The process of identification can best be understood when listeners are able to connect what is being said to their own life. This association, or finding of commonality, is what Burke describes as consubstantial. Consubstantiality is synonymous with identification, but more particularly, is when two or more items join in substance by a common idea (Burke, 183-184).

Burke further explains this concept by providing an example of B identifying with A, substantially through perception and persuasion. "In being identified with B, A is 'substantially one' with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time, he remains unique... both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another" (Burke, 180). Burke conceives that in

the process of grounding identification, however, division must be pointed out. However, perception is often determined by a person's beliefs, values and history. By understanding one's perception, rhetorical strategies can be constructed to appeal to their perceived welfare. If a speaker isn't aware of their audience's perception, their rhetorical approach will be less suitable to address the needs of their listeners. Thus, the identification that the speaker attempted to form is less substantial.

Burke explains that, "[rhetoric] considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another" (p. 181). For this he explains that the reason individuals are at odds with one another, and thus the purpose of communication, is because identification is needed to confront the presumption of division. Thus, the speaking occasion is used to clear up the division, since complete unity would eradicate the need to draw accord. Let it be clear, however, identification isn't simply persuasion, but more so pointing out where people "stand together" and share a common interest or concern (p.46-56).

This type of Burkean approach to the study of Omali Yeshitela's speech seeks to discover two things: (1) the ways in which Yeshitela sought to identify with the audience and (2) the process in which he asked them directly and indirectly, to identify with a common cause. I will pay attention to the suggestions, data, and support he provides to highlight their relationship grounded on a common history, experience, purpose, and urgency to end United States imperialism not only in the Philippines, but also world-wide. By providing a marginalized, critical description of history and resistance, Yeshitela establishes a consubstantiality that he asks the audience to join by rejecting the United States centered perspective of history, intervention, and interests.

In the same way, Yeshitela also creates relational difference between those who share his beliefs and those who share a westernized

view of history and imperialism. Yeshitela also makes it clear to the audience the intensity in which he holds his beliefs and the deception on which western civilization is premised, and to realize which side they stand. Yeshitela details the justifications for the resistance of United States' imperialism, and gives no validation in believing or allying otherwise. His speech also illustrates how he, and other organizers and activists like him, are fighting for a growing and just cause against a destructive ideology and reality.

This approach is beneficial to learning rhetorical strategies and foundations that function to influence the reciprocal relationship between a speaker, an audience and their perceived common principles. Applying this Burkean methodology to Yeshitela's speech also reveals philosophical premises of international grassroots movements, cultural values and racial identities. Accordingly, understanding an approach to fostering identification is valuable, not only to cultural, grassroots movements, but to many aspects of society as well.

Philippine – American Relations

Philippine-American Historical Background

The Philippines lived under Spanish colonial rule from 1521 to 1898. However, "the spirit of resistance among the ruled, especially the peasant masses, became heightened until the Philippine Revolution of 1896" (Guerrero, p.27). On August 23, 1896, these Filipino patriots, known as the Katipunan, declared a "Cry of Pudag Lawin," which signaled the start of armed warfare against the Spanish colonialists. Any prior Philippine revolt against the Spanish had never been stronger. This widespread organizing and resistance led to the success of the Philippine Revolt over Spain. By finally defeating the Spanish and virtually taking back their country, "sovereignty of the Filipino people, the protection and promotion of [their] civil liberties, the confiscation of the [Spanish-Catholic] friar estates and the elimination of

theocratic rule" seemed secure (Worcester, p.211). After over 350 years, the glory of lifting a colonial burden seemed promising for the change in the Filipino people's future. At least that is the way it seemed initially.

At this point, the United States believed to have newly acquired control over the Philippines. As a response to the widespread proclamation of independence in the Philippines, McKinley declared that the Filipinos' resistance was a form of "Benevolent Assimilation" and that, "future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States" (Bain, p.77). President McKinley felt that the rights to the Philippine Islands and the governance of its people belonged to the United States after signing "The Treaty of Paris" with Spain. This treaty demanded that "the cession of sovereignty over the entire Philippine archipelago [belonged] to the United States for twenty million dollars" (Bain, p.77). The Filipinos, who had waged and won their war against Spain believed the Philippines was theirs again to recover.

Then, on a humid moonlight February 4th, night in 1899, at the San Juan Bridge in a town just north of Manila, Philippines, United States privates William Grayson and David Miller of the 1st Nebraska found themselves with what they saw as Filipino "insurgents" standing fifteen feet away. Grayson shouted "Halt!" The native lieutenant responded, "Halto, Halto!" "After a moment of deliberation, Grayson fired and dropped him" (Nash, p. 671). Running in commotion to join the rest of their troops, Grayson gathered his patrol unit and vehemently announced, "the niggers [Filipinos] are in here all through these yards." (Wolff, p.10).

Although Filipino revolutionaries liberated their country from Spanish colonialism by 1898, as documented above, the United States got involved when the Filipinos defeated Spain by purchasing the Philippines from Spain. To enforce its "ownership" of the Philippines, the United States slaughtered well over a million Filipinos (Ocampo, NISPOP) - 15% of the population – during the Philippine –

American war. From this time on, the destiny of the Filipinos were dictated by the interests of the United States. The strategy of long lasting control of the United States over the Philippines was well thought out:

> The theory on which the American Government, through its commission, has proceeded... that the only possible method instructing the Filipino people in methods of free institutions and self-government is to make the government partly of Americans and partly of Filipinos, giving the Americans control for some time to come. (Devins, p.74)

Thus, the first Filipino government was comprised of Euro-Americans, and treacherous Filipino mercenaries. For many resistant Filipinos today, the lineage of puppet-regimes to the United States found its origins here.

U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines

Since this colonization, the Philippines have become a market place for the United States of America. Every regime since the United States conquered has been favorable to the interests of America, and to the richer classes in the Philippines. "U.S. imperialism drew from the country an increasing quantity of such commercial crops as sugar, coconut and hemp, aside from such other raw materials as logs and mineral ores" (Guerrero, p.37). The Philippines even served as a "strategic foothold for the carrying out of its [U.S.] expansionist drive to convert the Pacific Ocean into an 'American lake' and to increase its share of loot in the despoliation of China and Asia in general" (Worcester, p.365). This perspective, then, is contrary to popular American beliefs, that the United States has been a savior to the Philippines.

The outcome of the Philippine-American war established the beginning of governments that would favor U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. According to a study done in the late 1960's, the equity of the Philippines is split fifty/fifty – "half in the hands of foreign investors and diffused through the stock marker, the other 50 percent among the petty Filipino shareholders" (Guerrero, p. 149). Every government since has ignored the desires and concerns of the peasant masses, the population upon which the Philippine revolution was and continues to be comprised. Instead, the Philippine government continues to serve the needs, desires, and destiny of the very government, ideology, and nation that ignored their rights to sovereignty in order to conquer and perpetually exploit them.

U.S. Military Involvement in the Philippines

When the United States granted nominal (leaving after placing a infrastructure that supported their interests, while also continuing a military presence) independence to the Philippines in 1946, it "required the new 'independent' government to agree to the presence of 20 U.S. military bases" (NISPOP). It was from the Philippines that the United States has launched military attacks on China (1900 and 1927), the Soviet Union (1918-20), Korea (1950-53), Indonesia (1958), Vietnam (1964-1975), Cambodia (1978), and Iraq (1990) (NISPOP). In fact, during President Ferdinand Marcos' declaration of martial law, the United States did not just maintain their support of him; they even tripled its military aid for his oppressive government (Guerrero, 1971).

In 1991, mass anti-military base social movements in the Philippines pressured the Philippine Senate to not vote to renew the treaty that would allow the United States continued access to its bases in the Philippines. One year later, the U.S. General Accounting Office identified toxic hot spots at its bases (NISPOP). Yet, to this day, the United States refuses to clean it up by claiming that it is not liable. Moreover, the United Nations has named the United States military presence in the Philippines the biggest contributor to the growth of prostitution in the Philippines. These are only a few concerns the masses of Filipinos

have with the return of the U.S. military into the Philippines.

The Philippines and the War on Terror

The reason that the United States and President Macapacal-Arroyo proclaim the need for American troops in the Philippines is to fight a terrorist group called the Abu Sayyaf. The Abu Sayyaf is a "kidnap for ransom" group of bandits who once fought alongside the mujahideens in Afghanistan in the 1980's (Johnson 2001, Cooley 2002). Their existence is fairly recent. From 1968 – 1995, there were only two main separatist rebel groups: the Moro (Philippine Muslims) National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). These groups, according to anthropologist Thomas McKenna, are virtually identical to each other (Edmonson, 2002). Their fight is political in nature, against the government – not a fight against Christians.

McKenna continued to note that, in 1995, the Abu Sayyaf came onto the scene but were "very much sort of a loose cannon group." Furthermore, "they used... Islamic extremist rhetoric that was not used at all by the other groups." In fact, "they don't have any significant popular support." He makes it also clear that, "their activities, their tactics have been condemned by the two other groups" (Edmonson, 2002). Actually, according to other reports, the Abu Sayyaf were thought to be agent provocateurs set up by the government to sway excitement against Philippine Muslims and the Muslim separatist rebellion groups altogether (Asian Journal 2000, Malanes 2002, Maulana 2000). What is the size of Abu Sayyaf's membership? The answers vary, but range anywhere from 80 (IBM 2002) to "in the hundreds" (Edmonson, 2002). This is relatively small, and considered, by liberal and liberatory factions of the Philippines, merely an internal problem of the islands.

According to the abovementioned accounts, there is a nation wide annoyance of the Filipino people against the renegade group of Abu Sayyaf, but they don't pose a massive threat to society overall. Yet, well over twenty-seven hundred United States military personnel seem unnecessary to a majority of common Filipinos (Malanes 2000). Popular U.S. intervention rhetoric is said to be plotting a full-scale fight against this relatively small group of Muslim extremist bandits, but many now believe that there is more to it than what is being told. The involvement of U.S. troops threatens to escalate, complicate, and bring to the international arena what many essentially consider an "internal police problem" (NISPOP). Even more ironic, is the widely documented notion by John K. Cooley (2002) and Chalmers Johnson (2001) that it was the United States Central Intelligence Agency who recruited and created the Abu Sayyaf to drive out the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The Abu Sayyaf was the last of seven Afghan guerrilla groups organized with the moujahideens to fight the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush initially hailed the CIA backed moujahideens as "freedom fighters" (Cooley).

After the defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, these CIA created Abu Sayyaf returned to the Philippines with the force, training and weaponry provided them by United States covert operations. More than a decade later, the "monster" created by U.S. imperialism and its support of the Moujahideens, has become an assembly of unruliness in the country they were originally recruited from. Commenting on the history of the CIA and Abu Sayyaf, Edmundo Santuario said, "The metamorphosis of the Abu Sayyaf from 'freedom fighters' in Afghanistan to sheer bandits in the Philippines is a new dark spot in the U.S.'s covert dirty tricks operations throughout the world" (2001).

Although fighting glaringly conflicting campaigns, the Philippine government associates the Abu Sayyaf recklessness with the struggle of the clandestine Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and their armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA) (Malanes 2002). According to their 28th annual anniversary statement, the central task of the New People's Army is to establish "a new-democratic revolution to overthrow the semicolonial and

semifeudal ruling system" (Liwanag 1997). Many believe that the reinsertion of the U.S. military is a direct violation of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity – the very rights fought for and initially won by the Katipunan, and continued by the CPP and NPA (Malanes 2002). With her call to the United States for military "support", President Macapagal-Arroyo is seen as being completely subservient to the interests of the United States by constantly and consistently siding with the their bid to maintain control in the Asia Pacific region by way of the Philippines.

Textual Analysis – Fostering Identification

Preface

In the following section, the term "U.S. imperialism" is used a lot. For some, the term imperialism loses its effect once it is used repeatedly. It is important to note that between Omali Yeshitela and the Filipino audience, U.S. imperialism is not just blank "rhetoric" as many would consider. Just as the terms "racism," "sexism," "homophobia," allude to a particular condition, so does "U.S. imperialism." In the Philippines, the mass peasantry, hacienda tenants, dispossessed farmers, small farmers, sweat shop laborers, agricultural laborers, and urban workers who make up the resistance to "U.S. Imperialism" have concrete realities and massacred histories to associate with their perception of American control.

Thus, the term of imperialism must not be discredited as a reality. Instead, it should be understood from the perspective that it is being used in the following context. The colonization and continued imperialism over a country is more than abstract terminology, instead, United States presence for colonized people is synonymous with the exploitation of natural resources and the brutal leveling of a culture and identity that once stood strong in its richness.

Cultural Identity

Burke said, "if an identification favorable to the speaker or his cause is made to seem favorable to the audience, there enters the possibility of 'heightened consciousness'" (p. 195). This "heightened consciousness" joins the audience with the speaker on a level that is much more profound than that of being merely persuaded. Yeshitela wastes no time, by stating in an African language, "Uhuru!" from the outset of his speech. He explains that, "Uhuru is Swahili for freedom" and that those in his organization, "say it because it is something they think that should be on the minds of our folks twenty-four hours a day" (Yeshitela).

For politically and historically conscious people of color, freedom means to "unshackle" the mind from Euro-centric values and perceptions of history, destiny and the world as it is esteemed today. Freedom is also reclaiming what has been taken from your people. It gets complicated, in a sense, because from an oppressed nation's point of view, they know more about what freedom isn't than what it is because they have never been free of colonization's aftermath. Whereas freedom in the United States is often referring to luxury, freedom as referred to by colonized people is a human right. For colonized people, freedom is the right to grow, be yourself, to be who you are, be who you want be, and do what you want to do – particularly as a nation free from the constraints of U.S. imperialism. This term, and its meaningfulness, become the central message upon which the process of his and the audiences' (as well as colonized people world wide) identification is fostered, although Yeshitela uses other strategies to reinforce it.

By using a Swahili term to address an audience who share English as a common language, Yeshitela acknowledges the splendor of speaking in a tongue native to ancestral homelands. For many Blacks and Filipinos, English has been forced upon them as a result of colonization and slavery. Even throughout the world, there is English language hegemony. Since language is a direct link to culture, and

English has been strongly imposed on colonized people, speaking in a removed dialect is one start to reclaim what has been lost among broad masses of colonized people. Combining a native language with the concept of fighting for freedom, Yeshitela's rhetoric appeals to an insightful and keen perception of liberation shared among those whose fight is against U.S. imperialism. Thus, their "heightened consciousness" was grounded on similar interests for "freedom," cultural expression and identity, and "to liberate [all] our peoples." The irony here is that, Yeshitela must speak in what he would consider his colonizer's language in order to communicate to the audience in words that they could understand without constant translation.

Identity Against a Common Enemy

Mentioning the historic connectedness of Africans and Filipinos (as noted in the introduction), Yeshitela said that their association extends well before many black American soldiers abandoned the U.S. military to fight with the Philippine insurgents against imperial intervention at the turn of the 20th century. Stating that he was bringing greetings from the African People's Socialist Party, Yeshitela extended an announcement of solidarity to the predominantly Filipino audience. He also positions himself as an African. Understanding the immediate context, then, Yeshitela also begins to integrate the struggle of Filipinos with those of Africans. Actually, he made a statement of sincerity by proclaiming that it is his "responsibility to attempt to organize, energize, and incite the masses of African people... to be in the trenches with the people of the Philippines." That overt proclamation makes it clear that they are comrades fighting on the same side.

When he says, "liberate our people," he positions himself, Africans, Filipinos and other colonized people as having a similar struggle, thus lessening what Burke discussed as being differentiation. Furthermore, this statement demonstrates a compassion that makes his speech more sincere and trustworthy. Also, the

identification fostered here presents Yeshitela and African allies as one with Filipinos and their cause. Unlike an outsider merely visiting, or coming to help "these poor people," Yeshitela is tying his liberation to that of the Filipinos. This sort of identification elicits more than simple listening; it erases any notion of "racial" difference and creates a deeper bond. Even more, it sets up the description of what will turn out to be their common enemy.

Here then, a pattern of opposition towards United States imperialism is being expressed at the outset of his speech. This opposition begins the detailing of colonized people's common enemy, thus the basis upon which anti-U.S. imperialism identification is formed. At the same time, this ideological framework and orientation represent the construction of Yeshitela's thoughts about U.S. imperialism and colonized people's similar history.

Linking their identification to a larger global context, Yeshitela relates the struggles of the Filipinos with a larger fight. He says, "The truth is that 26 of the 30 generals who were involved in the war against the people in the Philippines from 1898 to 1902, learned warfare fighting and killing Indians. We are connected. We are connected." Drawing attention to the fact that the same generals trained to eliminate indigenous Americans were sent to practice this same expertise in "killing" to conquer Filipinos is troubling because it depicts the U.S. government as ruthless. As a result, Yeshitela is fostering an identity of being wronged. He also shows that there are patterns to European expansion that continue with between the United States, its military and over colonized people of color. First, that the United States have a tendency to wage war, invade and seek to eliminate indigenous people's sovereignty and steal their land. Second, that people of color are the usual victims of U.S. imperialism.

By making the connection, Yeshitela establishes that the atrocities, suffering and liberation of the Filipinos is not isolated. Instead, the United States practices the same tactics when colonizing people. Rhetorically,

this line of reasoning reminds and intensifies an inherent anger among the audience and Yeshitela himself. As noted above, by mentioning the common U.S. military tactics of colonization over Native Americans and Filipinos, the audience is to realize that a bigger plot than what is happening to them duped them. What is more revealing is that Yeshitela is intimating at the scope of what is a large scale, inhumane criminality.

This reinforcement is further intensified by his statement that, "it serves today to recognize that connectedness... that we have a common enemy that collectively we must unite against and destroy to put them out of our lives so that we could take back what's ours to begin with." To "destroy" the "common enemy" is to end U.S. imperialism and, more importantly, the mass destruction it performs on colonized land and people. U.S. imperialism as a common enemy is not racial ("destroying" white people) - it is ideological. This identification is significant to the strengthening of common grounds among colonized nations and people of color because it supports the notion that Filipinos are not alone in their fight against U.S. imperialism. It is even more imperative because there is a lasting state of inter-division among people of color.

Often times, people of color wage their struggles alone by fighting for political and social space that draws attention to their concerns and their concerns only. This sets up a perspective that particular racial, or social, groups suffer alone, or more than others. Instead of uniting, these groups limit the overall perception of oppression and end up fighting for what little these groups are offered. Instead of demanding and collectively defining large-scale changes, they compete for what little resources that are in the dialogue. In a way, detached movements of color are invalidating the struggles of other ethnic "minorities" and, in turn, reducing the legitimacy of "other" campaigns the way that many racist perspectives and discourses do. Ironically, in these sorts of scenarios, the colonized groups adopt the perspective of their colonizers. This points to the adverse reality that people of color aren't historically aware or politically integrated enough to join together in a struggle for righteousness against their common oppressor. But, Yeshitela reduces this bridge by consistently connecting the struggles and liberations of people of color.

The following portrayal of the association among colonized people further executes the shaping of their connectedness and identification, while broadening the scope of U.S. imperialism as the common enemy. Yeshitela says, "...the world we live in, and suffer in, struggle in, is a world that has its genesis in colonialism some five hundred years ago...it is an empire built on the backs of oppressed people." Again, this alludes to the historic truths that native people were killed through European invasion, slaves were used to profit American elites and people's cultural ideals slowly abolished through U.S. expansion. This deliberately challenges a falsely universal notion that U.S. expansion is a good thing. Although not a common audience belief, acknowledging a critical perspective of U.S. expansion helps audience members understand that oppressed peoples' disenfranchisement is not due to their negligence, but the ruthless manner of U.S. imperialism. As a matter of fact, it takes glory away from the colonizers and appropriates the grandeur of the world to indigenous people who continue to fight against U.S. imperialism and the slaves who were exploited to make Northern America as industrialized as it is today.

Furthermore, the question as to, "Why it is that those of us dark skin people amongst the earth live under the worst kind of circumstances" emphasizes the "racial" identity upon which they are consubstantial. Identification in this instance appeals to the phenotypical traits of darker skin, and further positions European conquest as evil and people of color as its victims. His statement also points out that their common enemy is not a coincidence, but that it is racially driven. Since their oppression is racially driven, it comes across as even more appalling and an injustice that must be challenged. This appeal helps

facilitate further identification because the audience is predominantly Filipino, thus people of color.

Moreover, Yeshitela implies that their struggles, independently and together, are a part of a larger struggle - the liberation of other colonized nations who continue to face the cruelty of imperialism. He builds this larger coalition (identification) by stating various accounts of hostilities worldwide. He goes on saying, "the United States continues to bomb the Iraqi people even after having killed more than one million Iraqi Arabs over the last ten or twelve years... [issues] new threats against Cuba... attempt[ing] to overthrow the legitimate government of Venezuela." Thus, the opposition against the U.S. military in the Philippines should not stop there. Instead, Filipino resistance should be and is a part of a larger global struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism. Continuing this larger identification of colonized nations, Yeshitela notes that:

> [T]he terror that they are experiencing is the possibility that those of us in the Philippines, in Columbia, throughout Latin America, throughout Asia, and the Middle East, and in the barrios and the ghettos of America would stand up and take back the resources that rightfully belong to us.

By making these connections, the audience continues to feel a "higher consciousness" that conveys an idea that they do not fight nor suffer alone, and that their resistance is matched in solidarity with other oppressed nations. Yeshitela expands the identification of Filipinos and Africans with other people and nations of color. By including those in "the barrios" and "ghettos of America," Yeshitela connects the similar struggle (identification) of colonized people in the United States with their relatives abroad. This works well with the audience because they were predominantly Filipinos in the United States. Stating the connection of nations out of the United States, the audience is reminded of

their relationship to their "motherland" and, thus, the virtue of their resistance is reinforced. Naturally, this acknowledgment represents power in numbers.

In regards to the "racial" question stated above, Yeshitela specifies the common enemy and claims that, "of course imperialism answered these questions many years ago." By doing this, Yeshitela suggest that Filipinos, Africans, and other colonized people, together, share (identify with) similar conditions of national poverty as a result of related and dependent cruelty. Conversely, he uses a more contemporary government to specify the historical connection of their modern day adversary.

Talking about the Bush regime, Yeshitela says, "they are simply one administration of an Imperial government... we've been catching hell for a long time under imperialism." This proclamation reinforces and appeals to the prior knowledge that the audience understands. As political leftists, they understand the history of all the Philippine's governments as puppet regimes. So, by mentioning that people of color have "been catching hell for a long time," Yeshitela implies that the oppression of colonized countries is a continuing lineage since the inception of U.S. imperialism. Having concrete realities that relate to Yeshitela's assertions, they continue to identify along the lines that they understand history and U.S. imperialism similarly. If this were so, then what is happening in his rhetoric is more than simple persuasion, but also outlining common histories, enemies and fates.

Contradiction

On a more profound level, Yeshitela fosters identification by describing the malice found in the contradictions of United States (and pre-expansion Western) discourse. What he implies is that the discourse the United States uses, currently and historically, masks their role in oppressive practices throughout the world. This method makes an alternative perspective of history clear. Furthermore, it

satirizes how the world has been fooled by Euro-centric discourse and unfolds the historical interests of European nations. Appealing to their consistently common worldview, identification is carried out through a realization and clarity of how people of color and the world population have been deceived. Since the audience is familiar with Yeshitela's historical illustration, the identification fostered here is founded upon a common understanding of their historical knowledge and being appalled that the masses of others do not get it.

He begins by re-defining and offering an alternative perspective of what is commonly known as terrorism in the United States. After the initial introduction, Yeshitela states, "while we don't know who did September 11 in New York and Washingthon, D.C.... we do understand that terrorism began much earlier than September 11th." By this statement, Yeshitela is implying that terrorism is more than what the United States is including in its description – the description that leaves the U.S. as terrorists out. By not including itself in the classification of terrorists, there is an assumption that terrorism is only what other countries do to the United States or "the West." Yeshitela calls this into question, thus problematizing the concept that America is the only target of terrorism. Complicating that notion lays the framework, not only of what defines terrorism, but how to perceive U.S. imperialism.

The same redefinition of terrorism occurs as Yeshitela says, "we [colonized people] could challenge the definition of the U.S. of what terrorism really is... we know terrorism. We were introduced to the U.S. as a consequence of terrorism." What he does here is interrogate the impression that many Americans have of terrorism. Assuming, at this point, that "we (people of color)," as Yeshitela delineates, were introduced to "them (Europeans)" as an act of U.S. terrorism re-organizes the notion of terrorism in ways that are not flattering to the pro-American perspective, yet set the common ground upon which the speaker, the Filipino audience and anti imperialist thinkers like them establish

identification. Here, terrorism and colonialism are indistinguishable. Since not a part of widespread discourse, this perspective helps broaden an understanding of their own oppression – that their oppression were as brutal, and in many cases even more, as terrorism.

Even later, Yeshitela maintains that, "the terrorism that they [America] are beginning to experience is the terrorism of the criminal [themselves] that has been forced to recognize that there is justice... and [it] is in the possession of the dispossessed masses of oppressed people around the world." What Yeshitela is referring to is not al-Qaeda or Osama bin Laden. Instead, what he is saying is that the United States is not only terrified of the al-Qaeda terrorists, but face a greater threat to their interests of world dominance from the world movement against U.S. imperialism. This social movement threatens because it seeks to abolish U.S. imperialism and would make the American government accountable to the destruction they caused globally. The reciprocal occasion between speaker and audience is educational, revealing deep analysis to reinforce any prior assumptions. Rhetorically, consubstantiality is being established in the conviction that nations continuing to suffer under U.S. imperialism are the true victims of terrorism – United States terrorism.

He continues to discern how Western discourse minimizes, not only the United States role in world subjugation, but also other European nations. Yeshitela reveals that the word genocide did not exist until the 1940's, when Germany practiced their oppression over the Jewish. Although stating that Hitler was as vicious a dictator as he is made out to be, he claimed that "Winston Churchill made Hitler look like a boy scout because it was Churchill that bragged that the British Empire was one in which the sun never set – which meant that Britain had more slaves than anyone on earth." What he is saying is that colonization is atrocious because it is certain to encompass stealing, enslavement and mass bloodshed.

Rhetorically this statement points out that nations and people of color were not considered humans, but objects. To be a global empire, Britain had to colonize nations – ignoring the sovereignty of natives. To colonize, natives had to be perceived as less than human, or as savages to civilization. What Yeshitela does is point out how Churchill was proud to be a part of the world's colonization. So, if Churchill was proud of British colonization, then he is inherently taking pride in holocaustic killing and enslaving of indigenous people of color. The crimes committed by Hitler, as noted by Yeshitela, were as atrocious as history tells it. Yet, the accosting of people of color was ignored or not considered a crime against humanity although the Jewish Holocaust and the colonization of people of color are both brutal. It becomes problematic because, "Hitler did to white people what Europe and white people have historically done... in the Philippines, in Africa, and all over the world" and the crime of one "white" skin people killing and imprisoning other phenotypically similar populations was the only massacre deemed a "genocide." This realization is nothing short of providing evidence of a contradictory, racist lexicon.

The rhetoric here delineates how Europeans perceived people of color as conquerable, and not similar (or human) enough to acknowledge as extensive annihilation of a nation. Identification is founded on realizing that this inequality – the disregard of a person of color's humanity - is what they are up against. After all, the United States hasn't officially apologized for much of their annihilation, enslavement, or colonization of people of color. Even deeper, the identification fostered here suggests that people of color have plenty of challenges ahead of them because they are still fighting worldwide for recognition as humans.

Western language as described by Yeshitela, thus, reveals how the white supremacist government felt towards colonized people – the people in which he has been establishing identification. By doing this, he

reinforces the notion that people of color (the identified) are fighting for sovereign recognition and authority to claim their humanity against a Euro-centric ideology and history (of their common enemy) that does not concede it. He makes this argument clear by asserting that, "by now [World War II]... the Philippines had been held in slavery and colonial boundary for four hundred years or more... More that 12 million Africans were slaughtered by the Belgiums in the Congo by itself. And, you can't find an Indian in the Americas." It is becoming clear at this point in his argument that Euro-centric discourse doesn't include the compassion of colonized people, people of color who were victims of European and U.S. imperialism.

According to his reasoning, the term genocide was created because, "they were now struggling for regulation between white people" – a group that did not include Filipinos, Africans, indigenous Americans, Latin Americans, etcetera. So, for Europeans of the time, the violence against people of color weren't considered meaningful enough to be considered "genocide." This works to build identification because it elicits rage and antagonism against such a racist paradigm. If together they realize their anger, then there becomes a stronger understanding and urgency. This fury would be a first step in awareness, which would build towards more constructive approaches to use this energy, yet will always be a frame of reference to continue their fight against oppression. The angrier a people get, the more inspired they are to be to fight for their liberation. Yeshitela constructs his speech to build on this identification of vehemence.

Further explaining the discursive contradictions of European and United States imperialism, Yeshitela notes that, "It is the problem of the oppressor that he must not only convince the rest of the world that his rule is just..., he must also convince himself." He uses President McKinley's statement to point out again the massacre behind U.S. foreign policy discourse. Rationalizing the colonization of the Philippines, McKinley said, "there was nothing left for us to do, but take

them all, and educate the Filipinos, and up-lift them, and civilize, and christianize them, and by God's grace do the best we could..." Through this, his argument is constantly reinforced – that the discourse of U.S. imperialism is absurd and that their rationale is inhumane.

