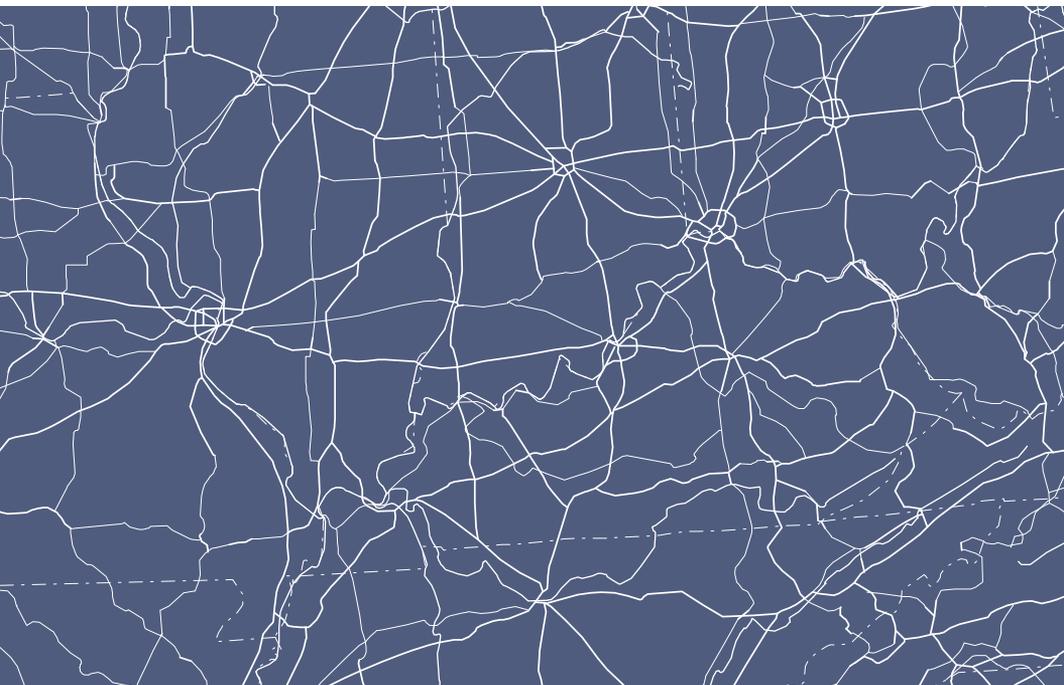# MUNK SCHOOL OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS

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Director's Message:

It is a pleasure to include some comments in this wonderful volume of work on the United States. It is also, I can assure the reader, a pleasure to consume the essays which follow. They run the intellectual gamut, but all are reflective of a keen curiosity and even sharper understanding the United States.

I would like to thank each of the authors and especially this volume's editors. My experience as an academic reminds me almost daily how difficult writing and research can be. So, well done to each of the authors for producing fine work. My own experience as an editor of a political science field journal has taught me that editing requires a unique combination of patience, precision, intellectual breadth, and judgement. It is also plain hard work. This volume's editors have all of these traits in spades. The resulting product is good evidence of this. Thank you to both Liz Gallin and Dahlia James.

The Centre for the Study of the United States is our country's preeminent place for making sense of our Southern neighbour. It is also a meeting place where scholars in fields as diverse as political science, economics, cinema studies, women and gender studies, history, and many others come together over a shared intellectual interest in the United States. The result of this is well worth noting: we host dozens of public lectures and events each year. We furnish a complete undergraduate program in American Studies. We act as a touchstone for graduate students whose focus is the United States. As important as all of this, we help bring to fruition an undergraduate student journal in American Studies, and one which routinely reflects the interdisciplinary, dynamic, scholarly and relevant nature of our Centre. So, it is my great honour to include my comments in this volume, and to commend to all of you each and every one of its articles.

I wish also to recognize Elspeth Brown, the outgoing Director of the Centre. From the start of her tenure more than half a decade ago, Elspeth committed herself to furthering the Centre and its interdisciplinary mandate. The great work of the Centre — this journal chief among its products — speaks to her great success. We are all deeply in her debt.

Peter Loewen, PhD
Assistant Professor | Department of Political Science (UTM)
Director | Centre for the Study of the United States | Munk School of Global Affairs
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Table of Contents

America Embodied

Captain America and the Sentinels of Liberty
Michael Proulx

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"I'm just one man, one man who has dedicated his life to the ideals of freedom, justice and equality. I represent the American Dream — the notion that human beings should have the opportunity to better their lives and attain their noblest aspirations." Captain America

It was a rainy fourth of July, 2007, at Arlington National Cemetery for the interment of another American World War II veteran, Steve Rogers. He had responded to President Roosevelt's Selective Service call but was rated 4F — unacceptable for military service after failing the established physical, mental, or moral standards tests. Rogers' belief in his country's ideals — freedom, justice and equality — saw him volunteer for an experimental treatment as a last resort to enter service. With the attending scientist's encouragement, "Don't be afraid, son... You are about to become one of America's saviors!" he was injected with a serum that morphed him into a soldier with enhanced mental and physical capabilities, henceforth to be known as Captain America![1] The date was December 1940, fully one year before the United States entered World War II.[2]

"Captain America was created to help enhance the patriotic spirit of young Americans," and was presented as a reductionist version of national traits; moral strength, fighting for equality, law abiding, defensive in posture, and used deadly force only as a last resort, restricting war-making to the sovereign state.[3] As such he was instrumental in the construction and education of the 'American' race during World War II.[4] A textual analysis of the cover and first four pages of Captain America #1 explicitly detail this racial formation project, beginning with the creation of a universal nativist national identity, mimicked by immigrant Diasporas, and especially his Jewish creators.[5] The racial formation project was furthered by instructions to the readership, contained within the storylines, on the behavioral norms consistent with existing socio-political structures in the pre-war United States.

Racial formation is a "socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed," that, "... begin with representations of human bodies and social structures that are organized to coincide with a hegemonic societal power structure."[6] "Cap'," as Captain America was affectionately known, epitomized the hegemonic structure in the United States as a territorial symbol: "abstract expressions of group solidarity embodying the actions of political, economic, and cultural institutions in the continual reproduction and legitimating of the system of practices that characterize the territorial unit concerned."[7] His body, a blond haired Greco-Roman ideal, echoed the pseudo-scientific eugenics movement which proscribed the preferred 'body' for United States immigrants, ironically similar to the Aryan paragon claimed by Nazi Germany.[8] Cap's physique was also rhetorically assigned to the state as a corporeal reckoning in opposition to dysgenic views that argued war killed off the fittest examples of the race while the feeble-minded procreated at home at will.[9] This characterization encouraged a bonding of the individual to the nation that re-oriented and outwardly projected tensions from the horizontal axis of plurality to the vertical axis of the individual.

But Captain America went beyond just the abstract or territorial symbol — the flag or bald eagle for example, neither of which could be individually realized nor contained the educational capacity to instruct on the status quo — and thereby bridged the gap between ideal and self-image. The comic book, as 'Popular Culture,' fostered the consumption of a master narrative of national myth, "detailing not only who belongs, but what 'belonging' means," and thus tutored behavioral norms to American society as the war approached.[10] Cap' was not created for attack; he carried only a shield for defense, but to politically acclimatize the citizenry to the increasingly troublesome news emerging out of Europe.[11] When stories of Kristallnacht and intimations of the Nazi's 'Final Solution' leaked from Europe, America's Jewish community decidedly voiced opposition to isolationism in their work.[12] Two men from that community, Joe Simon and Jacob Kurtzberg (later changed to Jack Kirby), both served in the army alongside 550,000 other Jewish-Americans. The pair's political views motivated their design for a hero specifically opposed to Hitler; "There never had been a truly believable villain in comics. But Adolf was alive, hated by more than half of the world."[13] Cap', Private Steve Rogers' alter ego, was literally costumed in the flag, to visually unite the national body to its ideals.

The cover of Captain America #1 (see left) inundated the reader with patriotic pro-war imagery by concretizing real life enemies — Hitler, Nazi Germany and their Fifth Column spies and saboteurs within the United States. "Meet Captain

ABOVE: Captain America #1, released in March 1941, shows the embodiment of American ideals punching Hitler.

America" opened with an establishing shot of a Recruiting Station queue: "USA 1941. As the ruthless war-mongers of Europe focus their eyes on a peace-loving America [t]he youth of our country heed the call to arm for defense," yet also quickly warned, "but great as the danger of foreign attack [I]s the threat of invasion from within. The dreaded Fifth Column."[14] The message that war preparations were a national priority was made further explicit by page three's illustration of a munitions building explosion, "The resulting wave of sabotage and treason paralyzes the vital defense industries!"[15] This opening sequence graphically summarized the value of patriotism and self-defense by recalling the 1916 Black Tom explosion in New Jersey, when German agents destroyed American-made ammunition intended for its World War I allies.[16] The authors adapted their ideological expectations to current events to legitimize, as they saw it, the global role of the United States; an 'elite' embodied national ideology anthropomorphized into the American race.[17]

By selling over a million copies, Captain America #1 took the comic book industry by storm and helped foster national consciousness in the process. Subsequent issues also sold over a million copies each.

The impact of comic books on national consciousness was likely larger as market research in 1943, three years after the appearance of Captain America, indicated:

i. 25 million comic books were sold each month, up from 15 million in 1941, a 67% increase in sales which reached 18.5% of the 135 million in total population.

ii. Four or five readers read each serial issue.

iii. 90% of fourth and fifth graders claimed to be `regular readers' of comic books.

iv. Troops at the front received one comic book for every four magazines.[18]

Further estimates claim that from December of 1940 to September of 1941, four to five million children, adolescents and armed forces members read Captain America comics, instructing them on self-discipline, sacrifice for the good of the nation and the principles it stood for; national restraint from the use of force, innocent intentions, and recurring cultural references to masculinity, virility and virtuosity of the American mono-myth.[19]

This mono-myth is based on the vigilante tradition of the crusading loner who rescues the hapless community, then leaves it in "paradisiacal harmony" during a never ending search for further episodes with redemptive potential.[20] Cap' consistently delivered collectivized messages expressing the official views of responsibility, geopolitical narratives and morality tales, to his readers when they were young.[21] 'Popular Culture' then contributed to the hegemonic structure of 1940's America:

> *"Hegemony is constructed not only through political ideologies but also, more immediately, through detailed scripting of some of the most ordinary and mundane aspects of everyday life. Gramsci's concept of hegemony posits a significant place for popular culture in any attempt to understand the workings of society because of the very everydayness and apparently non-conflictual nature of such productions. Any political analysis of the operation of dominance must take full account of the role of institutions of popular culture in the complex milieu that ensures the reproduction of cultural (and thus political) norms." [22]*

These national cultural and political norms were reproduced and disseminated as advertisements contained within Captain America for the Sentinels of Liberty (see left), a pro-American readers fan club. Readers witnessed the disciplining of characters and values so that they understood how Americans behaved and how they should not.[23] This formed the American identity from the bottom-up by imprinting certain values, such as loyalty to the nation, courage in the

LEFT: Ad for the Sentinels of Liberty, the Captain America fan club.

face of oppression and commitment to the social status quo, while visually reinforcing the nativist American identity as superior to Cap's stereotyped antagonists. The Sentinels of Liberty was a means to this end; the club allowed readers to participate vicariously in the action of the comic book when they signed the membership oath (above).[24] The Sentinels of Liberty even appeared in several of the stories as real characters; issues #5 (June 1941), #6 (July, 1941), and #7 (August 1941). As a group of six youths; four white males, one white female and one African-American male, they flaunted the myth of societal cohesion, while reinforcing existent gender and racial hierarchies. The connection between the Sentinels of Liberty in the comic book, the members of the fan club, and the proper behaviour of Americans could not have been made more explicit than when Cap' himself thanked the Sentinels of Liberty, "America is safe while its boys and girls believe in its creeds!"[25]

It was via these national representations that American youth became aware of, and thus valued, not only the importance of a national identity consistent with prevailing power structures, but also how the United States, and by extension themselves, fit into global moral and political maps. It then becomes apparent that a spatially oriented process of socialization was taking place within the pages of Captain America where borders dictated not just who you were but also how you were supposed to act.[26] This accounting of domestic society reinforces the logic behind pacification, a process that holds, "violence monopolized by the state is expressed as war when directed against foreign powers and as law when exercised internally."[27] Captain America was less a top-down tool of implicit privileged and essential truths — propaganda, than a bottom-up racial formation project that reflected an assimilationist bias in both the native and immigrant populations of the pre-war United States.

Notes

1. Joe Simon and Jack Kirby et al, "Meet Captain America," *Captain America Comics*, no. 1 (New York: Timely   Comics, 1941), 5.

2. Captain America #1 was completed in December 1940. The date of publication was March 1941.

3. Robert G. Weiner, "Introduction," *Captain America and the Struggle of the Superhero*. Edited by Robert G. Weiner. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009. 9; Mark Neocleous, "War as peace, peace as pacification," *Radical Philosophy*, 159 (January/February 2010), 15

4. Brian E. Hack, "Weakness Is a Crime: Captain America and the Eugenic Ideal in Early Twentieth-Century America," *Captain America and the Struggle of the Superhero*. Edited by Robert G. Weiner. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009, 88.

5. Jason Dittmer, "America is Safe While Its Boys and Girls Believe in its Creeds! Captain America and American Identity Prior to World War 2," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25 (2007), 409.

6. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s*, (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 55-56.

7. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 405. Here he quotes Annsi Paasi. (1991), 245.

8. Hack, "Weakness is a Crime," 78.

9. Ibid., 80. Noted eugenicist and Stanford University President David Starr Jordan was the most vocal proponent of this line of argument.

10. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 403.

11. Jason Dittmer, "Fighting for Home: Masculinity and the Constitution of the Domestic in 'Tales of Suspense' and 'Captain America'." *Heroes of Film, Comics and American Culture: Essays on Real and Fictional Defenders of Home*. Ed. Lisa M. Detora. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 102.

12. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 406.

13. Ibid., 407. Quoting Ro (2004) 13.

14. Simon et al, "Meet Captain America," 2.

15. Ibid., 3.

16. Nicolas Yanes, "Graphic Imagery: Jewish American Comic Book Creators' Depictions of Class, Race, Patriotism and the Birth of the Good Captain." *Captain America and the Struggles of the Superhero: Critical Essays*. Ed. Robert G. Weiner. (Jefferson, NC.: MacFarland & Co., 2009), 57.

17. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 403.

18. Ibid., 407.

19. Robert Jewett and John Shelton Lawrence, *Captain America and the Crusade Against Evil: The Dilemma of Zealous Nationalism*. (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 34-35; Dittmer. "Fighting for Home." 109.

20. Dittmer, "Fighting for Home." 106.

21. Ibid., 106 ; Jewett et al., 29-30.

22. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 404. Referencing Joanne Sharpe (2001) echoing Gramsci.

23. Dittmer. "Fighting for Home." 99.

24. Jewett and Lawrence, *Captain America and the Crusade*, 33.

25. Dittmer, "America is Safe..." 413.

26. Ibid., 420.

27. Neocleous, "War as Peace, Peace as Pacification," 15.

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Preceding Image

http://media.liveauctiongroup.net/i/12024/12119998_1.jpg?v=8CE 8CC5EE68D70

American Secretary of State
Hillary Rodham Clinton

Engaging with Feminine and Masculine Styles of Rhetoric
Bianca Salazar

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Hillary Rodham Clinton presents an interesting case-study for the analysis of female political figures. Before she became secretary of state, she was politically active as a senator and previously active as First Lady during her husband Bill Clinton's presidency. She is considered an outlier amongst American female political figures because she has not completely conformed to empirical studies which demonstrate that as women enter into the higher ranks of the political sphere, they tend to adopt more hard line policy positions.[1] This paper seeks to understand how hard line and conservative positions on national policy can be translated into a distinctly "masculine" understanding of politics, based on data from empirical research on women in American politics. Working from this, one can argue that Clinton has been demonstrably liberal in her politics as secretary of state and has not fully engaged in a reconceptualization of her distinct political positions as overtly conservative or masculine. In this paper I would also like to translate how her progressiveness can be interpreted as a distinctly "feminine" understanding of politics. On one hand, this paper will demonstrate that Clinton has indeed been able to successfully engage in a feminine style of politics. On the other hand, she has also been proficient in invoking, when needed, a hard line or masculine approach to politics. Essentially, Clinton has been able to perfect an "iron lady" persona which is constitutive of her political views and actions.

First, this paper will engage with theoretical and empirical sources to conceptualize an understanding of what exactly can be considered a feminine style of politics, as opposed to a masculine style of politics. The latter part of this essay will examine Clinton and specific examples of her rhetorical and political engagements, moving from her time as First Lady through to her time as Secretary of State, assessing when and where she has demonstrated a feminine, masculine or "iron lady" persona.

How can one begin to conceptualize a feminine style of political engagement? In other words, what does it really mean to be a male or a female political actor who engages in a feminine style of politics? First, one can work from the understanding that gender constructions, masculinity and femininity, are considered embodied performances with the purpose of abiding by socially acceptable norms.[2] Gender does not necessarily align biologically or physically, but will be flexible depending on the culture and the time in which the gendered role is being taken up.[3] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, an academic specializing in the area of rhetorical performances, argues that gender requires that both men and women take up masculinity and femininity through their respective actions and speech, if they wish to be considered culturally viable agents.[4] Those characteristics, which are considered feminine or masculine have historically been tied to the realms that each sex has traditionally occupied.[5] For instance, Campbell considers a feminine rhetoric to be a style of speech which adopts a "personal or self disclosing tone (signifying nurturance, intimacy and domesticity)…" stemming from women's role in the private realm.[6] She sees that, because women have historically been relegated to the private domain, their expertise in "cooking, cleaning…childbearing, childrearing…" is most often "learned from other women through a supervised internship combining expert advice with trial and error."[7]

Campbell's conception of "women's craft"[8] can be understood as relational. For instance, a relational understanding of feminine rhetoric, in a political context, is demonstrated in how female political actors can engage with female constituents on biological terms — when furthering women's health issues, and gendered terms — when arguing for women's representation and education. A rhetoric in this tone is both personal and provides interconnectedness between the rhetor and the audience. Additionally, feminine style of engagement is, "concrete, participatory, cooperative and oriented towards relationship maintenance"[9] and built upon "anecdotal evidence, developing ideas inductively, and appropriating strategies associated with women…"[10]

Similarly, Jane Blankenship and Deborah Robson,[11] academics in the area of speech communication, invoke Campbell's understanding of feminine speech. They focus on the "dimensions of discourse which may reveal or point to epistemic stances which we discover in the public political discourse of women."[12] Their understanding of a feminine style of speech consists of five characteristics. Primarily, it has an aspect of basing political judgements on concrete, lived experience. Secondly, the dialogue values inclusivity and the relational nature of being. Thirdly, it conceptualizes the power of public office as a capacity to get things done and to empower others. Fourthly, it approaches policy formation holistically, and lastly, it moves women's issues to the forefront of the public arena.[13] Generally, these characteristics can be understood as exhibiting the politicization of the personal. Through the politicizing of the personal, "rhetors using political feminine style encourage audience members to identify with each other…[and create] a public space founded on principles of inclusion and acceptance [that] allows its inhabitants to practice power-to, instead of wielding power-over."[14] Taking these observations into account, one can see how this relational aspect of feminine rhetoric which allows women to channel "power-to" can be considered distinctively female, though which men can appropriate when needed.

The concept of feminine power is illuminated by the observation that feminine style provides relational power (known as power-to), versus domineering power (known as power-over), which is conceptualized as a masculine style of rhetoric and behavior.[15] Again, we derive masculine rhetoric as characteristic of a gendered role of masculinity, which implies attributes such as strength, assertiveness and forcefulness. Just as in the case of a feminine style of dialogue, the masculine style of rhetoric can be taken up by both sexes according to the given political context.[16] Yet, unlike feminine dialogue which has emerged only recently, masculine dialogue has been considered the norm in the public realm and as such, is more readily adopted as a desirable trait of political leaders. In juxtaposing feminine style of engagement as one which prizes co-operation and interconnectedness, masculine speech and behaviour, in contrast, is characterized as "abstract, hierarchical and dominating…"[17]

By way of side by side comparison, gender communications scholar Vanessa Hatfield-Reeker[18] argues that while feminine speech is viewed as personal, masculine rhetoric is impersonal; where feminine style is inclusive, masculine style promotes the rhetor's authority; feminine style uses inductive reasoning, masculine style uses deductive reasoning; where feminine style takes a holistic approach, masculine style takes a fragmented approach. Lastly, where feminine dialogue is open to other's opinions, masculine dialogue is hegemonic in nature.[19] These comparisons are helpful in understanding the overall unilateral nature of masculine rhetoric and action as one which assumes paramouncy of position and authority in a distinct power-over structure. Characteristics of masculinity which emphasize unilateralism and lack of co-operation, are most recently highlighted by empirical studies on women holding executive positions in Washington.

Scholars such as McGlen and Sarkees,[20] who focus their studies on the roles of women in politics, examine how female gender construction is contrived in a sphere which is dominated by men and hegemonic masculinity. Their research

focuses on the effects of gender on policy position in the Departments of State and Defense. What they found significant in their study was that when asked about their political views, women in the Departments of States and Defense, on the whole, were more conservative than men. This was contrasted with public opinion polls which found that, in general, men held views that were more conservative than women.[21] Furthermore, women's views on state policy were hardly distinguishable from men's positions.[22] These positions de-emphasized relational ties by viewing policies such as the stationing of American troops abroad as creating a relationship of dependence. They emphasized force in a short period of time rather than gradual policy escalation, highlighting masculinity through domination and the use of force rather than co-operation.[23] Women often overemphasized masculine ideals in taking national policy positions which were more hard-line, or emphasized increase defense spending.[24] Scholarly findings generally demonstrated consistent negative correlations between dovish positions and sex, in policy areas such as support of the UN, keeping peace in the world, and providing economic support for world countries, demonstrating the propensity for hawkishness at the executive level.[25]

The overall conclusion of the analysis of the executive political realm suggests that women may overcompensate during the socialization process and become too conservative in their policy preferences in an attempt to fit in to an overly conservative and male-dominated environment.[26] These studies highlight an interesting intersection between women and the socialization process, whereby women consciously employ a masculine strategy in order to blend in with the prominent discourse to avoid tension in their immediate environment. Due to the fact that these studies are restricted to specific departments, it is difficult to gauge how the women would employ different gendered approaches depending on the actors and audiences, something that Hillary Clinton must contemplate as a public political figure.[27]

This intersection between a feminine and a masculine approach, which has been previously mentioned in brief, can be interpreted as an "iron lady" identity. Blankenship and Robson understand the intersection as "bicultural", and they adopt this understanding from Bem, who labels it "androgynous."[28] Unlike the distinctly masculine and feminine understandings of speech which are open to both sexes, the "iron lady" concept is biased towards women who take on a masculine rhetorical and behavioural style in their politics. Feminist political rhetorician Rebecca Richards frames the "iron lady" identity by borrowing the title from former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who was known for her ability to weave in and out of gendered self-constructions, often taking

forceful policy approaches while maintaining a feminine appearance in her dress and make-up.[29]

The name "Iron Lady" emerged as "a fluid and flexible identity that ironically engaged audiences by allowing both advocates and opponents to read the iron lady for different ends."[30] In general, Richards sees the invocation of an "iron lady" persona as a rhetorical performance strategy. For Clinton, the persona "allowed [her] gendered performances to fluctuate for each temporal situation, in order to confront and take control of the given rhetorical situation." Such a strategy, as Richards continues, is a source of perplexity and prevents Clinton from being put into a particular gendered box by "becoming-imperceptible."[31]

Now having a conception of what a particular feminine, masculine or "iron lady" framework looks like, we can asses Hillary Clinton's involvement in American politics to see how she engages with the different areas of rhetoric. As a First Lady, Clinton engaged in a feminine style dialogue at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. As a representative of the United States, she utilized her position of authority and influence to create an environment of inclusivity at the conference. During a speech given at the conference, she pointed out that the conference is a:

> ...coming together, much in the way women come together every day in every country. We come together in fields and factories, in village markets and supermarkets, in living rooms and board room. Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concern. And time and again, out talk turns to our children and our families. However different we may appear, there is far more that unites use than divides us.[32]

By naming the roles that women play individually as workers, while recognizing the roles that women play jointly as mothers and daughters, Clinton brought the personal to the political in a distinctly feminine style. She achieved this by connecting conversations between private women (interactions at the park or water cooler) and the objectives of a public agenda (solidarity and unity).[33] Approximating what would be present in feminine rhetoric, Clinton encouraged members of the audience to identify with and relate to one another to facilitate collective action towards achieving common ends.[34] In the pinnacle of her speech, she stated that women's rights are indistinguishable from human rights,[35] demanding legal and ethical recognition on an international scale. She argued that it is paradoxical that a group that contributes enormously to the well being of the world remains widely unprotected from physical violence such as rape and

domestic abuse as well insecure in terms of maternal health issues and education.[36] Clinton's speech and involvement in the UN conference elaborated the First Lady's feminine rhetoric as one which demanded international governmental action on moving women's rights to the forefront of policy concerns and formulations.[37]

The next most prominent role Clinton played in the American political realm was her bid for Democratic presidential candidate. Here, Clinton's continued engagement with feminine rhetoric is exemplified in a 2007 essay explaining the focus of her presidential candidacy.[38] In the discussion that lead up to an explicit reference to women, Clinton invoked critical feminine rhetoric when critiquing the unilateral and unsympathetic actions of the previous regime:

> After 9/11...We [the United States] had a historic opportunity to build a broad global coalition to combat terror, increase the impact of our diplomacy, and create a world with more partners and fewer adversaries. But we lost that opportunity by refusing to let the UN inspectors finish their work in Iraq and rushing to war instead.[39]

Clinton reinforced her support for feminine rhetoric by pointing out the optimism and strength that could have accompanied co-operation and support of multilateral institutions, in particular the United Nations. By invoking a masculine approach to foreign policy through the assertion of force over co-operative measures, the Bush regime single-handedly undermined the credibility and perception of the United States government to the international community. In the body of her discussion, Clinton interacted with tough foreign policy issues (i.e. the Middle East) though managed to bring the discussion back to the responsibility that the United States had to ameliorate conditions in the developing world through foreign assistance. For instance, she emphasized the attention that must be paid to soft policy issues, such as financial increase for education, health, support of non-governmental agencies, and environmental protection. Clinton finally argued that in order to be successful, the United States must refocus its foreign policy on human rights promotion abroad. Through this discussion of human rights, she configured women's rights into a holistic conception of political success, stating that "human rights will never truly be realized as long as a majority of the world's population is still treated as second class citizens."[40] She concluded that women's rights issues must be brought to the forefront of foreign policy concerns as being within a broader spectrum of international peace and security.

After losing the presidential bid to Barack Obama, Clinton's concession speech continued to exhibit a feminine style.[41] Although she was careful to engage with the wide range of constituents who supported her throughout her bid for presidential nominee, she focused on an issue admittedly closer to her heart for the concluding parts of the speech. The following quote demonstrates the connection Clinton wants her supporters to feel with her gendered and collective identity:

> Now, on a personal note, when I was asked what it means to be a woman running for president, I always gave the same answer, that I was proud to be running as a woman, but I was running because I thought I'd be the best president. But...but I am a woman and, like millions of women, I know there are still barriers and biases out there, often unconscious, and I want to build an America that respects and embraces the potential of every last one of us. I ran as a daughter who benefited from opportunities my mother never dreamed of. I ran as a mother who worries about my daughter's future and a mother who wants to leave all children brighter tomorrows. To build that future, I see, we must make sure that women and men alike understand the struggles of their grandmothers and their mothers, and that women enjoy equal opportunities, equal pay and equal respect.[42]

This quote is an excellent example of how Clinton has brought women's issues to the forefront in one of the most significant moments of her life. Using Blankenship and Robson's characteristics of feminine speech, it is clear that Hillary hits the mark with every aspect in this excerpt. She engaged with her concrete, lived experiences as a female running for presidential nominee, and argued that the experience has only made her struggle for women's equality even stronger. She valued relational interconnectedness when recognizing herself within an identifiable collective of women, especially emphasizing the roles that women play in the private sphere as mothers, daughters and grandmothers. Through this, Clinton sought a connection with men who have these types of relationships with women in their life, and who must fight the same struggle of equality for the women close to his heart.

The speech itself is a call for women's empowerment, particularly when she points out later on, "you can be so proud that, from now on, it will be unremarkable for a woman to win primary state victories...unremarkable to have a woman in a close race to be our nominee, unremarkable to think that a woman can be the president of the United States. And that is truly remarkable my friends."[43] Ultimately, this speech demonstrated Clinton's embrace of feminine rhetoric at a particularly significant moment in her life. Her overall message is that when a woman is in office, *both* women and men are empowered.

Currently, Clinton has not wavered from her support for a feminine style of rhetoric and engagement as Secretary of State. In an interview with the New York Times,[44] Clinton suggested that women's economic and social empowerment can

help achieve broader American foreign policy goals. For instance, she argued that the fight against terrorism is a fight against antiquated worldviews which deny women and girls the right to education and a freedom to pursue a future.[45] However, this argument has been made before. During the Bush administration, a similar feminist rhetoric was used as a justification for military force in Afghanistan to save innocent women from the Taliban.[46] Yet, what accounts for the acceptability and differentiation of Clinton's logic? Feminist international relations theorist Saskia Stachowitsch suggests that, "in this context, gender equality was reframed [by the Obama administration] as a security issue in its own right rather than a justification for the use of military force. The empowerment of women became a concrete objective, pursued by concrete foreign and domestic measures."[47] Hence, under the Obama administration a legitimate objective such as gender equality would no longer be understood as an issue only used to obscure the true intention of the regime, or to give them justification to use force. Furthermore, force would no longer be the first and only option available when dealing with dissidents or terrorists. Considering Clinton's focus on softer policy and continual engagement with a feminine rhetoric, she did not completely close the door on the possibility of using force when needed. This is a point where Clinton is publically observed as embracing her feminine rhetoric, while at the same time taking a position on the use of force which does not rule it out as a viable option.

Looking again at Clinton's 2007 speech for presidential nominee, Clinton had already taken a clear position with regards to foreign policy and the appropriate use of force.[48] This speech explicitly portrayed the Bush regime as irresponsible in its use of force and insensitive to traditional American relationships and values. Clinton stated, "There is a time for force, and a time for diplomacy; when properly deployed the two can reinforce each other." Clinton's American foreign policy perspective was one which emphasized involvement in multilateral institutions and cooperation. Nonetheless, she argued that there exist false choice dichotomies between force and diplomacy, unilateralism and multilateralism and lastly, hard and soft power. This is further exemplified in a *Newsweek*[49] interview with Clinton and former secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Clinton is questioned about the perceived "hawk/dove" simplicity of military force and diplomacy and responded that:

> I want people to know we may be sending more troops [to Afghanistan], but we're also intensifying our diplomatic and political efforts and doing what we can alongside the people of Afghanistan to deliver results in terms of better services for them, all of which are part of our strategic view of how

> you reverse the momentum of the Taliban. So it's all connected. It's not either/or any longer.[50]

Thus, Clinton not only supported a traditionally masculine style of foreign policy which regards the use of force as viable, but at the same time she embraced feminine rhetoric as a genuine holistic approach to foreign policy.

The former is consistent, only to some extent though, with the suggestion that as women emerge in the upper echelons of politics, they are more likely to take hard-line and conservative political views. Unlike the women in the State and Defense departments,[51] Clinton was supportive of the UN and had not taken on a conservative position towards the promotion of democracy and human rights. Additionally, Clinton consistently took advantage of her authority as a political leader to discuss the "dovish" issues which are closely linked to the private realm, such as taking a stance against rape as a weapon of war, promoting international maternal health, creating a dialogue surrounding access to greater education in developing countries, etc. Taking this into consideration, it is clear that Clinton's modus operandi as a female political actor has been to embody this "hawk/dove" paradoxical identity, also known as an "iron lady" persona. This has allowed her to engage in a masculine approach to traditional foreign policy in areas such as NATO, while also retaining a feminine style in her support of a soft diplomatic approach. This engages with broad questions on the intersection of foreign policy and gender asked by Janie Leatherman, "how might including women systematically in positions of leadership change the conduct of U.S. foreign policy? Does it have to be aggressive in order to be effective?"[52] Clinton's approach has demonstrated a 'smart power' stance towards foreign policy as one which effectively integrates both traditionally soft and hard approaches, and emphasizes assertiveness rather than aggressiveness.[53] In other words, Clinton's effective foreign policy position has been one which intertwines both a masculine and feminine approach in a particularly "iron lady" fashion.

Demonstrably, Clinton has followed through on her emphasis on an 'elevated' diplomatic role.[54] On the multilateral front, Clinton is credited with the American rejoining of the restructured UN Human Rights Council in Geneva.[55] As a concrete policy outcome, Clinton's support of this multilateral institution reinforced her consistent perspective that "human rights are women's rights" and this demonstrates how she utilized organizations such as the UN to enforce positive institutions of change. Furthermore, she used her role as secretary of state to engage in "surrogate" type politics at the international level.[56] She did this by promoting an agenda of women's rights in order to represent a broader interest of world citizens who exists outside of her American constituency.