Inadvertently, he is telling the audience that the rationale of their social movement is so much more just. Thus, the audience, along with other oppressed freedom fighters, should feel good about the righteousness of their cause because inevitably, they are fighting a war against ignorance and a very naïve public. The thoughtlessness in language like "take them all" and "uplift them" and "civilize, and christianize them... by God's grace" points out that even the common enemy's language is one that can't be trusted – that it is in their language that they mystify the process of colonizing the world, an assumption that he implies throughout the speech. Even more, as evidenced by the quote above, U.S. discourse bastardizes spirituality by claiming to be doing God's work through stealing and killing.

Yeshitela's process of developing identification by explaining imperialistic discourse becomes more intense when he makes a connection describing how their malicious language could only be out done by their viciously pompous political history. According to Yeshitela, in 1884 and 1885 the pope called a conference in Berlin, Germany to divide Africa. In this division, various European states named territories of Africa - Nigeria (for the color) and Camerone (for the enormous shrimp inhabitance). As a result of Europe's divvying up of Africa, they are still suffering the consequences.

Identification becomes further enveloped as he states, "Just as there are the Filipinos named for an Imperialist, there's a Cameronian in West Africa... walking around calling themselves shrimp." The incongruous nature of claiming such a meaningless name / identity is troublesome in the paradox of his revelation. By laying out these contradictions, Yeshitela is provoking anger over a common disgust of having been colonized, and at the

same time, being so blinded to the absurdity of the colonizer's discourse over people of color that they prance around in identities imposed upon them by their conquerors. It is in the manner that he illuminates these oddities that it becomes foolishly apparent to the immediate audience that many people of color have been made so blind that they cannot see that they have been blatantly conquered, defined, and destined by their oppressor.

Optimism of a Similar Resistance and Similar Liberation

Yeshitela's speech also reminds the Filipino audience about the urgency to identify with the fight against U.S. imperialism. As aforementioned, imperialists named the colonized. To this, Yeshitela says Europeans, "took away our identities – temporarily" because "we haven't stopped fighting them for it." Acknowledging the resistance against U.S. imperialism validates the audience's interests and concerns to oppose the American military's intervention in the Philippines. Acknowledging this fight is important because the gesture shows respect for the motivation, grounds, needs and nature of their struggle against United State's influence in Philippine politics.

Yeshitela encourages the urgency and identification to resist when he says, "Imperialism ain't what it used to be." Characterizing this historical phase against United States imperialism as "the era of the final offensive," Yeshitela clarifies that, "today's imperialism is not dynamic in its danger, it's not dynamic because it's growing, it's dynamic now because it's holding on to its life. It's fighting to hold on to everything its stolen in the world." For this, he also proclaims to the audience, "we are here to change it." This touches the deep emotion of inspiration by offering encouragement, hope and respect for the audience's and their movement's effort. Whereas describing the common enemy and pointing out their contradictions were informative, illustrating and aggravating, giving confidence to the fight

against U.S. imperialism is stimulating because it taps into an applicable understanding. What was shared earlier in his speech operated on a cerebral level, while his inspiration to continue a resistance was more powerful because of its action oriented nature – thus the basis of deeper identification.

Affirming the social movement and audience's bottoms up (as opposed to top down) - from grassroots masses to the government - approach, he says that since the Second Imperialist war (World War II), "growing struggles of national liberation have undermined the Imperialists' power and continues to do so." This sort of rationale confirms the listener's beliefs and optimism, as opposed to patronizing their efforts against what would then be considered an unbeatable super power. He claims that western dominance is in such a desperate position that "they are having open discussions about the responsibility of America to act responsibly and to dominate the entire world." By describing the intelligence and possibility of organizing, mobilizing, and resisting, he offers reasoning that appeal to a higher emotion. Burke says,

> [T]he resources of identification whereby a sense of consubstantiality (power in this regard) is symbolically established between beings of unequal status (imperialists and the colonized), may extend far into the realm of the idealistic... out of this idealistic element there may arise a kind of magic... .(p.197)

By validating their resistance and inspiring them to continue, Yeshitela is not only building further identification, but also moving into the "idealistic" language that Burke talks about. Using a language and speech to describe what's possible takes the focus away from the pain and constraints of oppression, and draws attention to the vision and aspiration of their concept of freedom. So, consubtantiality here is established from what is possible through the eventual victory of

oppressed people. It is as though Yeshitela is suggesting that their movement should take pride in their resistance, as though their liberation is already realized. Instead of the constant appeal to angst, Yeshitela influence's the audience's emotion towards hope, thus elevating the identification to a spiritual, unworldly passion of righteousness.

First off, Yeshitela tells and explains to the audience that it is urgent that him, the audience and all the anti U.S. imperialist workers continue to resist. He taps into a deeper sentiment by telling them that the growing opposition to U.S. imperialism is stronger than ever, thus offering inspiration to their campaign. He opens their mind to the celebration of the battles they have won against United States imperialism. He doesn't remind them of the losses, or a long, long fight ahead. That would discourage the audience and create a sense of despair. Instead, he reminds the audience of what their social movement is fighting for – the end of U.S. imperialism and the establishment of freedom for the oppressed masses of the world. This message and the way it is communicated is grounded in a gesture of beauty and hope. In this message, he is saying that he is fighting too. Therefore, the identification of hope here is appealing towards a common optimism that their fight against U.S. imperialism is slowly winning, that they shouldn't quit, but continue to build and expand, and that no matter what, colonized organizers worldwide are in this political and significant battle together.

Continuing on this provocative rapport, Yeshitela further invokes the urgency felt amongst the audience and what he portrays as the point of view of the larger social movement against U.S. imperialism. For Yeshitela, organizing against U.S. imperialism is critical because it is not safe for colonized people to rely on those that took away their identity, artificially renamed them, and defined their culture and land as one to be commodified, raped and possessed. His argument is that, "many of those involved in the peace movement have essentially the same position as George Bush." This idea of peace is different

than that of those who resist U.S. imperialism. The "George Bush" peace movement is more concerned with not being resisted or challenged in its capitalistic, global endeavors even at the life-threatening costs of other native lands.

What Yeshitela implies here is that there is a difference between the politics of liberals and liberatory politics. While liberal politics is more open-minded, it is still neutral. If it is neutral, then the ideology is not seeking to liberate oppressed people, and may even find its politics protecting U.S. global interests. On the other hand, liberatory politics are based on principles of just social change, equality, and culture. Yeshitela's differentiation makes it clear to the audience that there is a difference between how "they" perceive peace and how "we" conceive peace. So, in other words, do not trust and rely on "their" notion of peace, instead, include "our" perspective and voice in the national dialogue of genuine peace.

Reminding the audience of the American government's notion of peace, he says that, "It is a function of U.S. foreign policy" to "be able to carry out its genocidal war against the people of the Philippines, Columbia, all around the world." In reality, then, the U.S. idea of peace is a direct threat to colonized people's freedom and liberation. That is why Yeshitela is describing the dangers that U.S. centered politics poses against those with a common goal of national liberation.

Maintaining their principle of common interests, Yeshitela communicates the importance of being a part of defining the anti-war peace movement. He is directing them to understand that not taking action and being a part of defining peace in the United States would be a problem for people of color because if they aren't a part of the process, they will "see an American population define an anti-war movement around self-serving white rights." He wants the audience and all other colonized people of color to insist on being recognized in the national and international discussion of peace so that they will have a voice and influence on how peace is defined and, thus, carried out. This calls them out to step up the intensity and participation in world politics.

Therefore, the identification fostered here is grounded on a common challenge, self-encouragement, and the necessity to be validated and recognized as humane members and participants of global political discourse. This does not discredit their campaign against U.S. imperialism instead it provokes and motivates more powerfully.

Just as he laid out through the entire speech, white rights (Euro-centric policy and discourse) would be a further threat to the existence of colonized people. At the end of his speech, Yeshitela reminds the audience of a bigger picture. "We understand that it will not be enough to get the military out of the Philippines... our responsibility is to destroy, finally and forever, U.S. imperialism so that they cannot come back to take our lands from us again." This statement serves as a final reminder that the campaign to end United States military intervention in the Philippines is not detached from a larger struggle. It does, however, validate their fight, but at the same time, repeat that the audience's identification is grounded and integrated with other colonized people. Rhetorically this means that getting the U.S. troops out of the Philippines is only one battle against the end of U.S. imperialism, and the audience, himself and this entire social movement should not forget the bigger picture.

The repetition of his message was reinforced thoroughly and through various means even to the very end. Identification was fostered by proclaiming cultural pride, defining the common enemy, revealing the inhumanity of western / imperialistic discourse, and encouraging the audience to continue its fight against their dominance and exclusion. That is where he ended his speech by closing with the salutation "Uburu!," in which the audience gave Yeshitela a fiery standing ovation. This concluding declaration brings the speech back to the beginning. It reminds the audience that in this global fight against U.S. imperialism, people of color must first take pride in your culture; reclaim it; define it; live it.

"Uburu" as a salutation speaks volumes, asserting that culture is not only a part of their ancestry and heritage, but also of their future.

Thus, embodying dignity in your culture is the first step in redefining who they are as colonized people whose identity have been shape by their conquerors. It is through their culture's demise that their fight is defined. For that reason, the identification between the speaker and his social position (being African, a socialist, and an organizer), the audience (being predominantly Filipino activists), and colonized people worldwide is grounded, maintained and long integrated until at least the end of United States imperialism. Hence, "Uburu" is more than simple freedom. Using it is all encompassing of his speech and the identification fostered by it.

Larger Context

Speeches like Yeshitela's, conferences like the "Link Arms, Raise Fists," rallies of resistance, and solidarity calls for the end of U.S. imperialism are all components to what would hope to be a global change. His speech, then, should be viewed as a political act that functions on a global level. The claims he makes are consistent with the interests and rights of colonized people worldwide. These interests would be that of self-determination, freedom and an overall concern for the progress of the common people (as opposed to governments or multi-national corporations). Anti war-on-terrorism rhetoric is not looked at as a separate function from the larger scope of anti United States' imperialism.

In fact, the war on terrorism discourse is seen as one in the same with globalization and pro-U.S. imperialism rhetoric. With this in mind, for genuine national reform to manifest on a larger scope, the oppression bestowed upon through the United State's military, and the accord over puppet third world governments, must be challenged through grass-roots awareness, organizing, and mobilization that incite a unified global resistance. Along these lines, the liberation of the Philippines from U.S. imperialism, over and above simple military intervention, dovetails with the rights of other colonized people in

their right to be free from overt military intervention, opposition and intimidation.

For these people, it is clear that the United States clearly depends on the geopolitical location of the Philippines, among many other countries. The United States carries out their imperialism here by using their islands for military presence, the storage of weapons, armed preparation, and as a strategic global region economically. Thus, it is through their military that they stabilize the International Monetary Fund – World Bank interests, World Trade Organization "commitments", and imperialist globalization in all its forms. When the United States conquered the Philippines a century ago, it was and still is seen as their continuance of territorial expansion (Manifest Destiny) within their own "borders," into Central America, through other Pacific Islands, Puerto Rico, then across the Pacific to the Philippines.

This colonization not only denied the Filipinos access to their own natural resources – forests, sea, and minerals – but also its own post to expand markets into the rest of Asia. Instead, the United States took these ports to position themselves into Asia, and thus, begin to expand their territorial indulgence. Not being able to access the Philippines freely – politically, militarily, and economically - is a major setback for U.S. world dominance. Thus, it is no surprise, from this perspective, as to why the Philippines became the "second front" after Afghanistan for the United States to fight "terrorism". For Yeshitela, and anti-U.S. imperialism comrades, it is covert perpetration for imperial maintenance.

It should be noted that the anti Imperialism stance condemns terrorism, especially the terrorism that the United States continues to practice on colonized lands. They position themselves against what would be considered the United State's crooked appeal to fight terrorism for its own self-interested ends. According to U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review 2001 (QDR 2001), America's overseas presence, concentrated in Western Europe and Northeast Asia, "is inadequate for the new strategic environment, in which U.S. (economic

and security) interests are global, and potential threats in other areas of the world are emerging." These potential threats aren't that of "terrorism," as much as it is an intensifying stance against U.S. Imperialism. As discussed by Philippine House Representative, Satur C. Ocampo, the QDR 2001was "largely written before the 9/11 terrorist attacks though released a few weeks after... gained momentum with the creation of the 'war on terrorism' as a propaganda thriller." The attacks on The World Trade Center just help the United States disguise their overall purpose to re-colonize the globe. This process to re-colonize the world in a more present-day sophisticated and mystified method is the scope upon which Yeshitela's speech, and the movements it aligns itself with, attempts to expose, interrogate and challenge.

Contributions to War Rhetoric Criticism and Kenneth Burke's Identification Theory

To help comprehend identification theory, I detailed various methods on how identification is formed in war rhetoric. Specifically, I discussed how defining [cultural, historical, and political] self could foster similarity among various nationalities whose civilization has been colonized. Moreover, the exploration of how common values are sometimes inherent when people share common histories against a common enemy was carefully investigated and posited. Through particular analysis, I explored how describing an enemy's rationale can reveal objectives conflicting and threatening to the lives and culture of a people, thus serving the further evolution of identification. And finally, I demonstrated how an appeal to hope and cultural obligation elevates identification to higher level.

This critique also explored the perspectives of colonized people in the process of U.S. imperialism. It sought to raise awareness against streamlined efforts to centralize colonialist values to dominate the land and lives of oppressed nations. This contribution to the criticism of war rhetoric also hopes to edify and enlighten non-postcolonial

minds to the lives and perspectives of people who suffer under the guise of just American expansion doing a so-called service to the people they are conquering. Thus, this criticism brings to the national discourse of war, the voices and concerns of colonized people whose fight for human rights is against a deceptive global super power in United States politics.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Studies

Using identification theory has its limits. First of all, one is not obliged to pay attention to structure, narrative or ethos, pathos and logos. It doesn't evaluate whether or not arguments it makes appeal to a particular enthymeme or even uses accurate syllogisms. Furthermore, identification theory does not look at metaphors, vehicles and tenors. Applying identification methodology simply focuses the critic to pay attention to how identification is established. It doesn't necessitate the critic to do anything else. However, applying its theory to critique does allow room for other writing agendas – as do other, if not all, methodologies.

Although not explicit in my methodology, I positioned myself as a critic who not only understands the fight against U.S. imperialism, but also opposes it as well. This writing space doesn't undermine an approach to seem "objective," yet is aligned to the interests of one value over another. In that regard, writing is never seen as neutral. If by being objective, one claims to be neutral, then what this perspective sees is a critique that is contributing to the supremacy of the norm. Instead, I make it deliberately evident that criticism, particularly this one, is never objective.

It may be difficult for some to read, because of its scathing nature, but then serves as further substantiation that always writing in regards to and flattering towards a Euro-centric reader is in essence institutionalized racism and ideological hegemony. Having to consistently write and have discussions in a space that only

validates a so-called objective, or watered down, form is seen in this critique as consistently having to distance, if not let go, of our convictions to please a Euro-centric posture. By doing this as critics, marginalized people are naturally negotiating (or eradicating) who they are in the process.

It is not my duty to change anybody's beliefs as much as it is my duty to invite others into this sort of dialogue. Many other approaches could be taken. One could perhaps examine how Yeshitela's discourse alienates those whose values are Euro-centric. Perhaps, a critic could explore the exclusion of women in his anti U.S. imperialism rhetoric. It would even make for intriguing critique to examine Yeshitela's speech is contradictory in nature due to the notion that he is open to collaborating with and through a United State's political forum. Further studies are countless. I would only suggest that the examinations are revealing, profound, out of the ordinary, and contributing to the progress of compassionate human rhetoric, thought and relations.

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PROPAGANDA HUES: THE COLOR BOOKS OF WORLD WAR ONE – THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE JUST WAR GENRE

BY EDWARD J. LANGER

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Duchess Sophie were assassinated by Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Archduke Ferdinand was heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. Gavrilo Princip was a member of the Serbian terrorist organization known as the Black Hand, a group who sought to separate Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Austrian-Hungary Empire and join it with Serbia (Serbia).[1]

Austria reacted to the assassination by attempting to crush any and all Serbian nationalist movements. Serbia had looked to Czar Nicholas II of Russia for protection. Austria-Hungary looked to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany for support. During the month following the assassination there was intense diplomatic activity by all the great powers in Europe to resolve differences between Serbia and Austria-Hungary and to avert another European war. All of this activity came to no avail as war erupted on July 28, 1914 between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.

This war would have remained localized to the region except for the involvement of Germany and Russia. Russia wanted to expand its influence into the region and Germany needed to support Austria and to maintain its influence in the area. To support Serbia and to meet any military threat along its borders with Austria, Russia ordered full mobilization of its army on July 30th. Germany mobilized its army the next day and declared war on Russia on August 1st. Since Russia was at war with Germany, France, under treaty, was obligated to declare war on Germany. Great Britain, under treaty to Belgium, was brought into the war after Germany marched through Belgium to fight France. And thus began the horror known as World War One.

After the war began each of the belligerents issued a document explaining their version of the events leading up to their declaration of war. These documents are as follows:

The Serbian Blue Book
The Austro-Hungary Red Book
The Russian Orange Book
The German White Book[2]

It is the contents of these books that are the focus of this paper. Because each of these books share many points in common including time, structure and composition, this paper will explore the genre that is developed from them.

Each belligerent issued these documents as a piece of propaganda to justify to their people that the monarch and the government had taken every step necessary to preserve the peace, but were forced by the other side to go to war. More important, is the underlying assertion that each belligerent nation went to war to protect the divine right of the monarch and the government to rule as ordained by God. The monarch and the government were the God ordained heroes fighting the villainy of the neighboring countries. This genre focuses on the divine right of kings and the need to

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[1] For a complete description of the events of the day go to http://www.ukans.edu/~ww_one/comment/sarajevo.html

[2] *The Belgian Grey Book, The French Yellow Book* and The British *Bryce Report* are not included in this analysis. Although they share some commonality with these books, these countries were not the protagonists but were drawn into the war by the others. It is believed that the colors that were chosen come from the heraldic colors of the individual state (Plotke). For Austria, though, all diplomatic books were in red.

maintain legitimacy – legitimacy that comes from God not from the people.

Genre Analysis

A genre analysis explores similar rhetorical situations and seeks to discover the commonalities and patterns that may exist. A genre criticism is appropriate since "generic political rituals are mechanisms of collective understanding and perhaps even formalism whereby citizens can be reassured (or not be assured) that power is being executed competently. Such generic rituals as inaugurations, state of the union addresses, declaration of war and the like clearly epitomize occasions in which performance is tied to legitimacy – and hence to mechanisms for reconfirming the right to rule powerfully. Violations of the conventions of political communicative genres can lead the electorate to question a politician's phrominos—the ability to act prudently—which in turn can raise questions about political competence" (Gronbeck 1999, 1).

Genre criticism owes it modern origins to Edwin Black's Rhetorical Criticism. His book provides the basis for an alternative to the neo-Aristotelian method of criticism. He states: "first, we must assume that there is a limited number of situations in which a rhetor can find himself." "Second, we must assume that there is a limited number of ways in which a rhetor can and will respond rhetorically to any given situation." "Third, we must assume that the recurrence of a given situational type through history will provide the critic with information on the rhetorical responses available in that situation." "Fourth, we must assume that, although we can expect congregations of rhetorical discourses to form at distinct points along the scale...discourses sharing the same characteristics will tend to have the same effects on similar audiences" (Black 1965, 133-134). Black establishes the framework to study and compare recurring situations. Previous study would have looked at each rhetorical piece separately as an isolated text. Black provides an opportunity to see how and why

texts can be similar for similar situations and apply this information to a further understanding of social and political actions.

Lloyd Bitzer states: "the presence of rhetorical discourse obviously indicates the presence of a rhetorical situation." It is not the "rhetorical address (which) gives existence to the situation: on the contrary, it is the situation which calls the discourse into existence," (Bitzer, 248). Situations call forth the need for discourse. If a situation existed in a vacuum then each situation and corresponding discourse would be unique. But situations tend to reoccur, calling forth the need for similar rhetorical discourses. When they do, the critic has an opportunity to study the accompanying discourse to determine how it can be compared to previous situations and discourse and if patterns exist between them. As these patterns develop, categories can be created to place similar situations and discourses.

Some authors claim that genre criticism dates from Aristotle and that its prime purpose is just classification. "Rhetoricians since Aristotle have attempted to classify communications into categories or "genres" with similar form, topic or purpose" (Kwasnik 2000, 1). In some instances, classification is the only purpose of a genre. But for our purposes we will look at genre for classification and social action. Other authors downplay the importance of genre. Donald Bryant acknowledges the existence of genre theory and ideological theories but places them secondary to a neo-Aristotelian method of rhetorical criticism. Genre theory can be used to classify discourses, but the discourses can only be understood and analyzed through neo-Aristotelian criticism (Bryant, 1973, 26-27).

But just creating categories does not define the meaningfulness of the discourse or the categorization. "It is structure that makes action meaningful, but, at the same time, it is action that produces structure. For genre theorists, this representation of the forms and routines of communication captures genre's social profile" (Giltrow, 47). The genre should speak out the social profile of the people. It should tell us who these people were and how

they thought and acted at a given time and place. It should allow us to compare the actions of other people under similar circumstances. It allows us to look into our own society to judge our past actions and set guidelines for future actions.

Genre theory also adds a historical aspect to rhetoric. Bruce Gronbeck states: "The rhetorical problem to historical discourse…is the search for ways to bridge historical narratives and interpretive arguments. Can the story being told from traces of the past be made to look at the past" (Gronbeck 1995, 4-5). He further states that today's society looks to the past for its purpose and meaning.

> "The rhetoric of collective memory works by symbolically building bridges between today and yesterday. The difference is that the primary movement is not from the past to the present, but the other way around. A society's collective memory is regularly reshaped by today's interpreters so as to make it more useful in the presence" (Gronbeck 1995, 10-11).

Society is constantly looking back to their past to find examples, situations, and discourses that can help explain a situation today. We need the past. We need to develop genres that explain and justify our actions and our beliefs based on historical precedence. Historical precedence helps guide us today in our actions.

Genre is also social and political action. "The genre or realm of political discourse…is strongly reformatory or revolutionary. Therein lies its strong sense of rhetorical efficacy and agency: performed public language is clearly presumed to make differences in life" (Gronbeck 1997, 7). Political discourse, speeches, documents, treaties and communications, shape our society and our perception of our leaders, our government and ultimately of our selves. Based on the historical context of our society we judge our leaders, our country and ultimately ourselves based on the paradigm handed down through society through

the ages. This genre of public discourse allows society to justify its actions. In the case of the Color Books of World War One, our attempt is not to justify their actions but to develop the genre and its application and then contribute to the collective memory of western society to help us judge the criteria that countries use to declare war and to commit their citizenry to glory or disaster. Perhaps this genre can make a difference in the future by allowing us to understand this tragic past.

Origin of the Books

These books were all published within weeks of each other, shortly after the beginning of the war. They are written as a propagandist tool to justify to their citizenry the righteousness of their actions and that they had no other choice except to declare war to protect the nation. They build on the past traditions of the special relationship between the monarch and God and on the pageantry that is used to reinforce this relationship. As a propagandist tool they were also used to influence neutral nations. Even in a world war there are countries that do not take up arms in the conflict but can serve very important roles as suppliers of foodstuffs, raw materials, and weapons and can provide safe harbors for warships. It is doubtful that any neutral nation was directly influenced by these books. Most countries already had treaties and agreements establishing their relationships. More likely allied but neutral countries looked upon these books as justification for continued diplomatic relations with the country. Since these books were published after the start of hostilities the contents could be edited with documents added or deleted to make their case for the assumption of hostilities.

Historical Background

What is left out of the books is the fact that there was an arms race going on in Europe with Germany rapidly expanding its navy and army. Russia was still trying to become a major military power equal to the other European

countries. Austria-Hungary was a fading power and any threat to its monarchy was one more nail in the coffin of their past glories. Serbia seeing that Austria-Hungary was on the decline chose to exercise its limited power to control more territory. But each of the books tells how it was trying to maintain good relations with the others and wanted to live in peace. Since they were written after the fact, the nation could color their history to make the countries look more like victims than perpetrators. To justify war, they had to paint the other side as the initiator of hostile actions.

Austria

Austria had begun the nineteenth century as one of the great European powers. By 1914, a little over one hundred years later, it was a second rate European power. While other countries were expanding their empire throughout the world, Austria's influence and power was confined to affairs within its borders and the Southern Slavic areas. Austria's downfall began in 1806 after a series of military defeats stripped Austria of much of its territory and created the Confederation of the Rhine. Francis II, Holy Rome Emperor and Emperor of the Austrian Empire was forced to become only Francis I, Emperor of Austria. This loss of prestige and title continued through the century under the next emperor, Francis Joseph (1835-1916), with the eventual loss of the monarchy in 1918, with Charles I (1916) renouncing his imperial powers.

During the nineteenth century other forms-of government, not based on a monarchy, were established in Europe. "By the 1830s there were other forms of legitimacy emerging which were pushing aside the sort of dynastic and religious claims to authority on which the Franciscan version of the Habsburg state rested" (Beller 1996, 27). Austria had stagnated. It kept looking to the past for its glory, but the world had changed. Francis Joseph was forced to accept a constitutional monarchy form of government if 1849. But Francis Joseph "remained absolutely convinced of the Habsburg mission to rule, by Divine Right. From this perspective, a constitution, any constitution was still an infringement on the ruler's God-given duties to rule as his conscience saw fit" (Beller 1996, 71). To enhance his authority Francis Joseph looked to the ritual of the monarchy. "Under Francis Joseph the Habsburg Court came to be known for its strict ritual, its pomp, its exclusivity, and increasingly for its anachronistic nature. This was the result of the emperor's intentional effort to restore to his court the 'majesty' lacking under Ferdinand, and thus, it was hoped the authority which went with the majesty" (Beller 1996, 133). With Francis Joseph in his eighties, any threat to Archduke Franz Ferdinand and to the line of succession represented a clear threat to Austria-Hungary and the Habsburg monarchy.

Serbia

Serbia's history was almost the opposite of Austria's history. For most of the nineteenth century, Serbia was part of the Ottoman Empire. It was only after the Crimean War and the Treaty of Paris in 1856 that Serbia, while still remaining part of the Ottoman Empire, was now under the protection of the victorious European governments. Prince Alexander Karageorgevic was able to form a new government but was forced to resign and flee the country. Prince Milosh Obreonvic assumed the throne. With his passing, his son, Michael Obreonvic became ruler

But internal peace was not to last. In 1868 Prince Michael was assassinated and his son Prince Milan Obreonvic assumed the throne. Prince Milan was finally able to make a treaty with Turkey and Serbia became an independent nation. In 1882 Prince Milan became King Milan I. Exhausted he resigned and his son, King Alexander I came into power. By 1903 King Alexander I had been assassinated (the assassins used over thirty bullets) and Prince Peter Karageorgevic was elected by the national Assembly and became king. King Peter I had been "anointed at Zica in the ancient coronation church of the Serbian kings" (Miller 1923, 503). With the blessing

and anointing by the church and by the pageantry of the coronation, Peter I had the outward appearance of a monarch who just received his commission to rule from God. Pageantry confirmed by the church reassures the citizenry of the king's right to rule.

Serbia struggled throughout the last half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century for existence and to provide a stable government. Assassination was an accepted way to change monarchs. Instead of one ruler like Austria it had several. Its relationship with Austria fluctuated from close ally to bitter enemy.

Russia

Russia had entered the nineteenth century as a large empire. Russia had suffered a series of defeats by Napoleon of France with Napoleon ultimately capturing Moscow. Russia suffered another defeat against a combined Anglo, French, and Turkish expedition in the Crimean War of 1854-1856. Russia is finally able to defeat another country when it defeated Turkey in the Balkans in the 1877 Russo-Turkish War. In 1900 the Russian army assisted in the liberation of the foreign embassies in Peking during the Boxer Rebellion. But the army and the navy were thoroughly defeated by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. Later it was unable to come to the aid of Serbia because of threats of Austrian armed confrontation. It was not until 1914 that Russia felt its army and rebuilt navy was sufficiently strong to risk combat.

Czar Alexander II (1855-1881) was credited with liberating the serfs and creating a more liberal and progressive form of government. Six attempts were made on Alexander II's life. The seventh attempt proved fatal. Alexander III tried to appease the landed nobility and further reforms were few. Instead he established a police state with the army used to put down strikes and other uprisings. Alexander III passed away and his son Nicholas II became Czar – the last Russian Czar.

Industrialization and disruption of industry by strikes was beginning to paralyze the nation. But Nicolas II and the royal family were removed from the constant turmoil. They were aware of events but isolated from reality. Nicolas II also believed in his divine right to rule. The czar loved the spectacle of parades and participated in many. "In Russia these ceremonies served to perpetuate the communion of the Tsar with his people, defense of the native soil constituting, together with anointment by the church, the twofold consecration of his legitimacy" (Ferro 1993, 23). On the eve on World War One, Russian workers are violently protesting their working conditions and the lack of governmental reforms, the Russian army is mobilizing in various cities to put down strikes, and Russia, having been embarrassed internationally in the Russo-Japanese War and having been forced to back down on its obligations to Serbia, has its back against the wall, and can retreat no further.

Germany

Germany entered the nineteenth century as a collection of small states each controlled by a prince. The German states were under the control of Austria but were able to achieve some independence in the battles against Napoleon and the end of the Holy Roman Empire under Austria's Francis II. By 1866 they are able to defeat Austria. Count Bismark formed the Northern German Confederation under Prussian leadership the next year. Prussia defeated France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the German Empire was declared in 1871.

In 1859 the future Kaiser Wilhelm II was born. Upon becoming Kaiser at the age of twenty-two, he embarked upon a program to expand the empire. Unfortunately, much of the world had already been conquered and colonized by other European countries. All that was left were a few places in Africa, some islands in the Pacific Ocean and areas in China. Creation of an empire provided international prestige and power.

Kaiser Wilhelm II "stressed the formality of kingship...the monarch was the symbol of empire whose progresses were to encourage the people through a constantly renewed pageant. This was a theatrical form of kingship meant to dazzle and impress and encourage worship from his people" (MacDonogh 2000, 130). Wilhelm II also believed that it was his God-given mission to lead the German people (MacDonogh 2000, 131). Wilhelm II was related to the nobility of England and Russia but he would not let family ties get in his way for an expanded German Empire.

On the eve of World War One, these four countries needed to protect their prestige at home, throughout Europe, and the world. They could not afford to back down from the fight. To do so would call in to question to themselves and to their people their legitimacy to rule. After the war begins they must issue a document that justifies their actions.

Structure of the Books

Structurally these books are similar in composition, length, and timeline. The Austro-Hungarian Red Book consists of an introduction or summary plus a series of telegrams sent to/from Vienna to their embassies. The Serbian Blue Book consists of a series of telegrams between Belgrade and her embassies. There is no separate summary although one of the telegrams serves the same purpose. The German White Book follows the pattern of The Austro-Hungarian Red Book. It consists of an introduction and a list of telegrams sent between Berlin and her embassies. The Russian Orange Book follows the pattern of The Serbian Blue Book. It consists of a series of telegrams between St. Petersburg and her embassies. It also includes a lengthy statement summarizing the events leading up to the armed conflict. In all of the books the telegrams are arranged by date showing the progression of negotiations and the steps leading up to war. The White Book also includes a series of personal telegrams between

Kaiser Wilhelm II and Czar Nicholas II[3] trying at the last minute to avert a war. The telegrams in all of the books serve as a historical timeline for each country's march from peace, to negotiations to war. All of the books end at the declaration of war. All of the books are roughly similar in length.

Each book has a relatively narrow focus on the events leading up to the war. While there are some statements detailing past grievances, the primarily focus is the time between the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the declaration of war. The Austro-Hungarian Red Book and The Serbian Blue Book are concerned with the events from June 28th to August 1st or a little over a month. The German White Book and The Russian Orange Book have an even narrower focus of just the last two weeks before the declaration of war.

The Divine Right of Kings

Analysis of the contents of these books will revel that one aspect of them is to protect the legitimacy of the monarchy. On the surface the books are just propaganda directed to their own people listing a series of excuses and accusations as a justification for going to war. Taken as a whole, the four books represent a circle of finger pointing, blaming the other side for causing the conflict. But there is another aspect to these books. Each of these books is trying to justify the divine legitimacy of the monarch and the government to continue to rule. It is never stated directly in the books, but each book contains all the elements of that go with the divine right of kings, and when combined with historical information show that these monarchs openly practiced this belief.

There is a belief that monarchs receive their commission, their right to rule and the legitimacy of their government directly from

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[3] The Kaiser and the Czar were cousins and regularly correspondent with each other signing Willy or Nicky. These so called "Willy-Nicky" telegrams begin on July 29th and end August 1st. They were personal appeals between cousins/monarchs to stand down their troops and prevent a war, but to no avail. The juggernaut of war had already left these appeals in the dust

God. St. Augustine wrote in City of God: "for the Wisdom of God thus speaks: "By me kings reign, and tyrants (brave men) possess the land" (Augustine, Book V, Chapter XIX, 172). From his commission from God, the king must rule his people wisely and justly and he must protect his people from outside threats. Failure to obey the rules of God and also not to protect his people, which includes threats to the national boarders, calls into question the right of the king to legitimately continue to rule. If the monarch is not following the rules from God, he and his government will be replaced by God.

To protect his people from outside aggressors, the king has the obligation to wage war. Again St. Augustine writes, "the wise man will wage a just war…for it is the wrong doing of the opposing party which compels the wise man to wage just wars" (Augustine, Book XIX, Chapter VII, 683). A wise king has the duty and honor to wage a just war because the other side has wronged him and his people.

The concept of the divine right of kings was not exclusive to St. Augustine. Martin Luther "asserted the divine right of the German princes" (Laski 1919, 295). King James I of England writes in Works: "The state of the monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself are called gods" (James I 1609). Bishop Jacques-Benigne Bossuet in his 1679 Politics Taken from the very Words of Scripture writes: "it appears from all of this that the person of the king is sacred, and to attack him in any way is sacrilege…the service of God and the respect accorded for kings are bound together" (Bossuet, 1). Further French thought continued the idea of the divine right to rule. "In France as in colonial America, the doctrine of higher law was used for several political purpose, among which was the promulgation of rational principles of legitimacy" (Brown 1969, 372).

Uniforms and ceremonies reinforced the special relationship monarchs had with God and as rulers. For Russia "Court ceremony not only reinforced ideas of divine legitimacy, but also reminded the rulers of their obligations to God on high and to their people in this world" (Kivelson 2002). Pageantry and ceremony were the outward appearance to the nation of the continuing right of the king to rule under God. The special robes and uniforms worn by the monarch set them apart from the everyday person. Kaiser Wilhelm II had two rooms to house his collection of uniforms, which consisted of three hundred different regimental uniforms proclaiming his various ranks and positions within the German Empire. He also maintained separate uniforms from the honorary ranks he held with other countries which he wore to receive guests on state visits (MacDonogh 2000, 126). In this respect their clothes paralleled the clothes worn by the clergy. Each had a special relationship with God, and their ceremonial robes/uniforms reinforced the image of this relationship to the people.

The monarch had his divine commission directly from God. This commission gives the monarch legitimacy to rule his people. This legitimacy is reinforced by court ceremony and the need to take care of his people, which would include the right and the need to wage the just war. Although the monarch is appointed by God, it does not mean that the king can disobey the laws of God or neglect his people. As Martin Luther writes: "the tyrants run the risk that, by God's decree, their subjects may rise up, as has been said, and slay them or drive them out." "God has still another way to punish rulers…he can raise up foreign rulers…so that there is vengeance, punishment, and danger enough hanging over tyrants and rulers, and God does not allow them to be wicked and have peace and joy" (Luther). Failure to wage the just war calls into question the king's God given legitimacy to rule. "A political ethic is an ethic of responsibility. The just-war tradition offers a way to exercise that responsibility" (Elshtain 2002, 2).

Propaganda Theory in Support of the Divine Right

Since these books were written after the fact, the governments could color the facts and the history to suit their needs. Creating propaganda during war was not new. But in this case it was necessary to convince their own people of the need to fight the just war and to save the monarchy, hence the nation. Propaganda theory dovetails into this analysis of the divine right of kings especially in part three below. Analyzing propaganda after the war Harold Lasswell writes:

1. "A government influences its own people by legislation, adjudication, policing, propaganda, and ceremonialism" (9).
2. "No government could hope to win without a united nation behind it, and no government could have a united nation behind it unless it controlled the minds of the people" (10).
3. "There must be no ambiguity about whom the public is to hate...(the propagandist) must see that everything is circulated which establishes the sole responsibility of the enemy" (47).
4. "The propagandist may count upon a battalion of honest professors to rewrite history, to serve the exigencies of the moment" (53).

Propagandists rewrote history and made the other side into a villain, while they, themselves, were the heroes doing battle to protect the innocent. Rudyard Kipling, one of the British propaganda writers, "had manipulated the idea of war into a glorious crusade against the Germans" (Bilising 2000). The nation was on a great crusade, a mission ordained by God. It was a just war, which must be fought to continue the legitimacy of the crown. But first a case must be made to describe the evilness of the enemy and that the enemy initiates hostile actions.

Analysis of the Books

Throughout the analysis below there will be constant references to the other side lying, threatening, and mobilizing their armies. These monarch-controlled governments had no choice but to wage war to maintain their favored status before God, and to make their people believe that God still bestowed legitimacy on the monarch and the government. Some of the topics or categories that are similar in these books are as follows:

1. Control of public information.
2. Maintain friendly neighborly relations.
3. Protection of national sovereignty.
4. The need to mobilize for war.

Each side accuses the other of fomenting the war and endangering the peace in the region. Whether the facts are true or not is not the object of this paper. What this paper explores is the "wrong doing of the opposing party which compels the wise man to wage just wars."

Control of Public Information

Control of public information is a key accusation in these books. Each side accused the other of controlling the press and forcing it to print stories that reflect negatively on the other side and in generating hostile propaganda. This spreading of lies and inciting the people and other nations to start armed conflict is part of the "wrong doing of the opposing party" against the monarchy and his country.

The Austro-Hungarian Red Book opens its attack in the first paragraph by stating: "(Serbia) pursued the aim of undermining by hostile propaganda and revolutionary plots, those territories of Austria-Hungary which are inhabited by the Southern Slavs." It continues: "(Serbia) permitted the press to foment hatred against the monarchy in an unprecedented way...(and) they did not prevent prominent

members of their military and civil administration from poisoning the public conscience" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 1).

The Serbian Blue Book states: "The hostility of public opinion in Germany towards us is growing and is being fostered by false reports coming from Vienna and Budapest" (Serbian Blue Book, 2). It continues: "The Austrian and Hungarian press are blaming Serbia more and more for the Sarajevo outrage. Their aim is transparent, viz., to destroy that high moral reputation which Serbia now enjoys in Europe" (Serbian Blue Book, 3). In a telegram from Vienna to Belgrade the Serbian ambassador says that Austria-Hungary accused Belgrade of controlling the press and in response the ambassador states: "that the press in Serbia was absolutely free." He further stated, "that in the present instance the fault lay with the Austrian and Hungarian press which was controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Government." He asked Austria "to induce the Vienna press not to make matters more difficult by its accusations in this critical moment, when Serbo-Austrian relations were being put to a severe test" (Serbian Blue Book, 6). Further on July 14th, the book states, "the Austrian Korrespondenzbureau is showing a marked tendency to excite public opinion in Europe" (Serbian Blue Book, 10). Finally on July 19th, in a long message from Belgrade to all embassies, there is a continuing complaint against Austria for allowing its press to "campaign against Serbia" (Serbian Blue Book, 16)

Germany was also concerned with Serbian propaganda. Serbia did nothing to suppress "unwholesome propaganda in public education" (German White Book, 9). Continuing, "the pan Serb propaganda has meanwhile continued to increase in scope and intensity" (German White Book, 17). Germany accused the Russian press of distorting the facts (German White Book, 18).

The Russian Orange book had very little to say about the press. Only one comment appears from their Berlin consulate claiming the morning papers "warmly welcome the strong line adopted by Austria" (Russian Orange Book, 2).

The matter of the control of the press and the agitation contained in the press was clearly a concern for these nations. As part of the propaganda of the state to its people, it is a continuing trend to blame the other side.

Good Neighbors

The next issue of commonality in the books is the quest to maintain peaceful neighborly relations or at least accusing the other side of trying to disrupt good neighborly relations. Besides showing that the other side is lying through the press to its people, it is necessary to show that there is a threat from the other side. Austria-Hungary and Germany demonstrate the threat while Serbia desires to maintain peaceful relations.

The Austro-Hungary Red Book calls Serbia a "dishonest neighbor" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 2). Austria wished to establish friendly relations with Serbia but Serbia maintained a hostile attitude toward the monarchy (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 9).

The Serbian Blue Book states that Serbia wishes to remain "loyal in their desire to establish a sound basis for our good neighborly relations" (Serbian Blue Book, 2). "Serbia is doing everything in her power to improve her relations with the neighboring Monarchy" (Serbian Blue Book, 4). Finally, "the Government have given their particular attention to the improving and strengthening of their relations with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" (Serbian Blue Book, 17).

Germany also wished to maintain friendly relations with its neighbors but was prevented from doing so by the "menacing attitude of our easterly (Russia) and westerly (France) neighbors" (German White Book, 2).

This desire to establish good neighborly relations is not like Robert Frost's poem "Mending Wall." Instead of "good fences make good neighbors," these countries are trying to breach the walls at the others expense and acquire more territory. Time again is a factor. Being able to write after the fact allows each

side to assemble those documents that emphasize good neighborly intentions and thus make the other side look like the villain. Each nation must also mend walls within its own borders between the government and the civilian population. This wall that separates the two could easily be breached by the people, unless the government can demonstrate through the words of their books and documents that they have acted in defense of the nation as ordained by God.

Protection of the Monarchy

A major topic common to all books is the need to protect the monarchy, its prestige, the national borders, and the empire. Anything that threatens any of these points is a reason to mobilize the army and to go to war. Protection of the dignity and prestige of the monarchy and the country are stressed in these books. The dignity due the monarch and hence to his realm comes directly from the monarch's special relation with God. The monarch is sacred. Disrespect to the monarch, which would include the royal family, his people or his country is disrespect to God. Such disrespect cannot go unchallenged.

Austria-Hungary complained that Serbia "struggles against the Monarchy" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 1). The Austro-Hungarian "Monarchy was determined if necessary to go to the utmost limit in order to maintain her prestige and the integrity of her territories" Austria-Hungary only wanted to protect their "dynasty from outrage and the territory of the Monarchy from criminal intrigues" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 2).

Serbia also felt threatened. Austria-Hungary is trying "to destroy that high moral reputation which Serbia now enjoys in Europe" (Serbian Blue Book, 3). Serbia believed that Austria-Hungary may "treat the Sarajevo outrage as a Pan-Serbian, South-Slav and Pan-Slav conspiracy...it is therefore advisable to be ready for defense" (Serbian Blue Book, 9). Serbia fears that Austria-Hungary must take action to preserve their prestige (Serbian Blue Book, 13). After receiving a list of demands,

Serbia responds: "but we can never comply with demands which may be directed against the dignity of Serbia, and which would be unacceptable to any country which respects and maintains its independence" (Serbian Blue Book, 17).

Russia as a supporter of Serbia had been intervening on Serbia's behalf with Austria-Hungary. After Great Britain had asked for a mediation of the great powers, Russia in support of this mediation told Austria "that a great power such as Austria could give way without impairing her prestige' (Russian Orange Book, 4). Russia in further talks with Austria-Hungary felt that the Serbian reply "exceeds all our expectations in moderation, and in its desire to afford the fullest satisfaction to Austria. We do not see what further demands could be made by Austria, unless the Vienna Cabinet is seeking for a pretext for war with Serbia" (Russian Orange Book, 9). Russia still desired peace but felt that Austria-Hungary and Germany were conspiring to eliminate Russian influence in the area. "Any other solution, besides being entirely incompatible with our dignity, would assuredly have upset the balance of power by securing the hegemony of Germany" (Russian Orange Book, 23).

Germany supported Austria-Hungary and placed the blame on Serbia. "For the third time in the course of the last 6 years, Serbia has led Europe to the brink of a world-war" (German White Book, 1). Germany agreed with Austria-Hungary "that any action considered necessary to end the movement in Serbia directed against the conservation of the monarchy would meet with our approval" "The agitation by the pan-Slavs in Austria-Hungary has for its goal the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy...(and) the complete isolation of the German Empire" (German White Book, 18).

Mobilizing for War

Mobilizing the army and going to war was the ultimate act of a monarch to protect his people. The just war tradition allowed the monarch to declare war and slay the enemy that

was threatening his people. Mobilizing the troops and leading them off into battle, whether in person or just figuratively, was part of the pageantry of the monarchy. The monarch in full dress uniform leading his troops, reinforces the image.

The need to fight the just war is the ultimate act for a monarch following the tradition of the divine right of kings. Mobilizing the army and calling in reserve troops is the first step in going to war. A normal peacetime army, while it may prepare for war and provide security along the border, had a ceremonial function, which added to the pageantry of the monarchy. Mobilizing the army brings the army up to strength and adds more pageantry to the role of the monarch leading his army off to battle. While few monarchs actually fought at this time, King Peter I of Serbia, having handed off his duties to his son, Prince Alexander, "appeared in the ranks despite his age" (Miller 1923, 508).

Austria-Hungary had presented to Serbia a list of demands implying that if the demands were not met, then further dire consequences would occur. Serbia had asked for an extension of time to respond to the demands. "Although before sending her crafty and evasive answer, Serbia had ordered general mobilization, and thereby publicly claimed her hostility" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 2). Russia in support of Serbia also mobilized her army. "On the 29th July, although Austria-Hungary had not mobilized a single man against Russia, she ordered the mobilization of the military districts of Odessa, Kieff, Moscow, and Kasan" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 4). With Great Britain trying to mediate the conflict, Russia was asked to refrain from mobilizing her army. "This demand the St. Petersburg Cabinet answered by mobilizing the whole of the Russian forces." "Austria-Hungary and Germany saw themselves confronted with the choice of protecting their rights and safety, or of giving way before the threats of Russia. They took the road pointed out by honour and duty" (Austro-Hungary Red Book, 4). A monarch and his country are bound by duty and honor to fulfill their commission

from God to mobilize the army and fight the just war. Serbia and Russia mobilized their armies first, leaving Austria-Hungary and Germany no alternative but to fight.

Serbia was playing a delicate game of trying to negotiate with Austria-Hungary. On July 20th, from a telegram from Vienna to Belgrade the future is not optimistic. "There is no doubt that Austria-Hungary is making preparations of a serious character. What is chiefly to be feared, and is highly probable, is, that Austria is preparing for war against Serbia." Austria is also making "military preparations…in the vicinity of the Serbian frontier" (Serbian Blue Book, 18). Serbia's reply to Austria-Hungary demands were considered by them to be "quite conciliatory." "The Serbian Government trusts that the Austro-Hungarian Government, unless they are determined to make war at all costs, will see their way to accept the full satisfaction offered in the Serbia reply" (Serbian Blue Book, 21). With Austria-Hungary rejecting Serbia's reply, they severed diplomatic relations but did not declare war. However, Serbia took the next step and mobilized its army.

On July 28th, the Russian ambassador at Vienna telegraphed St. Petersburg that "the order for general mobilization has been signed" (Russian Orange Book, 12). Russia mobilized her army because of the "mobilization already undertaken by Austria, and owing to her evident unwillingness to accept, any means of arriving at a peaceful settlement of her dispute with Serbia" (Russian Orange Book, 15).[4] Russia claimed to try and resolve the issue peacefully and that it was still trying to negotiate with Austria-Hungary. "The emperor of Russia had promised the German Emperor that he would take no aggressive action as long as the discussions with Austria continued." "By her decision to declare war upon us, at a

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[4] During the month of July 1914, there were many fierce labor strikes shutting down industry throughout Russia. Sidney B. Fray's "New Light on the origins of the War, III. Russia and the Other Powers" goes into some detail how Russia had mobilized it army to put down strikes. Mobilization of the army to put down strikes could appear as mobilization for war.

moment when negotiations were in progress between the Powers, Germany has assumed a heavy responsibility" (Russian Orange Book, 23).

Germany also justified its actions to mobilize troops and to go to war. It was always easier to find the flimsiest excuse to blame the other side and then righteously begin hostilities. "The Serbian Government started the mobilization of its army one day after the transmission of the Austro-Hungarian note" (German White Book, 2). "The steps undertaken against Serbia implied merely a defensive measure against the Serb agitation." "Preparatory military measures by Russia will force us to counter-measures which must consist in mobilizing the army. But mobilization means war. We cannot assume that Russia desires to unchain such a European war" (German White Book, 3). With Great Britain offering to setup a mediation board, Germany expressed hope for peace. "Unfortunately, all these proposals were overtaken by the military preparations of Russia and France" (German White Book, 4). "Russia began the war against us." "On the morning of the next day France opened hostilities" (German White Book, 8). "French aviators had penetrated into Southern Germany and had thrown bombs on our railway lines. French troops had attacked our frontier guards on the Schlucht Pass" (German White Book, 28). Germany used as its excuse to enter the war the fact that Serbian actions could lead to the isolation and possible destruction of the German Empire. Germany also claimed that Russia and France mobilized their armies first and that in defense they had to do the same. France initiated hostile actions against Germany. In each case it was possible to blame the other side for initiating the threatening action of mobilizing the army and starting the actual armed conflict.

Each country felt justified in mobilizing their troops and going to war. They were forced to mobilize; they had no other choice. War is part pageantry. There may be incalculable suffering, death and destruction, but there is the pageantry of the declaration of war, the troops parading to go off to battle and the monarch in full dress uniform leading his people to fight the just war as ordained by God.

Conclusion

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not the cause of World War One. The tensions and actions leading to war had been in place for several years as each country jockeyed for a position of power. The powder keg of war was ready to explode all that was needed was for someone to light the fuse. This assassination lit the fuse. But still this was a long fuse and efforts could have been made to extinguish it. Assassinations of public figures were all the rage in Europe at this time, and no one went to war over them yet. This assassination was different.

Serbia struggled against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This was a struggle against an institution ordained by God. The Austro-Hungarian monarch and his family, including the person next in line to the throne, were sacred. This assassination was a direct assault against the monarch and hence against God. Historical information shows that each monarch believed in some fashion that he was God's ordained minister. His divine legitimacy to rule was confirmed by the church and reinforced regularly through the wearing of uniforms, in ceremony and in pageantry. When the crisis developed, each government issued these books to document to the people that their monarch and his government were following the teachings of St. Augustine and Martin Luther in defense of the homeland. The color books were propagandist tools that exploited the teachings on the divine right of kings. In each one, a case was made to certify the wrong doings of the other side. They established the threat to the monarchy and to the country. They established the criteria to call for a just war because the other side initiated hostile actions. Using propaganda, they rallied the people to their side for the great crusade against the enemy. They are the white knights, the heroes, fighting against the evilness that surrounded them. War was pageantry used to further the

belief in the divine right of kings. Failure to fight the just war could result in the monarch and his government being replaced by God. Failure to win the war would mean God's displeasure with the monarch. Perhaps God was displeased since each country was radically altered by the affects of the war.

Further Study

That these books all follow a similar structure and content provides the basis of this genre analysis. This genre may be unique to this particular time, place, and event but some of its features could transcend other armed conflicts. The monarchies that started World War One are now just dust in the sands of time. An area for further study would be to compare this genre to that of other wars of the past. More importantly it might be compared to wars of the present were each nation must again justify to its people its God/Yahweh/Allah given right to wage a just war or jihad. Failure to justify a war could call into question a government's divine right to rule, thus allowing the people to form a new government that will protect their interests. Comparisons of the rhetoric used to justify a new war and the pageantry used to justify their special favor under God may be similar to those used in the books analyzed above. While times may change and new generations forget the past, the rhetoric used to justify war may remain the same.

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HAMID KARZAI AND THE UNITED STATES: THE DELICATE CONSTRUCTION OF SAVIOR AND VILLIAN

BY PATCHREE PATCHRINT

Every war has a method of framing, categorizing, or classifying, and that particular system becomes the paradigm in which all things are understood. From the creation of winners and losers to the production of allies and enemies, countries at war strictly adhere to specific rules of identity construction that reinforce their individual power and position. This game of political constructions requires the development of heroes and villains where one participant is make to be the hero, while the opponent fills the mold of the enemy. These constructions of national identity, heroes, and villains are the central focus of this research and lead to the following question: how does the rhetorical construction of national identity impact the interpretation of war?

More specifically, this study focuses on Hamid Karzai's construction of the *new* Afghanistan and its allies in the War on Terrorism during his appointment as the interim leader. During this delicate time of Afghanistan's reconstruction, Karzai must maintain or create peaceful and meaningful relationships with his immediate neighbors and the international community. He is placed in an extremely difficult position because of the conflation of an Afghanistan identity with a Taliban/Al – Qaeda identity. This fusion of images creates a cloudy picture of what Afghanistan truly stands for and what their position is in the War on Terrorism. Relying on the power of his words and strategic constructions, Karzai must learn to build bridges with the international community while simultaneously preserving the integrity of his homeland.

By looking at Karzai's statements after his inauguration in December 2001, we may begin to realize how rhetoric functions in the game of political constructions during times of war. To begin this study, we must first explore the blended format of close textual analysis and ideological analysis as a methodology. Then, we shall move on to look at the historical context of Karzai's rhetoric. Finally, an analysis of Karzai's statements shall be uncovered. All of these steps will help illustrate the power of identity constructions during times of war, and provide an insight into one Afghani perspective of the War on Terrorism.

Exploring Close Textual Analysis through the Eyes of Michel Foucault

This analysis will employ a combination of close textual analysis and ideological critique upon Hamid Karzai's post-inaugural speeches and statements. Close textual analysis fused with a Foucauldian critique opens up the possible interpretations of these texts by adding numerous analytical criteria. To further explore this blended format, we must begin to define close textual analysis through the introduction of exemplar studies. From this point, we shall move towards the identification of Michel Foucault's ideological perspective. Finally, we shall justify the use of this blended format by illustrating its key benefits.

The Multiple Criteria of Close Textual Analyses

In his 1986 essay "Textual Analysis: The Legacy of G. P. Mohrmann," Michael Leff explains the necessity of close textual analysis by picking up the pieces that his predecessor left behind. G. P. Mohrmann plants the seeds of close textual analysis and claims that critics need to move away from theoretical

discussions and focus on the rhetorical action embodied in particular discourses (Leff, 1986, p. 547). Though Mohrmann argued for the return to the text, he failed to offer a clear methodology, so Leff extracted a method from Mohrmann's final works. Leff concludes that close textual analysis, as used by Mohrmann, should look at the use of spatial images and their relation to the text, both intrinsically and extrinsically. In a later article, Leff takes this interpretation one step further by applying it to Lincoln's "House Divided" speech. Leff extends Mohrmann's work by utilizing "temporal dimensions" as his main criterion for close textual analysis. Those dimensions must be explored within the text and outside of the text in order to achieve a complete analysis. Leff studies references to time and explores their function in the actual speech and within the context of the artifact. By studying the function of time in the text itself and in the context, critics gain the intrinsic and extrinsic value of this selected criterion, which is Leff's desired tool for close textual analysis.

Stephan E. Lucas, in his 1990 article "The Stylistic Artistry of the Declaration of Independence," illustrates another acceptable criterion for close textual analysis. Lucas shies away from "temporal dimensions," but moves towards an analysis of the "stylistic artistry" of the text. What Lucas does in his critique is a close reading of every "sentence, phrase, word, and syllable" in order to illuminate the "literary qualities and rhetorical powers" of this particular text (p. 564). He continues to explain how the language of this document influenced the American colonies to fight for their independence. Though he did not use time as a criterion for analysis, Lucas' focus on the intricacies of the text becomes another acceptable standard for this methodology, opening up its interpretive possibilities.

Another example of close textual analysis yields a different analytical tool for the same methodology. Martin J. Medhurst offers a clear roadmap for his close reading of Eisenhower's Farewell Address. His goal is to "reconceptualize" history by dissecting this keynote address and focusing on four specific themes of the text. Medhurst begins his analysis by identifying the dominant interpretations of this text. From there, he introduces his "alternative" reading, which he supports with his close reading of the text. The themes Medhurst focuses on in the text are congressional relations, peace and progress, balance in the present situation, and balance in future situations (p. 585). Medhurst does not turn to time or style in his close textual analysis, but rather he introduces key themes within the text that influence the overall interpretation of the speech. Medhurst's themes become another possible criterion of analysis and illustrate the flexibility of this method. In addition, it reinforces Leff's argument that "this act of interpretation requires a means to justify the identification of significant features in the text and to explain the interactions among these features" (p. 547). Depending upon the particular study, critics must select the most appropriate analytical criteria for their individual analyses. Close textual analysis simply requires a clearly defined criterion, whether it is time or style or themes, and applies that criterion to the text in order to support a particular argument. Though the close reading of both text and context are important, a review of an artifact's ideological background is also necessary for a thorough critique. To account for this point, this project proposes the fusion of close textual analysis and ideological critique.

Foucault and the Impact of His Discursive Formations

Many different perspectives fall under the realm of an ideological critique. This project will incorporate Foucault's theories of knowledge, power, and genealogy to balance the specificity of close textual analysis. Foucault is utilized for several key reasons. First, his theory of knowledge explains the importance of discourse and its relationship to one's discursive formation. Second, Foucault's notion of power realizes the impact of discourse, while illustrating its key differences from knowledge. Finally, genealogy is an

analytical method proposed by Foucault during his second wave of scholarly work. This method fuses his theories of knowledge and power and explores the significance of their interaction within a particular site.

To describe his primary concern with discourse, Foucault poses this question: "How does it happen that at a given period something could be said and something else have never been said" (Foucault, *Foucault Live*, p. 66)? The concern with what is not said is something that is not accounted for in close textual analysis, therefore, it is an important addition to the methodology to be able to focus on what is and what is not stated in a text. According to Foucault, both the stated and the unstated are crucial components of the construction of knowledge. This construction is our discursive formation, or what is also referred to as episteme. In essence, our discursive formations are based upon a set of governing rules, which determine what is and is not acceptable behavior, thoughts, and knowledge. For Foucault, "there is an individualized discursive formation every time one can define a similar set of rules" (Foucault, *Foucault Live*, pp. 34-5). In addition, only one discursive formation can dominate at one time, which in turn creates a struggle for power.