Clinton's distinct blend of hawk/dove diplomacy is further exemplified through her extensive world travels. She is credited with being the best travelled Secretary of State by travelling to 112 countries throughout the duration of her term. It is extremely valuable that Clinton followed up on her own recommendation of soft diplomacy as a remedy to a badly damaged American ego, and her emphasis on this diplomatic approach illuminated her hawk/dove identity. Through a more feminine understanding of Hillary's foreign policy, a soft diplomacy approach can be understood as feminine because it is a distinctly relational process. Diplomacy is a relational approach because traditionally the meeting between political heads of state is precisely a "power to" co-operate and solve problems. This is in contrast to masculine "power over" which was overt during the Bush era. Hillary's invocation of soft diplomacy is about building stronger relationships through face to face interaction. In light of this, Clinton admittedly used these interactions to further human and women's rights discussions.[57]

To conclude, this paper focused on the gender construction of Hillary Clinton through her engagement with feminine and masculine styles of rhetoric as First Lady, Democratic presidential nominee and Secretary of State. Because Clinton is understood as maintaining an "iron lady" persona, this inquiry suggests that Clinton will continue to balance her Secretary of State repertoire between soft and hard policy approaches; feminine and masculine approaches, respectively. Clinton's inclination to use force is highly unlikely; however, she is more likely to use a masculine style of assertiveness in face to face diplomatic interactions in order to secure an outcome favourable to American interests. Unlike female political actors before her, such as Condoleeza Rice (Secretary of State under President George W. Bush), Clinton has promoted a feminine rhetoric by engaging in women's issues as being of foremost importance to American domestic and international policy, embracing relational examples within speech to be perceived and to self-perceive within a female collective, and lastly, supporting multilateral institutions which further co-operation and interconnectedness as methods to achieve a common objective. In relation to Clinton, these principles are superior to an invocation of a masculine approach; however, the use of force remains a viable option in the face of a legitimate threat.

Notes

1. Nancy E. McGlen and Meredith Reid Sarkees, "Foreign Policy Decision Makers: The Impact of Gender," in *The Impact of Women in Public Office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 117-48., Michael T. Koch and Sarah A. Fulton, "In the Defense of Women: Gender, Office Holding, and National Security Policy in Established Democracies," *Journal of Politics* 73:1 (January 2011), 1-16.

2. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hillary Hating", *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1:1 (1998), 1.

3. Ibid, 2.

4. Ibid.

5. Bonnie J. Dow and Mari Boor Tonn, "'Feminine style' and Political Judgements in the Rhetoric of Ann Richards", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79:3 (1993), 288.

6. Campbell, *Hating Hillary*, 5.

7. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric Vol. 1* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 13.

8. Dow & Tonn, *Feminine Style*, 287.

9. Ibid, 288.

10. Campbell, *Hating Hillary*, 5.

11. Jane Blankenship and Deborah C Robson, "A 'Feminine Style' in Women's Political Discourse: An Exploratory Essay," *Communication Quarterly* 43.3 (Summer 1995), 353.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Sarah Meinen, "Political Feminine Style and First Lady Rhetoric: Feminist Implications of a White Glove Pulpit" Miami University Thesis (2003), 64.

15. Ibid, Elisabeth Prugl, "International Institutions and Feminist Politics," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10:2 (2004), 76-78.

16. Bashevkin, 2012; Blankenship & Robson, 1995; Richards, 2011.

17. Dow & Tonn, *Feminine Style*, 288.

18. Vanessa Hatfield-Reeker, "Gender Style & Forensics Competition: Exploring the use of the Feminine and Masculine Styles in Extemporaneous Speaking," University of Nebraska Thesis (December 2011.)

19. Ibid, 48.

20. Nancy E. McGlen and Meredith Reid Sarkees, "Foreign Policy Decision Makers: The Impact of Gender," in *The Impact of Women in Public Office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 117-48.

21. McGlen & Sarkees, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers*, 129-130; Koch & Fulton, *In the Defense of Women*, 2, 8.

22. McGlen & Sarkees, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers*, 131.

23. Ibid.

24. Koch & Fulton, *In the Defense of Women*,13.

25. McGlen & Sarkees, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers*, 131-133; Koch & Fulton, *In the Defense of Women*,13.

26. McGlen & Sarkees, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers*; Koch & Fulton, *In the Defense of Women*.

27. For an empirical case study on masculine and feminine approaches by American female political figures see: Sylvia Bashevkin, "Motherhood as metaphor: US foreign policy leaders construct their gender identities, 1980 – present," paper prepared for Social Science History Association conference, Vancouver, November 2012.

28. Blankenship & Robson, a 'Feminine Style'...,

29. Rebecca S. Richards, "Cyborgs on the World Stage: Hillary Clinton and the Rhetorical Performances of Iron Ladies," *Feminist Formulations* 23:1 (Spring 2011), 7.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid, 7, 17. Ultimately, Richards did not believe that Hilary was successful in her invocation of the iron lady identity. Nonetheless, her structure is helpful in assessing Hillary as Secretary of State, while Richards focused on her rhetorical performances as Democratic Presidential Nominee.

32. Hillary Clinton, "Excerpt: Women's Rights are Human Rights", *Women's Studies Quarterly* 24:1/2 (Spring - Summer 1996), 98-101.

33. Meinen, *Political Feminine Style*, 56

34. Ibid.

35. Hillary Clinton, Women's Rights.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Hillary Clinton, "Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-First Century," *Foreign Affairs* 86.6 (Nov/Dec 2007.)

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Hillary Clinton, "Transcript: Hillary Clinton Endorses Barrack Obama," *The New York Times* (7 June 2008.)

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Mark Landler, "A New Gender Agenda," *The New York Times Magazine* (18 Aug 2009): MM41.

45. Ibid. Clinton on terrorism and women's oppression: "Part of the reason I have pursued it as Secretary of State is because I see it in our national security interest. If you look at where we are fighting terrorism, there is a connection to groups that are making a stand against modernity, and that is most evident in their treatment of women"

46. Mary Hawkesworth, "Feminists versus Feminization: Confronting the War Logics of the George W. Bush Administration," in *W Stands for Women: How the Bush Presidency Shaped a New Politics of Gender*, eds. Michaele L. Ferguson and Lori Jo Marso, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 163-87., Michaele Ferguson, "W Stands for Women: Feminism and Security Rhetoric in the Post-9/11 Bush Administration," Politics & Gender 1 (2005), 9-38.

47. Saskia Stachowitsch, "Military Gender Integration and Foreign Policy in the United States: A Feminist International Relations Perspective," *Security Dialogue* 43:4 (2012), 305-321.

48. Clinton, *Security and Opportunity*.

49. John Meacham, "Hillary Clinton & Henry Kissinger," *Newsweek* 155.1 (4 Jan 2010.)

50. Ibid.

51. McGlen & Sarkees, *Foreign Policy Decision Makers*; Koch & Fulton, *In the Defense of Women*.

52. Janie Leatherman, "Gender and U.S. Foreign Policy: Hegemonic Masculinity, the War in Iraq, and the UN-Doing of World Order," in *Gender and American Politics*, eds. Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Jyl. J. Josephson (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2005), 107.

53. Paul Sharp, "Obama, Clinton and the Diplomacy of Change," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6 (2011), 398.

54. Ibid, 393.

55. Ibid, 401.

56. Jane Mansbridge, "Rethinking Representation," *American Political Science Review* 97: 4 (Nov. 2003), 515-28.

57. John Meacham, "Hillary Clinton & Henry Kissinger," *Newsweek* 155.1 (4 Jan 2010.)

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Preceding Image

Hillary Clinton 108 by Flickr user 'Joeff' — http://www.flickr.com/photos/joeff/4242415299/in/photolist-7sTugn-4n6kqv-5DrvMC-5Drvw1-5DncRi-8NhLAZ-7sXtN1-7sTwn6-dYQp4Q-dYQoWu-dYQpdN-8fUKtw-8fRu94-3jTaye-74AYD3-5Dncuk-5DrvDd-5Drvsy-5Drvob-5Dncje-7sXtBb-7sXsLq-7sXuh9-7sXsX3-7sTuzV-3mnFyj-7sTvw8-7sTuJ8-3mie3i-dYQoQG-dYJ-FUZ-4iq7Ci-4iq7Bx-7sTucB-8fRumz-7fmGj9-9Uz6Wk-8fUKkU-3iwP6N-3BBK7P-3BG2qm-3BGbZ5-3BBHr6-3BBJye-3BBMsD-3BGeBu-3BBGcK-3BBEvk-3BG1GW-3BBCoH-3BGeZ3/

Confronting the Military-Entertainment Complex with "Spec Ops: The Line"

Terry Zheng

■

There has been a long relationship between the military and entertainment, but it is only now in the digital age that entertainment can replicate the war experience to allow for audience participation. In the early 1990s, a genre of video games called the first person shooter (hereafter referred to as "shooter") emerged. They revolved around participants shooting and killing virtual enemies in order to win, so it was inevitable that the shooter would move from a fantasy setting to a realistic one. These military-themed shooters have been around since the late 1990s, and have exploded in popularity since 9/11. The U.S. military itself has developed a few, beginning with 1996's *Marine Doom*. A modification for the popular *Doom II: Hell on Earth, Marine Doom* was created as a training tool for troops.[1] Most famously, the U.S. military bankrolled the development of *America's Army* in 2002, a "free to play" game that was also a recruitment tool.[2] Since then, they have become increasingly popular, especially with the release 2007's *Call of Duty 4: Modern Warfare*.

The subject of this paper, 2012's *Spec Ops: The Line*, is notable for being the single game attempting to push back against the rise of the military-entertainment complex within the video game industry. For *Spec Ops*' lead writer, Walt Williams, the goal was to make his audience think critically about the video games they digest, since he believes that "no other medium treats war simply as spectacle."[3] *Spec Ops* utilizes unique aspects of video games as a medium — the ability to interact with a simulated environment and to allow participants to make choices that can reflect their own morality — along with the same techniques used by both the military and the video games industry to construct a hyper-violent power fantasy to challenge the very concept of the military shooter.

First and foremost, Spec Ops takes military shooter conventions and subverts them heavily. Following 9/11, video game narratives adopted the same changes in warfare the U.S. military did by producing stories about small special forces

groups, ideally deployed in secrecy for low-intensity warfare.[4] Roger Stahl argues that these games embody the George W. Bush policy of non-negotiation with terrorists, citing Rainbow Six 3: Raven Shield as an example. Advertisements for the game begin with fake newspaper clippings about such negotiations, before revealing that the game is about killing terrorists as a squad of Special Forces operatives.[5] *Call of Duty 4*'s narrative about a secret war between the United States, Britain and Russia uses a similar setup, and the 2010 *Medal of Honor* reboot, developed in close consultation with the U.S. military, places players in the boots of American special forces operatives during the initial 2001 invasion of Afghanistan.[6] In contrast, Spec Ops sets up its premise and gives away its purpose by aping from Apocalypse Now — a film well known for being a stinging critique of the Vietnam War — and its source material, *Heart of Darkness*. Set in a fictional, present day version of Dubai, United States Colonel John Konrad and his men, the fictional 33rd Battalion, are leading an evacuation of the city when it is besieged by a massive sandstorm that cuts off communication and transportation lines. With Dubai isolated by the storms, the 33rd Battalion is declared rogue and the city declared a no man's land, until a radio transmission breaks through the storm wall, prompting the U.S. military to covertly send in a small Delta Force team led by Captain Martin Walker to investigate.

Ian Shaw argues that military video games are a site of consumption that allow players to fight in a virtual "war on terror," signifying a cultural shift in post 9/11 society where orientalist attitudes are normalized in this audience.[7] Inhabitants of the virtual Middle Eastern battlegrounds are always heavily racialized, blurring the boundaries between video games as entertainment and as a training or recruitment tool.[8] *Spec Ops* initially plays into these expectations by pitching the player against an indigenous insurgent force that has sprung up under the harsh martial law of the 33rd Battalion's occupation of Dubai. These insurgents are represented by the common tropes of headscarves and turbans; they are obscured and homogenized. Early in the game's narrative, however, players will be forced to kill American soldiers if they wish to continue the game. The 33rd Battalion attack, under the belief that Walker and his squad are CIA operatives sent to kill them, and leave Walker — and the player — with no choice but to return fire.[9] Players must frame the American soldier as the "other" that must be destroyed as other military games frame foreigners for them. *Spec Ops* likes to remind the player of the humanity of these virtual soldiers as well. There are several points where players can eavesdrop on patrolling soldiers while they discuss the stress of their occupation of Dubai and their desire to return home.[10] Players are invited to listen in, but these quiet moments are also an opportunity to silently eliminate

these patrols. *Spec Ops* is not the only game to introduce this dichotomy but it is one of few military shooters with antagonists that are not far removed from the core audience — an American citizen growing up in a culture steeped in soldier worship may have a hard time pulling the virtual trigger.

Both Shaw and Stephen Graham argue that another key component of the contemporary war shooter is in its depiction of the Middle Eastern urban center. For Shaw, colonialism in video games is represented by the flattening of spaces and simplification of cultural difference, where the Middle East is generically represented by recurring elements such as turbans, camels, deserts, and bazaars, and its cities are portrayed as maze-like centres of perpetual warfare.[11] According to Graham, these games have naturalized the idea of American forces fighting the citizens of Arab and Third World countries, and such immersive depictions powerfully equate the Middle Eastern city with terrorism that must be pacified.[12] It is fitting then that *Spec Ops* is set in Dubai, a center of Western capitalism in the Middle East. The common motifs of the war-torn Middle Eastern city, replete with Arab graffiti and bombed out mosques,[13] give way to depictions of luxurious aquariums, malls, and stadiums: centers of Western consumption that have decayed under American occupation.

What makes *Spec Ops* stand out the most from other military shooters is its graphic depictions of violence and its consequences. A critical part of Stahl's argument is that the home front and the battlefield have merged together, blurring the boundary between soldier and citizen to create what he terms as the "virtual-citizen soldier."[14] This virtual citizen-soldier can engage in a sanitized fantasy version of war, removing critical and political thought over what the audience is actually experiencing, which Stahl argues is a vital to being a good citizen.[15] In his 2006 paper, he cites *America's Army* as the main offender. *America's Army* went to painstaking lengths to depict the weapons handling with extreme accuracy and punished disruptive players with a virtual rendition of Fort Leavenworth, but according to military officials, it did not portray violence realistically because their goal was to promote military jobs, not glorify violence.[16] The *Call of Duty* games and its contemporaries are similarly sanitized. Deaths are portrayed with small spurts of blood and the occasional Hollywood-styled ragdoll in spite of the games being rated for and marketed towards an adult audience. *Spec Ops* does not shy away from showing in high definition the blood splatter and lost limbs that are the direct results of player actions. Walker will experience a mental breakdown from gunning down hundreds of people in his quest to find Konrad and become a hero. In contrast to the calm, cool and always collected characters of other military shooters, Walker becomes a deranged psychotic,

screaming frenzied orders to his men, yelling in frustration when he is forced to reload his weapon. Players must deal with the cognitive dissonance involved with enjoying the violent "hero fantasy" that war games sell.

More importantly, *Spec Ops* takes the most celebrated and controversial elements of the popular *Call of Duty* games and attaches real consequences to them. One of the most highly praised sequences in *Call of Duty 4* is "Death From Above," where players control the guns of an AC-130H Spectre gunship and are told to destroy incoming enemy patrols.[17] Players are further removed from the act of extreme violence when the enemy is represented by white blips on a computer interface meant to simulate the real thing. The AC-130H Spectre gunship is armed destructive armaments like Vulcan miniguns, Bofors anti-aircraft cannons and howitzers,[18] but the blips merely fall over or fade into view once the dust settles. In stark contrast, *Spec Ops'* biggest twist is its replication of "Death From Above." After seeing the 33rd Battalion use white phosphorous mortars on the insurgents, the player is given the task of using one of the 33rd's own mortars against them in order to clear one of their outposts and move forward.[19] It uses the exact same interface as the AC-130H sequence, except this time the blips do not fade away: the player is forced to directly confront the aftermath and walk through the base filled with charred and burnt corpses, which include civilian casualties. Online commentators have been divided on white phosphorous sequence, with detractors citing the lack of choice in whether or not white phosphorous should be used as a negative when the video games industry has increasingly touted "moral choices" as a sign of the medium maturing. To allow players to not skip the sequence takes away *Spec Ops* ability to criticize its contemporaries; immediately after granting the player a sense of power through extreme violence they are forcibly confronted with the consequences of that violence. Williams specifically cited the AC-130H sequence as one of the inspirations for the white phosphorous scene. He claims that "as gamers, [we] have been trained to disconnect from a game when the gameplay experience drastically changes…" and for his game, "…once the player disconnects from the reality of the situation, something truly horrible happens… They don't get teleported to the next location. They have to face the human cost of their actions."[20]

Spec Ops has another, more indirect critique of *Call of Duty*. The 2009 sequel *Modern Warfare 2* featured the highly controversial "No Russian" level, where the player can take the role of an undercover CIA agent infiltrating a Russian terrorist group. Almost no context is given before players must follow the terrorists as they wholesale slaughter an airport of civilians. They have a choice of whether to participate in the killing, but there is no failure state unless they decide to

shoot their terrorist compatriots.[21] In fact, the entire sequence can be skipped by opting out of graphic content when the game is first started. *Spec Ops'* sequences do not give the player an option to remain detached if they want to continue to engage with its narrative. Near the end of the plot, a member of the player's squad has been lynched by the vindictive locals of Dubai in retaliation for the violence they have committed. Upon finding the corpse, the remaining squad members are surrounded by an angry mob, and the player is given no hints on what to do except to get out of the situation. They are confronted directly with the choice of whether to pull the trigger, and if they do not act soon, the civilians will react by stoning them to death.[22] The choice is the same as in "No Russian", but the player must actively choose, and like the white phosphorous sequence, they are not allowed to run away from it. The failure of "No Russian" is that it allows the audience to voyeuristically view the horror as a spectacle. At no point is the player forced to engage with what is happening; those who choose to open fire can justify to themselves the necessity of it, but the level is all the more perverse when the terrorist group that had to be infiltrated does not appear again until the next sequel.