Power and knowledge are inseparable sides of the same issue. Both rely upon each other to imply, implicate, and presuppose one another. He argues, "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 27). One category does not exist without the other, but both are two separate entities. Foucault's interest resides in the systematic relationships of power since he sees power as "a more-or less organized, hierarchical, coordinated cluster of relations" (Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 198). Therefore the struggle to gain power is associated with the constant competition between discursive formations. These struggles are not identified as being good or bad

struggles for Foucault, they are just simple competitions.

This relationship between power and knowledge can be explored in texts by utilizing Foucault's genealogy method. Genealogy is concerned with the relationships between normalized actions and rules of governing. Through the exploration of history and text, genealogy attempts to understand why certain discourses function the way they do. Stemming from Nietzsche's work, Foucault uses genealogy "to record its [interpretations] history: the history of morals, ideals, and the metaphysical concepts, the history of the concept of liberty or of the ascetic life; as they stand for the emergence of different interpretations, they must be made to appear as events on the stage of historical process" (Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, p. 86).

This particular method focuses on the creation of values through practice. It questions the validity of certain interpretations of history and analyzes how the role of power plays in those interpretations. For instance, Foucault would wonder how people in positions of power maintain their authority in a particular setting. How do parents reinforce their place of privilege over their children? What rules are in place to preserve those roles? This study of the interaction between rules and actions, in relation to power and knowledge, falls under the breadth of genealogy.

Legitimizing the Methods of Analysis

With a fusion of close textual analysis and Foucault's genealogy, this project will have the ability to study the intricacies of the specific text while simultaneously asking questions about the construction of knowledge and its relationship to power. This blended perspective ultimately opens the doors to critical areas of study that impact the construction of identity that is created through key texts. In the case of Karzai's speeches, these analytical methods look beyond the words of the text and delve deeper into the historical motivations behind the words. Karzai's surroundings and life experiences

greatly affect his interpretation of the world. His discursive formation revolves around the things he experienced in Afghanistan and abroad. In addition to his own life, the context of the War on Terrorism also impacts his rhetoric. Therefore, this blended perspective opens up the possibilities and balances the internal details of Karzai's texts with the external complications of the history. With an understanding of the methodology for this study, we may begin to enter the world of the text and its context.

Moving through the Past: A Glance at Afghanistan's Political Turmoil

On November 20, 2001, Mark Malloch Brown, United Nation Development Program (UNDP) Administrator, stood before the United Nations Development Group to point out Afghanistan's extreme flaws. He argued at the Conference on Recovery and Reconstruction of Afghanistan that this was a country that had failed itself and its citizens time and time again. Brown stated, *"The archaeology of Afghanistan's failure is worth recalling: a chronic history of a weak state and failed economy with one of the lowest qualities of human life anywhere measured in child mortality, life expectancy and educational access"* (UNDP Conference, November 20, 2001, ¶ 1). Afghanistan had been in turmoil for several decades and Mark Malloch Brown's statement reinforced the suffering of the Afghan nation. This was a country that had tolerated defeat repeatedly over the years. Whether it was in the political arena, a natural disaster, or social suffering, the Afghan people had become victims of their own situations to which there seemed to be no clear solution. Yet they lived on, despite all of this. Afghanistan may have been an underdeveloped country, but it was still an example of a country that survived and persevered, regardless of the circumstances. By taking a look at the history of Afghanistan, one may find an explanation for this site of political turmoil and come to understand the position of the Afghan nation. First, a glance at the political history of

Afghanistan will be explored. Then, an introduction to the sites of analysis will be made.

The Historical Struggle for Control

Afghanistan's political instability was typically the result of constant power shifts, military coups, or foreign interventions. For as long as its people can remember, struggles for control often took place between the various ethnic tribes of Afghanistan. Yet in spite of these struggles, Afghanistan began its political history as a monarchy. The Institute for Afghan Studies (2001) tracked the numerous shifts of rulers and provided access to the ever-changing Afghani constitution. One of the earliest constitutions had a ratification date of September 19, 1964 (Institute for Afghan Studies 2001). This document was written by Dr. Mohammad Yosuf, who was appointed as the government caretaker of Afghanistan by King Zahir Shah when his Prime Minister, Sardar Mohammad Daoud resigned from his position in 1963. The newly created constitution, according to the Institute for Afghan Studies, sent Afghanistan into the a new era that was often called the "Decade of. Democracy" or "The Constitutional Period." However, this age of change was quickly overthrown by the former Prime Minister Daoud who initiated a military coup in 1973 (Institute for Afghan Studies 2001). This coup dissolved the ruling parties along with the 1964 Constitution. Daoud changed the political designation of Afghanistan from the Kingdom of Afghan to the Republic of Afghan. He also elected himself to be the first president of Afghanistan under this new political system.

In 1979, Afghanistan was invaded by the Soviet Union, which overthrew the current Afghan government to establish a new Soviet system led by Sayid Mohammed Najibullah (Asia & Pacific Review World of Information 2001). This act began years of internal conflict, confusion, and bloodshed. By 1987, the Loya Jirga (Grand Council) elected Najibullah to the presidency for a seven-year term under a newly constructed constitution.

Discontent with the Soviet-backed government led to internal battles between warring ethnic groups. Seeking salvation from the Soviet government and civil war, the United Nations intervened and the Soviet Union was permanently pushed out of Afghanistan. However, the removal of Soviet troops did not end the line of invaders that had their eyes on Afghanistan.

Because of Afghanistan's geographical position in Asia, it had been a prime location for invasion. Many neighboring countries longed to control Afghanistan because it was a central shipping location for the oil trade (EIA Country Report 2001). Not only did Afghanistan have a premier position for the oil industry, their agricultural activity also caught the attention of the world. According to the Afghanistan Country Report, sponsored by the Asia and Pacific Review, Afghanistan was named the largest producer of the opium poppy in 1999 and supplied seventy-five percent of the world's supply. This high volume product caught the attention of several organizations that benefited from the illegal drug trade and included the Taliban Regime and the Al – Qaeda Terrorist Organization, who eventually took over the Afghani government.

The Taliban and Al – Qaeda developed an image of Afghanistan that did not always benefit the citizens. It was known that the Taliban were not of the people's selection and this was reinforced by the United Nations' disregard of Taliban rule. Al – Qaeda was also a problematic organization that worked closely with the Taliban, who harbored this terrorist group in Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al – Qaeda network, was attributed with repeated attacks on the United States in various locations. The British Parliament and the US government claimed that Osama bin Laden attacked US soldiers in Somalia in October of 1993, bombed the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August of 1998, and was linked to the attack on the USS Cole on October 12, 2000 (Blair, HMG Report, 2001, ¶ 4). Each of these attacks resulted in retaliatory acts from the United States military and in August of 1998, the US bombed

Afghanistan in hopes of affecting Al – Qaeda operations. The Al – Qaeda's sporadic attacks on the United States strained the relationship between Afghanistan and the United States, which ultimately hurt the citizens of the country rather than the terrorist organizations.

Regaining the Afghan Voice

The constant shift in political power forced the Afghan nation to become very unstable. Through all of these changes, a consistent image of Afghanistan was never created. If an elected leader did not control the government, it was placed in the hands of dictators and terrorists. After taking a look at Afghanistan's historical background and political struggles, a current political move changed the inconsistency of the past. The attack on America on September 11, 2001 created a serious problem for everyone in the world. In his September 20, 2001 Address to the Joint Sessions of Congress, President George W. Bush responded to the attack with a declaration of war. Seventeen days later in another address on October 7th, Bush stated that the first bombs were dropped on Afghanistan because of their suspected involvement with the September 11th attack. Throughout the declaration of war, the voice of the suffering Afghani people was never heard. In addition, these individuals had no representative and needed a new leader. Due to the extreme amount of terrorist activity that occurred on Afghani soil, parts of this country automatically assumed the "enemy" position. However, outsiders fail to take into consideration the lack of control of the Afghan citizen. In a country where elected officials were constantly overthrown or murdered, the voting citizen would repeatedly lose their right to choose a fair leader. However, with the revival of an Afghan government after September 11th, a new image and identity emerged from the rubble.

On December 22, 2001, Hamid Karzai was sworn in as the interim leader of Afghanistan with hopes of reuniting a fragmented community. As a member of the

Pashtun community, Karzai and his family had often been aligned with respected leaders of the Afghan Resistance Movement. In 1999, Hamid Karzai "took over the leadership of his Populzai tribe when his father [a former senator] was assassinated in the Pakistani border city of Quetta (Jacinto, 2001, p. 1). It was believed that the Taliban executed the senator, but there was no clear evidence of the claim. Despite this planned assassination, popular legends claimed that the Taliban actually feared the Karzais since the Islamic students lacked the lineage and education of the Karzais (Jacinto, 2001, p. 2). Hamid Karzai became the nominated leader of his tribe and took the position on with pride and dignity. Though they were sent into exile, Karzai had persevered and found his way back to Afghanistan with the hopes of rebuilding his country. In an interview with Ian Williams Karzai stated, "I'm speaking of empowering Afghanistan. And that empowerment can only come if we help the representative of the majority of Afghans to get together in a body, in a meeting, in a gathering, and discuss and deliberate the future of Afghanistan and make a decision" (*Inside Afghanistan*, 2001). Karzai's role as a leader in his community, along with his liberatory perspectives, made him prime candidate for interim president. In addition, the alleged fear the Taliban may have of the Karzais, also helped Hamid Karzai candidacy.

This new leadership in Afghanistan breathes life into the construction of the Afghan identity. Not only does Karzai attempt to unify the severed communities of Afghanistan, he is placed in a difficult position of assessing outside forces. Karzai has the ability to determine Afghanistan's new allies, and it is a choice that he must make wisely. His position as the interim leader comes with great responsibilities and the actions that he takes will be judged by the entire world. Because of the impact of Karzai's position, the speeches he presents after his inception become critical sites of national identity construction. He holds the key to the new image of Afghanistan, their heroes, their villains, and their allies. Karzai must tread lightly in order to keep his position,

his reputation, and his life. One wrong construction can lead to death. This rhetorical power is the reason for analyzing his speeches. Many leaders are given the right to declare heroes and villains, but because of the present situation, Karzai's constructions demand sensitivity, semiotic savvy, and rhetorical prowess.

Visualizing the Vision of Afghanistan

Looking specifically at Karzai's January 21, 2002 "A Vision for Afghanistan" speech presented at the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in Tokyo, Japan and additional excerpts from various interviews after his inauguration, we can experience the Afghan construction of identity first hand. This study will focus strictly on Karzai's statements made after his inauguration because this discourse becomes the first official constructions from an approved Afghani leader. Karzai's "Vision for Afghanistan" speech is an important site for analysis because it provides a clear explanation of the official Afghanistan position in the War on Terrorism. His speech outlines what he hopes to achieve during his interim reign and the specific plan for reconstruction. By first uncovering the governing rules of Karzai's discourse, we begin Foucault's genealogical analysis. Once the rules are determined, we will move into a close textual analysis of the selected sites to see the Karzai's discursive formations in action. Then, a final analysis of Karzai's rhetoric will be presented.

Playing by the Rules:
Karzai's Discursive Formation

After his inauguration, Hamid Karzai starts to construct his political identity and simultaneously develops his vision for Afghanistan. He learns to negotiate his personal opinions and fuse them into a voice that represents the Afghani people. Karzai's job entails several responsibilities which are key to the success of his political career and the reconstruction project of Afghanistan. By

looking at primary sections of important interview, we may begin to see how Karzai plays by the rules of "good rhetoric" to strategically construct the new national identity.

First of all, Karzai's number rule for successful rhetoric is to become the victim of the situation. In order to do this, he often speaks of the extreme suffering the Afghani people have endured under terrorist reign. In an interview with Jim Lehrer, Karzai explains that "Terrorism was actually the power there [Afghanistan]. It was the government. It wasn't an element there. It wasn't somebody that was there and as a group or as a force. It was the political authority in Afghanistan" (*Newsmaker: Hamid Karzai*, 2002, p. 1). This statement illustrates the vulnerability of the Afghani people. They are not given an opportunity to determine their situations because the terrorists controlled everything. People must follow the rules of the terrorists because of their position of power. Karzai utilizes this lack of control to illustrate how the people are victims in their own land. In the same interview, he exclaims, "it was impossible for our people without money, without guns, without help and with the kind of instability and the war that was going on for so many years in Afghanistan to be able to defend themselves against those people" (*Newsmaker: Hamid Karzai*, 2002, p. 2). Karzai uses these interviews to reveal the helplessness of the Afghan citizens. This belief of the people's powerlessness prompted Karzai to take advantage of the situation and evoke feelings of compassion and empathy from his international audience. Since the suffering of the Afghani people is not a common image for outside viewers, Karzai places a priority on playing the victim in the War on Terrorism.

Another rule that Karzai utilizes in his rhetoric is the maintenance of the worthy recipient image. In situations where countries must seek outside assistance, the recipients of this charity need to be overly appreciative and grateful. Karzai follows this rule wholeheartedly and masters its rhetorical impact. In many of his statements, he frequently thanks the international community or the United States for their interest and assistance. Building upon the victim persona, Karzai is able to balance that helpless image with a picture of a people that understand the benevolence of other countries. He makes it clear that Afghanistan is not searching for a free handout, but rather they are a civilized nation that is worthy and deserving of outside assistance. In addition, Karzai is able to stroke the egos of the international community by continually thanking them for their help and by reiterating the need for foreign assistance. On the day of his inauguration, he admits that Afghanistan "is in need of support from the United Nations and all friendly countries" (*Afghan Interim Leader*, 2001, ¶ 2). He acknowledges the kind acts of other countries and returns the favor with his expressions of gratitude.

The final rule that Karzai adheres to and permanently places into his discursive formation is the image of the team player. Through his discourse, Karzai shows the audience that his people are not just victims or mindless servants. His country and its citizens are team players that recognize the importance of cooperation and collaboration. He understands that in a time of war, sides must be selected and rather than being part of the losing team, Karzai demonstrates his ability to work with the *right* side. Karzai listens to the decree made by President Bush when Bush declares that "Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (Bush, 2001, p. 4). Karzai decides to side with the international community and separate himself from the terrorists. This rule is one of the most important rules because of the prior conflation of Afghanistan and terrorism. In order to recuperate from the attacks of the past, Karzai must begin a new era with a different attitude which is aligned with the forces of good instead of evil. He must become a hero for his nation and work with other heroes to fight the enemies of the world. Karzai asks his people to "put our hands together to be brothers, to be friends, to be together – to forget the past, the painful past.

As brothers and sisters, go to a new Afghanistan together" (*Afghan Interim Leader*, 2001, ¶ 8). This request to join hands and work together exemplifies his new vision for Afghanistan. He wants to prove to the world that he and his people are not like the terrorist. Though Afghanis share the same land with terrorists, the two cultures are not the same and Karzai will attempt to illustrate the change by implementing this rule in his rhetoric.

Seeing the Rules in Action in Karzai's Vision for Afghanistan

On January 21, 2002, several countries around the world convene in Tokyo, Japan to discuss the current state of Afghanistan. Tokyo becomes the assembly grounds for the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan (ICRAA). This conference is part of a series of meetings regarding the issue of rebuilding Afghanistan. The Co-Chairs of this conferences are Japan, the United States of America, the European Union (EU), and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The ICRAA is one of the first major events Karzai attended as the interim leader of Afghanistan. Over fifty countries and international organizations attended the conference to show their support for Karzai and the rebuilding of Afghanistan. The ICRAA is the first occasion Karzai had to present his objectives as the interim leader and is also a golden opportunity for the delivery of his new vision for Afghanistan.

Throughout the speech, Karzai utilizes his discursive rules to construct the image of Afghanistan and its enemies. His speech is divided into nine different sections that cover topics such as the new vision of Afghanistan, partnerships with the international community, the challenges of the current infrastructure, and issues of security. In an application of Karzai's discursive formations to this text, we will be able to see how he constructs the new image of Afghanistan. First by looking the use of the victim imagery, Karzai is able to gain they sympathy of this international audience. Moving towards the second rule, we will discover how Karzai employs the worthy recipient trope to stroke the egos of the international community. Finally, we will analyze Karzai's illustration of the team player rhetoric.

Victims of the World

Throughout Karzai's "A Vision for Afghanistan" speech, he implicitly and explicitly creates the image of the victim. Afghanis can not be held responsible for their current condition because it is not of their making. In paragraph five of this speech, Karzai states, "For the past 23 years, we have suffered the misery of war, repression, and gross abuses of human rights, and an interpretation of Islam that deviates from its true meaning of tolerance and justice" (2002). This quotation is an example of how Karzai makes the Afghani people look like victims. Since the country has been in a state of war and repression, the people do not have the opportunity to speak for themselves or even escape the inhumane conditions. "Gross abuses of human rights" is not a decision the people have made. It is something that has been determined for them, making them helpless participants of their own lives. These negative conditions arise from the interference of foreign forces and internal war. The citizens of Afghanistan are forces to live "In an environment of inadequate security, fragmented governance, [and] the non-integration of Afghan returnees" (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 7). The international community, or at least the attendants of this conference, needs to understand that the Afghanis are not responsible for their lives because that right has been stripped from them. The people have been denied an education, a stable community, and chance to live a healthy life. There has been a "systematic oppression of our individuals and the continuous brain-drain from Afghanistan" has taken its toll on the livelihood of these people (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 14). Above all, Karzai exclaims that "our country today is compared to a wasteland," of which there is no clear solution (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 16). All in all,

the outside community needs to understand that the Afghani people have become victims of their own situations and can not or should not be held accountable for their flaws. By making these claims, it releases Karzai of being responsible for causing these problems, but it gives him the chance to solve these problems with the help of the international community.

Worthy Recipients of Assistance

Karzai opens up his speech by expressing his gratitude for Japan's generosity for hosting the conference. His cordial salutation sets the tone for the remainder of the speech. Karzai formally addresses "Mr. Secretary – General, Madame Chairwoman, Distinguished Ministers, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentleman" before beginning his actual speech (Karzai, 2002). Not only does Karzai express his deepest gratitude, he continues to explain the difficulties involved in the delivery of this speech. He explains that "no leader of a country, even an interim representative, would ever want to be in the position of asking for financial assistance from the international community" (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 2). It is understood that underdeveloped countries often need financial assistance from their neighboring countries, but it is also understood that it is difficult to be the one asking for assistance. Yet there is a hidden meaning in his formal greeting to the members of his audience. By being extremely formal and respectful to the other members of the committee, Karzai is building a strong connection and attempts to gain credibility. To not acknowledge the host or to ignore the host's hospitality would hurt Karzai's chances of gaining support from these leaders. Karzai also mitigates the request by declaring that "We, the Afghan people are proud and independent. We have always strived to be self – sufficient and self reliant" (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 2). By claiming to be a "proud and independent" people, Karzai is trying to persuade the audience to believe that the request for support is not a call for pity. The Afghani people do not expect to be pitied by the international community because they are a group of individuals that strive to be "self sufficient and self reliant." This opening statements set the proper mood for the remainder of the speech, and reinforce his development of the worthy recipient image.

In his first section, Karzai transitions from the salutations directly into his vision for the new Afghanistan. Karzai understands the difficulties he must face as the head of the Interim Administration for Afghanistan. However, he begins by exuding an extreme sense of confidence and national pride. He knows exactly who he is and how he wants his country to be presented. His construction is very straightforward and blunt. Karzai explains the new vision:

> Our vision is of a **prosperous, secure** Afghanistan. We are marching ahead with the objective of building a **credible** state with an **efficient** and **transparent** government. We will build an **effective** and **competitive** private sector, a well-developed **civil** society with **democratic** institutions.
> (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 3, Emphasis added)

In his first paragraph, Karzai quickly associates several positive images with the image of Afghanistan. He uses terms such as *prosperous, secure, credible, efficient, transparent, accountable, effective, competitive, civil, and democratic.* Each of these terms works rhetorically to serve a particular function. That function is to reinforce the positive aspects of Afghanistan and make it appear better than it might be. By drawing the links between positive images and Afghanistan, the conference attendants may become more willing to give assist him and deem his country as a worthy recipient of international assistance.

For example, Karzai uses the words *prosperous* and *secure* to illustrate the positive future Afghanistan has in store for its people. We assume that prosperity is a good thing and it is something the current state of Afghanistan lacks. Afghanistan also lacks a sense of security. Without security in people's lives, we

have a difficult time focusing on other things. Your fear can consume you to the extent that you can not function properly. Karzai's vision of prosperity and security counter the current condition of Afghanistan and that vision helps him gain support from the international community that is exposed to the speech. He attempts to appear confident in his own abilities to lead and in the international community's assistance. All of the other terms work in a similar fashion to support a positive image of Afghanistan. The new image is meant to counter the old image so that the change appears to be significant.

Taking One for the Team

The new vision for Afghanistan works closely with Karzai's notion of being a team player. At the end of the third paragraph, Karzai states, "This new Afghanistan would bring prosperity to its trading partners and stability to this region of the globe" (2002). He reinforces the existence of prosperity, and that prosperity is geared towards "trading partners." He does not mention prosperity for the actual Afghan people, but instead, he specifically references the trading partners' prosperity. Though it is important to secure prosperity for his own people, Karzai must first convince the possible donors that they are making a wise investment. By ensuring their prosperity, Karzai reinforces the idea that Afghanistan is willing to be a team player. In addition, the new vision is meant to bring "stability to this region of the globe" (Karzai, 2002, ¶ 3). Karzai's commitment to stabilizing the region is another indication of his willingness to be a team player. Above all, Karzai constantly refers to Afghanistan's partnership with the international community. This implies that in order for their to be unity in the Afghan nation, the international community must be willing to support Karzai and become partners with his country.

Throughout the speech, Karzai constantly calls for the assistance of the international community. In the August 20, 2002 edition of PBS' Building a Nation, Karzai

states, "If America left next month, Afghanistan would be in a shambles" (*PBS Online Newshour* 2002). During a press conference with Tony Blair, Prime Minister of England, Karzai requests for British intervention in Afghanistan (*British Press Conference,* January 31, 2002). Both of these statements demonstrate the desire to be a part of the "winning" team. Karzai does not wish to irritate or frustrate the international community; he simply wants to be a respected participant of the community. Karzai tells Associated Press reporter Kathy Gannon that "They [the Afghani People] think the international community has not been fair to Afghanistan in the Past" (Foreign Correspondence, December 26, 2001). His acknowledgement of unfair treatment in the past should cause him to be weary of outside assistance, but Karzai is willing to leave the past in the past. Regardless of what has happened in the past, Karzai stills seeks acceptance into the larger community and fully expresses his desires to be a part of the team.

The Road to a New Afghanistan

Through the analysis of Hamid Karzai's speeches and statement, we have gained insight of one Afghani perspective. Karzai's new position of power has placed him in a unique situation where he must constantly be aware of the words he says and the constructions he makes. From the analysis of his "A Vision for Afghanistan" speech, we can see that Karzai longs to help rebuild his homeland. In order to embark upon that journey, he understands the political games that must be played in order to receive assistance and support for that vision. Karzai's use of his discursive formation throughout his rhetoric illustrates the power of rhetoric during times of war. This study concludes that utilizing images of victims, worthy recipients, and team players are essential components of a developing identity. When a country has been oppressed for so long, they must be willing to face their past in order to walk proudly into the future. Hamid Karzai follows his rules of successful rhetoric and gains support from the outside community. He

is fully of aware of the things that must be done to do well in the world. His knowledge of the construction game and his adherence to the rules adds to his rhetorical power and impact.

During times of war, people must always be aware of the constructions they make. The images developed by those in power are always more commanding in the game of politics. Understanding a nation's construction of their identity helps open our eyes to the significance of identity. This study adds to the realm of identity construction by demonstrating three vital rules of image construction. In an application of those rules to Hamid Karzai's rhetoric, we were able to see the process of national identity construction first hand.

Though this study is limited to Karzai's perspective, it still provides us with a different interpretation of the identity issues and war. Future studies may analyze other speeches by interim leaders to see how those individuals construct the image of their nation. Another possibility would be to apply the images of victim, recipient, and team player to different discourses in order to determine its impact. Perhaps we can study alternative constructions of nations during war time by focusing on the creation of sides. Regardless of which route is taken, the study of national identity construction during times of war is vital to our discipline because of its rhetorical power and impact.

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A CRITICAL OBSERVATION OF
UNCERTAINTY REDUCTION THEORY

BY RADHARANI ESCUDERO

Charles Berger and Richard J. Calabrese ventured into discovering and explaining the process of the development of initial interaction between strangers. Through their scholarly search for an explanation of discovering the motives of initial interaction amongst people, they generated Uncertainty Reduction Theory, which attempts to expose the need to reduce uncertainty and the levels and phases in which this reduction of personal ambiguity occurs. In the field of interpersonal communication, one must have an even exchange of information in the transactional process of communication in order to establish a relationship. Yet the question remains, when and how is this information generated and to what extent does the role of uncertainty reduction truly play in the development of relationships? Communication theorists, Berger and Calabrese conclude, when entering a new environment or when one encounters a foreigner or a new person, individuals feel the inherent need to reduce uncertainty by obtaining information about that certain individual.

Uncertainty reduction theory, also known as (URT) attempts to give us a better understanding and comprehend the reasons that people choose to investigate the lives of others when initializing a relationship or new encounter. In order to grasp a better understanding of uncertainty reduction theory, it is crucial to view both sides of the spectrum. Therefore apart from presenting and in-depth look of uncertainty reduction theory, I will review studies and literature that address both validating and opposing studies of Berger and Calabrese's theory of uncertainty reduction and give and analytical perspective, which facilitates me to indicate the weaknesses of URT. Through an in-depth analysis of literature addressing URT, I will state my counter position and expose the limitations of Uncertainty Reduction Theory. The lack of clarity of the definition of uncertainty and the neglect to address the issue of different cultural notions of uncertainty and relationship development creates limitations therefore generating the need for a refinement and reconceptualization of uncertainty reduction theory.

Uncertainty reduction theory falls into the assumption that strangers' "primary concern is one of uncertainty reduction or increasing predictability about the behavior of both themselves and others in the interaction" (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 100). Berger and Calabrese insinuate that one has the inherent need to reduce uncertainty, which is defined as "narrow(ing) the range of alternatives about the other's probable future behavior" (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 101), hence, when one is confronted with a stranger or one encounters initial interaction with a foreigner, one is constantly trying to obtain a better understanding by the information obtained through the transactional process of communication.

Uncertainty reduction theory deals with self-awareness and knowledge of others, yet the central point of URT is one's need or desire to obtain information about others,

> (we) have a need in interpersonal communication to get information about the other person. When we encounter a stranger, we may have a strong desire to reduce uncertainty about that person by gaining information about him or her. We tend to be uncertain about other people's ability to communicate, their goals and plans, their feelings at the moment, and

other information about them. (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 244)

The assumption lies in the belief that in order to be comfortable and content, we feel the need to be aware of what the others actions will be, that is why information is searched when we encounter people whom we haven't met. Consequently, the conversations that we engage in are considered to be goal-oriented,

> we are making plans to accomplish our goals. We formulate plans for our communications with others based on our goals as well as the information we have about the others involved. (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 244)

The true motive for engaging in a transactional process of communication is questionable. The question remains, is an individual's inherent need to obtain information from others truly the main motive during initial interaction, or is the individual solemnly engaging in this information exchange out of common courtesy or to satisfy public/social expectations?

What is the real objective of uncertainty reduction theory? Many people who engage in information inquiry do not specifically participate in public discourse to reduce uncertainty, instead many do it because it is socially expected. Hartman and Texter (1994) mentioned, "during initial interaction, question asking may be ritualized to the extent that the purpose behind it is to fulfill the ritual correctly and nothing more" (164). Society has learned and is aware of the notion of politeness. Therefore, individuals have absorbed the common norm of being polite and consequently these same individuals engage in the interactive conversations, which produce and exchange information and consequently may reduce uncertainty. Now, can it truly be generalized that the inherent need of an individual is solely to reduce uncertainty or is uncertainty strictly reduced because of the "rituals" that individuals engage in? Berger and Calabrese's uncertainty reduction theory is based on the notion of information seeking. Exposing the notion of rituals and satisfying social expectations question the strength of URT.

Generalizing this motive universally cannot be done, for individuals and many cultures differ in the true motive of initial interaction. The backbone of URT needs to be redefined and analyzed differently. Individuals engage in interaction for several reasons. The following study does confirm the notion of communication being goal oriented, but it also stirs controversy when analyzed through a cultural perspective.

Uncertainty reduction theory presents passive and interactive strategies in which individuals "attempt" to reduce uncertainty and obtain information about others. When engaging in passive strategies it is presumed that the individual who is trying to reduce uncertainty gets information passively through reactivity searching and or disinhibition searching. In reactivity searching the individual observes the other person reacting to a certain situation. In disinhibition searching, the person is observed in an "informal situation where they are less likely to be self-monitoring and are behaving in a more natural way" (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 245). The so-called "revealing" information collected through this passive uncertainty reduction strategy is questionable.

A weakness of reducing uncertainty through reactivity searching strategy is, the person being observed can be aware of the observation and therefore engage in a performance that can possibly mislead the audience. As previously mentioned, reactivity searching involves a person observing somebody else in a specific environment. Through my own experience, I know that when someone is aware that they are being observed or if one is in the presence of another person or stranger, the person being observed may alter their behavior. Just like Goffman, I too believe that individuals engage in multiple performances. For example, when I am with my close friends I feel relaxed and am act as my "real self" without any reservations. I am a little more carefree an act a little less "formal." On the other hand, when I am around family, especially my parents who are a bit more on the

conservative side, I find myself being a bit more reserved.

Once or if pertinent information can be collected through this manner, the other party's qualities or information gathered through this observation process cannot be completely valid. Once the individual doing the observation collects the data, it is automatically tainted and altered for they have generated a concept of the other person that cannot be truly confirmed solely through one's interpretation. The individual attempting to reduce uncertainty and learn about the interactant through reactivity searching, cannot be ensured that the information collected is completely accurate. Through my personal example, it is clearly seen that that when an individual is aware of their surroundings and is informed that they are being "observed" they can easily perform a role to purposely please or even displease their audience. Apart from the possibility that the individual being observed can give misleading information, the person doing the observation and in-taking the information can possibly absorb the information incorrectly, for everything is open to interpretation. Through passive strategies, a margin of error is present and a misinterpretation can occur when analyzing the data collected. Consequently, this poses the question, does information gathered which is intended to reduce uncertainty truly reduce or increase uncertainty?

Another uncertainty reduction strategy involves both individuals seeking information and observing others,

> active strategies of information involve asking others about the target person and manipulating the environment in ways that set up the target person for observation... Interactive strategies include interrogation and self-disclosure. (Littlejohn, 200, p. 245)

This process involves asking questions and also disclosing information about oneself. Berger infers that self-disclosure facilitates the uncertainty reduction process. Once information is given about one's life, the other individual is presumed to feel comfortable and exchange information about their personal life, which will result in establishing a relationship,

> uncertainty reduction is one of the primary dimensions of a developing relationship...If the communicators discover similarities between them their attraction to one another goes up, and their apparent need for more information goes down. (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 244)

Uncertainty reduction fails to recognize and evaluate the value of the content of information, "a prediction that engaging in more information seeking would reduce uncertainty would probably gain weak support at best because this would overlook the quality of the information-seeking behavior and the quality of the information obtained" (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 518). Stating that all information gained is valuable and assists in gaining a better understanding of the second party being observed is a faulty assumption. During the interaction there is a possibility that trivial information is relayed, which does not help establish a solid relationship.

> Just because one ask many questions, does not necessarily mean that one will receive answers that are sufficiently informative to reduce uncertainty. Just because one observes high levels of nonverbal affiliative expression does not necessarily mean that these will be enacted in a skilled and appropriate way, rather than a bizarre and discomforting way. Introducing the wrong topic or asking too many question or conveying nonverbal affiliation in an inappropriate manner could create more uncertainty rather than reducing uncertainty and would seem unlikely to result in the liking. (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 526)

An individual looking to reduce uncertainty might end up generating more ambiguity during initial interaction. Also the quality of information needs to be taken into consideration. An equal distribution of

information does not necessarily mean that a strong or lasting relationship can emerge. There are instances where individuals know a substantial amount of information about others but refuse to have the acquaintanceship evolve into a solid relationship, which weakens URT's assumption that once information is obtained and uncertainty is reduced an in-depth relationship can evolve. There are instances when establishing a relationship is not desired and or not even searched for and once again addresses the question what is the true motive of initial interaction, is it really to reduce uncertainty and establish a relationship?

Berger and Calabrese proceed to state, "communication behavior is one vehicle through which such predictions and explanations are themselves formulated" (1975, p. 101). This statement can be challenged through a cultural perspective. Goldsmith stated,

> in different speech communities, beliefs about persons, relationships, and communication may lead to a different understanding of what uncertainty means and what valued purposes it may threaten or serve (e.g., self-efficacy, harmony, respect, self-control, hope). These meanings form the basis for how uncertainty is appraised. (2001, p. 516, 517)

There is no universal definition for uncertainty, therefore, "culture is a moderating variable" (Goldsmith, 2001, p.515) which is not addressed in URT. Therefore, URT cannot be generalized universally,

> if the theory's axiomatic relationships are general laws of communication, then they should hold true in cultures other than the largely White, college educated, North American sociocultural group in which the theory's original observations were based. (515)

Uncertainty reduction was originally theorized through a selected population that lacks general credibility. "Significance of uncertainty varies with the sociocultural context" (516) depending on the culture, a set of norms is established and a way of dealing with initial interaction and establishing relationships differs from the average North American individual.

Contrary to the central point of URT, some communities/cultures value and accept ambiguity. A 1991 cross-cultural study conducted in Puerto Rico, by Morris revealed that in Puerto Rico,

> tolerance for uncertainty is valued... communicative practices are designed to increase, rather than decrease uncertainty...speakers use language imprecisely, avoiding clear identification of references or clearly drawn distinctions. In their community, direct and precise use of language is offensive, and it is desirable to leave open many possible interpretations. Persons are expected to endure uncertainty with evenness of manner. Reducing uncertainty in an interaction would not produce greater liking; instead it would likely be viewed as offensive, confrontational, and disrespectful. (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 519)

Berger and Calabrese state, "when strangers meet, their primary concern is one of uncertainty reduction or increasing predictability about the behavior of both themselves and others in the interaction" (1975, p. 100). This assumption was made without taking into consideration others' cultural preferences of communication. Uncertainty reduction theory needs to address cultural differences and how different cultures deal with and or accept uncertainty. URT needs to be restructured by stating that cultural norms, beliefs and attitudes will vary on how they intake and/or search for a reduction of uncertainty. Berger's and Calabrese's lack of consideration of cultural differences towards uncertainty adds to the lack of credibility of the theory.

Uncertainty reduction theory is held together by seven axioms as listed, which were formulated by Berger and Calabrese (1975, p. 102):

Axiom 1
As the amount of communication between strangers increases, the level of uncertainty for each interactant in the relationship will decrease. As uncertainty is further reduced, the amount of verbal communication will increase.

Axiom 2
As nonverbal affiliative expressiveness increases, uncertainty levels will decrease in an initial interaction situation. In addition, decreases in uncertainty level will cause increases in nonverbal affiliative expressiveness.

Axiom 3
High levels of uncertainty cause increases in information seeking behavior. As uncertainty levels decline, information seeking decreases.

Axiom 4
High levels of uncertainty in a relationship cause decreases in the intimacy level of communication content. Low levels of uncertainty produce high levels of intimacy.

Axiom 5
High levels of uncertainty produce high rates of reciprocity. Low levels of uncertainty produce low reciprocity rates.

Axiom 6
Similarities between persons reduce uncertainty, which dissimilarities produce increases in uncertainty.

Axiom 7
Increases in uncertainty level produces decreases in liking, decreases in uncertainty level produces liking.

After reviewing and analyzing URT's axioms, it is clear that certain axioms need to be revised. The Puerto Rican study illuminated a weakness in URT's first and third axiom. Neglecting the different customs in cultures weakens the notion of the inherent need to reduce uncertainty during interaction. Also, as previously mentioned the notion of "rituals" also weakens and creates doubt to the idea that individuals have the inherent need to engage in information exchange.

Berger's and Calabrese's axioms are too vague and cannot be generalized through different cultures. For example, axioms four, six and seven contradict Puerto Rican cultural communication preferences and norms.

> Leaving interpretation open and tolerating the resulting uncertainty is a sigh of respect and is seen to facilitate social harmony. Uncertainty serves valued social purposes, and behaviors to reduce uncertainty would likely to be judged inappropriate and ineffective. (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 520)

Ambiguity does not always create communication anxiety. Puerto Ricans do not see ambiguity as a detriment to relationships. They do not strive to reduce uncertainty, in fact ambiguity is preferred. Uncertainty has a greater significance in their culture, which proves the importance of learning the significance of ambiguity/uncertainty before categorizing it as something detrimental to the development of relationships. This study exposes that increase in uncertainty does not automatically generate the need to reduce it.

Another study that disassembles uncertainty reduction theory is the 1970 study of Western Apache Community conducted by Basso. This study exposed a community in which silence is valued and accepted. Contrary to the original framework of URT; Western Apaches do not converse to reduce uncertainty,

> instead of engaging in increased amounts of information seeking, they are likely to remain silent in one another's presence for long periods of time until they feel comfortable speaking to one another. (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 521)

Once again, the notion of engaging in small talk or lengthy conversations to reduce uncertainty is challenged and fails to meet other cultural standards in relation to initial interaction communication behaviors, "uncertainty reduction does not explain Western Apache ways because correlations between uncertainty in initial interaction and the amount of communication or the use of interrogation, self-disclosure or other interactive strategies would probably be small or negative" (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 521). Uncertainty reduction automatically assumes that uncertainty, if present, will be reduced by passive or interactive strategies. Keenan's 1974 study of a Malagasy Community also considers reducing uncertainty as trivial, "(the) Malagasy community provides an example of a culture in which a pattern of behavior that is effective at reducing uncertainty is considered inappropriate" (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 522). Western Apaches do not engage in either on of these strategies, instead they choose to remain silent and not alter the natural state of silence which if distorted can cause and intrusion of privacy and a "superficial understanding of friendship" (p. 521). What does uncertainty really mean? If you ask Puerto Ricans, Western Apaches or Caucasians, you are surely to receive multiple definitions. It would be incorrect to state and generalize that, for example, Caucasians and Western Apaches view and react the same towards uncertainty during initial interaction. It can also be possible that the notion of uncertainty does not even exist. All of these issues need to be taken into consideration when addressing uncertainty reduction.

In William Gudykunt's study, The Influence of Cultural Similarity, Type of Relationship, and Self-Monitoring on Uncertainty Reduction Process, URT was looked at in initial interactions in relationships, "influence of cultural similarity (interactual vs. intercultural relationships), type of relationship (acquaintance vs. friend, and self-monitoring (covariate) on self-disclosure, interrogation, deception networks and attributional confidence" (Gudykunst, 1985, p. 203). Four hundred students were used for this study in which the ratio of men and women were evenly divided,

> respondents were asked to indicate how intimate the average conversation was with the other person on a scale from zero (totally superficial) to nine (totally intimate). Those responding about friendships reported significantly more intimate conversations than those responding about acquaintances. When the cultural similarity and cultural dissimilarities conditions were compared, there was not a significant difference in the average intimacy of conversation. (Gudykunst, 1985, p. 209)

Depending on the level of personal interaction, the uncertainty reduction process will vary, "self-monitoring has an impact upon passive uncertainty reduction strategies" (Gudykunst, 1985, p. 211). As previously mentioned, if an individual is aware that they are being observed through passive strategies, then the information that the observer gathered can be questionable and therefore could not genuinely assist in establishing a relationship.

The study by William Gudykunst, Joseph Forgas, Arlene Franklyn-Stokes, Karen Schmidt and Stephanie Moyan titled, The Influence of Social Identity and Intimacy of Relationship of Interethnic Communication: An Extension of Findings from the United States to Australia and England was set out to discover if social identity had any association with uncertainty reduction process. Data was gathered according to the responses from participants of England and Australia, and the study stated,

> intimacy of the relationship in both cultures revealed that uncertainty reduction processes occur more in high intimacy relationships. There is more attributional confidence, self-disclosure, attraction, perceived similarity, shared networks, interrogation, frequency of communication, and display of nonverbal affiliation expressiveness

in high intimacy relationships than in low intimacy relationships." (Gudykunst, Forgas, Franklyn-Stokes, Schmidt & Moyan, 1992, p. 97)

The uncertainty reduction process is more intimate and revealing when it occurs in a relationship that has been already established. Berger's and Calabrese's uncertainty reduction theory is intended to explain the initial interaction of communication/relationships, but this study exposes that a reduction of uncertainty is not necessarily the initial goal of a beginning or potential establishment of a relationship. Instead, uncertainty is more likely to be reduced once a relationship has already been formed. This study does imply that uncertainty reduction is a continuous process, however the goal of reducing uncertainty is not necessarily a person's initial goal, it is through time that uncertainty is reduced. Contrary to URT, the primary goal of initial interaction is not to obtain personal information that will assist in establishing a relationship, instead the information obtained through the first encounters are not necessarily representative of the interactant's persona or even important for the development of the relationship. It is not in the initial phase of interaction that a generous amount of information is revealed and exchanged, rather, it is once a relationship has already been established that both individuals feel comfortable to engage in more revealing conversations and feel comfortable to unveil their true thoughts and beliefs. When does the significant information exchange begin, which truly assist in reducing uncertainty if that is the true motive? This study stimulates the desire to challenge Berger's phases of communication.

Berger and Calabrese (1975) established three consecutive phases of initial interaction communication transaction; entry phase, personal phase and exit phase. The entry phase is when individuals first meet and engage in conversation to reduce uncertainty. The second stage known as the personal phase "could begin after a few minutes" Berger and Calabrese, 1975, p. 100). The final phase also known as the exit phase is when the decision to continue or discontinue interaction is made. Gudykunst, Forgas, Franklyn-Stokes, Schmidt and Moyan's study discreetly challenges Berger's personal phase of communication in which "interactants engage in communication about central attitudinal issues, personal problems, and basic values...during this phase, persons may talk about socially undesirable aspects of their personalities and social relations" (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 100). My counter position is not directed to the amount or level of information disclosed in this "personal phase," rather, my argument is, if personal information is exchanged, this information will not be disclosed during initial interaction. Instead, if information is even disclosed, it will not occur until the individual feels comfortable with the interactant and feels that they can confide in the other party. It is absurd to state that highly personal information can be disclosed within a few minutes into the conversation. Highly personal information cannot and/or is rarely disclosed during initial interaction with a new or foreign individual. It begs the question; does the exchange of personal information truly occur during the personal phase of initial interaction? Taking this question into consideration, I suggest that a revision of this personal phase be made. It is very doubtful that an individual can feel comfortable in a few minutes or after minimal interactions. Therefore, the time span of the personal phase needs to be reevaluated and redefined. Various studies, including Gudykunst, Forgas, Franklyn-Stokes, Schmidt and Moyan's 1992 study exposed that the exchange of personal information will be distributed once a secure and high intimacy relationship has been established. Disclosing highly personal information will not be disclosed "after a few minutes." Once interactants have established rapport, can this exchange of personal information occur.

William Gudykunst's study, Uncertainty Reduction and Predictability of Behavior In Low and High-Context Cultures: An Exploratory Study, introduces the notion that URT cannot be "generalizable." This study examined the way that low and high-

context cultures reduce uncertainty. There were two-hundred-eighty-seven students from both low and high-context cultures. Participants answered questionnaires and responded to questions in the hypothetical situation of "how they would behave at a party in their home culture when they meet another student from their own culture" (Gudykunst, 1983, p. 53). Reduction in uncertainty can vary, individuals may take longer to reduce uncertainty and even if an individual engages in asking questions, uncertainty may not always be reduced,

> the typical pattern of interaction described by Berger and Calabrese may not be directly generalizable to high-context cultures. The differences in the degree of cautiousness, making assumptions based upon cultural background, non-verbal behavior display, and asking questions about a stranger's background, suggest that initial interactions are somewhat different in high-context cultures. (Gudykunst, 1983, p. 53)

Everyone does not reduce uncertainty the same way. Even when engaging in long conversations and information exchange, uncertainty may not be reduced for an individual from a high-context culture.

Uncertainty reduction theory aims to explain the need for reducing ambiguity during initial interaction. It goes on to conclude that when uncertainty is reduced, inquiry information also diminishes. There are various studies that reveal that URT is not completely valid. Berger's and Calabrese's URT needs to be refined. The increase of information does not always lead to reduction of uncertainty; it all depends on the information and nonverbal messages that are provided. Also, uncertainty does not have a universal definition, which easily weakens the framework of URT. The term uncertainty does not posses the same meaning or value for everyone. Many studies

have been made which expose different attitudes towards uncertainty.

The focal point of uncertainty reduction theory cannot be applied through cultural lines. Berger and Calabrese failed to take into consideration other communities other than their selected target, "most if not all the data on which the original theory is based likely came from a sociocultural context we can characterize as white, college-educated, North Americans" (Goldsmith, 2001, p. 524), consequently decreasing the validity of URT.

The backbone of Uncertainty Reduction Theory needs to be redefined and analyzed through a cultural perspective. Individuals engage in interaction for several reasons and not solely to reduce uncertainty. URT does not take culture and other important aspects into consideration. Uncertainty reduction theory needs to be reconceptualized to expand on its current boundaries and encompass a wider scope, which ultimately will assist URT to gain credibility.

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DEATH OF A BUREAUCRAT:
A THIRD CINEMA NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

BY GEOFFREY HENRY

Introduction

Death of a Bureaucrat is a hilarious comedy directed by the legendary Cuban filmmaker Tomas Gutierrez Alea (a.k.a. "Titon"). The film was originally made in 1966 and was produced by the Cuban Film Institute (also known as the ICAIC). The movie tells the story of a young man and his struggles to exhume and later reenter his late uncle amidst a nightmare of government bureaucracy and red tape. *Death of a Bureaucrat* is in many ways a fascinating film. The text and the background surrounding it is colorful enough to warrant several critical and scholarly articles. In the first place, the film was one of the first movies to be produced by the Cuban Film Institute. It was made during a period, the mid to late 1960s, in which the nation of Cuba was just starting to develop its own film industry. The film was also one of a group of other Cuban films that was officially banned from the United States for several decades and has just recently found distribution in this country (Kauffman, 26-27). The text itself utilizes humor to cast attention on what was a serious problem in Cuban society at the time - the maddening growth and influence of bureaucratic systems. And, the text addresses this topic in a way that presents to a particular viewpoint concerning this subject.

Despite the fascinating nature of this narrative, however, *Death of a Bureaucrat* has not been the subject of much critical or scholarly analysis. Many scholars of Cuban cinema do not address or acknowledge this film in their examinations of the country's film industry. Instead, they tend to focus their attention towards those films which they believe better personify the practice of Cuban cinema and most importantly, the ideal of Third

cinema. Ironically enough, two Cuban films that critics and scholars agree best personify both Cuban and Third cinema are films that are directed by the great Titon himself. One such film is the highly acclaimed feature, *Strawberries and Chocolate* (1996), a text about the treatment of homosexuals in Cuban society. Another is the groundbreaking classic, *Memories of Underdevelopment* (1968). Because these two films have had such a tremendous impact on Cuban and Third Cinema, it is these films that are regarded as the most important (Chanan, 53). As a result, *Death of a Bureaucrat* is relegated to the status as an insignificant text - one that in no way personifies the complexities of Cuban cinema nor the ideal of Third World Cinema.

However, is this view of the film really accurate? Is *Death of a Bureaucrat* as insignificant or irrelevant as others make it out to be? Or, is there more to this text than meets the critical and/or scholarly eye? When we take a closer look at the film itself, we see that it is not as irrelevant as many would have us a belief. For, as we examine the story line of the movie as well as the style through which it is told, we see that *Death of a Bureaucrat* is as representative of Cuban and Third World cinema as any other film. In the first place, the text is designed to address a specific problem relating to the political, culture, and social structure of Cuba. Furthermore, this text addresses this problem with the express purpose of communicating to us the need for a solution. And, the movie itself is made in a style that represents the customary style of Cuban cinema at the time of the film's production. Thus, while not in the same vein as films like *Strawberry and Chocolate* and *Memories of Underdevelopment*, Death of a Bureaucrat is still nonetheless a perfect symbol

of Cuban cinema in particular and Third World cinema in general.

The Methodology of Analysis

Before we proceed with our actual analysis, we must first discuss the methodology thereof. In other words, we must first clarify the specific path we are going to take in our analysis of *Death of a Bureaucrat* and its status as a Cuban and Third cinema film.

First, we will begin with a brief synopsis of the movie. For, in order to understand the points that will be made about the narrative, we must first know the story of the narrative. After we have summarized the story of *Death of a Bureaucrat*, we will look at the film's context. In other words, we will look at those political, social, and historical features of Cuba that have a direct bearing on this text. Specifically, we will find that there are two aspects of Cuban society that are of significance. The first is the existence of bureaucratic institutions and structures during the 1960s, when the movie was first made. The second is the nature of the Cuban film industry during this same period.

Once we have gotten these preliminaries out of the way, we will proceed to dissect the text itself. We will look first to the film's story. Specifically, we will see which aspects of the story serve as a response and/or illustration of the context of the times. And, we will look at the film's style. We will see which stylistic elements and/or techniques of the text serve as a representation of customary Cuban cinema style.

Plot Synopsis

Death of a Bureaucrat begins with the funeral of Francisco J. Perez (known affectionately by his friends and loved ones as "Paco"). In life, Paco was a renowned artist and sculptor. However, he was also a prominent and well-respected proletarian. In fact, Paco is so beloved for his proletariat work that in a symbolic gesture of affection and reverence, members of his union decide to bury him with his work card. Unfortunately, this touching gesture proves to be a double-edged sword for Paco's surviving family, which consist of his devoted nephew Juanchin (Salvador Wood) and his widow (Silvia Planas).

When attempting to apply for a worker's pension, Paco's family learns that they must provide the authorities with his work card. Without this work card, the family will not receive the pension that is owed to them. This leaves Juanchin with no choice but to try to have his uncle's body exhumed so that the work card can be retrieved from Paco's corpse. So, he goes to the cemetery where his uncle is buried and requests that they exhume the body. Unfortunately, the cemetery informs Juanchin that to exhume the body, he must obtain an official court order from the state as well as go through a series of other legal measures that he will not be able to go through. Faced with this quandary, Juanchin decides to the take the law into his own hands. With the help of a couple of grave robbers, Juanchin makes a clandestine night time visit to the cemetery and digs up the coffin himself. He retrieves the work card and takes his uncle's casket home, where it will be kept until it can be interred again.

Unfortunately, Juanchin's problems are just beginning. Once they retrieve the work card, Juanchin and the rest of his loved ones naturally assume that Paco can be placed back into his original burial spot. However, it is not as simple as that. For it is revealed that in order for Paco to be reentered, the family must provide to the cemetery evidence that he had been legally exhumed in the first place. Specifically, the family must provide to the cemetery an official exhumation order. This requirement places Juanchin the position of having to go through red tape after red tape in order to receive this order through proper channels. Once Juanchin finally receives this order and presents it to the director of the cemetery (Manual Estanillo), this man, known as "the bureaucrat," still refuses to rebury Paco. Driven mad by the bureaucratic run around he has been subjected to, Juanchin kills the director in a fit of rage. Juanchin is taken away

by the authorities and a funeral is held for the director with the man's co-workers and fellow bureaucrats in attendance. However, the death of the bureaucrat is not a total loss for Juanchin. In the irony of ironies, the funeral for his victim proves to be just the diversion that his family needs to put Paco's coffin back in its original spot without the cemetery's knowledge.

The Historical/Political/ and Social Context of *Death of a Bureaucrat*

Now that we have reviewed the plot of *Death of a Bureaucrat*, we can begin to look at the film's historical, social, and political context. As stated, *Death of a Bureaucrat* was originally made in 1966. Henceforth, there are two aspects of Cuban society that have a direct bearing on the film. The first is the existence and influence of bureaucratic structures in Cuba in the 1960s. The second is the style of films made in Cuba during this time.

Bureaucracy in Cuba:
The 1950s and The 1960s

Let us begin by taking a lot at the bureaucracy in Cuba during the period of the film. The growth of bureaucracy in 1960s Cuba can be traced to the events that occurred in the region during the previous decade. In the 1950s, a number of large companies that were based in the United States began to open branch offices in Cuba. The exodus of US-based companies in Cuba necessitated the creation of a network of small businesses and agencies that would accommodate these companies. Such institutions included banking firms, licensing offices, and insurance companies (Kernan, 50). In order to accommodate the growth of these businesses and agencies designed to serve US companies, different bureaucratic structures were implemented into these institutions in order to better serve them. Furthermore, many people were chosen from the then expanding job market in order to fill the positions offered by the different bureaucracies (*Gramma Weekly*

Review, 2). As time went on, even more bureaucratic institutions would be established in Cuban society and more people would be chosen to fill these ranks.

The turning point of this bureaucratic way of life would come with the revolution of 1959. When the revolutionary government took control from the Batista regime, this government took control over all the foreign businesses and enterprises with bases of operation in the country. The nationalization of foreign businesses, as opposed to limiting the existence of bureaucracies, would in fact cause an explosive growth thereof. Once these enterprises as well as other social institutions came under the control of the new regime, this government was faced with the daunting task of trying to effectively administer the day-to-day operations of these institutions. This new responsibility led the government to create an additional number of public offices and state departments that would assist in administering the institutions under now under the regime's control. Unfortunately, the new offices and departments created by the Castro government had bureaucratic systems within their own structure. Thus, these new offices did little in the way of resolving the bureaucratic problem. Instead what we have in Cuba during this time is bureaucracy layered upon bureaucracy layered upon bureaucracy.

The impact of these bureaucratic institutions on people's lives in Cuba was horrendous. Specifically, residents of Cuba found that if they had any business at all with the state, they would have to take it up with these numerous public offices and/or departments. More often than not, business conducted with these institutions would often entail endless paperwork on the part of a person as well as a series of hierarchal procedures that would hinder the successful resolution of this individual's matters (Kernan, 50). Thus, bureaucracy was a very real problem in Cuba during the 1960s. It is the existence of this problem as well as the impact upon Cuban society that *Death of a Bureaucrat* is designed to address.

The Cuban Film Industry of the 1960s.

Next, let us consider the status of the Cuban cinema at the time of the movie's production. *Death of a Bureaucrat* was originally made during a time of great importance for the Cuban film industry. After decades of minimal success, the nation of Cuba finally succeeding in establishing its own film industry - one that was independent of the industries of other nations. The success of Cuba's industry was made possible by the creation of the Cuban Institute of Art and Cinematographic Industry (The ICAIC). The ICAIC became the body within the industry that was responsible for administering the production of all films made within Cuba. The ICAIC's influence would lead to the production of a number of films during the 1960s, including *Death of a Bureaucrat* and Humberto Solas' classic, *Lucia* (1968) (Hidalgo, 110-112).

The films that were produced in Cuba during this time had more in common besides their debt to the ICAIC. For, most of the films made during this period also shared certain elements of film style. In other words, many Cuban films tended to use a similar style or groups of styles in their productions. Specifically, there were two stylistic techniques that tended to be used in Cuban films of the 1960s. The first was the *documentary* style. For, many Cuban films would utilize the techniques of documentary films in their own narratives (Rist, 62). And, the second, ironically enough, is the *classic Hollywood cinema* style. For despite its status as a Third cinema independent of Hollywood, Cuban cinema nonetheless was greatly influenced by the techniques of this First World cinema. This influence can be seen in those Cuban films which have elements that are similar if not the same as elements in past Hollywood films (Bollinger, 1). As we will soon see, *Death of a Bureaucrat*, as a product of this time, would be subjected to these same influences.

The Story of *Death of a Bureaucrat*

Now that we have looked at the context of *Death of a Bureaucrat*, we can proceed with our analysis of the film. First, we will begin by taking a closer look at the film's story. Specifically, we will see which elements of the story have a direct bearing on the film's context as well as how these elements serve as a commentary on this context.

The aspect of Cuba's political and social context that is significant to this narrative is the existence of bureaucracy in the 1960s. The text is designed as a commentary on the bureaucratic aspect of Cuban life as well as its effects. Specifically, the film proceeds to argue that bureaucracy is a serious problem in Cuba. Through the story of the film, we are told that bureaucratic way of life, as represented through various public agencies and departments, is a frustrating and maddening way of life. Bureaucracy does not solve the problems of the populace, despite what some may believe. Instead, bureaucracy only serves to create more problems. Thus, if life in Cuba is to improve, the film tells us, the bureaucratic nature of society must come to an end. It is a message that is reflected in the story of *Death of a Bureaucrat* in a number of ways. The most basic of these is its detail of the complicated journey which Juanchin must take throughout the narrative - a journey which incidentally begins with the young man's simple desire to obtain the pension that is owed his family.

When we take this journey with Juanchin, we see that he encounters layer upon layer of bureaucracy. As this journey proceeds, we see that it reaches frustrating and insane lengths that mirror what Alea and others believe to be the frustrating and insane status of bureaucracy in real-life.

Juanchin's Bureaucratic Journey

Juanchin's bureaucratic journey officially begins with his desire to obtain his family pension. To receive this pension, the young man learns that he must provide the

necessary authorities with his dead uncle's work card. This simple necessity sets off a path throughout the rest of the story that can be divided into three parts.

The first part concerns the steps that he must go through in order to retrieve his uncle's work card. In order to exhume the body, Juanchin learns that he must provide the cemetery with an official court order. Besides this court order, there are three other requirements that he must fulfill to dig up the casket. He must also provide a special exhumation from the Department of Health. He must also make arrangements for an official of the Health department to be present at the exhumation. And, he must provide documentary evidence that Paco's body had been embalmed. To top it off, Juanchin is told that if he does not provide the satisfactory documents, he must be prepared to wait at least a year before he make this request again! Thus, at this point in the story, Juanchin finds that he must complete at the very least four governmental tasks before he can exhume his uncle's body. Furthermore, the fact that this troublesome circumstance began with a simple request for a pension introduces the audience to the terrible nature of Cuban bureaucracy. As we will soon see, the worst is yet to come.