On the subject of sequels, the modern military shooter still remains ridiculously popular. It is roughly a year since *Spec Ops'* release at the time of writing, but sales of these products continue to break records. The latest entry in the *Call of Duty* series, *Black Ops 2*, broke sales records by making $500 million on its first day, beating records set by previous entries in the franchise.[23] While it is likely that not everybody purchases the game to play it online, the competitive component, where players duke it out in virtual war, is the main draw. Although Microsoft and Sony do not release player counts for their games, a standard retail copy of the game is $60, so this latest iteration of *Call of Duty* has an estimated user base of 8.3 million, far exceeding *America's Army*'s 6 million peak.[24] Another war game released this past fall, *Medal of Honor Warfighter*, blurs the lines between entertainment, the military, and propaganda even further by inviting players to purchase a real TAC-300 sniper rifle, one of the game's featured weapons, from its official website.[25] *Warfighter* contains bonus levels set in Pakistan as part of a partnership deal with Sony Entertainment Pictures to market *Zero Dark Thirty*, the recent film about the American hunt for Osama bin Laden.[36] Stahl makes the point that a game that seriously approached the horrors of war would be poorly received, and hence the reason violence gets sanitized in a manner similar to televised newscasts of the ongoing Iraq war.[27] *Spec Ops*, by all accounts, is an underground hit. It was critically well-received, but amongst the video game audience, it has only gained a cult following through word of mouth for its

subversion of the shooter genre. Designed as a wool in sheep's clothing, *Spec Ops* did its best imitation of its fellow competitors but failed to lure in those who should most heed its message. However, it has paved the way with its introspective criticism of the military shooter's normalization of orientalist and colonialist attitudes towards regions like the Middle East, and the detached violent fantasy scenarios that they sell. Its failure to resonate with a larger audience is a reflection of the widespread acceptance of these attitudes in the post-9/11 pop culture landscape.

Notes

1. Ian Graham Ronald Shaw, "Playing War," *Social & Cultural Geography*, 11.8 (December 2010): 793, accessed November 15, 2012.
2. Ibid, 794.
3. Jordan Garland, "Aftermath: crossing The Line with Walt Williams," *GamingBolt*, last modified July 16, 2012, http://gamingbolt.com/aftermath-crossing-the-line-with-walt-williams
4. Roger Stahl, "Have You Played the War on Terror?" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23.2 (June 2006): 118, accessed November 15, 2012.
5. Ibid: 118-119.
6. Brian Crecente, "Playable Taliban Jeopardized U.S. Army's Support For Medal of Honor," *Kotaku*, last modified October 1, 2010, http://kotaku.com/5653601/playable-taliban-jeopardized-us-armys-support-for-medal-of-honor
7. Shaw, "Playing War," 790-791.
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Concealed Intelligence and Circumventing Patriarchy in "The Human Stain" (2000) and "The Crying of Lot 49" (1965)

Robyn L. Clarke

■

Written by American author Philip Roth, *The Human Stain* is a fictional novel about a university professor named Coleman Silk and his younger mistress, Faunia Farley. Coleman is able to "pass"[1] as a white man, although he was born into an Afro-American family. Through his "passing", Coleman is able to gain the respect of his white colleagues which allows him to lead a life as a college professor, something that his African American ancestry would have precluded him from doing during the time he began his career. *The Human Stain* is a novel that interrogates conventions of race, gender, and sexuality through Coleman's expulsion from Athena College based on a presumed bigoted remark he made about two students. Coleman cultivates a relationship with a young janitor, Faunia Farley, which becomes the greater focus in the narrative. Coleman and Faunia help to reveal Roth's thoughts about the complexities of social conventions. Through Faunia, Roth examines how sexuality and social conventions are a shifting category in which characters can conceal their true self from others, and simultaneously attract unwanted attention for their outward appearance.

Reclusive writer Thomas Pynchon composed another celebrated American novel, *The Crying of Lot 49*. Pynchon is praised for his unique authorial voice and accepted as part of the current literary canon. *The Crying of Lot 49* investigates conspiracy theories through the perspective of a middle-aged housewife, Oedipa Maas. Pynchon's protagonist, Oedipa Maas, becomes engrossed in executing her ex-boyfriend's will in the city of San Narciso. She leaves behind her cheating husband and ineffectual psychiatrist to escape the tedium of her suburban life by trying to uncover the mystery of The Tristero (an underground mail service). Pynchon's narrative ultimately reveals that everyday services which people take for granted are worthy of deeper analysis and questioning. Through executing the will of her ex-boyfriend, Pierce Inverarity, Oedipa discovers much more

about the world than she was originally aware of, and brings these discoveries to bear upon her new world view.

Neither Roth nor Pynchon likely composed their female characters in *The Human Stain* and *The Crying of Lot 49* as obvious threats to the stability of patriarchal institutions such as marriage and education. However, both these American works of fiction observe the relations of power through institutions, and interrogate the function of middle class ideals in a way that destabilizes the hegemonic system. Social expectation is often based on external markers of status such as career, education, and one's public relationships, but the female characters in *The Human Stain* and *The Crying of Lot 49* refuse to be pigeonholed by societal conventions. Each woman represents a social category; Roth's Faunia Farley as a small town working-class divorcée, and Pynchon's Oedipa Maas as a middle-class suburbanite. Roth examines the choices of a woman who was born into a wealthy family, only to end up a divorced struggling janitor. Through his study of Faunia and her choices of career, education, and her relationship with Coleman, Roth creates a character that rejects standard conventions of both femininity and institutionalized education. Alternatively, Pynchon illustrates how a woman who follows societal conventions frees herself by acquiring knowledge on her own terms. Oedipa learns how to seek out information and analyze it, which helps her to make her own decisions. Societal pressures challenge each character; however, Faunia's choices are ultimately not redemptive, whereas Oedipa's are, as she escapes the blandness of her past suburban lifestyle by seeking an alternative to conformity. Through an interrogation of middle class social mores and their influence on women, this paper examines the choices made by Faunia and Oedipa, and the implications for women today. This examination will bring together how Faunia and Oedipa each reject the conventional paths to 'maturity', such as institutionalized education and marriage, in favour of pursuing independence from collective thought. Furthermore, the consequences of both women's career choices and the expression of their need to be individuals with agency is highlighted in their relationships to knowledge and their negotiation of the power relations surrounding knowledge acquisition. As well as the relationship to institutions such as universities and marriage, this paper also considers the dynamics of female characters developed and authored by male writers.

In *The Human Stain*, thirty-four year old Faunia begins an affair with Coleman Silk, a seventy-one year old retired classics professor, eschewing the conventions of her small town in the Berkshires. As a janitor working at Athena College, Silk's former university, Faunia makes a shocking and unconventional choice to begin a relationship with Coleman, who is thirty-seven years her senior.

Some of the Athena College community believes that Faunia is being taken advantage of. Delphine Roux is a "Parisian-born academic" who is the chairperson for the language and literature department at Athena College.[2] Roux is constructed as a judgmental character that dislikes Coleman. She writes an anonymous letter to Coleman stating: "[e]veryone knows you're sexually exploiting an abused, illiterate woman half your age."[3] Roux's middle-class perspective of the world leaves her disdainful of Coleman for dating a woman who is not considered his equal, and she continues to condemn the couple for thwarting established social norms. Faunia's status as a working-class woman situates her beyond the reach of middle-class sexual mores. The characters around her assume that she is being taken advantage of by Coleman (as it is presumed that he is the character with more agency), and never consider that she herself may have chosen to pursue the relationship with Coleman. Delphine, as a member of the middle-class, is hindered by society's idea of what is acceptable and fails to see Faunia as an autonomous being who is capable of making her own decisions.

While Delphine must submit to society's traditional norms, Faunia is not under the same kind of pressure. In fact, her disinterest in caring about her reputation is exemplified by her refusal to accept Coleman's teachings or participate in a literacy program with the university: "The good liberals down at Athena are trying to encourage her to enter a literacy program, but Faunia's not having it. 'And don't you try to teach me. Do anything you want with me, anything,' she told me that night, 'but don't pull that shit."[4] Faunia vehemently rejects the kind of education that the university and Coleman offer her. Although Faunia offers herself to Coleman as an object rather than a person -- by telling him that he can do anything that he wants -- she gives him permission to take control of her body, but not her mind. Despite the abuse she has suffered in her past, Faunia is able to keep her interiority safeguarded by opposing different forms of institutional education. Conversely, Delphine's position of power at the university makes her an easier target for slander, and this could easily result in the same shameful position that ended Coleman's career. Indeed, her very fears are realized when she mistakenly sends a personal ad out in an email to her faculty: "To regain her self-possession, to rescue her name, to forestall the disaster of ruining her career, she must continue to think."[5] When Delphine considers her mistake, it almost undoes her career. Upon considering her situation, Delphine makes an effort to save her name; she goes to the university, ransacks her office, and blames the email and the apparent break-in on Coleman. Where Delphine's only option is to blame someone else for a disaster of her own making, Faunia is not under the same kind of pressure as Faunia's occupation as a janitor has allowed her

to escape a level of judgment that comes with a high profile job like Delphine's. Ironically, Faunia's rejection of middle class social mores provides her with a greater range of movement within the confines of established convention. Dating a man like Coleman, who is seemingly her superior, has no other repercussions than town gossip. If Delphine were to consider dating an older colleague, such as Arthur Sussman, her authority as a professor would be undermined. Delphine asserts that "she has no interest in becoming Arthur Sussman's little badge of a mistress", yet at the same time, she laments her female colleagues calling her a "parody of Simone de Beauvoir" for her involvement with Sussman.[6] The social stakes and implications for both women's actions are vastly different.

Moreover, Faunia actively chooses a marriage and job that keeps her in a position of vulnerability and hinders her upward mobility in society. Although coming from a wealthy background, Faunia's lot in life ceases to improve because she consciously makes choices that accord her a working-class societal status. However, in doing so, she maintains her strength and integrity by rejecting a status-based career. While it is true that Faunia runs away from a sexually abusive home at the age of fourteen, it is clear that she chooses situations that initially restrict her class mobility. Whether she does this because of ruined self-esteem stemming from her prior abuse is unclear. Coleman tells Nathan about her history; "[b]ut she's dropped so far down the social ladder from so far up that by now she's a pretty mixed bag of verbal beans. Faunia's been exiled from the entitlement that should have been hers. Declassed. There's a real democratization to her suffering."[7] Coleman looks at Faunia's misfortunes as something that makes her a sort of tragic hero, like a character in his Greek tragedies. Faunia is removed from the wealth that would have been hers, and by claiming her rights as an individual within a democracy, she is removed from rank and privilege. Her choice positions her within the realm of the common person, and as a result, her suffering humbles her. Although she is also challenged by her situation of being declassed, her character is ultimately made stronger for rising above these stereotypes. Her choice to marry Lester Farley, a dairy farmer whom she asserts is not as intelligent as she, is Faunia's attempt to "have a stable, ordinary life."[8] However, Faunia's marriage to Lester fails because he is abusive and cannot be controlled by her intelligence. Faunia's rejection of her mother's life of privilege and wealth proves that she is seeking out a simple and modest existence. For example, Faunia works for a post office, a dairy farm, and as a janitor at Athena College. Faunia refuses the trappings of her previous life as she finds physical labour to be redeeming. Her choice to work at the Organic Livestock dairy, which is run by "two divorced women, college-educated environmentalists" shows that integrity is

important to her.[9] Organic Livestock rejects the use of chemicals and the pasteurizing techniques of mainstream factory farms for a traditional artisanal approach. It may be argued that this is the only job that Faunia could find with her limited skill set. However, one's choice of occupation takes up a significant amount of personal time and plays a substantial part in constructing personal identity. Faunia's choice of employment demonstrates that she values the ethics of hard work that produces something admirable. Furthermore, the dairy seems to foster a form of feminine community that takes Faunia in and gives her a productive job. It bolsters her self-esteem even though it fails to improve her working-class status. Despite her financial situation, Faunia's choices lead her to reject the wealth and power that she associates with patriarchy; by choosing a working-class lifestyle, Faunia reasserts her feminine identity in opposition to the characteristics that define patriarchy. Whether conscious or not, she defines a position for femininity that allows her to assert different principles and convictions. Faunia's convictions define her role as a woman who struggles against a system that excludes her. However, it is important to note that Faunia's representation is mediated through the voice of Nathan Zuckerman, which has further implications for the construction of her persona.

Faunia Farley was raised in a wealthy household, similar to Oedipa Maas, and also has an affluent lover in her past. Given her affluent upbringing, Oedipa's present persona seems incongruous with her connection to the upper class. Neither Faunia nor Oedipa are represented as women who value tremendous wealth. Their shared rejection of institutional values extends to the accumulation of material goods. However, in *The Crying of Lot 49*, Oedipa shifts from answering to her cheating husband Mucho Maas and her crazy therapist Dr. Hilarius, and is drawn to San Narciso to execute another man's will. Inevitably, her journey begins with, yet again, doing the bidding and work for a male counterpart. Oedipa is chosen to execute the will of her deceased ex-boyfriend, real estate mogul Pierce Inverarity. At the beginning of the novel, Oedipa is a homemaker living in suburbia. She deals with her husband's troubles: his existential despair regarding his past, his employment as a used car sales representative, and his lack of enthusiasm for his new career as a radio deejay. Oedipa foreshadows her husband's destruction through drug addiction when she introduces him as though he were a war veteran. Oedipa describes the emotional discord Mucho suffers related to his job when she says: "you comfort them when they wake up pouring sweat or crying out in the language of bad dreams, yes you hold them, they calm down, one day they lose it."[10] Although initially Mucho Maas seems like a stable character for her to count on, her statement comparing him to a

war veteran who cannot escape his horrific past illustrates a tension within the relationship that is later resolved after she leaves him. Later on, Oedipa mentions his philandering with teenage girls as though it is another repercussion of his inability to effectively deal with life or communicate with her properly. The third-person narration in the book states that Oedipa is "scrupulously fair about it," which establishes that she is adhering to the social conventions of her generation.[11] Oedipa, like many other women who did not work outside the home, was likely taught that certain misgivings about her husband must be overlooked to preserve her relationship and keep her breadwinner happy. Meanwhile, her assignment from Pierce also takes her away from her "shrink" Dr. Hilarius, who has a tendency to call at three in the morning, and attempts to get her to join a pilot program called "The Bridge, die Brücke", which explores the effects of the drug LSD on users.[12] Pynchon's use of the term "shrink" is an ironic way of disparaging Dr. Hilarius, illustrating that he should not be taken seriously. Dr. Hilarius's inappropriate calling and efforts to have her try a hallucinogenic drug illustrate his harmful influence on her life; his efforts represent an institutional force that tries to foist a mind-controlling substance on her. When Dr. Hilarius contacts Oedipa, he tells her "[w]e want you,"[13] his language suggests the larger institution of the United States government, and evokes the iconic poster images of Uncle Sam, who is responsible for recruiting soldiers for the army. Dr. Hilarius' suggestion that Oedipa should become a guinea pig for testing narcotics is fashioned as a service to her country, similar to the appeals used on prospective soldiers. By leaving suburban Kinneret-Among-The-Pines, and escaping to the bigger city, San Narciso, Oedipa rejects Dr. Hilarius's interpellation[14] into the ideology of patriarchy. Faunia is propelled into a different world, which eventually shapes her unconventional education and her departure from the patriarchal institutions in her life.

Just as the institution of medical psychiatry reinforces patriarchal dominance in Oedipa's life, it also imposes hegemonic control on Faunia's upbringing. Faunia is raised in a wealthy home where her stepfather sexually abuses her, forcing her to run away at fourteen. When Faunia confides in her mother about the abuse, she is not believed to be truthful in her account and is forced by her mother to see a psychiatrist who eventually sides with the man who pays him, her stepfather.[15] The history of psychiatry as a hegemonic force dominating women's lives extends back to the Freudian concepts of hysteria. The fact that Faunia could not trust her mother, her only female role model and confidant, illustrates that the house she grew up in was steeped in patriarchal tradition. This tradition made her home an unsafe environment, leaving Faunia in a state of vulnerability, which she tries to escape throughout *The Human Stain*. Roth mobilizes Faunia's history to demonstrate her challenges in claiming her agency.

Faunia's agency is further challenged by narrator Nathan Zuckerman's limited knowledge of her internal thoughts and relationship with Coleman. Zuckerman presumably gleans knowledge of Faunia through Coleman Silk's experience, since other than his discussions about Faunia with Coleman, Zuckerman has no other access to Faunia's internal thoughts or intentions. Due to this, Zuckerman must use his authorial imagination to make Faunia a well-rounded character. Roth writes an entire sequence where Faunia goes to visit the Audubon Society after a fight with Coleman.[16] How Zuckerman is privy to this information is questionable; after all, Faunia is alone in the scene. The sequence delves into her mind and interrogates her thoughts regarding the abuse she suffered as a young girl by her stepfather, as well as the abuse her husband inflicted on her. Additionally, Roth translates Coleman's story through his narrator. Zuckerman is construed as a reliable narrator because he claims to have learned the story of Coleman through first hand information; their friendship. However, narrative tension arises when Zuckerman constructs Faunia's history, and details her relationship to Prince, a black crow.

Faunia's conversation with Prince is a passage that uses free indirect discourse to explore her inner thoughts. Here, Roth gives the reader a rare glimpse into Faunia's interiority. Unfortunately, Zuckerman's role as a reliable narrator is undermined by the fact that the reader does not know where his knowledge comes from or how he could possibly relay a narrative about her that no one else witnessed. In this character-building scene, Faunia speaks about her love for crows: "Everyone who says they're ugly scavenger birds -- and most everybody does -- is nuts. I think they're beautiful."[17] This exemplifies how Faunia sets herself apart from the "everybody" she refers to. She argues that crows are smart and discusses how they have learned to crack nuts under the wheels of cars as evidence of their intelligence.[18] Similarly, Faunia intentionally keeps her own intelligence hidden so that people expect less of her. Despite the fact that the crows are constantly around, people do not acknowledge them as intelligent creatures, whereas Faunia does. She acknowledges crows are special because they are underestimated. Faunia recognizes that strategically concealing her intelligence allows her to blend in, and thus, not be perceived as a threat to the patriarchal order. Therefore, when Faunia shares elements of her intellect with Coleman, it illustrates her trust in him. Although a significant act of intimacy, Coleman takes this as an opportunity to educate her, which ultimately ends up straining their relationship.

Prince the crow emulates human behaviour, which further aligns him with Faunia. "'If he knows that you're trying to get him, he usually stays out of reach, but if he thinks you're ignoring him, he'll come down.' They laughed together at the humanish behaviour."[19] Faunia likes that Prince is smart and that he represents much more than one could anticipate at first glance. Perhaps her most important realization is that the animals at the Audubon society are not convincing her to learn to read, because, like her, they know that humans are "ruthless and ...defenseless."[20] Faunia asserts that those are the only qualities she needs to know about humans. Furthermore, she also enjoys that "[i]f there's death, they're there. Something's dead, they come by and get it. I like that. I like it a lot."[21] Clearly, Faunia feels an intimacy with crows because they resemble her in many ways; she is defined by the death of her two children, the only possession that she has according to Coleman. He tells Zuckerman, "[a]side from the ashes of her two children... she owns nothing of value except an '83 Chevy."[22] It is the traumatic loss of her children that encourages Faunia to cease trying to possess material objects and people. Yet, one cannot take Faunia's depiction at face value, considering that Zuckerman's reflections of Faunia might be terribly misinterpreted. Perhaps he is characterizing her in a way that makes the narrative more entertaining. After all, having a character with a mysterious past certainly makes for a more fascinating story. Certainly, Faunia's agency is impaired by her inability to tell her own story and the fact that the reader is only guided by Zuckerman's perceptions of her. Since Zuckerman's perceptions are based solely on his imagination, his reliability is questionable. It is problematic that both Faunia and Oedipa's agency are directed through the lens of a male perspective. Although the freedom of fiction allows the writer to represent a character as they choose, one may question the authenticity and realistic nature of a female character filtered through the voices of both a male narrator and a male author. Roth's choice to use a male narrator suggests that he may be evading this question by placing Zuckerman between Faunia and the reader. Further tension within both Roth's and Pynchon's characterizations is made more complex by the varying external social mores and conventions of their respective eras. In other words, one must acknowledge that their historical representations of women must be understood within their historical context.

Established social mores that represent education and wealth come to the forefront when Oedipa's educational history is articulated. Oedipa is educated at the University of California — Berkeley campus in the 1950s, during Senator Joseph McCarthy's time in office.[23] In spite of her background as a young Republican, she comes to question institutional pedagogy and decidedly embraces the democratized underground mail operation, Tristero, instead. When Oedipa goes to Berkeley to find out more about Tristero, she encounters the changes the university has undergone since she was a student: "For she had undergone her own educating at a time of nerves, blandness and retreat among not only her fellow students but also most of the visible structure around and ahead of them...this Berkeley was like no somnolent Siwash out of her own past at all..."[24] The Berkeley that Oedipa is familiar with is one that lived in the fear of a communist threat. What she encounters while looking for Professor Bortz is an atmosphere that embraces the political activism of the 1960s. Oedipa sees Berkeley as an institution that is much more democratic, and that is "the sort [of place] that bring[s] governments down".[25] Oedipa reflects that her own experience at university made her "unfit...for marches and sit-ins, but just a whiz at pursuing strange words in Jacobean texts".[26] Her reflection illustrates that while she appreciates the institutional pedagogy that taught her how to think, she also questions the environment in which she was educated. Obviously, a place like Berkeley that is capable of "bring[ing] governments down" through social protest is a place that questions everything, something that Oedipa is only beginning to do.[27] In contrast, Faunia's rejection of a deeper interrogation of education is what puts her at risk. For Delphine, Faunia represents a form of ignorance that must be eradicated from the world. Thus, Faunia's rejection of institutions and subsequent death brings about a reckoning where Delphine's disgust for ignorance is satiated by Faunia's destruction.

Pynchon's approach to education and pedagogy is very different. As a detective figure, Oedipa Maas exploits several disguises to gain knowledge from men and to empower herself by discovering the truth about Tristero. Oedipa plays many different roles throughout *The Crying of Lot 49* to gain information from the men that she meets. When she goes to speak with Professor Bortz, she wears minimal makeup and dons "a sweater, skirt and sneakers," while doing "her hair in a student like twist".[28] She thinks this will let her pass as a student, but Bortz's wife Grace looks at her "harassed style" and assumes that Oedipa has children.[29] When she meets Stanley Koteks at Yoyodyne she tells him that she is a tourist and a stockbroker by trade.[30] Oedipa is able to change her identity and transition seamlessly when she encounters different characters. Additionally, during her search for Tristero, Oedipa begins to change, and at times, her identity is mistaken. Metzger calls her a "lib, overeducated broad" suggesting that she is a liberal Democrat.[31] Oedipa corrects him in embarrassment and tells Metzger that she is "a Young Republican".[32] Oedipa adapts to a variety of identities as though she is trying them on for size. Who she is at the beginning of the novel, and who she

becomes through her experiences are two different people. Oedipa acknowledges this transition when she asks herself "[w]here was the Oedipa who'd driven so bravely up here from San Narciso?".[33] Throughout her quest, she embraces her newly acquired knowledge in her search for the truth about Tristero. As Oedipa gains more confidence in her abilities, she also finds herself isolated and confused. Somehow, through executing Pierce's will (a double entendre for both his final wishes and his desire to still control her), Oedipa finds herself enlightened: "Though she could never again call back any image of the dead man to dress up, pose, talk to and make answer, neither would she lose a new compassion for the cul-de-sac he'd tried to find a way out of, for the enigma his efforts had created".[34] Upon thinking about how she has searched for weeks for the truth of Pierce's mystery, Oedipa discovers that the process of searching out Tristero has forced her to look at the world differently. She engages with the idea that there are power structures beyond her control; despite her discovery of Tristero, she cannot be sure of what is real and what is not. Ultimately, what she has gained is the power to question – both institutions and her place within them.

Furthermore, Pynchon's ironic play on names in the novel reinforces Oedipa's newfound ability to question established norms. Oedipa's namesake, Sophocles' Oedipus,[35] forcibly pursued his history only to find the truth was more than he could tolerate. Pynchon's interesting contradiction to the myth is that Oedipa does endure in her search for truth. Although she discovers the world is not what she first experienced it to be, she does not blind herself to the truth as Oedipus did. Instead, "Oedipa settled back, to await the crying of lot 49".[36] Her comfort in awaiting her truth suggests that whatever she finds out she is now willing to accept. Faunia, in contrast, refuses to learn new knowledge through Coleman and rejects the idea that knowledge can change her. When Coleman tries to read to Faunia or to engage her in intellectual conversation, she gets upset. Roth's narrator Zuckerman depicts her behaviour as insane when he writes: "All Coleman was doing was reading her something from the Sunday paper about the president and Monica Lewinsky, when Faunia got up and shouted, 'Can't you avoid the fucking seminar? Enough of the seminar! I can't learn! I don't learn! I don't want to learn! Stop fucking teaching me — it won't work!'" [emphasis mine].[37] Firstly, the allusion to Monica Lewinsky could seem offensive given the parallels between her relationship with Bill Clinton and the improper relations the community observes occurring between Coleman and Faunia. Secondly, Faunia may be responding to Coleman's discomfort about her lack of education, as Coleman tells Zuckerman that Faunia is illiterate.[38] Faunia confides in Coleman that the "good liberals down at Athena are trying to encourage her to enter a

literacy program".[39] According to Coleman's story, Faunia is afraid that he will break things off with her since she is "not a worthy, legitimate person who reads".[40] One might consider this as Faunia's defense mechanism for testing people. Later, it is revealed that Faunia is not illiterate, proving that she has used this disability to change how people treat her. The turning point in Faunia's relationship with Coleman is his attempt to colonize her mind with education; she views it as a demonstration of his superior intellect and judges that he is manipulating her to assimilate with patriarchal norms. Faunia's rejection of patriarchal ideology is so complete that she refuses to engage with these systems of thought all together.

In sum, both *The Human Stain* and *The Crying of Lot 49* present female characters that want more than a conventional life; both choose to encounter life on their own terms, and in doing so, they challenge the patriarchal institutions of education and marriage. Through career, partner, and unconventional educational choices, Faunia and Oedipa challenge the status quo and claim a form of agency that is admirable. Roth connects Faunia's death with her rejection of education. Although the two are not causally related, it is clear that on a symbolic level Faunia is doomed by her refusal to be educated. Conversely, Oedipa attains a liberal freedom that is overshadowed by her paranoia, which increases over the course of her quest for selfhood. Just as her namesake Oedipus suffered from learning the truth, Pynchon depicts Oedipa as seemingly overwhelmed by her realizations. She is alone at the end of the novel in an almost existential despair about what she has learned. However there is hope because through her transformation because she gained a degree of self-sufficiency that allowed her break free from the corrupting forces of men that once controlled her life. Despite having the odds against them, both female characters display a positive form of agency during their respective journeys through life. A more in-depth study of both books outlining the context in which they were written, by male authors specifically, would be an interesting continuation of this essay. Within this broad framework, an examination of the portrayals of women in fiction, and especially the nature of the language that constitutes their character, would be a rewarding endeavours.

Notes

1. For more on the phenomenon of racial "passing" in literature, see Gayle Wald's, *Crossing the Line: Racial Passing in Twentieth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture*. (Durham N.C: Duke UP, 2000.)
2. Philip Roth, *The Human Stain*, (New York: Vintage, 2001), 263.
3. Ibid, 38.
4. Ibid, 34.
5. Ibid, 281.
6. Ibid, 269.
7. Ibid, 28.
8. Ibid, 29.
9. Ibid, 45.
10. Thomas Pynchon, *The Crying of Lot 49*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006), 6.
11. Ibid, 32.
12. Ibid, 7.
13. Ibid, 8.
14. The term 'interpellation' describes the process by which ideology addresses the individual and was coined by French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser in his seminal essay, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. For a good definition see: http://faculty.washington.edu/mlg/courses/definitions/Interpellation.html.
15. Roth, *Human Stain*, 28.
16. Ibid, 234-247.
17. Ibid, 167.
18. Ibid, 167-168.
19. Ibid, 239.
20. Ibid, 240.
21. Ibid, 169.
22. Ibid, 28.
23. Thomas Pynchon, *Crying of Lot 49*, 83.
24. Idem.
25. Idem.
26. Idem.
27. Idem.
28. Ibid, 122.
29. Ibid, 124.
30. Ibid, 67.
31. Ibid, 59.
32. Idem.
33. Ibid, 100.
34. Ibid, 147.
35. The character name Oedipa is considered by many to be derived from playwright Sophocles' famous tragic play Oedipus Rex (430 BC). The character Oedipus blinds himself when he discovers that he has killed his father and wed his mother. For more on this connection read Patrice D. Rankine's essay.
36. Thomas Pynchon, Crying of Lot 49, 152.
37. Philip Roth, Human Stain, 234
38. Ibid, 34.
39. Idem.
40. Idem.

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Preceding Image

Woman in a rowing boat from the National Media Museum Flickr — http://www.flickr.com/photos/nationalmediamuseum/2780164539/sizes/o/in/photolist-5eF54n-6c6arb-7AfCbT-4jv3QH-6hpssH-7JodSM-4jCFe7-awyEy2-9jNc4X-5qDCma-7s4hnN-7rP91C-6aJhoS-4ZB6Kn-8nGj3U-2jPzag-atHcjJ-4QiQGe-7Fko66-78JcTs-6R7hQZ-8sXtci-55AQfp-8jcskp-8ntABt-9LDvNP-7XZqo5-L5bh9-7QmMMR-8uHcQX-8t6q1o-7C2UUd-7mtuoM-9qJhkS-8jR7NM-7E2xUM-bxx99v-e1yqda-8tnGwN-8s8Aeh-55AQoF-7mH4A8-jJ5v3-7HzUP5-bhYj2K-bjBVUm-5WGfTt-7BZExi-6tKvB8-5eKzTW-5F2L3r/

Decadent Desire

Luxury and the Masculine Gaze in American Strip Clubs
Emily Siu

■

Architectural modernism is rarely ever scrutinized from the perspective of gender relations. Nonetheless, there are a handful of structures in the world that are arguably constructed consciously according to the paradigmatic differences between masculinity and femininity, inevitably based upon the tension between sexual desire and repression. By exploring the interiors of several modern strip clubs in the United States — the Mitchell Brothers O'Farrell Theatre in San Francisco, Rick's Bar and Restaurant in Houston, and the Treasures Gentlemen's Club & Steakhouse in Nevada — this paper asserts that the designs of these buildings are subordinated to the notion of male desire, by promoting the male gaze through the construction of a decadent atmosphere. This in turn encourages masculine power and the fetishization of the female body.

By interweaving film theory, feminist politics, and psychoanalysis, Laura Mulvey's ground-breaking 1975 essay *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* proposed a novel understanding of the concept of the male gaze in correspondence to the female body as an object of desire. In the essay, Mulvey identifies three types of gazes inherent in cinema: the camera, the character, and the spectator, all of which are sutured in alignment. Since the majority of films are constructed in the image of and for the benefit of the male viewer, the implication is that all gazes are aligned with the male, thus maintaining the dominant patriarchal ideology. Although Laura Mulvey's seminal essay applies broadly to film analysis, her examination of the Freudian idea of scopophilia[1] — the love of looking — can be applied to the realm of architecture in relation to the human body. In this article, Mulvey argues that scopophilia is invariably tied to phallocentrism and patriarchy.[2] The dichotomous conclusion is that the male is aligned with seeing, whereas the female is aligned with being seen, creating a relationship of "domination-subordination"[3] between the two sexes. One way that pleasure can be created is through the fetishization of the female body; as a result of the male castration anxiety, according to Sigmund Freud, the male can compensate for the

female's penile lack by excessively mystifying and overvaluing her body, in order to temporarily overlook the existence of such a difference.[4]

One example of the manifestation of the male gaze theory in modern architecture is the O'Farrell Theatre located in San Francisco, built in 1969.[5] Originally opened as an adult film theatre, this "emporium"[6] comprises five distinct spaces for performances or events, through which male customers explore during the night hours. Designs of these different venues dictate the manner in which the male experiences the shows. Yet, the activities that occur in the rooms all relate to the idea of scopophilia. Firstly, the Cine Stage is a small theatre where adult films and porn star strippers are exhibited.[7] It is composed of ascending rows of seats, similar to a typical film theatre, and a two-storey proscenium stage upon which dancers perform, along with a film screen on the top level. In a way, the raised male seating speaks to the power of the male who reigns above the female, relating back to the notion of male domination. Also, the combination of oak wood floors and plush mahogany curtains emit mixed feelings of coziness and fantasy all at once. Spectators are expected to stay quiet during the event, silently gazing downwards toward the moving bodies showcased before them.

Another venue within the O'Farrell Theatre is the New York Live stage which features a thrust stage — one extending on three sides into the audience space — upon which pole dancing strippers perform and male patrons offer up cash for the dancers. The Copenhagen Room is a more intimate space where the boundary between the senses of seeing and touching cross; dancers are no longer elevated on a stage nor are they physically confined in a single space for the male spectator to watch. Now, they can cross the threshold into the male viewer space and dance with him; the male gaze is no longer completely voyeuristic as the constructed barrier dividing male and female physical spaces have collapsed. Nevertheless, the dichotomous relationship between the two are still maintained, with the male as the dominant figure, desiring to be pleased and the female assuming the role of the pleaser, submitting to his wishes.