The second part of Juanchin's journey concerns the steps he must go through to put his uncle back in the ground. First, he learns that in order to legally reenter his uncle, he must provide an official exhumation order to the cemetery. To obtain this order, Juanchin makes a trip to the Department of Exhumation in order to obtain this order. At this department, Juanchin is set to four different administrative tables before he finds a table that will give him the necessary order. Thus, as with the original exhumation request, we see that a series of steps must be taken to fulfill a simple function - the obtaining of an exhumation order.

The third part of the journey begins immediately after the second part. For once Juanchin receives the exhumation order, he learns that he must go to a completely different department, the Department of Expediting, just to get the order stamped! Having been resigned to this requirement, Juanchin goes to the Department of Expediting. At the front desk, he is told that he has to wait in a long line to get the stamp that he needs. When he finally reaches the head of the line, the official in charge of stamps closes up his window and goes home. Having not received the stamp, Juanchin is left with no choice but to sneak into the offices after closing time and place the stamp on the form himself. Once he presents the now stamped exhumation order back to the exhumation department, he is told that he now must obtain the signature of another department official for the form to be valid! Thus, we see here another instance of a group of bureaucratic procedures that must performed to complete a simple task - the stamping of a form.

The three-pronged journey that Juanchin takes as well as its intricacies are designed to show the audience the insanity of bureaucracy. The fact that so many steps must be performed in order to complete a single action enables us to see just how frustrating bureaucratic systems are for the people who must endure. This frustration in turn shows the audience the need for a resolution to this problem within Cuban life.

Other Story line Elements Related to the Insanity of Bureaucracy

Though the key vehicle through which the film's message is expressed, Juanchin's journey is not the only means by which we see the insanity of bureaucracy. For, the story of *Death of a Bureaucrat* also exposes the madness of these systems through subplots and/or plot developments not directly related to Juanchin.

One subplot that reflects the insanity of bureaucracy concerns what occurs at the different departments which Juanchin visits. Basically, as Juanchin makes his own journey, he sees that other citizens are subjected to the same bureaucratic nightmare that he is objected to. Thus, he learns that what he is going through is not a circumstance that is limited to just his case. Rather, the troubling

circumstances of bureaucracy are experienced by everyone who live in Cuba. There are a couple of scenes in the movie that reflect this message. While he is at the Department of Exhumation, Juanchin encounters a man who has been sent to twenty-seven different administrative tables just to get a document signed. Later, when he makes the trip to the Department of Expediting, Juanchin encounters a line which starts from a desk on the second floor of the building and literally extends all the way down the stairs and outside into the street. Thus, we see that the troubles of bureaucracy extend to everyone who live in Cuba, not just a select few.

Two other subplots in the film reveal another message concerning bureaucracy that the film tries to express. Basically, we are told that a bureaucracy extends not just to administrative business which a person has with the state. But also to other matters of social life as well. One sequence that demonstrates this is the sequence in which Juanchin is caught inside the Department of Expediting after hours. To make his escape from the people who catch him, Juanchin climbs outside a window of the building and onto the ledge. Unfortunately, the police officers who see him wrongly suspect that he is attempting suicide. So, Juanchin is temporarily committed to a hospital for psychiatric evaluation. To be released from the hospital, he must undergo a series of psychiatric tests. This series of tests calls to mind the series of tasks he has to before in conducting the business concerning his uncle. Another sequence that demonstrates this occurs near the end of the film. Once he is told that the stamped exhumation order must be signed, Juanchin decides to go to his boss Mr. Ramus (Caspar De Santallces). So, he decides to try to locate Ramus in order to speak to him. Unfortunately, Mr. Ramus is nowhere to be found. This leaves Juanchin with no choice but to search the entire city for him. He goes to a series of different places in search of his boss, but he is not able to find him until very late in the evening. Thus, like the series of psychiatric tests, this series of treks that Juanchin must take

symbolizes the bureaucratic run around that a person often encounters in their private life. Furthermore, the extension of bureaucracy into one's social life calls attention to the need to put an end to this system.

The Style of *Death of a Bureaucrat*

Finally, we can conclude with a discussion of the style of *Death of a Bureaucrat*. In particular, we will look at those stylistic elements that serve as a mirror of the customary style of 1960s Cuban cinema. As we look at the style of the film, we see that it exemplifies the Cuban cinema of its time in three basic ways. First, the film has numerous elements of classic Hollywood films. It also has elements of notable, Hollywood film styles. And, the text also utilizes techniques of documentary cinema. Hence, we will take a closer look at these three elements within the text.

We will begin by looking at the elements that mirror past Hollywood films. Throughout the narrative, Alea pays homage to the classic comedies of the Hollywood era. One sequence in which he does this is the flashback concerning Paco's death. In this flashback, we see that Paco was killed by a giant, life-size sculpturing machine that he invented. What happens is that in working with this machine, Paco falls inside. When he is inside the machine, the mechanisms twirl him around until one of them causes his death. The image of a man twirled around a life-size mechanical device is in homage to Charlie Chaplin's classic film, *Modern Times*. Another sequence that pays homage to classic comedy is the scene in which Juanchin pays a nighttime visit to the cemetery. While he and his fellow grave robbers are handling the coffin, the casket slips out of their hands and rolls down the hill, leaving Juanchin and the others having to chase after it. This image of the casket going down the hill is straight out of the Laurel and Hardy feature, *The Music Box*. A third homage to Hollywood comedy occurs at the cemetery after Paco's illegal exhumation. Having learned that the cemetery refuses to reenter

Paco, a group of morticians try to take it upon themselves to place Paco back in his burial spot without the cemetery's permission. When employees of the cemetery catch the morticians doing this, they try to get the morticians to leave. The morticians resist and a fight breaks about between the morticians and the employees. Specifically, both parties throw food at each other as well as funeral wreaths. Soon, the fight attracts the attention of other people at the cemetery and they join in on the melee. Hilarious fight sequences such as this were a common occurrence in comedies of the early Hollywood era, thereby presenting us with another instance of this style of filmmaking.

The narrative also pays homage to other film styles besides comedy. First, in different parts of the film, Juanchin has nightmares about the trouble he has gone through concerning his uncle's corpse. These dreams serve in homage to surrealist cinema. For, the sequences are shot with a bright, white light and the mise en scene is very hazy. Another element of surrealist cinema in the narrative is the use of a black crow as a recurrent motif throughout the film. And thirdly, certain scenes in the movie utilize the male gaze. One such sequence is the scene in which Juanchin hides in a closet and watches Mr. Ramus and his mistress make love through a slight crack in the door. Another is the scene in which Ramus watches a group of scantily clad dancers perform at a club.

Finally, in addition to its Hollywood elements, the film has elements of documentary cinema. The first instance of the documentary style can be seen during Paco's funeral. As Paco is eulogized, footage of the funeral is cross cut with a series of flashbacks showing his life, including the afore-mentioned sequence of his death. This use of flashbacks is a common occurrence in documentary cinema. Furthermore, many directors in Cuba had a tendency to use this technique in their films (Rist, 62). Another instance of documentary cinema occurs during the fight at the cemetery. For, once the fight is over, still photos of this conflict are shown to the audience. Like, still

photos are a common element of documentary cinema. A final example of documentary style occurs at the end of the film. For, as the funeral procession for "the bureaucrat" is underway, footage of this march is shot through the use of overhead cameras. Overhead camera shots are often seen in documentaries. More often than not, these shots are used to record the funeral of a prominent public official. Hence, through its use of style, *Death of a Bureaucrat* clearly symbolizes the Hollywood and documentary styles as utilized by 1960s Cuban cinema.

Conclusion: What We Can Say About *Death of a Bureaucrat*

All of this leaves us with one question to ask concerning *Death of a Bureaucrat.* Namely, what can we say about it? Is *Death of a Bureaucrat* a clear representation of Cuban and/or Third cinema? Or, is it in fact an insignificant comedy like other critics and scholars seem to think? Our analysis indicates that we can say two important things about this text. First, we can say that it is a text that clearly personifies Cuban cinema. For the film was made in a style that was used by most of the films made in Cuba during this time. But most importantly, the story itself fulfills what many consider to be the primary goal of Third cinema. It addresses a political and social aspect of the nation in which it is produced. And, it addresses this aspect with the purpose of expressing and demonstrating the need for a political and/or social change (Armes, 32). Hence, through its style and its story, *Death of a Bureaucrat* serves as a model of Cuban cinema in particular and Third World cinema in general.

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SPEAK UP! A STUDY ON COMMUNICATION APPREHENSION: IS IT SHAPED BY CULTURE?

BY JAMIE JACOBS

We know that there is a relationship between Communication Apprehension levels and different cultures, but is there a difference between Armenian and American communication apprehension? In this study we use the PRCA 10 which is a proven method developed by James McCroskey. We surveyed 50 Junior High School students, 25 males and 25 females. The ethnicity break up was 25 Americans and 25 Armenians. The survey was conducted at a Junior High School in Glendale California because of the high Armenian population. The critical value was set at .05. The study found significance for what it was searching for. Thus, deserves further studies and sets an example for further research at the junior high school level.

Research Question

Do foreign-born Armenian junior high school students have higher communication apprehension then American-born junior high school students?

Communication Apprehension Explained

Communication apprehension (CA) was defined by McCroskey as "an individual's level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communications with another person or persons" (p.78). The ten articles that are used in this review of literature all deal with way to identify communication apprehension and help to lessen it.

There are many different ways to assess if someone has either high or low communication apprehension. There is a public speaking sub-scale called the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA) that helps to place people in the high and low communication apprehension levels.

People with low communication apprehension are more confident in there abilities to express themselves verbally. They will seem more dominant and assertive then those with high communication apprehension. Low communication apprehension just means that you are basically comfortable when speaking, have confidence, and very little nervousness about speaking.

High communication apprehension deals with people that are extremely nervous about communicating with others. They show less confidence and are less responsive. They will choose classes, majors, and even jobs based on the level to which communication is involved.

Once you know that you have high communication apprehension, there are things you can do to alleviate some of your stress. They are called interventions. The most commonly used one is called systematic desensitization this deals with stage fright. This is replacing someone's anxious feeling with relaxed ones through visualization (Wolpe, 1958). Rational Emotive Theory (Ellis, 1962) is the next one, which deals with teaching people to understand why they have irrational thought about communications. This teaches them a way to come up with rational thoughts and replace the irrational ones. Then there is theorist Roberto Assagioli, the founder of psychosynthesis. He believes that if you help people to visual themselves doing well then they will because you will have brought the discordant elements in their psyche into concordance.

Reasons for the Study

Knowing the difference in Americans' and Armenians' communication apprehension can help teachers prepare lesson plans that will

enable each student to learn how to deal with their own personal apprehension. Due to the cultural differences, I felt that this study might lead to a better understanding of why certain ethnicities act a certain way when speaking in general. This would lead to helping teachers be more aware of cultural differences and then be more culturally sensitive. Another aspect I thought this study could impact is whether or not speech classes should be taught to younger students. The study was meant to serve as an example to other cities that share the same type of population diversity that Glendale has and explain how to deal with it on an educational level. The fact that the study has been done within other groups and has been successful makes me believe that this type of study should be performed in cities where the population has significant cultural differences in order to help further education. The study will be presented to a private Armenian school in California in order to help them develop a better awareness of communication apprehension so that they may begin helping student with this problem and to better prepare them for the future.

Review of Current Literature

There have been several studies on communication apprehension. As stated in the definition of communication apprehension, the PRCA was developed by James McCroskey and is a proven and accepted way to test for communication apprehension. From that point, I will triangulate my finds within the current literature in the field. I have however only found a few studies that deal with Junior High Schools students. The reason I did the study in a junior high school level is because I felt that children that have been taught to be apprehensive means that they can also unlearn this. Therefore, I felt this type of study would contribute to the current field and lead to more research in this direction. I also felt that the children would be completely honesty and untouched by the stress of school as of yet. I also feel that there is a benefit to know if we need to be aware of a cultural problem at this grade level.

Comparison of Communication Apprehension between Koreans and Americans

Participants in this study were U.S. college students ages 17-40, and Korean college students ages 18-35. Authors Eunkyong Yook, and Bokyong Ahn conducted this study. Both Korean and American students were administered the Personal Report of Apprehension (J. McCroskey, 1982). For the Korean students, the test was refocused, translated, and rewritten in Korean.

The results of the study showed that Korean students reported a significantly higher apprehension than US students did. "The apprehension about communication scores is culture-bound and may carry the same implication in Korean and US cultures" (Yook and Ahn 1999). These findings were important because they contradicted an earlier study done by D. Klopf and R. Cambra where the only difference was that Koreans were administered the test in English.

Education and Communication

"When people trying to learn confront learning difficulties, often external factors are held responsible, not some inherent difficulty in the learning process itself" (Sandberg and Barnard, 1997). Authors J. Sandberg and Y. Barnard conducted a study of students learning capacities to learn what external factors contribute to learning or lack there of. This article, "Education and Communication," is found in the *Journal of Communication Education*, Vol. 46, 2, 1997. In this article, the authors state that learning is difficult for many students and that the three explanations offered are not enough to explain the difficulties some students have with learning. This is their conclusion because they found that "students do not spontaneously engage in cognitive activities that foster such learning."

The authors argue this through describing the results that were taken in the experiments in the "tides domain." They conducted three studies in which students learn

about "tides" with a computer tutor. The study showed that "Explanations for poor learning results found in terms of external factors usually range from pointing out the inadequacy of the subject area and the inadequacy of the student sample to the inadequacy of the didactic approach or means" (Sandberg and Barnard, 1997).

The Relationship between Visual Imagery and Public Speaking Apprehension

This article was concerned with if students that have low or high communication apprehension visualize themselves differently in public speaking situations. The study started with 300 students that were currently enrolled in a public speaking class at a medium size western university. The students were offered nothing to participate but were told they could drop out at anytime. The students all completed the public speaking sub-scale of the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension (PRCA).

From the results of the PRCA, 40 students that scored one standard deviation below the mean were considered to have low communication apprehension and were picked to continue in the study. Then 40 more students that scored one standard deviation above the mean were considered to have high communication apprehension and were also asked to continue on in the study.

The two sets were then given drawing supplies one week before they were to give an informative speech. They were asked to draw how they saw themselves in a public speaking situation. They were told that drawing skills did not matter, just that they expressed how they saw themselves in the situation. The students turned in drawings and that was the end of the data gathering.

The next step was to read the information that was gathered. They had two grad students, who were taught how to read the drawing and had no knowledge of what the study was about, do the coding. The grad student's reliability in the study was .79 to .92.

The coder's job was to look for three things: valence, vividness, and control. Valence is whether or not the speaker is happy or sad during the speaking event. It relays the positive or negative feeling of the speaker through the drawing. The valance is categorized as positive, negative, or neutral if no emotion was depicted. The vividness refers to the amount of detail in the drawing. Let us say there was a large audience in my picture and it also showed me in a setting, then my drawing would be considered "considerable detail." If there was only the speaker, the coders would place a "little detail" label on the picture. If there were two things depicted then a "moderate" label would be placed on the drawing. Control dealt with how the speaker was looking at the audience and how the audience was depicted looking at the speaker. If the speaker was looking at the audience with large eyes and was seen as cowering, that would be considered "controlled." If the speaker was depicted as looking at the audience with small eyes and seemed to be standing erect or confident, the speaker would be labeled as "in control." If no cues were depicted then "control not detected" was labeled.

The results showed that 29 out of the 70 high communication apprehension students actually depicted themselves in that way. While 9 out of the 40 low communication apprehension students actually fell into a high communication apprehension chi-square.

The problem that I see with this study is that people may not draw exactly what they feel or they may not be creative enough to depict or even think of depicting certain things. I also think that the graduate students that were used may not have been able to truly analyze the data. I do not know how many people can actually express themselves through drawing. I also think that when analyzing someone you may want to actually look at them, not a drawing of what they feel during a public speaking situation. What if one of the students was an art major? It may be that they are good at drawing in detail whereas a communication major may not be.

Classroom Communication Apprehension

This study dealt with whether or not male and female students experience different levels of communication apprehension with male and female instructors at the college level. The study was conducted at two western universities: one private, one public. There were 307 students enrolled in small communication classes between the two universities. They all took the Class Apprehension Participation Scale (CAPS) (Neer, 1987).

Once the CAPS test was analyzed, the data showed that males were on average less apprehensive about public speaking and also in the classroom setting. When the instructor was female although, the males still dominated the room in speaking out; however, everyone felt less apprehension with a female instructor.

The classes that the students were picked from were all general education classes, which give the best overall diversity in majors. The instructors that were used were both male and female and there was a mixture of full professors and non-tenured instructors. This was also done to protect the integrity of the study. If all tenured professors were picked and the data was leaning towards high apprehension you could argue that the students were not afraid of speaking but rather the professor.

The one thing that this article did not show besides graphs and colored pie charts is the actual instrument. I would have liked to see the test itself to see if it was bias in anyway. In all the classes I have taken so far at California State University, Los Angeles there has been about 50/50 male/female students and I do not agree with the results that this article produced. I talk more then most males in my classes and more then half of the time in my classes it is the females that are debating or speaking up in class. I would like to see this study done in California I doubt the results would come out the same.

I Will Fear No Audience

This article deals with the application of general semantics principles to communication apprehensions. In the start of the article they use an example of a study that was done on an infant that showed no signs of being afraid of animals. They then conditioned the child to be afraid of the animal this is the base for the study that was performed in this article.

The ideals presented in this article were that communication apprehension is a learned response. If it is a learned response then you can unlearn it. The article develops a program, that will help to reduce communication apprehension by making it less stressful and more on a group level. In the class syllabus attached to the article there are several activities that show you how to create this type of outcome. The class will feel more at home and as if they are in a friendly environment and also as if they are all working together which will help to lessen stress. The ideal of creating a communication apprehension public speaking laboratory is a wonderful idea and should be done in every school. If you teach students how to speak publicly they will be less afraid of the situation when faced with it. When you first sit down in an introduction communication class you get hit with the syllabus that states you will have to do four speeches. Most students' drop at the first thought of public speaking. If the class were eased into the speeches more students would feel less apprehension.

Testing a Refinement in an Intervention for Communication Apprehension

This examines the intervention theory of visualization and whether if redesigned to include information processing characteristics of participants could help to lessen communication apprehension.

People process information in different way you may be a visual person or you may be a verbal person. This study was conducted with 135 participants selected randomly only

those that scored one standard deviation above the mean on the PRCA sub-scale were asked to participate. There were 52% males and 48% female. The groups were split into three groups based on the answers visualizer/verbalizer scale.

The groups were broken up into visualizers, verbalizers and visualizer/verbalizers. The third group would be broken into 1 of the 5 treatment programs. The students were asked to give a few speeches and the coders were introduced to the percipients as observers. The coders watched the speakers and looked for behavioral disruption.

The coders used the Behavioral Assessment of Speech Anxiety to rate the speakers. They were given training and were not made aware of the study. There overall accuracy rate was 90%.

The study showed that the way you learn does affect your communication apprehension. If your learn by visualizing something then when you taught with visualization then you will feel more at ease and they responded better when placed in a uncomfortable position because you have reduced your stress. If you know something you will be less apt to be afraid because your confidence level is high and you know that. If you learn best through doing then you will feel about bout anything if you are prepared.

An Examination of Nontraditional Accounting Students' Communication Apprehension

This article talks about accounting students having higher levels of high communication apprehension. This study deals with both written communication apprehension and oral communication apprehension. The method used was a 26-item questionnaire that was based on a 5-point scale of responses. To test ambiguity a 20-item test was administered.

The results were that in the written apprehension part of the test showed that accounting students had more apprehension about writing then traditional students. They also found that traditional and non-traditional

students both share the same levels of written communication apprehension. Males and females differed only slightly.

In the oral communication apprehensions females experienced more apprehension then males did and accounting students in general experienced more oral communication apprehension then most other majors.

I think that this study was judging people's personalities rather then their majors. Many people look for jobs that do not involve much human contact but, is this because they do not wish to have to communicate during work. That may not be the case they just may simply wish to be left alone. I think that most accountants are not too big on partying. They choose to hang back and enjoy. They do not want to be in the front running the show that just is not their style.

Family Communication Patterns and Communication Apprehension

Examines communication apprehension and whether or not the family communication contributes to your apprehension. The study was done in a large Midwestern city they took students from the junior high school high school and the University levels for this study. 52% were female and the other 48% were male. The students will select off the teacher's willingness to participate.

There were two instruments used the dependant variable was the PRCA test that has 24 statements. The independent variable was the Revised Family Communication Pattern Index that consisted of 26 statements.

The results did not completely support the hypothesis that family communication affects you communication apprehension. I am not completely sure what went wrong here because I believe that you family communication has a lot to do with your communication apprehension. I also think that when you learn to be comfortable about speaking and are given positive reinforcement when you speak then you will enjoy speaking. If you believe that you are good at something

you will not be apprehensive about it. If your parents tell you that you are good at speaking then it should have positive effects on your communication apprehension.

Students' Communication Apprehension and its Effects on PBL Performance

This study was performed with a group of medical students that were in clerk ships. They wanted to see if communication apprehension was a factor in problem based learning sessions.

The students were divided into groups of problem based learning session groups and a traditional learning session. Both groups were given the PRCA test before the study began. The students in the traditional study group seemed on the average to respond in the study groups with the predicted responses from the test data. The problem based learning sessions had tutors and the tutors seemed to evaluate students that score with high communication apprehension lower then the students that score with low communication apprehension. The strange thing about this is that the students continued to learn regardless of their participation the group sessions yet they scored lower with the tutors because they did not participate.

This study shows that there is no correlation between learning and communication apprehension, which I completely agree with. Some people do not learn through discussion they learn through memorization.

Communication Apprehension in Upper Level accounting Students

This study deals with accounting classes in upper level classes. This study contradicts pervious studies that accounting majors have high communication apprehension. The study was performed in a Midwestern university like the other. The study however was conducted differently because the students that wee used in this study had been taking classes that involved them speaking publicly. The students

used before were apprehensive because they had no been forced to speak publicly. I stated earlier that people would do better when given the chance to assimilate and ease into something not just by throwing them in. The other interesting thing about his study was that the students although had less apprehension about public speaking still have apprehension in-group settings. I said earlier that I think these are personality traits and this study seems to prove that.

We wonder if because this study proves that personality traits factor into communication apprehension and your personality traits are closely tied to your cultural then people from different cultures should have different levels of communication apprehension.

Methods

The Personal Report of Communication Apprehension otherwise know as PRCA-10 is the method we used because of proven validity in past studies on Communication Apprehension. The test consists of 10 questions that are used to ascertain the Communication Apprehension of the individual. The PRCA wording was altered in three statements to translate better for students. The following changes were made

Questions:

1. I look forward to expressing myself at **meeting.**
   Changed to
1. I look forward to expressing myself at *school.*

4. Although I talk **fluently** with friends I am at a loss for words on the **platform.**
   Changed to
4. Although I talk *easily* with friends I am at a loss for words on the *stage.*

6. I feel I am more **fluent** when talking to people than most other people are.
   Changed to

6. I feel I am more ***confident*** when talking to people than most other people are.

The survey is as follows:

PRCA -SHORT FORM

DIRECTIONS: This instrument is composed of 10 statements concerning your communication with other people. Please indicate the degree to which each statement applies to you by marking whether you (1) Strongly Agree, (2) Agree, (3) Are Undecided, (4) Disagree, or (5) Strongly Disagree with each statement. There is no right or wrong answers. Work quickly and just record your first impression.

1. I look forward to expressing myself at school.
2. I am afraid to express myself in a group.
3. I look forward to an opportunity to speak in public.
4. Although I talk easily with friends I am at a loss for words on the stage.
5. I always avoid speaking in public if possible.
6. I feel that I am more confident when talking to people than most other people are.
7. I like to get involved in group discussion.
8. I dislike using my body and voice expressively.
9. I'm afraid to speak up in conversations.
10. I would enjoy presenting a speech on a local television show.

The demographic questions that were asked were as follows:

Please circle the correct answer:

Gender:	Male	Female

Age: 11   12   13   14   15
Grade Level: 7th   8th
How long have you been in the United States:
1-3   4-7   8-11   12-15

Ethnicity:

Caucasian	Asian
African American	Native American
Armenian	Hispanic
Other _____	

Please fill in the correct answer:
Country of Birth:
Year you came to the United States :
    (just to confirm years in US)
How many languages do you speak:
What language do you speak at home:

*Survey is attached in the appendix

Survey Site:

The survey was completed at a Junior High School in Glendale, California. We polled students by asking them to fill out a survey, and in return they received a small candy bar. The surveys were handed out to five different classes at the school. The survey was conducted on a Friday morning from 8:00am to 11:00 am. The classes we selected randomly.

Types of Classes are as Listed:

English
Math
History
Typing
Journalism

The selection process was:

A room number was selected from each building and bungalows were included. The numbers were selected at random from a hat.

The School's Points of Pride:

This school is seen as a culturally rich, diverse urban community of learners, and is the bridge from elementary to high school that empowers students to channel their energy and vitality to become thinking, literate, caring, responsible and creatively expressive adolescents, capable and eager to achieve their full potential as life long learners. We will

achieve this through multi-dimensional learning experiences, in and out of school, in a highly personal, supportive and developmentally appropriate school climate fostering personal growth, intellectual development, cross-cultural understanding and cooperation, fully integrating all school, family, and community resources.

Results for Demographic Questions
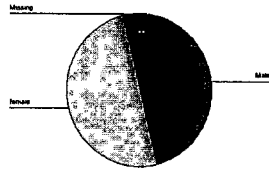
Frequencies

Statistics

		Gender	Age	Grade	Ethnicity	Birth Place	USA	Differenl	home	Prca1	Prca2	prca3	prca4	prca5	prca6	prca7	prca8	prca9	prca10	TOTAL
N	Valid	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
	Missing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mean		1.5200	2.1800	1.5000	3.0400	2.1800	3.9200	2.0400	1.5000	3.0800	2.9800	3.0400	3.0600	2.9800	2.9600	1.8200	2.9000	2.9200	2.8400	2.8580
Median		2.0000	2.0000	1.5000	4.0000	1.5000	4.5000	2.0000	1.5000	3.0000	3.0000	3.0000	3.0000	3.0000	3.0000	2.0000	2.0000	2.0000	2.0000	2.9000
Mode		2.00	3.00	1.00a	4.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	1.00a	2.00	5.00	1.00a	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.80a
Std. Deviation		.5047	.7918	.5051	1.2115	1.3506	1.2262	.7273	.5051	1.5365	1.5971	1.6157	1.5572	1.5583	1.5381	.5226	1.5152	1.5758	1.7186	.2872
Variance		.2547	.6289	.2551	1.4678	1.8241	1.5037	.5290	.2551	2.3608	2.5506	2.6106	2.4249	2.4262	2.3657	.2731	2.2959	2.4833	2.9535	1.249E-02
Range		1.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	1.40
Minimum		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.40
Maximum		2.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	2.10

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Gender

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	24	46.2	48.0	48.0
	female	26	50.0	52.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Gender

The reason that we tried to keep the gender fifty-fifty is because we were looking for cultural differences not gender differences. Had I not taken the gender issue into consideration, I would not be able to state for certainty that the results were cultural and not gender related.

Age

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	12	12	23.1	24.0	24.0
	13	18	34.6	36.0	60.0
	14	20	38.5	40.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Age
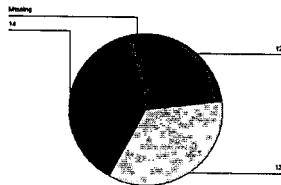
The age ranges from twelve to fourteen. The age gap is almost non-existence. Therefore, it is thought that it does not affect the results.

Grade

Grade

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	7th	25	48.1	50.0	50.0
	8th	25	48.1	50.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Grade

The grade range was 7th and 8th. We divided the surveys so that we could get a representative sample from both grades. The reason that this was done because if we had just focused on one grade the research project could not be used as a template for all junior high schools.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Caucasian	9	17.3	18.0	18.0
	Asian	7	13.5	14.0	32.0
	Hispanic	8	15.4	16.0	48.0
	Armenian	25	48.1	50.0	98.0
	Other	1	1.9	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Ethnicity
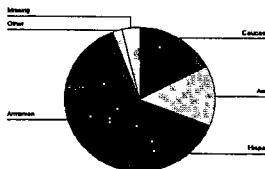
The ethnicity was divided into 25 Armenian born outside of the United States. Then the rest of the students were taken from the surveys with the following prerequisite in mind. If they were born in the United States. If they were born elsewhere, they could not be included in the study, because then the data may suggest something that is not true.

Birth Place

Birth Place

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	United States	25	48.1	50.0	50.0
	Iran	6	11.5	12.0	62.0
	Iraq	5	9.6	10.0	72.0
	Russia	13	25.0	26.0	98.0
	other	1	1.9	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Birth Place

The reason the birthplace was important as stated in the previous question is because the twenty-five Americans had to ·be born here. The reason I wanted to know where the Armenian population is because they all have different influences ·coming from different countries.

Years Spent in the US

USA

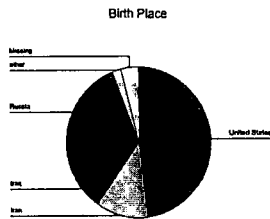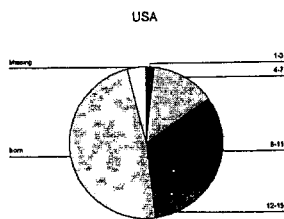|		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-3	1	1.9	2.0	2.0
	4-7	7	13.5	14.0	16.0
	8-11	12	23.1	24.0	40.0
	12-15	5	9.6	10.0	50.0
	born	25	48.1	50.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

USA

The reason we asked how long the students have been in the United States is because we felt that if the student had not been here long the reason for the apprehension would more than likely be from the new language aspect rather than culture. As you can see the largest group was 8-11 years.

Number of Spoken Languages

Different

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	11	21.2	22.0	22.0
	2	27	51.9	54.0	76.0
	3	11	21.2	22.0	98.0
	4	1	1.9	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Different
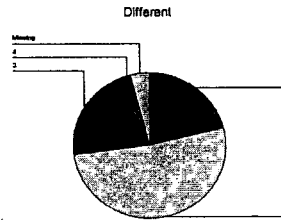
Only eleven people speak one language in this group. The reason this is significant is because it tells us that this reason for the apprehension is not the second language issue. The reason therefore, must be cultural.

Primary Language Spoken at Home

home

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	25	48.1	50.0	50.0
	Armenian	25	48.1	50.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		
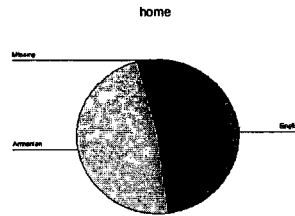
home

The language you speak at home could have a direct link to your communication apprehension this is why we only allowed students that spoke English or Armenian at home. The correlation to the language you feel most comfortable speaking in is directly linked to your CA score.

Results for PRCA Question

1. I look forward to expressing myself at school.

Prca1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	9	17.3	18.0	18.0
	Agree	16	30.8	32.0	50.0
	Disagree	12	23.1	24.0	74.0
	Strongly Disagree	13	25.0	26.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Prca1

Twenty-three out of twenty-five Armenian students answered this question in the disagree area. The conversation that I had with the students after the survey was completed was extremely interesting. It was like pulling teeth to get them just to speak with me and others I couldn't get to be quiet. I spoke one on one with a few Armenian students and was told they feel that school is somewhere you go to learn and not socialize.
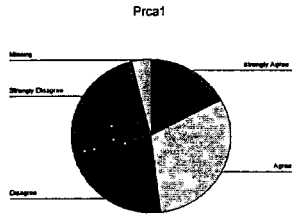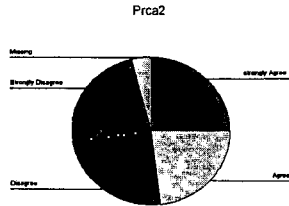
2. I am afraid to express myself in a group.

Prca2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	13	25.0	26.0	26.0
	Agree	12	23.1	24.0	50.0
	Disagree	13	25.0	26.0	76.0
	Strongly Disagree	12	23.1	24.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

Prca2

The reason I found these results so interesting was because I thought that for sure the Armenian students would feel more comfortable in a group setting. What I learned on the follow up interview was that they feel they would just rather agree with the head person in the group then disagree and change the climate of the discussion.

3. I look forward to an opportunity to speak in public.

prca3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	12	23.1	24.0	24.0
	Agree	13	25.0	26.0	50.0
	Disagree	11	21.2	22.0	72.0
	Strongly Disagree	14	26.9	28.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca3
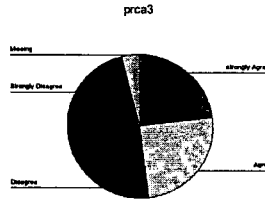
Most Armenian students answered in the strongly disagree when asked to speak in public. They felt that they should not be speaking in public because there are people more qualified to speak then them. The American born students felt that they would like to speak in public and maybe even give a fresh outlook to something that has become boring.

4. Although I talk easily with friends I am at a loss for words on the stage.

prca4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	10	19.2	20.0	20.0
	Agree	15	28.8	30.0	50.0
	Disagree	12	23.1	24.0	74.0
	Strongly Disagree	13	25.0	26.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca4
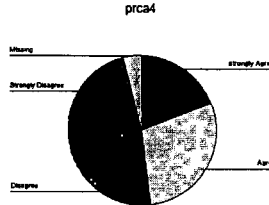
The Armenian students landed in the agree area of this statement. They felt that they would not be able to speak when standing on a stage while people they do not know are watching them. The American born students felt that they would enjoy showing their speaking abilities to a crowd.

5. *I always avoid speaking in public if possible.*

prca5

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	12	23.1	24.0	24.0
	Agree	13	25.0	26.0	50.0
	Disagree	14	26.9	28.0	78.0
	Strongly Disagree	11	21.2	22.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca5

Again the students agreed that they would not want to speak in public. I asked them if they would speak in front of other students. The also said they would not feel comfortable, but if it was required for the class they would do it.
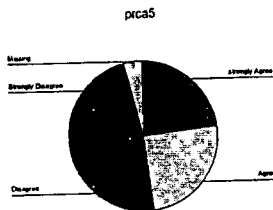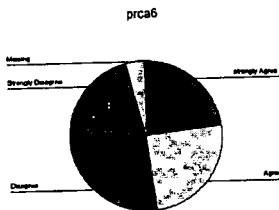
6. *I feel that I am more confident when talking to people than most other people are.*

prca6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	12	23.1	24.0	24.0
	Agree	13	25.0	26.0	50.0
	Disagree	15	28.8	30.0	80.0
	Strongly Disagree	10	19.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca6

The American born students had more confidence than the Armenian students did. This was even more evident when you were in the presence of the students. The way they sat, the eye contact, and general non-verbal gestures.

7. *I like to get involved in-group discussions.*

prca7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	11	21.2	22.0	22.0
	Agree	38	73.1	76.0	98.0
	Disagree	1	1.9	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca7
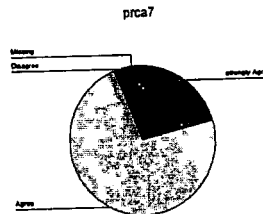
I compared this question to number two. The Armenian students stated that they were afraid to express themselves in a group discussion. Whereas, in this question they said they would like to get involved in-group discussions. I can only explain this by what was expressed to me from the students. They felt they would comment in a discussion as long as they were in agreement with the group. I think that they felt this question referred more to talking with friends and number two referred to groups in the classroom.

8. *I dislike to use my body and voice expressively.*

prca8

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	11	21.2	22.0	22.0
	Agree	16	30.8	32.0	54.0
	Disagree	13	25.0	26.0	80.0
	Strongly Disagree	10	19.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca8
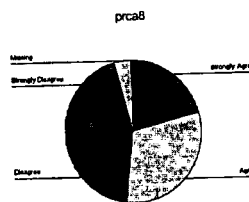
I feel most of the students are uncomfortable with their bodies and voices so I was expecting this question to be slightly more in the agree side then it actually was. I found out when talking with the students that some are comfortable with their appearance and they answered in the disagree area. I also spoke with the teacher and found out that the popular

(pretty/handsome) students were the ones that answered in the disagree area.

9. I'm afraid to speak up in conversation.

prca9

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	12	23.1	24.0	24.0
	Agree	15	28.8	30.0	54.0
	Disagree	11	21.2	22.0	76.0
	Strongly Disagree	12	23.1	24.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca9

The students felt that the conversation we were referring to would be one that would involve someone older than them. Therefore, they felt that they would not wish to speak up and disagree with them. When I asked them wha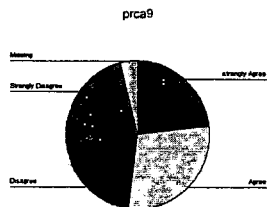t lead them to believe the conversation would be with an adult they said that the word conversation is not used when talking about a group of friends speaking. Even if this question were . thrown out the significance would remain. More Armenians still answered this question in the agree area.

10. I would enjoy presenting a speech on a local television show.

prca10

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strongly Agree	19	36.5	38.0	38.0
	Agree	7	13.5	14.0	52.0
	Disagree	11	21.2	22.0	74.0
	Strongly Disagree	13	25.0	26.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

prca10
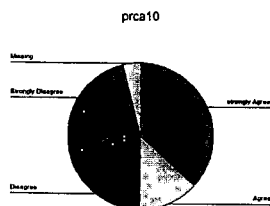
I was flipping through the surveys and found one very interesting an Armenian student answered every question proving that he had high communication apprehension, yet on question ten he stated he would like to do a speech on a television show. I thought that this was the strangest answer on all the surveys. I later discussed the results with a teacher from the school. When I told her about this student she laughed and said she knew who it was. He had stated in class it's a once in a lifetime opportunity so he would do it. I thought his assessment of the question was interesting.

TOTAL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2.10	1	1.9	2.0	2.0
	2.20	1	1.9	2.0	4.0
	2.40	1	1.9	2.0	6.0
	2.50	3	5.8	6.0	12.0
	2.60	6	11.5	12.0	24.0
	2.70	5	9.6	10.0	34.0
	2.80	7	13.5	14.0	48.0
	2.90	6	11.5	12.0	60.0
	3.00	7	13.5	14.0	74.0
	3.10	7	13.5	14.0	88.0
	3.20	2	3.8	4.0	92.0
	3.30	2	3.8	4.0	96.0
	3.40	1	1.9	2.0	98.0
	3.50	1	1.9	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.8		
Total		52	100.0		

The total ranges from 2.10 CA score to 3.5 CA score. With the curve peaking at a 2.8. Armenian student ranged from 2.7 to 3.5 scoring rather high on the average. The American born students ranged from 2.1 to 3.00 scoring rather low on the average. The main bulk of the students fell in the 2.8 to 3.10 that are where the bell curve average is for study.
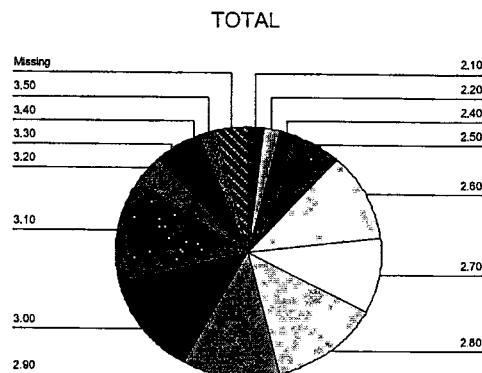
TOTAL

Results from T Test and Levine's Test for Equality of Variances

T-Test

Group Statistics

home		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
TOTAL	English	25	2.7160	.1650	3.301E-02
	Armenian	25	3.0000	.3149	6.298E-02

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
TOTAL	Equal variances assumed	1.996	.164	-3.994	48	.000	-.2840	7.111E-02	-.4270	-.1410
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.994	36.257	.000	-.2840	7.111E-02	-.4282	-.1398

Both the T-test and the Levene's test for Equality of Variances were performed to assess the studies results and validity. The study found a relationship as you can see from the mean score of 2.716 for the American born and the mean score of 3.00 for the Armenian foreign-born. As you can see from the T-test mean averages you can see a significant difference even if you do not understand statistics. The .28 difference in the average score proves correlation in the affects of culture on communication apprehension.

Discussion and Further Research Possibilities:

The results came back as I expected. The next step is to use the data gathered to help students lessen their personal communication apprehension. I will be conducting focus groups with Armenian students to find what in their culture could be causing this apprehension. I then will develop a training program for teachers to help them incorporate things that may help the students to become less apprehensive.

The benefit of testing the younger generation is that they still have time to learn how to deal with this before it reaches a point that they can not control their own fear. I think that the younger students are taught to speak in public the sooner they will be able to become a well-rounded person. In this world you must be able to communicate if you can not communicate effectively you will not be able to contribute to society all the wonderful things you may have to offer this world.

Teachers will be better equipped to handle certain situations if they understand a culture and the student's willingness to participate in the classroom. Studies of personal communication apprehension at the junior high level could help to improve our future as a nation of good communicators. The world revolves around words so if you are afraid to speak you may not be able to take part in it.

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A NECESSARY GOOD: MULTICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL ENGLISH CANON

BY TINA LEISNER MCDERMOTT

Race, ethnicity, class, and gender have been the primary reasons for prejudice, segregation, and discrimination for the entire history of this country's existence. Through several hundred years of slavery of African people, exploitation of Latino and Asian workers, denial of women's rights and abilities, and the conquests of the Native American and Mexican nations, the bedrock of American culture has been historically grounded on the notion of white male supremacy and domination (Allen and Chung, 796). Education in the United States has consistently served to perpetuate the myths and stories of Anglo/Eurocentric culture. While a multicultural agenda has gained attention over the past several decades, and curricula changes have gradually become more inclusive and representative of the diverse cultures that make up the United States population, tradition in the literary canon (the officially recognized and agreed-upon literature classics that high school students are required to read) is still often only sprinkled with small token representations of ethnic writers alongside the well established "greats" of the white, male literary tradition, rather than truly integrated equally among them.

For this paper, I reviewed two required reading lists that high school students in the Glendale and Burbank Unified School Districts were given for their literature classes. The lists consist of the traditional authors, such as Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Shakespeare (three plays), J.D. Salinger, George Orwell, with very few ethnic or women writers. Overall, the lists are glaringly Anglo and Andro Centric. (See Appendix 1) In my view, this sends a subtle message to students about the overall worth of minority and women writers' contributions to the canon of American literature; a message that "Others" do not count as much as the white

male writers. I argue that a multicultural canon is necessary for minority students to self identify with culturally relevant material, for students of all cultures to better understand those other than themselves, and to critically engage students in the "official" stories that formulate an American national identity that is not inclusive of multiple cultures and perspectives. I will also explore some of the obstacles to a transformative canon given the political debates surrounding education.

Why Multiculturalism?

There seems to be little disagreement among scholars that cultural diversity in American society is here to stay. There certainly is no going back to the so-called good ol' days of the 1950's -- or the bad ol' days, depending on your race and class at the time (Coontz, 2000) -- as many critics and politicians yearn to do. Although much progress has been made in acknowledging the contributions of minority groups to American culture, a deeper level of commitment is needed in education to bring marginalized groups into the realm of "normal" dominant culture. Children of both marginalized and dominant groups must be prepared to meet the challenges of living and working productively together by understanding perspectives of multiple peoples. What is needed is a critical pedagogy that teaches children to consider the validity of differing views and to make historical connections among history, culture, and current events on a broad level. To do this, we need to normalize the notion of the "Other" as something inclusive of, rather than exclusive of, the mainstream culture. "If issues of culture are centralized throughout the curriculum and the educational experience of students, the issue of culture thus becomes normalized as an

integral part of the educational process" (Alexander, 18).

As Liz Whaley stated, we must reconsider the metaphor of the "melting pot," with its insinuations of assimilation, in favor of one that values the cultural differences of others. She suggests that: "[W]e must think instead of an American tapestry, and we must bring in all the diverse strands" (6). Substantive representations of marginalized and minority groups in the official discourse of required reading lists offer tangible evidence of a society that places a high value on a diverse chorus of voices.

James Banks describes four levels of multicultural education reform by degrees of substantiveness, immersion, and critical engagement (Cultural Diversity, 61-65). Banks' four levels of curriculum reform progressively lead to total inclusion of a rich ethnic diversity in the American tapestry. The goal and emphasis of multicultural curriculum changes must be towards a schooling that is wholly reflective of the pluralistic society in which we live: "the ethnic revival movement" (Cultural Diversity, 61).

The levels begin with the Contributions Approach. This approach is represented in special events like celebrating Cinco de Mayo or setting aside particular times to study a group, i.e., African-American History Week. The issues raised are celebratory in nature and teachers do not focus students on issues of oppression or poverty. Banks notes that the stories and myths told for such celebrations focus on "rags to riches" concepts and individuals who pull themselves up from the bootstraps, without addressing the underlying oppressive causes of poverty and migration (Cultural Diversity, 61). Banks also points out that the Contributions Approach tends to trivialize and stereotype ethnic cultures, rather than help students view them as whole and dynamic.

The Ethnic Additive Approach is the next level of multicultural integration, and is accomplished by the addition of a book or course without making substantial changes to the overall curriculum. This is the level that I

detected in the Burbank and Glendale school districts. While it serves to give students a glimpse into alternative perspectives, its shortcoming is that it situates ethnic groups' contributions outside the mainstream by offering it as an alternative or an aside without the weight given to the standard classics.

The Transformation Approach "changes the basic assumptions of the curriculum and enables students to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from several ethnic perspectives and points of view" (Banks, Cultural Diversity, 62). Rather than simply adding material from other cultures as examples of those cultures, the Transformation Approach devotes time and thought to various perspectives and "frames of reference." Banks uses the example of teaching the American Revolution from the perspectives of the Revolutionaries, the Anglo loyalists, African Americans, Indians, and the British, as an essential tool in helping students understand the multiple perspectives involved in this historic event. Therefore, students are taught a variety of views that indeed existed during the time period discussed, rather than one singular view that promotes a single, narrow political construction. The emphasis is on the "complex synthesis and interaction of the diverse cultural elements that originated from the various cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious groups that make up U.S. society" (Banks, Multiethnic Education, 208-209).

The fourth level is the Social Action Approach, which includes all of the elements of the Transformation approach, but also requires students to make informed decisions and take a proactive approach to reduce prejudice and discrimination in their schools and communities. The goals of this approach are to "teach students thinking and decision-making skills, to empower them, and to help them acquire a sense of political efficacy" (Banks, Multiethnic Education, 209).

The problems with the first two levels that Banks describes are that they do not go deep enough into the structure of knowledge production to address self-identification issues of minority groups, how marginalized groups

are constructed by the dominant culture, and what constitutes our collective national identity, in a truly substantive manner. Token attempts at multiculturalism, such as including one Latino-American writer (i.e., Sandra Cisneros' House on Mango Street) among a choice of twenty books, is simply inefficient given the historical intertwining of Latino (including Mexican, Cuban, Central American, and South American) and Anglo cultures, and how those interactions have defined the cultures of many American states, particularly in the southern border states. Without a variety of authors to compare and contrast their American experience with, students are left with the notion that the one book was selected because it is so totally representative of that particular culture as a whole, in essence "exoticizing difference" for the purpose of temporarily fixating the spectator's gaze (Alexander, 7), rather than normalizing the voices of a variety of ethnically diverse writers with a variety of perspectives. Transformative and social action approaches are needed to offer students an education that honestly reflects the world they live in, a world that is increasingly multicultural.

Location of the Self

The official discourse of literature is an important cue to students as to where their cultural identity and societal worth stand in relation to the mainstream culture. Banks asserts that multiculturalism offers a way for students of color and ethnic backgrounds to find themselves represented and counted in the important works and stories that formulate a society's culture as a whole (Cultural Diversity, 46).

Carl A. Grant's experience in teaching black, underachieving students in a poor, urban Chicago school is instructive. He conducted an experiment whereby one group of students was given an Afro-centered curriculum and another group was not. The students with the Afro-centered course thrived in their studies, while the students denied such materials (the control group) actually became angry with him over the fact that they could not have the same course of instruction, *once they knew it was available*. Thus, teaching culturally relevant materials to his students inspired an enthusiasm for learning that was previously unexplored and made clear the fact that students need to locate themselves in the study material to discover meaning and relevance, and consequently succeed. "They wanted to know about their history and their culture. They were suffering academically and socially as well as being suffocated educationally by being denied such information" (165). In teaching African-American students the traditional Western canon of history and literature, students were experiencing a disconnect with the material that deeply affected their educational and social outcomes.

Teaching culturally relevant material to students also points to important pedagogical concepts raised by Paulo Freire in his book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed. If the teaching of literature is a static, non-dynamic body of scholarship that is non-responsive to the identity of students, it embodies what Freire criticizes as the traditional "banking" approach to education, where concepts are "deposited" in students' minds, discouraging critical thought and dialogue (53-67). According to Freire, educators who teach in the banking mode believe they possess a high order of knowledge while the students possess no knowledge or historical validity. Objecting to the banking method of pedagogy, Freire advocates a dialogic classroom process, which invites the views and lived experiences of students, encouraging their interaction with material that is *relevant to their lives*. Thus, in following Freire's recommendations, a diverse tapestry of literature that speaks of and to the lived histories of varied groups of people, is crucial to the establishment of student self-relevance, critical thinking, and deep structural involvement in the material. Furthermore, a culturally responsive canon has the potential to lead to students' engagement with the issues raised in the literature beyond the confines of the classroom into their daily and political lives.

By critically engaging the literary canon in the dialogic manner, teachers can further achieve an understanding of "border pedagogy" as recommended by Giroux:

> . . . it is important to understand how the experience of marginality at the level of everyday life lends itself to forms of oppositional and transformative consciousness. This is an understanding based on the need for those designated as Others to both reclaim and remake their histories, voices, and visions as part of a wider struggle to change those material and social relations that deny radical pluralism as the basis of democratic political community. For it is only through such understanding that teachers can develop a border pedagogy. . . .(Border Pedagogy, 174)

The risks for society when teachers and school districts choose not to act on such transformations are high, for the disenfranchisement of marginalized groups perpetuates stereotypes and prejudice, affecting the economic status of individuals who belong to such groups. Banks states that, "A pluralistic democratic society functions best when its diverse groups believe they are an integral part of its institutions and social structure" (Cultural Diversity, 253). If we are to expect students of diverse backgrounds to become full participants and active citizens in American democracy, one way to encourage such participation is by placing a high value on the literary contributions that stem from their cultural heritages, and acknowledging those works and authors as worthy of study in a class about *all* American literature.

Location of the Other

A multicultural literature curriculum also serves to show students how to negotiate with other groups they may not be familiar with. Laws no longer segregate American communities, but people tend to segregate themselves according to race and income status. Unless parents make a concerted effort to introduce their children to other cultures, they are likely to lead fairly cloistered lives. A multiculturalist literature canon would serve to expose these children to alternate perspectives of life that would enrich them and help them engage more realistically with the world around them beyond the borders of their neighborhoods. Banks reasons that children who are members of white, affluent groups are particularly in need of broadening their views through multiculturalist curricula lest they be "denied important parts of the human experience and are culturally and ethnically encapsulated" (Cultural Diversity, 44). As Burke reminds us, "a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing" (qtd. in Alexander, 49). Students who are "encapsulated" in their homogeneous neighborhoods and schools, who rarely mix with people of other cultures, and who may not even visit neighborhoods that are unlike their own, are in particular need of opportunities to understand the experiences of other groups (Banks, Cultural Diversity, 50-51). A strong exposure and engagement with diverse literatures can serve to inoculate children who reside in homogeneous neighborhoods from future problems with diversity once they leave their homes for college and careers. Ideally, such engagement should inspire a curiosity, compassion, and respect for ways of knowing the world that are different from their own, along with a critical eye for discerning the structural reasons for those differences.

Giroux and McLaren emphasize the dialectical nature of negotiating the self and the "Other" through text:

> Reading a text must be a way of learning how to choose, how to construct a voice, and how to locate oneself in history. This amounts to intervening differently in one's own self-formation and the self formation

of others. (Giroux and McLaren, Writing, 19). (Emphasis added)

For example, many students read the classic American novel, To Kill a Mockingbird, by Harper Lee. It is an excellent book and deserves its classic standing, to be sure. That said, it is a book about white children in the South and their father who is a lawyer representing a black man accused of the rape of a white woman. To the extent that it is about the black family, it is written in relationship to the white family, and although the book poetically and poignantly brings out the injustice of discrimination in the South, it is from a white perspective.

An alternate perspective that would enhance students' understanding of race relations in the South would be to read African-American author Zora Neale Hurston's book, Their Eyes Were Watching God. Their Eyes is the story of a young, black girl and her life events -- basically a universal coming of age story -- except there are two striking things about the novel. First, the dialogue is written in the dialect of Southern blacks, making it a challenge at first to read, but creating a reality of dialogue that could not have been accomplished any other way. Second, the story is devoid of any significant white characters, and the effect is that of a window to a world that does not revolve around white people. Hurston's book is important because it factors *out* the prominent presence of white culture and lets the black experience stand in the foreground.

While reading To Kill a Mockingbird is sure to inspire sympathy for what blacks experienced in the South, it is nonetheless experienced through the dominant culture's point of view, however poetic and sympathetic, which I do not intend to take away from. What deeper and richer understandings could students have of black life in the South were they to read Their Eyes in *addition* to Mockingbird? What if students could discuss what insights Hurston had by being a member of the culture she wrote about and what made her writing different from Harper Lee's? The possibilities for students' insights and

revelations on these issues underscore the exciting potential that the multicultural canon has to offer all students of all backgrounds.

The National Identity Crisis

Whaley and Dodge claim that despite progress in feminism and multiculturalism, recent right wing conservative backlashes have served to reaffirm the overriding importance of literature written by "Dead White European and American Males" such as Hawthorne, Irving, Twain, Steinbeck, and Shakespeare, among others (the same as the majority of writers on my student informants' readings lists). They are concerned about the psychosocial message communicated by such a backlash in that these writers are the major representatives of great literature to the exclusion (or relegation to lower status) of women and minority group writers. In favor of a diverse canon, they state: "We object, we object strongly, not to teaching the works of these [traditional] authors, but to the policy of teaching theirs to the exclusion of others" (10), calling such policies "irresponsible" (11).

Many scholars are concerned that conservatives who actively lobby against multiculturalism in education are in fact trying to revert the American national identity back to the traditional concepts of the 1950's pre-civil rights era. Giroux aptly describes the problematic nature of a right-wing construction of national identity that excludes the pluralistic nature of American society:

> Central to the construction of a right wing nationalism, is a project of defining national identity through an appeal to a common culture that displaces any notion of national identity based upon a pluralized notion of culture with its multiple literacies, identities, and histories and erases histories of oppression and struggle for the working class and minorities. (Giroux, National Identity, 2-3)

Giroux further explains that the mythic American national identity is narrated within the constructs of assimilation and homogeneity, and that it "has all too often been forged within popular memory as a discourse that too neatly links nation, culture, and citizenship in a seamless and unproblematic unity" (3). He states that "national identity is structured through a notion of citizenship and patriotism that subordinates ethnic, racial, and cultural differences to the assimilating logic of a common culture. . ." (4).

Giroux's concern about the right-wing ideology which espouses the nostalgia of "the good ol' days" and resists multiculturalism by "getting back to the basics" in education is well placed because it threatens to turn the clock back on the progress gained in multicultural education by re-establishing the "norms" of yore. He argues for a national identity that is reflective of our pluralistic society:

> What educators need is a pedagogy that redefines national identity not through a primordial notion of ethnicity or a monolithic conception of culture, but as part of a postmodern politics of cultural difference in which identities are constantly being negotiated and reinvented within complex and contradictory notions of national belonging. (12)

Required reading lists operate as official cues to the collective consciousness that congeals to support a mythical national identity. National identity is intimately tied to social constructions of historical imagery (Giroux, 3), and it is through the narrative and vivid imagery of great literature that visions of the past come alive. The literature choices for young people by educators communicate a strong message about what constitutes great literature, by whom, and for whom. In essence, by telling students what to read, teachers also are telling students what to think (Lewis, 1). On a grand scale, the status quo of minority group marginalization is maintained by a traditional literary canon that contributes to the

national myths of what America is supposed to be and what it is supposed to remain.

Politics of Curricula Re-visioning

In large part, the problem of fully implementing a multicultural curriculum is one of political power over educational policies. According to Michael W. Apple, current reforms that emphasize standardized tests and curricula are the result of a "right turn" (104) in ideology, where conservative proponents nostalgicize the past and pressure schools to "get back to the basics." The influence of these groups depends on a discursive strategy that invokes anti-progressivism, and thinly veiled attacks on diversity in the name of "tradition." Right wing reformers have characterized their positions based on "morals" and "common sense," making it difficult for opponents to argue successfully against them (106-107).

As the federal government gets increasingly involved in curricula standards and testing, teachers become more tightly constrained to decide what to teach; therefore, it is government policies, shaped by the conservative backlash against progressivism, that dictate the nature and scope of what school districts and teachers ought to teach. In his review of the implementation of national curriculum in England and Wales, Apple states that ". . . its utter power is demonstrated in its radical reconfiguration of the very process of knowledge selection, organization and assessment" (113) (emphasis added).

In concurrence with Apple, but in a much more scathing fashion, McLaren and Farhmandpur (2001) associate the rise of both neoliberalism and neoconservatism with the implementation of standardized curricula and tests. They contend (as does Apple) that it is not only the traditional orientation and romanticization of the past, but also the free-market assumptions of our greed-driven, consumeristic culture and the will to make students into marketable employees that has created the current environment of ever-increasing standardization and teacher-proof curriculum.

Clearly, with the force of conservative politics riding on the backs of education policy makers, and the very real pressure of standard tests, it is no wonder that teachers and school districts do not respond in some ways, whether subtly or overtly, to the call for a traditional curricula. This was made clear to me during an interview I conducted with Diane Levin of the California State Department of Education. She informed me that the State of California does not have a "required" reading list, per se. It does publish a "Recommended Literature List," which teachers and districts choose from, and which is purposefully diversified for gender and ethnicity[1]. I also spoke to Joel Shapiro, Director of Curriculum for the Glendale Unified School District, who informed me that the literature lists in his district are decided by teachers and other contributors on a yearly basis and that little by little, it has become more diverse. Obviously, change is a slow and gradual process, and even proponents of a completely diverse and integrated curriculum agree that a radical and sudden overhaul is unlikely (Banks, Cultural Diversity, 61). However, one must wonder why, even given the State's "green light," teachers and administrators in some districts still hold onto the traditional canon and only allow non-traditional books to occasionally slip in. Diane Levin pondered that perhaps the teachers themselves are reluctant to give up what they are familiar with, and prefer to teach the traditional works. Perhaps, too, they are wary of the objections they might receive for not teaching what is expected from the broader community.