Next, the Ultra Room consists of a slightly elevated platform where dancers perform, surrounded by individual booths from which males peer out towards the females, like that of a peep show. The pleasures of voyeurism, an aspect of the male gaze, are manifested in the design of this particular room, with the observation of the sexualized female body from a fairly distant, more private space. Lastly, the Green Door Room shows traces of Greco-Roman and Renaissance influences with its portrayal of erotic scenes on large friezes. These components add to an environment representative of the idea of escape from modern life to a more sensual, exotic world. The erotic scenes are imprints on what may be seen

by some as a shameful manifestation of male desires. A noteworthy motif of this room is the employment of curvilinear walls to divide up the space. The central focus of the space is the "semi-circular shower stage"[8] where various dancers strip, shower, and perform with one another, followed by them drying themselves off with the towel-covered round tables around which male patrons are seated. The circular spaces of the room — the shower, the tables, even the friezes that articulate the space directly above the shower — emphasize not only the significant division between male and female space, but also encourage the masculine gaze upon the female body. Since the patriarchal revolution of the plow culture and later, the rise of the city, curved lines have historically represented the stereotypical depiction of the female as wild and organic, as well as in imitation of the curves of the female body. The logical, rational straight lines and right angles, in contrast, have been associated with the male.[9] The rectilinear mirrors that embellish the walls showing the female body from multiple vantage points, along with the non-circular spaces that the males occupy in this room underline the division between the two sexes. The female is elevated upon the stage, mystified and offered up as a fetishized object for consumption by the masculine gaze.

Another aspect of architectural modernism is the function of decoration and decadence with its relation to sexual desire and power. The idea of ornament as deceivingly creating a "pleasing appearance"[10] lustful excitement, and sexual fantasies derive from the decoration of the female face and body by use of makeup.[11] The beautification of the body with products designed to enhance female sexuality causes distractions in a proper, orderly society. In examination of Rick's Bar and Restaurant located in Houston, one may even argue that the notion of consumption is directly related to ornament and decadence. According to the owner, Robert Watters, this gentlemen's club is designed to bear a resemblance to European cabarets in addition to being modelled after the first floor cosmetics section of New York City's Bloomingdale's.[12] The environment of the Bloomingdale's department store, predicated upon the encouragement of customer consumption and the feeling of being overwhelmed with material luxuries, is translated to the design of Rick's. The sheer reflectivity of the polished black surface of the miniature runway, the stages upon which the strippers perform, the massive gilded mirrors, and the silver steel poles, along with elaborate art deco furnishings, soft plush carpeting and furniture as well as non-load bearing decorative piers, work in concert to create an atmosphere of utter decadence and sexual excitement for male goers. This is also tied to what Karl Toepfer calls the "orgy theory," which is established by the principles of excess pleasure and extremity, where sexual gratification is experienced through fantasy.[13]

Also, stereotypical American roles of "men as 'providers' and women as 'supporters' (and 'receivers')"[14] are inherently exaggerated in strip club joints as the male customer finances the female worker in exchange for pleasurable services. In fact, often times specific strippers will station themselves for a longer period of time with "big spenders",[15] or, customers who will provide generous tips for them. Not only is the male bombarded by the desire for the female dancer upon the elevated stage, he also experiences the empowering patriarchal feeling of being a "man" due to his exclusive capability to afford these pleasures as a result of being situated in the space of the strip club. Thus, the patriarchal ideal of a man who has financial means is inexorably tied to pleasure, and reflected in ornamented architecture.

Another instance of a modern American architectural space of luxurious consumption is one designed for the liberation of sexual desire: the Treasures Gentlemen's Club & Steakhouse in Las Vegas, Nevada. Everything from the arched portico leading to the main two-storey interior of a marble double staircase adorned with brass statuettes, heavily ornamented oversized brackets, a barrel vault overhead, white niches depicting pseudo-ancient scenes, and embedded columns causes a sensory overload of contrived, surface-oriented richness. The vast open space serves as a reminder that the gentlemen's club is a place where the possibilities of countless dreams and fantasies may come alive. As the interior design aspires to ancient Roman, arguably even Rococo styles, it is evident that such an impression is artificial, as it clashes with the use of overtly modern steel poles and railings, as well as the shiny surfaces of the elevated dance stages reflecting the brilliant colours of modern strobe lighting. However, the falseness of ornament is representative of the seductive qualities of makeup and applied decoration on a woman, which is, as Wigley quotes Alberti, "explicitly identified with sexuality."[16] Therefore, not only does the interior of the Treasures strip club incite feelings of exclusive aristocratic power and luxury, it also motivates the male to enjoy the movement of the female figures around him, elevated upon the stages.

By examining space through specific examples of contemporary gentlemen's clubs, I argue that the combination of the fetishization of the female body through the male gaze and the feelings of power and orgiastic indulgence from ornamentation provides a foundation upon which modern American strip clubs are designed. Strip club architecture in the United States is one that revolves almost exclusively around male desire which in turn constructs the female body as a mere object to be gazed upon and desired. Although there are a variety of architectural structures around the globe that are consciously based upon

different conceptions of gender difference, it is still important to recognize that the topic of gender power relations is always present in architectural design, even if it is rendered invisible by popular ideology.

Notes

1. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16.3 (1975): 8.
2. Ibid., 6.
3. Victor Burgin. "Perverse Space," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 220.
4. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure," 6.
5. "A San Francisco Landmark – Mitchell Brothers O'Farrell Theatre," *Mitchell Brothers O'Farrell Theatre*, last modified 2013, accessed August 4, 2012, http://www.ofarrell.com/history.html.
6. Katherine Liepe-Levinson, *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 58.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 59.
9. Leslie K. Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*, (Illinois: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1992), 16.
10. Mark Wigley. "Untitled: The Housing of Gender," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 355.
11. Ibid.
12. Liepe-Levinson, "Strip Show," 57.
13. Ibid.
14. Calvin Morrill, David A. Snow, and Cindy White, *Together Alone: Personal Relationships in Public Places* (California: University of California Press, 2005), 70.
15. Ibid., 69.
16. Wigley, "The Housing of Gender," 355.

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Waiting for the Show... by Flickr user 'RpM_215' — http://www.flickr.com/photos/53409728@N02/5134055606/in/photolist-8PFnS7-9bD36i-c4G5tJ-3qRMn-4vgncn-9Mjovn-aHfymB-6YCMjL-dgKMmD-5Qko3f-8pvJ5R-aB1UmX-86jzSs-889Epj-driABJ-4PiAf-7VJpa3-b8hXpa-6zdGzg-JQy9-3-bxdwT9-4QjAbc-dwiCwg-eCnXLB-6wqv4q-7WYAoy-dbXyEN-bDk5Wa-6X2A-eEaDmb-7LZ7cJ-8a6CYu-aqmu4-7xKcvi-bXm6k2-zQLmA-dZLTc4-5CfYgt-C6yCp-eyhUfM-JQyXo-MGzmp-h3Bik-7JAQ2L-ds34as-ds34FJ-7P8ARh-YUgS-dS5fUw-JQJdt-zFykZ/

"Every right and every reason."

Duty, National Identity, and the Extension of the Private Sphere in Roosevelt's Fireside Chat of September 3rd, 1939

Wesley Dutcher-Walls

■

In his fireside chat on September 3, 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed the nation regarding the outbreak of war in Europe. Roosevelt's speech was part of the effort to develop, in Richard W. Steele's words, a "public awareness of the world crisis and confidence in the government's ability to meet it."[1] In pursuing this dual goal, this brief radio address reflects certain ways in which American life was to be transformed by U.S. involvement in World War II. This essay will make the following arguments: firstly, the address attempts to marshal and impose duty upon the private citizen as part of the war effort; secondly, it articulates an ideal, unified national identity; and thirdly, the medium of radio itself both reflects and facilitates these purposes. Importantly, this argument does not necessarily impute direct causation of actual social transformations to Roosevelt or his address, but instead shows how he envisioned or worked towards certain changes. Throughout, this essay will examine how particular rhetorical devices employed by Roosevelt aid his arguments. This essay will begin by discussing the medium of radio as it relates to the content of Roosevelt's fireside chat.

The biographer Jean Edward Smith argues that Roosevelt mastered the medium of radio better than any other twentieth-century American politician.[2] Regardless of this claim, the unique power of radio itself as a medium was central in effecting the two transformations examined here. The accessibility and ubiquity of radio allowed it to be uniquely transformative of American wartime culture.[3] For Roosevelt, radio clearly furnished an effective political tool: one study notes that there was a 14% percent difference in approval for American intervention in Europe between surveyed citizens who heard one of Roosevelt's radio addresses and those who had not.[4] Roosevelt was clearly aware of the power of his chosen medium, noting that Americans receive news about the war through their radios "at every hour of the day."[5]

Roosevelt's statement that he is speaking to the "whole of America"[6] illustrates the unifying and cohesive effect of radio as a medium. This both reflects and facilitates Roosevelt's articulation of a unified national identity. Gerd Horten argues that this process of building a national community was one of radio's "key functions."[7] The capacity for unification and cohesion is rooted in the basic fact that the experience of radio is necessarily a "socialized activity."[8] Even devoid of a particular message, the medium of radio carries with it a normative statement about the necessity of communal or social-familial interaction, at least for its enjoyment in the private or domestic sphere.

In addition to the obvious demographic and regional diversity of the United States in the 1940s, Roosevelt faced a major political schism over American involvement in World War II. Radio was both part of this divide[9] and a major factor in the eventual triumph of interventionism.[10] Here, Harold Lasswell's argument in his 1941 article "The Garrison State," that "methods now available to leaders in our society" can mitigate "differences in outlook, preference, and loyalty," aptly describes the utility of radio technology for leaders such as Roosevelt.[11] Further, Roosevelt's rhetorical familiarity, seen in his phrase "my fellow Americans and my friends,"[12] capitalizes on the intimacy already produced by radio, and creates the illusion of the listener being in Roosevelt's personal confidence with regards to privileged information about the nascent war. This sense of confidence is part of what Steele calls the "'informational' propaganda strategy,"[13] which Roosevelt saw as an alternative to the more blatant and hysterical propaganda of which the American people were increasingly wary.

As Roosevelt's medium, radio also symbolizes the presence of the war, with its attendant duties and dangers, in the domestic or private sphere. Roosevelt, through and on the radio, conveys the dangers posed by the war in the "American Hemisphere" and to the "American future."[14] Discussing the growing centrality of radio war-news programming during the war, Horten writes that radio reporting offered "immediacy...the extension of one's environment and vicarious traveling."[15] Roosevelt lists (and perhaps conflates) "every word that comes through the air," presumably meaning news and information about the war, with "every ship that sails the sea [and] every battle that is fought,"[16] which denote the action and violence of war itself. Here, the domestic sphere of the American radio listener is extended vastly to encompass the awareness and danger of the conflict overseas: the privilege of information comes hand-in-hand with the peril of war.

As an alternative to the domestic sphere's *extension* to encompass the war, Roosevelt's use of radio could also represent the *intrusion* of the war, with its duties and dangers, into private American life. He declares that "the most

dangerous enemies of American peace" are not foreign soldiers or even nations but instead those Americans who, "without well-rounded information...undertake to speak with assumed authority."[17] Here, the 'enemy' is no longer external or readily identifiable but rather internal to the U.S. population or even to the listener, himself or herself, in a careless moment. Horten writes that radio allowed, or perhaps forced, listeners to experience the anxiety and fear of combat while still in their "secure environment."[18] In Lasswell's terms, Roosevelt's fireside chat represents the "socialization of danger"[19] through the diffusion and immediacy of radio as a medium. This reflects Roosevelt's larger-scale 'globalization' of danger as seen when he states that "the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger."[20] Clearly, at the outset of the war, Roosevelt worked to portray the incipient danger as ubiquitous, and his image of war coming to "our own firesides"[21] communicates this very powerfully.

Regardless of whether it represented an 'extension' or an 'intrusion,' radio as a medium eliminated the spatial distance between the security and peace of the domestic sphere and the danger of the theatre of war. Thus, it furnished an ideal medium for Roosevelt's similar effort to erode the accompanying distinction between the neutral, peaceful citizen and the belligerent, active participant in war. Through the fireside chat, Roosevelt worked to inculcate in his listeners what Lasswell calls "a deep and general sense of participation in the total enterprise of the state,"[22] which, for Roosevelt, meant establishing a resolute and even militaristic American response to the war in Europe. In this particular address, Roosevelt's effort to mobilize both the private citizen and the nation falls far short of 'duty' as outright belligerence or violent action. For reasons of domestic political exigency, Roosevelt was required to at least *outwardly* display a stance of official neutrality from 1939 to 1941. For example, he discredits the idea of "America sending its armies to European fields" and calls for U.S. "neutrality [to] be made a true neutrality."[23] However, though Roosevelt is not rallying his listeners to a conventional act of war, he subsumes them into what Howard Zinn calls the "atmosphere of war."[24]

The fireside chat imposes certain significant modes of duty on the private citizen which, taken together, amount to what could be seen as 'mobilization.' First, after calling Americans the "best informed people in all the world at this moment," Roosevelt exhorts his listeners to "discriminate most carefully between news and rumour," and later, to "think things through."[25] Here, the privilege of knowledge granted by broadcast radio is accompanied by a kind of intellectual duty to verify information and to avoid being misled. Significantly, Roosevelt does not demand that Americans be neutral "in thought,"[26] which allows for the free exercise of the individual conscience towards the war. Amidst the various duties

imposed, this significant latitude may point towards a desire for a conscientious 'belligerency' to develop, which would lend popular support to Roosevelt's interventionist foreign policy.

Second, Roosevelt develops an abstract notion of a collective, defensive duty with regards to the war in Europe. For example, he states that "we must act to preserve this [national safety]" and that it is "our national duty to...keep [wars] out of the Americas."[27] On a rhetorical level, Roosevelt encompasses his listeners as sharing in the country's responsibility to contain the spread of the war. The fact that Roosevelt includes the duty to "preserve the safety of our children in future years"[28] suggests that this imagined mobilization was not limited to the incipient war in Europe, or, in fact, bounded by any defined temporal limits. Finally, Roosevelt implies a duty of austerity or self-discipline when he states that "no American has the moral right" to profit from the war.[29]

Roosevelt's rhetorical imposition of certain modes of duty points to the other major transformation of American life reflected by his fireside chat: the articulation of a particular ideal, unified national identity. In the address, Roosevelt calls explicitly for political unity, asking that "partisanship and selfishness be adjourned."[30] This illustrates what Matthew A. Baum and Samuel Kernell describe as Roosevelt's transformation from the contentious "New Deal partisan" of the 1930s to the unifying, "nonpartisan 'soldier of freedom'" during the war.[31] In addition to this nonpartisan ideal of *political* unity, Roosevelt also presents a specific normative ideal of national identity behind the abstract call for "national unity."[32] Put simply, this normative conception is of a moral, rational, spiritual, Christian, and peace-seeking nation (or citizen). Rhetorically, Roosevelt uses the blurred distinction between *descriptive* and *prescriptive* language very effectively. Through Roosevelt's descriptions of American beliefs and attitudes, such as his claim that most Americans "believe in the spirit of the New Testament,"[33] he states not only what the average American is but also implies what it is right, normal, or, during wartime, *necessary* for him or her to be. This amounts to a kind of moral 'regimentation' of the American populace through rhetoric.

Roosevelt introduces this normative discussion of the U.S. by saying "Some things we do know,"[34] a line which comes immediately after he states that the course of the war and its economic effects are unpredictable. Thus, Roosevelt creates a binary opposition between the frightening uncertainty of the nascent European war (and the evil of the belligerent Germany), and the definite moral and religious character of the United States. This type of rhetorical binary opposition appears elsewhere in the fireside chat, such as "great war"/"final peace," "verified fact"/"mere rumour," and "our own firesides"/"European fields."[35]

Roosevelt's binaries work to develop the basic ontological divide between 'self' and 'enemy,' which characterizes all wars. This divide reached its extreme in the view that citizens must hate their enemy to win a war.[36] Horten writes that the American government saw a "fever pitch'" of national morale as necessary to winning a total war.[37] It appears that the articulation of an ideal, determinate national identity in opposition to the malice or sheer *unknowability* of the enemy was an effective method of achieving this.

From an examination of the medium of radio, Roosevelt's rhetorical devices, and his message itself, it is clear that he at least anticipated, if not strived towards, two major transformations of American life from the very outset of World War II. Roosevelt's 'mobilization' of private citizens for involvement in the "atmosphere of war"[38] and his assertion of an ideal, homogeneous national identity were to have profound implications for American social and political life domestically, as well as for U.S. foreign policy. It is clear that Roosevelt's rhetorical marshaling of American civilians was tendentious to his own pro-intervention political views. Further, with some degree of American intervention assumed, Roosevelt's vision of the U.S. as a homogeneously moral, rational, and peace-seeking nation served to justify and legitimate American foreign policy towards Europe as it developed. The vein of American 'exceptionalism' present in the address casts the U.S., acting with "every right and every reason,"[39] not as a belligerent in the European war specifically but rather as a moral, rational, and redemptive force in world history. Ominously, Roosevelt states, "some day...we can be of even greater help to a crippled humanity."[40] The United States, and the private citizen, are set apart from the rest of humanity, which was becoming engulfed in war and therefore would one day look to America for help.