Teachers willing to take the risk of critically engaging a truly transformative multicultural canon of literature are involved in an intellectual political struggle. By doing so, they disclose the fact that works of literature by minority and women writers have traditionally been left out of the canon. For example, again, Zora Neale Hurston. She died in poverty, in an unmarked grave, with no publishing contract

(Walker, 1994). Her obscurity and subsequent re-discovery by Alice Walker is a story that must be told in terms of racism and race relations in the professional and academic worlds during her lifetime. Besides the fact that her books are highly literate and enjoyable to read, *reading Hurston forces a head-on engagement* with the historical truths of her life, and the lives of African-Americans in the early 20th century in general. Reading Hurston is a clear exemplification of what Giroux and McLaren refer to when they state that critical intellectual teachers can "link knowledge to power by bringing to light and teaching the subjugated histories, experiences, stories, and accounts of those who suffer and struggle within conditions that are rarely made public or analyzed through the official discourses of public schooling" ("Teacher Education," 315).

Conservative ideologists are dominating the education political field with calls for return to the "basics" and traditional canons. At the same time, neoliberals, whose main concerns are that students leave school with marketable skills as opposed to sharpened intellects, are also adding to the pressure for increasingly standardized instruction and frequent testing. Both sides threaten progressivism and as a result, multiculturalism. What is difficult for some to understand is that multiculturalism is not a position in and of itself. "Engaging a full range of perspectives is not an argument for a particular position or ideology" (Leistyna, et al., 9); rather, it is an argument for an opening of minds, a flexibility of thought, and suspension of ideology.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have explored the constructions of self-identity, "Other" identity, and a collective national identity, in confluence with the traditional mainstream canon versus a transformative multicultural canon. I have also discussed the ideologies and politics that inform the current debate regarding standards and curriculum, which hinder the higher levels of multiculturalism that Banks describes in his approaches. My sample of reading lists from

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students of Burbank and Glendale school districts was not scientific, nor exhaustive, however it was representative of two high profile urban area high schools that are heavily populated by students of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The samples gave evidence of a predominantly white, male centered reading list, much the same as it was 20 years ago, with a small diversity on what Banks describes as the contributions level. Some very interesting research could be further conducted on the extent of transformative multiculturalism in literature classes. A thoroughly researched study of reading lists of a greater sample would surely bring fascinating results to discuss, and my guess is that it would reveal varying levels of commitment to multiculturalism in different districts. Also, one of the students gave me his list with personal comments on each book (for example: On Tess of Dubervilles, "Ugh, I could hardly stay awake;" on Animal Farm, "Great, truly great"). His comments led me to think that another interesting research project would be to interview students as to how they feel about the books on their lists and using their reactions as a guide to inform more relevant material.

Relevant teaching is even more of a challenge when one considers the media that teachers are forced to compete with for children's attention. Giroux and McLaren make a point that many parents are all too aware of: children are more engaged with technology at home than literature at school. "Each school day students are ripped out of this techno-cocoon and placed in a 19th century world of linear time and print technology" ("Writing," 28). There are infinitely exciting possibilities when one imagines a high school literature classroom where teenagers (in that liminal space between childhood and adulthood) discover a world of meaning and relevance in books that is meaningful to their worlds. A class where the answer to the question, "Why do we have to read this?" is a little more obvious to them because their reading is more reflective of their lived experiences, or of Others whom they encounter. Michael Apple challenges us:

"There is political and practical work to be done. If we do not do it, and if we do not join with others in the struggles over class, race, gender, and disability, who will?" (117) The question is, do teachers, parents, and school districts have the will to change and move the canon forward to fully incorporate and engage students in the great diversity of the American experience as expressed through great literature?

APPENDIX 1

Reading List from Student of Burbank High School:

Romeo and Juliet	Julius Caesar
The Pigman	The Crucible
A Christmas Carol	The Scarlet Letter
The Outsiders	Of Mice and Men
Animal Farm	The Great Gatsby
The Good Earth	Huckleberry Finn
House on Mango Street	Catcher in the Rye
Night	Death of a Salesman
To Kill a Mockingbird	Hamlet
The Old Man and the Sea	Wuthering Heights

Reading List from Student of Hoover High School (Glendale):

A Tale of Two Cities	Macbeth
The Pearl	The Cherry Orchard
Julius Caesar	Heart of Darkness
The Joy Luck Club	Animal Farm
Invisible Man	The Iliad
Huckleberry Finn	The Odyssey
The Awakening	Romeo and Juliet
The Crucible	Great Expectations
The Scarlet Letter	Catcher in the Rye
The Great Gatsby	Lord of the Flies
The Glass Menagerie	Tom Sawyer
Tess of the Dubervilles	My Antonia
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CRITICAL PEDAGOGY SHOWCASE
·THE BODY AND IDENTITY IN MEDIA – A LEARNING COMMUNITY

BY JOHN RAMIREZ, PH. D.

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Bridge Program, their involvement in this learning community was literally their first experience of full-fledged and *bona fide* university course work. Despite the learning community's demanding reading and writing loads in each course and challenging participation requirements, the student success rates were considerable: ENGL 96 saw a 96% pass rate (38/40), EDCI saw a 90% pass rate (36/40), and BCST 210 saw an 85% pass rate (34/40).

The term project for the BCST 210 component was a five-page term essay developed over the course of the quarter in two essay outline drafts and two essay drafts. The assignment required that each student conduct a critical analysis of a dramatic or documentary film/video, a television program, a television commercial, or a music video. They were to identify two significant identity categories represented in their selected media texts and discuss how those identities inform the meaning of the text through character constructions, actions and interactions. They were required to incorporate within their essays a minimum of two references selected from the body of works read across BCST 210, ENGL 96, and/or EDCI 93. The following works represent a sampling of the student essays produced Fall 2002 for BCST 210.

RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION IN *REMEMBER THE TITANS*

BY ELISA COBIAN

Race and sexual orientation are identity categories that are given to people by others in society. Most people use race and sexual orientation to identify the type of character a person holds. They are labels that are put upon people to characterize who they are or where they come from. In Boaz Yakin's *Remember the Titans* (2000), a football team is troubled by identities of race and sexual orientation. The power of race/ethnicity and sexual orientation labels trigger hatred and cause conflict between characters. Ralph Ellison's "Battle Royal" and Michael Bronski's "Confronting Anti-Gay Violence" give great examples of the extremes to which intolerance of these identities can lead.

Remember the Titans is based on a true story that took place in Virginia in 1971. A city of white citizens is being integrated with African Americans. African Americans are moving into white communities and attending white schools. Students from T.C. Williams High School are also upset that the school has become integrated. An African-American, Herman Boone is assigned the position of head coach for the school's football team. Coach Boone's new job position places the former head coach, Bill Yoast, under him as assistant head coach. Tension arises between the white and African American football players and coaches. Despite all the racial tension, head Coach Boone has a plan to lead the football team to state championships but first he must tackle the racial hatred among the teammates. Coach Boone's plan ultimately succeeds and the team wins state championship, developing deep and lifelong friendships among the players.

Race/ethnicity is important in the movie's story setting in which integration is taking place against the views of a culture that views color as a negative. Racial difference is the matter that is in dispute and that needs to be understood and accepted by students and the community. One reason why there is such conflict over race is because of the labels used to divide people. Students, football players and the town's citizens are allowing these labels to control their lives and in turn oppress African-Americans. Throughout the film, several events take place that demonstrate how racial difference is interpreted by the townspeople. For example, race is the cause for protests, violent fights, racial slurs and tension between football team members. Another example that shows how characters responded to race, is when Coach Yoast holds a meeting with the white football players and their families. The purpose of the meeting is to announce that he will quit coaching the team. The parents and football players respond with comments, such as "our sons are not playing for any Coach Coon" and "I do not want to play with those black animals." Such comments made by white characters illustrate how racism creates division and non-cooperation.

Race is also important in the film because the racial hatred threatens to prevent the football team from playing as a united team. Team members must trust each other in order to play well, but before the Titans can do so, they need to focus on accepting each other and forgetting about the labels that drive them apart. For example, when the white football players and African-American football players meet for the first time they refuse to get along. There is a great amount of racial tension among the players that keeps them from interacting and cooperating with one another.

In this Virginia town in this moment in U.S. history, race is still used to judge where people stand in society. Several of the white characters, including football players and their families, feel that going to school with African-

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Race is also important in the film because the racial hatred threatens to prevent the football team from playing as a united team. Team members must trust each other in order to play well, but before the Titans can do so, they need to focus on accepting each other and forgetting about the labels that drive them apart. For example, when the white football players and African-American football players meet for the first time they refuse to get along. There is a great amount of racial tension among the players that keeps them from interacting and cooperating with one another.

In this Virginia town in this moment in U.S. history, race is still used to judge where people stand in society. Several of the white characters, including football players and their families, feel that going to school with African-

Americans is unacceptable because black people are regarded as lower class. This is why, at first, white townspeople react so strongly and disagreeably. The white community was not ready to interact with a race that is seen with much negativity. For example, when Coach Boone replaces Coach Yoast as head coach, Boone gives Yoast a choice to work with him and be assistant coach or just quit. Yoast is threatened by Coach Boone and replies to his question "and work under you" with disgust. Coach Yoast believes that if he works under Coach Boone he would be seen as being second choice. Coach Yoast did not want to be placed under an African-American man.

This white community held beliefs that reflected Jim Crow laws. For example, integration was controversial because the white people felt superior to African Americans. The whites felt that African Americans did not deserve the same education as white children were receiving. Another Jim Crowism that was still in practice when the events of *Remember the Titans* took place was that no African-American could have a higher job position than a white person. This is seen when Coach Yoast feels threatened to work under Coach Boone as assistant coach and would rather quit then work for him. Given racism's influence in American history and in their lives, these white Virginians resist the change of race integration.

In Ralph Ellison's story, "Battle Royal" a young African-American teen is pressured into participating in a series of rituals for the entertainment of white males. Like *Remember the Titans*, the young black men in "Battle Royal" also had difficulty living life because of the labels of race. These black men also received unfair treatment from white people as do the African-American students in *Titans*. The story's main black teen is being taunted for his intelligence as he attempts to deliver a speech to an audience of white men who refuse to take him seriously. Ellison writes, "I spoke automatically and with such fervor that I did not notice that the men were still talking and laughing…" (321). Similarly, in *Titans* the African-American students were seen initially

as unintelligent and undeserving of the same educational opportunities as the white students.

Sexual orientation is also important in *Remember the Titans*. Besides the football team having racial hatred they also have to overcome their hate for homosexuals. The players face another obstacle that keeps them all, black and white, from real team work, namely, dealing with the possibility that one of their teammates may be gay. When a new student/player, Ronnie, arrives at the football training camp, the team teases him because they think he looks homosexual. Gary, the all-American player, yells slurs such as "hey look at the fruitcake" and even nicknames Ronnie "Sunshine" for being blonde and pretty. Some of the football players such as Gary and Petey feel uneasy about not knowing whether Ronnie is homosexual or not. The label of homosexual does not allow Ronnie to adjust easily with the rest of the football team since it is, at first, difficult for the team to accept him under this label. Ironically, the African Americans knowing what it is like to be treated unfairly have very little, if any, consideration for Ronnie at the outset. These attitudes are so dominant that they cause Ronnie and Gary to literally fight. For example, after practice the team members are in the locker room changing when Ronnie starts to get teased and in turn Ronnie taunts Gary and kisses him. All the players become frightened and Gary tries to fight Ronnie. Ronnie is not given an opportunity to make friends because everyone judges him for his uncertain sexual orientation. Most of the team members choose to focus on the negative homosexual label that carries social weight.

The football players are extremely uncomfortable not knowing if Ronnie is homosexual until his roommate Petey confronts and asks him if he is. Petey nonchalantly asks, "So Sunshine are you…you know? It doesn't matter, it's not like I care. I just need to know, you know since I'm your roommate." Ronnie sarcastically responds, "If it doesn't matter why do you care?" Some team members are paranoid about the label of homosexuality, which is why they act out against Ronnie.

Although Ronnie is aware of his teammates not accepting who he is, he feels indifferent about it. Ronnie feels he should not have to explain himself to anyone. Initially, it is a challenge for the team members to adjust to the possibility that Ronnie is gay. Thus, like racism, homosexuality is another label that they must face and overcome.

The importance of race/ethnicity and sexual orientation is that these identities cause dispute among the football team players; these identities keep the players from working effectively together. At the beginning of the film the team struggles to play well because the labels of race and sexual orientation make them uncomfortable. The team did not put as much effort as they could have and allowed walls to separate the white players and the African-American players. In order for the team to have positive leadership and play their best, the players need to accept one another for who they are. The Titans were fortunate enough to have a positive leader in Coach Boone. Coach Boone did not care "whether you are black, brown, white, yellow or blue, we are all playing equal" he stated. Coach Boone brought the team together and closed the gaps between the two races. The players need to unite as a team and show the rest of the community that labels should not be allowed to oppress any one of any color or sexual orientation. Coach Boone also mentions that if the team-members can "fight a war together, they can play together" and this inspires them to do their best. For example, once the team begins to get along, everyone in the team puts his heart into every game. The football players start looking past the labels to work as a loyal and united team. This is what brings the Titans to win the championship, their loyalty, and their love for the team.

Overcoming these labels is not only necessary for the team but also for the lives of the team members. What the team members learn during that football season is a valuable lesson that will change their entire perspectives on life. The Titans have not only learned to ignore labels among their teammates but also everywhere they go. For example, the school

unites because of the team's efforts to help everyone look past labels. The football players not only became outstanding football players but also better people.

In the article "Confronting Anti-Gay Violence" Michael Bronski describes the struggles homosexuals deal with for being viewed with negative labels. I agree most with Bronski when he states, "All hatred is learned" (629). Hatred is learned from the labels that are made for race/ethnicity and sexual orientation. These labels are so powerful that the lives of the victims change, "It becomes a way of life, just as it is for many people of color in America…" (627). Instead of the world accepting everyone for who they are, people of different identities are forced to adjust to the world. Bronski includes African-Americans as having to adjust to an oppressing world. In Ellison's "Battle Royal" African-Americans lived with being treated unfairly and adapted to it as a way of life. Ellison's young men do not strike out against the problem of being treated as entertainment for white men. Change, however, does occur in the film *Remember the Titans*. The movie's characters initially do not want to adjust to the challenges of race integration. The African-Americans in the film fight and defend themselves from the white people treating them unfairly. Bronski asks, "How do we discuss 'accepting' – never mind valuing- homosexuality in a country in which the complexity of race is still, for most part, undiscussable" (629). What was remarkable about the Titans was that the team overcame controversial issues by all getting to know each other. The team had so much love and pride for football that they were able to put aside the labels they grew up with and forget about them. Their great experience of accepting each other brought them victory and friendships.

The football players surpass initial negative feelings towards each other. The players go through many arguments and different conflicts to finally attain within the team. Although the African-American students moved into a town where equality was not granted to everyone, the citizens overcame that belief. Positive experiences, like the football

team's victory helped the town's citizens look beyond race and sexual orientation. It comes to be appreciated in Remember the Titans that overcoming racism and homophobia will help the team players and the community as a whole throughout their lives.

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GENDER AND CLASS IDENTITIES IN *ANGELA'S ASHES*

BY CECILIA MARTINEZ

Angela's Ashes (1999), directed by Alan Parker, introduces a dramatic image of the Irish in 1935. The movie revolves around Frankie McCourt, who day-after-day suffers a miserable childhood. He states that, "the worst miserable childhood, is a miserable Irish Catholic childhood." Facing exigent matters that reflect his class ranking and struggle to manhood, the audience recognizes how both class and gender are important identities in this media text. Each character in the film clashes against a society that judges based on clothes, appearances, and place of residence. Also, each character must strive to be the model gender, and in turn be judged by the very society that keeps them down. This movie finds support by Ralph Ellison's "Battle Royal" and Amitav Ghosh's "The Ghosts of Gandhi" wherein, the reader becomes aware of class distinctions and how the more dominant class continues to either push lower classes down or out of the way. In Gary R. Brooks' "The Centerfold Syndrome," and Sam Femiano and Mark Nickerson's "How Do Media Images of Men Affect Our Lives," we see that through representations of masculinity, men are stereotyped into the "real man" figure and cannot say or do what they want because society will not allow it.

The movie begins in Brooklyn, New York 1935, where main character Frankie, his mother Angela, his father, and three bothers Malachy, Eugene, Oliver, and newborn sister, Margaret Mary all live in a rundown apartment. Poor and without money, baby Margaret dies. They are forced to move back to Angela's home in Limerick, Ireland. Angela's family does not like her husband because he from the Northern Ireland, out of work and therefore unable to support his family. Frankie loves his father, even though he is a drunk and abandons the family. In Ireland, Frankie and his brothers

learn their religion. Frankie gets a job at the age of twelve in a coal mine, since without a father it becomes Frankie's responsibility to take care of the family. Frankie's goal in life is to save money and go back to America. Four year later at the age of sixteen he does.

The past reveals how ancestors around the world lived in caste and class systems. Amitav Ghosh, writer of "The Ghosts of Mrs. Gandhi" recognizes the Indian caste system as, "a hereditary class structure" (330). A caste system basically segregates each class from the highest rank to below the lowest. In the film *Angela's Ashes,* the audience is immediately able to distinguish the class bias against the poor and beggars.

Limerick was always dark and gray, which set the mood revealing the country's destitute economy. One day Frankie and his father go to the Sacred Stars Church in hope that the priests will accept Frankie as an altar boy. Unfortunately, the priest takes one glance at them and says, "there is no room" slamming the door in their faces. Angela speaks with her husband about how Frankie was not being considered because of his class. She states, "I'll tell you what it is, it's class distinction. They don't want the boys from the lane at the altar. They don't want the ones with scabs on their knees and their asses hanging out of their trousers. They want the boys with the nice shoes, and clean hair. And the fathers with steady jobs, not useless like you." The priest contributes to the act of what is remarkably similar to the Indian caste system that Ghosh writes about. Although the caste system is not based on appearances, it essentially plays as an element of how to differentiate the classes. Most of the time, people see others and make quick assumptions about what one is supposed to look like based on class. A society that can caste people because of their appearances can

easily caste away groups because of things they must do to survive.

Begging could be thought of as a way to ask for help, some charity, but society has altered it's meaning. Now it has become a sign of weakness, shame and embarrassment. Imagine walking your little brothers to the park and seeing your mother outside the church begging for leftovers. Frankie states, "The worst kind of shame, is begging for leftovers from the priest's dinners." This class slammed the door in the face of not just any child but her child, while she huddled over another beggar fighting for scraps. This scene denotes class oppression. The class with higher ranking can do as they wish with or to those in the lowest classes who in turn are expected to say nothing.

An example of one class dominating another is in Ralph Ellison's "Battle Royal." The black main character is involved in a boxing match that symbolizes oppression. As the main character tries to deliver a speech that he wrote, the white male audience members mock him and talk and laugh over him. The Negro silences the room by mixing up the terms "social equality and social responsibility" (Ellison 322). As the white crowd becomes furious, one of the men says, "You had better speak more slowly so we can understand. We mean to do right by you, but you've got to know your place at all times" (Ellison, 322). The color of skin is used by the white upper classes as an excuse for class separation. If the black boy in Ellison's story were a white Southerner, his speech would have been appreciated instead of mocked.

Masculinity has always been the expected response to what a man is and should be. The article, "The Lies That Bind: How Do Media Images Of Men Affect our Lives?" written by Sam Femiano and Mark Nickerson discusses what the media have done to contribute to the image of a "real man." Femiano and Nickerson state, "Stereotypes are powerful because they affect our expectations of what men should and should not be like. They are damaging because they narrow our notion of what men can be and do" (Femiano, 1). Gender is an important feature in *Angela's*

Ashes because the male characters strive to fit the "real man" image. During the Depression 1930's, males struggled to be strong, aggressive and able to support their families. Sensitive character traits might be cause for one to be considered less of a man.

Frankie's father returns from England one Christmas day. Despite his father being an unemployed drunk and leaving them from time to time, Frankie loves him. In the middle of dinner the father begins packing, saying that he's leaving for England again. Frankie follows his father outside. The Frankie's narration states, "I wanted to yell out 'I love you.' but they'd laugh at you in Limerick. If I were in America I could say 'I love you dad' the way they do in the films. In Limerick you're only allowed to say that you love God and babies and horses that win, anything else is softness in the head." Frankie wants to tell his father how men feel, but he feels he cannot because he is a male. He believes men are not supposed to act that way. In society men are supposed to know they don't tell other men that they love each other.

Frankie knows his father will not be returning and that it is then up to Frankie, as a male to get a job and support the family. He gets a job at the coal mine. When Frankie brings home his first earned shilling he is proud. He says, "They called me Frank, not Frankie, for the first time I felt like a man." He finds a place where he is respected, where he works like a man and gets treated like one. At the age of twelve he is forced to be a man, giving up most of his childhood to feed his family. Believing there is nothing more his mother can do because she is a mother struggling to raise three children, he being male assumes the responsibility.

Gary Brooks, writer of "The Centerfold Syndrome" discusses the ways male interact with women because of how distorted the male image has become. Brooks admits that he "once assumed, as many men do, that success at work and in a career was the greatest measure of a man, that physical toughness and heroic acts were pathways to proving manhood, that men had to keep the upper hand with

women, that only 'queers' loved other men, and that emotional sensitivity and vulnerability were signs of weakness" (438). Forced by family circumstances to get a job at age twelve, Frankie too assumes that success at work is the greatest measure of a man. When he wants to tell his father he loves him, he cannot for fear that only "soft" men love other men. Society has placed a stereotype on men, and because of it they are held back or held responsible for things for which they shouldn't be held accountable.

Angela's Ashes dramatizes masculinity in conflict with class crisis. When Frankie and his family first arrive in Limerick at the train station, the film introduces the first sign of class and gender conflict. Three bald, barefoot boys begging in dirty clothes, carry the family's luggage in the wet cold weather. This scene demonstrates that because these boys are male they work, while the way they look establishes the class difference between them and the McCourts.

After Frankie's father leaves, it is still not the place of women to work. Angeles must find somewhere for her children to live. Her solution is the only way for a woman in her circumstances at that time to survive, which was to sleep around for support. Angela moves in with her cousin Laman Griffin. He has money so he is treated like royalty. On Fridays all the kids and mother must sit around the table and watch him eat his steak. Then at the end of the night Angela must perform her "womanly" duty for him. Sex is the exchange for a roof over their heads. This arrangement not only shows his gender dominance, but also his privileged class status.

Director Alan Parker creates a realistic image of an Irish family bombarded with lifelong struggles. Frankie McCourt is faced with living life in a male dominant society that holds him down for his class status. In Angela's Ashes, class and gender identities are in conflict. Males dominate but poor males must be kept in their place at the bottom. The film demonstrates that society reinforces the beliefs that class and gender inequalities are "natural" and inevitable.

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TO KILL A MOCKINGBIRD

BY ISABEL ROSALES

Discrimination plays many roles in the film, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962). Two important factors of discrimination within the film are sexual orientation and race. The results of the guilty verdict had many outcomes in the Macomb, Alabama community. They not only affect the black community but also the white community. The black community hoped through the verdict that Tom Robinson would be found innocent to bring some kind of freedom to their people. The white community brought shame and guilt. They knew that they were wrong, but they still went along with accusing Tom, only because society was based on whites overpowering blacks. We see also how the verdict changed the lives of the children and also Atticus' point of view on how society has been wrong all along.

In *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Atticus is appointed to defend a black man named Tom Robinson, who is accused of raping a white woman named Mayella Ewell. Scout and Jem are accused of being "nigger" lovers, due to the fact that Atticus is defending Tom. "A white person of privilege opposing violence against blacks perpetuated by poor whites might easily ruin their reputation and risk being seen as a 'nigger lover' " (bell hooks, 112). Tom arrives to town when a mob of white folks gathers to lynch him for the rape of which they think he is guilty. Atticus takes the position to defend Tom all the way knowing how the Macomb community may react. It is clear that Tom is innocent of the crime, but the all White jury convicts him and he is shot later trying to escape from prison.

Race discrimination, is the main key in the film, *To Kill a Mockingbird*. In Macomb's community, white rules black. "Even when white folks with class privilege condemned this violence, they could never openly oppose it, for to do so they would have had to take the word of black folks over those of white folks, thus being disloyal to white supremacy" (bell hooks, 112). In other words, the dominant group in Macomb is the white race and the black race is viewed as nothing. Tom is considered nothing because he is a black man. The Ewells are considered to be the lowest of white society - "white trash." White trash, back in the days, was known to have a bit more power than any middle class black society. "All black people knew that white skin gave any southern "cracker or peckwood" (ethnic slurs reserved for the white poor) more power and privilege than even the wealthiest of black folks. However, these slurs were not the product of black vernacular slang, they were the terms white folks with class privilege invented to separate themselves from what they called poor "white trash."

The courtyard scene plays a major role of discrimination in the order of seating arrangements in court. We see how the white race has the privilege to be seated in the front of the court facing the judge. On the other hand, the black race is deprived from that privilege and are all sent to the upstairs balcony, where there is no place to move, all of them pushed against the walls, in the hottest place in court.

In the era of black people trying to gain a bit of power from white people, there were laws called Jim Crow laws. These laws forbade black people to gain knowledge to education and especially blacks feeling sorry for a white people. In the film, it is said and clearly stated in Tom Robinson's testimony that he felt sorry for Miss Mayella. The reaction of the court was shock. When Atticus asked the question, why so much help towards Miss Mayella Ewell? Tom responded, "I a black man felt sorry for her." The court could not believe that a black man

had responded like that. A low class black man felt sorry for a white trash woman. Macomb's White community immediately wanted to lynch Tom, like back in the days of Jim Crow laws.

In Richard Wright's "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow," we see examples of the cruelty these laws played. As a bellboy, Wright and his friends experienced threats and risked their own lives. In one incident Wright witnessed a white night-watch man slap a black maid on her buttock. Richard was shocked at the sight. The watchman gave him a long deadly stare and drew his gun. " 'Nigger, don't yuh like it?' . . . 'I asked yuh don't yuh like it?' he asked again, stepping forward. 'Yes, sir,' I mumbled. 'Talk like it, then!' 'Oh, yes sir!' I said with as much heartiness as I could muster." Outside, Richard walked ahead of the girl feeling ashamed of what he said and the fact that he would not defend her or himself. The maid told Richard, "Don't be a fool! Yuh couldn't help it!" (28).

Sexual orientation is another identity that plays in the film. Back in those days, interracial heterosexuality was a major concern. While a white man could rape or have sexual relations with a black women, a black man with a white woman was a sign of disrespect for which he could be killed. Since the jury was all white males, it was a no win situation for Tom. No one of color could have the privilege to be on the jury or be on his side. In fact, these jury members were also among those who wanted to lynch Tom the night of his arrival in Macomb.

The second supporting detail is Tom's trial. Tom is accused of raping Mayella in her own home. The white folks have no trouble believing that Tom raped and beat Mayella, leaving her with bruises and a black eye. No one can see past it to suggest that perhaps Mayella was in love with a black man. It was against the law for a white woman, high class or poor white to be with or be in love with a black man. Atticus' explanation that this society believes the laws work to benefit only one race, the white race

support bell hooks when she writes, "Privileged-class southern white folks sometimes saw white trash as more disgusting than black folks, but at the end of the day they lived by the creed that white stands with white and white makes its right" (bell hooks). When a criminal act or attack is committed in town, they surely run to blame someone else. In other words, they run to blame the black community. Also in Atticus' closing argument, he states what Macomb's white folks believe to be the "Negro ambition" - "All Negro men can't be trusted around our women."

It is obvious that race and sexual orientation play a big role in the discrimination of Tom's trial and in the positions taken by Macomb society. It is obvious that race discrimination plays in the text because there is a great amount of white people controlling the whole black community. Black people are not given the same equal opportunities regarding education. Also, we clearly see that the law only works for the white community in that an innocent black man has been found guilty of a crime he could not have committed due to disabilities and state of mind.

Sexual orientation plays a role in how Tom is being accused of raping a white woman. We know that he is innocent and that only because he is a black man accused of the crime, is he found guilty by the all white male jury. At the end of the story, Tom Robinson is killed. His death symbolizes a sin committed by the whole white Macomb community. All Tom Robinson was doing was surviving, the way he was taught best. A black man was nothing in Macomb. He was no one. He was only there to follow rules given to him by white folks. Society taught the black community to live in fear of white supremacy and also in fear of the cruel and unjust laws of Macomb.

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THE COMPANY WE KEEP

BY ANDRÉ GOERITZ

Words form, their utterances speak
Your face faces mine
Out yonder the sun goes down.
A pigeon, unbeknownst to you,
Looks through the balcony window

My voice doesn't give this meaning
Previously their unformed formation
Exalts the experience of togetherness
As the sun goes down

A light of understanding
Between us shines
As the sun betrays
The silhouetted man
In earnest concentration

The light between us dims
The muse of the night—bright
Flashes of understanding
And synaptic impulses—race
The pigeon takes flight
As the sun goes down

You're hard to see now
Only the memory remains
But what a night
When the light shone
As the sun went down