Notes

1. Richard W. Steele, "The Great Debate: Roosevelt, the Media, and the Coming of the War, 1940-1941," *Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 76.
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Old Time Radio by Flickr user 'Scorch 07' — http://www.flickr.com/photos/scorch07/402564499/in/photolist-Bzfpe-aiKcEs-3fP2Xw-64djDv-b4Y8ck-aZdaDD-6z9j6W-7RU6ap-2UVAJS-9TxfXy-7c6T7i-9ts1Dc-bsJncN-vF3qj-wFJeZ-bsLZUi-5Fnaot-6ykEwd-7UPxXy-aYhBBk-aL55SH-6TT2uJ-9KM-rjh-7qfEAf-7qfEz1-7qbKPp-7qfED1-7qfECm-7qfEqS-aK7C1Z-9a6fSY-7Dx-KNk-a8hCU1-4x3GPp-z3gnq-eefJu3-7rc1D1-8Q71Jq-5XVDJV-6m8DaZ-dJBFuZ-DeUt8-4g9aCN-aeqv1z-aetk7h-aetnDW-6Qd2ui-6DGC76-7iYF6A-5BPQzK-5aTQTM/

Going Home Happy

The Importance of Creating Emotion in Classical Hollywood Cinema
Jennifer Anderson

■

In his book, *The Classical Hollywood Style, 1917-60*, David Bordwell states, "an insistence on the primacy of narrative causality is a general feature of the Classical system [;]...character centered — i.e. personal and psychological — causality is the armature of the Classical story".[1] He provides a large amount of evidence, having sampled 300 films from the classical period, almost all of which fit into this system of consciously motivated, forward-moving narratives that transition from one scene to the next by the flow of causality, with each chain of events culminating with the most logical conclusion. Bordwell believes that this rigorous adherence to chains of cause and effect has been made to reflect the ideology of American individualism and enterprise through goal-oriented protagonists.[2] However, films from this period are much more than ideological lists of cause and effect presented on the screen before an audience and consequently, Bordwell's argument falls short of accounting for that which affects the film beyond basic representations of cause and effect. Bordwell's argument is void of considerations of the fact that, as a primarily commercial industry, the major concern of Classical Hollywood was profitability and as such filmmakers could not simply rely on a series of logical conclusions to draw large audiences to theatres. In order to guarantee large profits, films needed to create a strong emotional connection that would satisfy audiences to the point that they would pay to see a film again, or to come back to see the next picture. Through a thorough investigation of Howard Hawks' *His Girl Friday* (1940), I will analyze this major flaw in David Bordwell's argument. Invoking Richard Maltby's "Commercial Aesthetic" and other scholars, I will argue that the goal of films made in Classical Hollywood was to create a real emotional experience that would draw in the largest number of viewers in order to turn the greatest profit.

The key contradiction in Bordwell's argument that classical Hollywood cinema is primarily driven by character-centered narrative causality arises in relation

to the happy ending. Describing films from the Classical period, he argues that "the ending need not be 'happy': it need only be a definite conclusion to the chain of cause and effect".[3] However, he goes on to state that "we often assume that a Hollywood film will end happily simply because it *is* a Hollywood film [original emphasis]".[4] The frequency with which films from the Classical period do in fact end happily legitimizes this claim, but it is more than the mere coincidence that Bordwell seems to suggest. Richard Maltby writes, "What the audience wanted… was to have its emotions aroused…it wants to be '*sent home happy*' [emphasis added]".[5] Given that the major concern of Hollywood as a commercial industry was to make the greatest profit, the wants of the audience — those who were directly responsible for the profit returns — would consequently have been a major concern of the studios as well. From this, it can be inferred that classical Hollywood cinema *did* privilege the happy ending over an unhappy one that still employed a definite conclusion of the cause-effect chain, and Bordwell neglects to account for why this is so. He does acknowledge that in order for the illusion of the classical Hollywood film to be successful, work was required from the audience, "the spectator must meet the art work at least half way,"[6] but he seems to underestimate the extent to which the audience was involved in completing this work. Upon viewing several films from this period, any spectator can easily follow these tendencies and accurately predict the outcome of a film by following the formulaic set of events.

'Narrative causality' — the following of a chain of cause and effect to its logical conclusion — is indeed a central component in the success and popularity of Classical Hollywood films. However, in marking narrative causality as the site of audience pleasure, Bordwell's argument begs the question, "[d]on't we often know how a film is going to end?"[7] *His Girl Friday* [1940] stars Cary Grant as Walter Burns, a newspaper editor who is desperate to prevent Hildy Johnson, his former star reporter and ex-wife (played by Rosalind Russell) from marrying insurance salesman Bruce Baldwin (Ralph Bellamy) by getting her to return to her job and by remarrying her himself. He delays her departure by convincing her to cover the impending execution of convicted murderer Earl Williams, but things go awry when Williams escapes from prison and hides out in the newsroom where Hildy is working. Without having to assume that *His Girl Friday* would likely follow the pattern of a happy ending, the film actively challenges the idea of primacy of narrative causality by overtly presenting the audience with what will be the culmination of the primary line of action right away. In the opening sequence, it is firmly established that Walter wants Hildy back and plans to do whatever it takes to get her to work with him at

the paper again and ultimately convince her to marry him and not her fiancé. Bordwell states, that out of 100 films chosen randomly from the Classical Hollywood output for the unbiased selection of their comparative study, "ninety-five involved [heterosexual] romance in at least one line of action, while eighty-five made that the principle line of action".[8] Considering these statistics, there would be a high probability that audiences would (correctly) assume that the narrative of *His Girl Friday* would culminate either in Bruce and Hildy going off to be married or in Walter and Hildy reuniting as the expected happy ending to the heterosexual romance line of action. The aspect of the 'unknown' in the ending then becomes which of the two plots will triumph, and this too is addressed by the film early on.

Comparing Hildy's interactions with Bruce and Walter in this opening sequence, Hildy is much more stunted with Bruce. When he tells her that even ten minutes is a long time to be away from her, she stops walking and returns to make him say it again, literally stalling her forward progression into Walter's office, and the progression of the narrative; their conversations seem more forced, and the gate at the entrance to the office physically divides them. When she then talks with Walter, their conversation has a much smoother flow; both know what the other is going to say, they stand in much closer proximity to each other, and there is a very strong indication that, given their chemistry, theirs is the love story whose culmination the audience anticipates, not that of Bruce and Hildy.

This is made even more obvious when Bruce later tells Hildy that Walter is clearly not the man for her, as the audience who has just witnessed a long conversation between the two can see how well they go together. Consequently, the two romantic scenarios that could possibly be fulfilled at the end of the film are narrowed down to a single scenario, and audiences anticipate this throughout the film. If the differences in Hildy's interactions with her two suitors were not enough to clarify which relationship will prevail, the expository scene that follows speaks more directly, clarifying for viewers once and for all which pairing they should be rooting for. While at a restaurant for lunch with Hildy and Bruce, Walter tells Duffy (his copy editor) over the phone that he promises Hildy will be staying with them by somehow delaying the train to Albany, where she is going to marry Bruce. If she did manage to board the train, the story would end after the passing of the two hours between the time of their lunch and the train departing, with Hildy going off to marry the man that audiences would not want to see her marry in the ideal 'happy ending' scenario that they are anticipating due to the expected plot structure of Classical Hollywood films.

Therefore, once Walter tells Duffy (and by extension, the audience) that he is going to stop Hildy, the audience knows that he will more than likely be successful.

The tendency of Hollywood to frequently depict heterosexual romances with happy endings sets up a very predictable framework for a film, and therefore cannot be the source of enjoyment for an audience who has come to watch a particular film with particular stars. The star system of the Classical Hollywood period played a very key role in the predictability of films. As Bordwell states, "the star, like the fictional character, already had a set of salient traits that could be matched to the demands of the story...that is, the star's traits and the character's traits become isomorphic."[9] Consequently, based on what the audience knew of Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell, either from publications about their personal lives in the media or the roles in which they had previously appeared, the audience could make guided assumptions about how their characters in this particular film (still reflecting their star persona) would act. If the audience knew how the characters would react to situations based on the conventional performance of the stars, and knew that the film would end happily and almost certainly with the reuniting of the former spouses in a romantic relationship, there is very little left — at least to the primary line of action — that the audience would not be able to infer before seeing the film, and consequently no incentive to go and see it. Therefore, David Bordwell's proposition that classical Hollywood cinema is primarily driven by character-centered narrative causality is incorrect.

Another issue with Bordwell's argument is accounting for scenes or moments in the film that do not reach a conclusion or get tied up neatly at the end. Specifically referencing the scene in *His Girl Friday* where Molly Malloy throws herself out the window of the newsroom, Bordwell explains that when the details of the two primary causal lines are "so tightly bound together, Molly Malloy's fate is more likely to be overlooked."[10] He sees little problem with this, stating that the films must aim for the most coherent epilogue possible, and evidently it is too complicated to explain every single scene, even though Bordwell also argues that "each scene should make a definite impression, accomplish one thing and advance the narrative a step nearer the climax."[11] Rather than being a small detail that is forgotten, the scene of Molly jumping out the window is a rather significant delay in the action. Molly interrupts the reporters from finding out where Williams is hiding by saying she knows where he is, explains to them the irony of the fact that now they want her to talk, and throws herself out the window. While it can be argued that this was necessary because the reporters run out to see Molly, leaving the room empty so that Walter and Hildy can contact the paper about capturing Williams, the scene has much greater emotional (whether tragic or comic makes little difference) significance than value as a scene of exposition or forward moving action.

Other delays that do nothing to advance the cause-effect progression of the narrative occur frequently throughout the film. As mentioned before, Hildy returning to ask Bruce to repeat what he had just said delays the opening scene of the film. When Walter comes out to meet Bruce, he introduces himself to an old man, who tries to tell him that he is not Bruce, while Walter brushes off the real Bruce, who is attempting to introduce himself as the real Bruce. Once Hildy gets to Walter's office, the witty banter that goes back and forth delays the message she intended to deliver, which she specifically points out by yelling at Walter to listen and explaining what she was trying to tell him the whole time, and there are further delays in Hildy saying that they are getting married the next day, and leaving for Albany *that* day. In this scene, the entire dialogue preceding the announcement that Hildy was getting married — the one detail in the conversation that actively moved the scene forward — becomes less important to the flow of narrative causality. Once must then consider what purpose is served in taking the first 15 minutes of the film to say that Hildy and Bruce are getting married the next day when a theory of dominant narrative causality would argue that that was the most important aspect of the scene. I would argue that the conversation between Walter and Hildy serves to develop in the audience the emotional attachment to the characters that will increase the pleasure that will come from their reunion at the end of the film.

While narrative causality still remains a major concern of films of classical Hollywood, there are many indications that it is not the dominant force driving the film. If it were, a film would be little more than simple transitions between scenes of exposition, wherein characters would discuss only matters relevant to the progress of the plot, and the only actions that would occur would be those discussed as mentioned above. However, audiences would not be satisfied. Keating explains that in any film, a title card reading 'and they lived happily ever after' would satisfy concerns of narrative causality at the end of a film. However, "the fact that they are not [satisfied with a subtitle] suggests that they want something more coherent. They want to see the culmination take place. They want to experience an emotional response to the event itself."[12] It is not simply narrative causality but also the creation of an emotional experience that drives classical Hollywood cinema. Above all, "[e]ntertainment is a type of performance produced for profit,"[13] and while some viewers of cinema at this time may have found enjoyment in the coalescence of causes and effects into a logical conclusion, it is likely that many different demographics coming to

the movies would have preferred to see something that gave them an experience beyond this, and would not pay money to see something that did not interest them.

Studios recognized this; "they assume[d] that different spectators want[ed] to see different things. Their aesthetic decisions [were] guided by commercial considerations."[14] Studios could not make money if their pictures only appealed to very particular groups, and a film could not be widely appealing unless it put something in for every kind of viewer. Because the goal was to make money, "the commercial aesthetic gave Hollywood filmmakers every reason to look for ways of combining narrative and attractions."[15] *His Girl Friday* is a perfect example of the combination of elements to make a universally appealing product. It is a love story (with Walter and Hildy as ex-lovers who finally get back together in the end), a divorce drama, a police thriller (equipped with shootouts, police car chases, escaped convicts), a political drama (dealing with the corruption of the mayor and the police force), a 'fast-talking screwball comedy', a crime drama (trying to prove a man's innocence in court) and a satirical exposé of the deceitful world of journalism, among other things.

The common feature of all the different appeals of cinema created by including elements of various genres to appeal to different people in the audiences was the creation of an emotional experience. It did not altogether matter what emotions were being elicited (if the film scared the audience, thrilled them, made them laugh or made them cry), but as long as there was a feeling of happiness or satisfaction in the end, the experience would have paid off. It is the ability to experience these feelings that brings people to the theatre, and therefore the ability to create emotion is something that films made in the classical period strived to achieve in order to be successful with audiences. Dyer argues that entertainment is a form of utopia, but films do not present models of utopian worlds, "rather the utopianism is contained in the feelings it embodies."[16] In *His Girl Friday*, it is arguably the moments of these utopian feelings which allowed spectators hope that similar problems in their lives would end happily too that leave an audience feeling satisfied rather than a definite conclusion in the chain of events. In this film, the divorced couple is able to overcome their differences, fall back in love and go off to get married. Justice prevails and the innocent man is reprieved of his execution, and the corrupt officials are exposed for their wrongdoings when the man who brings the reprieve to the mayor returns just at the right moment. In seeing Walter and Hildy reunite, or the truth coming out and the life of Earl Williams being saved, the audience can experience these feeling of utopia, even if only for a moment before they return to their lives outside the theatre. Dyer also states that "[t]he ideals of

entertainment imply wants that capitalism itself promises to meet,"[17] and indeed being able to experience these feelings at the movies would draw audiences back to the theatre again and again; the emotional appeal of a film has a significant impact on its financial success, and it therefore became the primary driving factor behind classical Hollywood Cinema.

Where His Girl Friday seems to break from the creation of emotion as the dominating force of the film is in regards to music. In films made in Classical Hollywood, music:

> not only responded to explicit content, but fleshed out what was not visually discernable in the image, its implicit content. In this capacity, music was expected to...create mood and emotion... Music is, arguably, the most effi-cient of these codes providing an audible definition of the emotion which the visual apparatus offers.[18]

There is only a single scene in the entire film where that features a musical score; the final scene after Hildy finds out that Bruce has been arrested for using coun-terfeit money. She begins to cry as soon as she hangs up the phone, and when Walter turns around to see why, the music begins. This use of underscoring to represent the emotion created by the culmination of the romance line of action (it turns out that Hildy is not crying because her fiancé is in jail but rather because she had though that Walter was actually going to let her go, but Bruce's arrest means that Walter truly loves her) certainly calls into question the lack of underscoring in any other scene in the film. Because "composers of the Hollywood film score were drawn almost compulsively to moments of heightened emotional expression which afforded them what they perceived to be the most direct access to the spectator,"[19] one might assume then that all previous dialogues between the two lead characters are intended to be devoid of emotion, but in actuality another method of appealing to emotion was used.

Furthering the idea that narrative causality is not the primary concern of the film, it is the dialogue itself that creates emotion throughout their other interactions, rather than simply serving as expository. In the scenes where Walter and Hildy are talking in his office, or in the newsroom after capturing Earl Williams in the desk, the dialogue sequences between them "turn at various points into 'duets' of overlapping or simultaneous speech."[20] The crescendos, withdrawals, silences and rhythms of their conversations serve as music to influence the emotions of the audience. Their passion is conveyed in the intensity of the cadences of their voices, rather than being accompanied by an orchestral love theme that repeats every time they have a conversation. What becomes important then is not what they are saying, but the way in which it is said. This links thematically to the

film via the way in which the reporters spin the truth to make the story more sensational or appealing so that they can sell papers; here the actors alter the way in which they speak to make the film more emotionally appealing.

Ultimately, the main driving force behind any film made in Classical Hollywood was profit. In his writings about Hollywood's Commercial Aesthetic throughout the classical period, Maltby argues that "Hollywood's essential business has remained the same: entertaining its audience, producing the maximum pleasure for the maximum number for the maximum profit."[21] It was — and remains today — the business of Hollywood to make money, and the way they did so was by creating films that engaged the emotions of their audiences, allowing them to experience feelings in a way they may not be able to in their real lives. One may never feel the terror Hildy must have felt when Earl comes through the window pointing a gun at her, or her panic as she stands amid speeding police cruisers and gunfire, but seeing *His Girl Friday* allows a viewer to experience these feelings from a safe distance, an experience that is bankable for filmmakers. It is not the ability of the film to logically guide a spectator from point A to point B on a chain of cause and effect events that allows audiences to form a meaningful emotional connection with a film, but rather the emotional turns the film takes as it progresses to an ending that its audience already knows and expects.

Notes

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2. Ibid., 15.
3. Ibid., 17
4. Ibid., 18
5. Richard Maltby, *"The Commercial Aesthetic"* in *Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley, 2003), 10.
6. Bordwell, "Classical Hollywood Style", 7.
7. Patrick Keating, "Emotional Curves and Linear Narratives" in *The Classical Hollywood Reader*, ed. Steve Neale (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 12.
8. Bordwell, "Classical Hollywood Style", 16.
9. Ibid., 14.
10. David Bordwell, "Classical Hollywood Cinema: Narrational Principles and Procedures" in *The Film Reader: Classic Readings in American Film History*, ed. Joseph Kispal-Kovacs (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 2010), 31.
11. Bordwell, "Classical Hollywood Style", 16
12. Keating, "Emotional Curves", 10.
13. Richard Dyer, "Entertainment as Utopia" in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999), 372.
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15. Ibid., 18.
16. Dyer, "Entertainment as Utopia", 373.
17. Ibid., 377.
18. Kathryn Kalinak, "The Classical Hollywood Film Score" in *The Classical Hollywood Reader*, ed. Steve Neale (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 268.
19. Ibid.
20. Helen Hanson and Steve Neale, ""Commanding the Sounds of the Universe: Classical Hollywood Sound in the 1930s and Early 1940s" in The Classical Hollywood Reader, ed. Steve Neale (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 252.
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Preceding Image

From blog ScribeHard on Film — http://scribehardonfilm.files.wordpress.
com/2012/04/his-girl-friday-grant-russell-1.jpg

Marcellus Shale

Conflicts and Agreements Within New York City's Watersheds
John Hanna

∎

Watersheds are regional drainage basins and sites of political conflict between multiple political actors, interest groups and residents. They provide valuable ecological services to communities within their extent and beyond. For New York City (NYC), preserving the quality of its current water resources is essential to avoiding the significant costs associated with filtration facilities.[1] The watershed system of the Catskill Mountains and Delaware River (C/D) was developed between the 1900s and 1960s, and required the construction of infrastructure extending 125 miles upstate to supply five billion liters daily to over nine million residents in the City and its suburban counties.[2] To secure these water resources, the City was granted eminent domain powers which resulted in the transformation of the political and physical landscape within upstate communities.[3] Today, the C/D system remains an unfiltered water supply, with minimal treatment strategies, which provides ninety-percent of NYC's drinking water.[4] However, the water quality of the C/D watersheds is threatened by growing interest in the Marcellus Shale, the underlying geological formation which encapsulates one of the largest natural gas resources in the United States.[5] To extract the natural gas a method called hydraulic fracturing (or hydrofracking) has been used. This has become a national issue as the method has raised concerns about groundwater contamination, air pollution, and health problems.[6] In addition, energy companies and private landowners are challenging the authority of municipal governments in using land-use controls to prohibit drilling.[7] The restriction of private property is resurfacing the longstanding conflicts between the upstate watershed counties of Delaware, Schoharie, Greene, Sullivan and Ulster and NYC. In 1995, New York State (NYS) led legal negotiations leading towards the 1997 Memorandum of Agreement (MOA).[8] The theories of network analysis, social network and government interactions can be used to further examine the evolving inter-governmental relations within the C/D watersheds. Moreover, the wavering stance of NYS on the Marcellus Shale forces

local governments to look towards each other to protect natural resources. NYC must recognize the importance of its watershed relations to act as mechanisms of conflict resolution by encouraging reciprocity in order to protect its water supply from the development of Marcellus Shale.
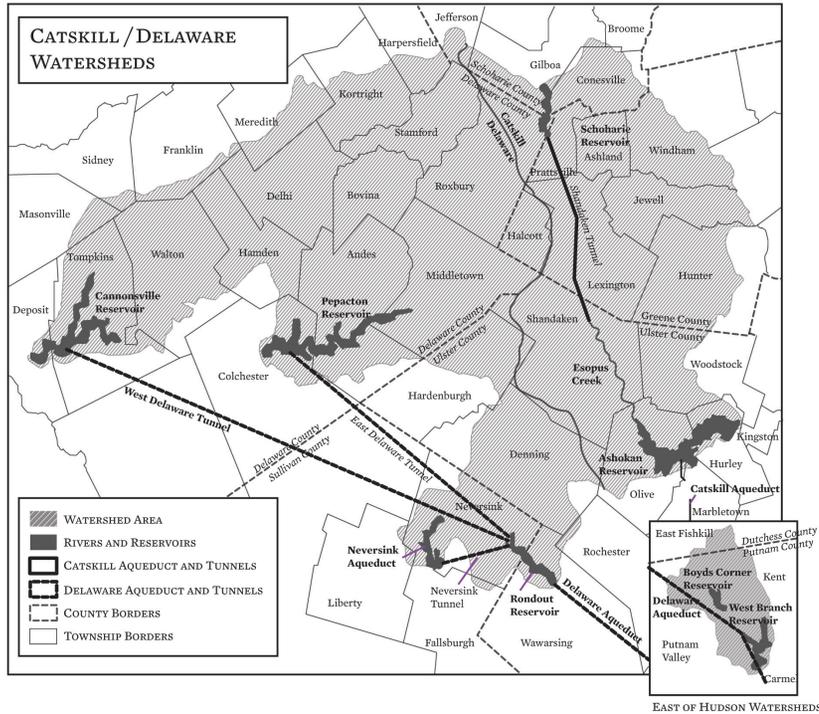

ABOVE: Catskill/Delaware watersheds

The contentious expansion of the C/D watersheds portrays a competition narrative between communities fueled by the importance of upstate water resources to the development of NYC over the last two centuries (above). In 1898, the City's political boundaries were expanded, placing greater pressure on water supply due to rising rates of consumption.[9] The City's water engineers claimed that upstate farms, businesses, and emerging suburbs presented a threat to water quality and in turn were displaced to allow for the construction of reservoirs.[10] Thus, the City was granted eminent domain by State legislature in 1905 to secure private land outside city limits.[11] Consequently, NYC disregarded local property rights and livelihoods to maintain the purity of hinterland sources requiring only chlorine disinfection.[12] It was not until 1953 that legislation was amended

to require NYC to compensate watershed residents but the enforcement of regulations was overlooked.[13] As such, water resources present a conflict narrative delineated by social relations between the City and its hinterlands. This resource conflict reflects the power of a superior place to dominate, disrupt, and extract resources from a subordinate place.[14] Therefore, the concentrated wealth, population and development interests of the City implicate spatial and social inequality among regions through a material contest over access to water resources.

Marcellus Shale further complicates the securitization of NYC's C/D watersheds as jurisdictions become increasingly interested in developing this resource. New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (NYSDEC) states that the increasing interest in the Marcellus Shale is due to recent enhancements to gas well development technology, close proximity of resource to demand markets and the construction of the Millennium Pipeline.[15] It is estimated that the entire extent of the formation holds over five hundred trillion cubic feet of natural gas.[16] Currently scientists are debating the possible environmental impact of hydrofracking.[17] A mixture of water, sand and other chemicals is injected at high pressure into the bedrock (below).[18] Some scientists have postulated that
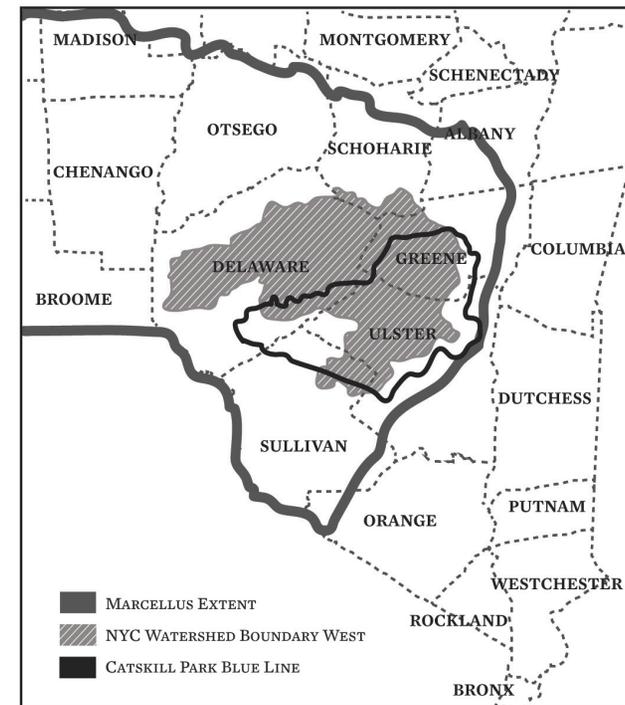
LEFT:
Marcellus Shale formation and New York City watershed boundaries

the impermeable rock layers will seal in any material injected underground.[19] However, a study by Duke University and California State Polytechnic University, which investigated the geological formation in Pennsylvania, concluded that drilling waste and chemicals could migrate more freely than expected and contaminate water resources.[20] State environmental officials have argued that fluids would not migrate beyond the targeted rock but City officials are concerned that there is still not enough evidence.[21] McKay et al. acknowledge that the proliferation of the Marcellus Shale has shown a possible connection between hydrofracking and the contamination of drinking water, which represents a significant threat to NYC's unfiltered water supply.[22]

Any threat to the quality of water resources puts increasing pressure on the ability of NYC to deliver affordable drinking water. Since 1991, NYC has been exempt from the federal Safe Drinking Water Act, which requires that all public water systems supplied by unfiltered surface sources to provide filtration technology.[23] As Box 1 shows, to attain a Filtration Avoidance Determination (FAD) the City must meet the water quality criteria enforced by the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA). The City's watershed management program must

Box 1: Filtration Avoidance Determination Criteria
Source: O'Melia (2000)

USEPA FAD Water Quality Criteria

Objective Water Quality Criteria: The water supply must meet certain levels for specific constituents including coliform bacteria, turbidity, and disinfection by-products.

Operational Criteria: The system must demonstrate compliance with certain disinfection requirements for inactivation of Giardia (a pathogen) and viruses; maintain a minimum chlorine residual entering and throughout the distribution system; provide uninterrupted disinfection with redundancy; and undergo an annual on-site inspection by the primacy agency to review the condition of disinfection equipment.

Watershed Control Criteria: The system must establish and maintain an effective watershed control program to minimize the potential for contamination of source waters by Giardia and viruses.

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minimize the potential of contamination and avoid waterborne disease outbreak through natural watershed functions.[24] To achieve these requirements, NYC protects the water quality by taking control of lands nearest to the water system intake locations.[25] Furthermore, NYC requires the participation of the upstate watershed communities in order to address the existing sources of pollution.[26] Thus, it is important to understand the manner in which spatial relationships connecting these communities extend their control beyond their political boundaries.

The following literature review will set out the spatial relations which allow local governments secure natural resources outside their jurisdictions. Inter-governmental spatial relations are critical for watershed management.[27] All local governments are ultimately concerned with delivering a service, such as the water supply, to their respective residents.[28] Benson et al. illustrate that the basis of collective action agreements is the interaction of self-maximizing individuals as argued by the theory of Institutional Rational Choice.[29] In addition, network analysis shows that individual jurisdictions will coordinate their actions by forming relationships with other jurisdictions that help them resolve problems of exchange. Within the context of a water supply system, the delivery of drinking water can be viewed as an overlapping function between each jurisdiction and often economic uncertainty necessitates the coordination of functions.[30] Network analysis also reveals that some communities may be disadvantaged due to resource differentials given that a multiplicity of relations occurs as actors are connected through more than one relationship. Furthermore, Glenna recognizes water as a critical dimension to the social production of space delineating social power, which may foster urban cohesion or generate social conflict.[31] Consequently, inter-local exchanges may occur due to spatial imbalances.

Sociologists use network structure and power relations to understand the networks that occur between jurisdictions.[32] As self-interested organizations pursuing goals of service delivery, the exchange network must present a benefit or exceed the cost of the exchange. Benson et al. explain that transaction costs are incurred through engaging in an agreement.[33] Unequal resource endowments and needs, inequities in bargaining position, monitoring compliance, and uncertainty are some factors which augment transaction costs.[34] However, if such costs are greater than the expected benefit from an exchange, self-maximizing actors will not willingly collaborate. Simultaneously, social network theory reveals that actors are influenced by ideological similarity, social homogeneity, and factors of trust and commitment, and in turn may interact with a limited set of actors. Thus, a social structure comprises a social network of exchange relations representing a framework of resource dependencies. The differentiation between

each network can be due to the proximity to actors who have control over valuable resources and their level of influence over other actors.[35] Moreover, this theory argues that local governments attempt to control their environments in order to reduce uncertainty in a variety of exchange conditions, and in turn to improve the effectiveness of service delivery. In recognizing that the power structure among local governments it can be used to mediate spatial networks.

Furthermore, these networks may be strategically established to drive a political agenda. Bae and Feiock utilize a governance perspective in understanding how networks are constructed through the interactions between local governments rather than imposed by senior-level governments.[36] Within a competition hypothesis, their interactions must correspond, and so jurisdictions match the others' actions. In addition, under a cooperation hypothesis, local entities can choose to implement inverse policies by dividing functions among themselves and cutting those provided by their neighbours. Nevertheless, the actions of one government will affect those of other governments. These interactions can occur horizontally — between governments with comparable powers — or vertically — between governments with differing powers — to influence their functions and services.[37] Coordination, efficiency and power are at an interplay across space, influencing the multiplex relations involved in creating an exchange among local governments.

The networked space between the City and its hinterlands blurs and decreases the importance of jurisdictional borders. In part, these linkages are based on the supply of resources and the disposal of waste.[38] Rural counties bear the responsibility of providing high quality of water to the City.[39] Agudelo-Vera et al. measure this dependency by calculating the ecological footprint of cities.[40] The research showed that cities are surpassing their natural supply and recycling limits due to the massive resource consumption and waste production. Furthermore, the intertwined flows of water, energy, and materials into cities tie the health, welfare, and economic well-being of upstate communities with NYC.[41] The resource opportunity for NYC in the C/D watersheds has generated a significant conflict with upstate watershed communities.[42]

The development of Marcellus Shale resurrects the longstanding battle forged by upstate communities against NYC's overreaching authority in the C/D watersheds. The City's intent to use eminent domain was perceived as a violation to property rights and right to governance of upstate communities, resulting in the deterioration of relations. In 1993, the Coalition of Watershed Towns (CWT), representing thirty communities west of Hudson, filed a lawsuit against NYC to prevent the implementation of its plans for the FAD.[43] Interestingly, conservative politicians financially empowered the CWT to mount a legal challenge against NYC.[44]

National Resource Council argues that the culture of resistance was based on shared knowledge of the watershed and common values, norms and attitude about local community and the environment.[45] The contested nature of land acquisition in the watershed reveals the intersection between the City's interests in filtration avoidance and its authoritative relationship with the watershed towns. Furthermore, the CWT claimed that the land-use restrictions on private property without compensation would stifle economic development, decrease property taxes, and in turn erode the local tax base.[46] With a relatively small economic base, the communities feared that they would bear the costs of assuring NYC's clean water supply.[47] The City would face a significant financial burden in filtering its water supplies. Thus, mindful of this implication NYS Governor Pataki led the successful negotiations of the 1997 MOA, which ended the impasse in efforts to resolve the aforementioned legal battles (see Box 2). The resulting comprehensive protection plan embodies a blueprint of the reinvigorated relations between NYC and the upstate watershed towns.

Box 2: Signatories of the 1997 MOA
Source: Pires (2004)

> ***Signatories of 1997 Memorandum of Agreement***
> *United States Environmental Protection Agency*
> *New York State*
> *New York City*
> *Coalition of Watershed Towns*
> *40 East of Hudson watershed communities*
> *5 conservation organizations*

The Marcellus Shale case poses a potential setback for established local watershed relations because it proposes to reignite conflicts over property rights and future economic development. With the possibility of harnessing the energy deposits, several land management and energy companies have pursued leases with private landowners.[48] Lustgarten reports that at least nine companies have attained leases in NYS and other states for drilling rights to the Marcellus Shale.[49] However, local officials are arguing that hydrofracking will cause damage to water supply tunnels and allow pollutants to leak into the drinking water.[50] Ultimately, this states their justification for the land-use controls in place within

the C/D watersheds. More than one hundred communities have enacted bans on hydrofracking in response to the political pressures of energy companies.[51] Legal challenges from energy companies and landowners in the implicated areas are pitting local communities against State oil and gas laws.[52] Nevertheless, the extraction of oil and gas contributes half a billion dollars to NYS's economy annually.[53] With geologists predicting that the Marcellus Shale could meet the entire country's natural gas needs for more than two years, natural gas development is presenting an economic opportunity for NYS to lower energy costs and generate new jobs for the local economy.[54] A surge for energy independency has posited Marcellus Shale to potentially alter the flows of gas on a national scale.[55] Therefore, town officials and landowners who have a direct stake in the natural gas drilling have been lobbying the State to approve an environmental review that would allow hydrofracking.

NYS has shown great uncertainty in its stance on the exploitation of Marcellus Shale gas from the City's C/D watersheds. The constitutional rights that state governments have over the regulation and protection of natural resources lays primary responsibility on NYSDEC for protecting NYC's water supply.[56] The campaign to downplay the risks of hydrofracking has been successful as federal and state governments exempt the oil and gas industry from a series of federal and state environmental laws.[57] Simultaneously, NYC has faced constant federal and state pressure to build filtration facilities since 1997. These pressures have been based on the assumptions that the aging water supply infrastructure and development trends in the C/D watersheds would compromise water quality and public health.[58] NYS appears to be attempting to mitigate the political pressure from the proponents of Marcellus Shale since its authority is limited over municipal affairs.[59] As such, land-use controls within the C/D watersheds become the vehicle for conflict between competing interests.

The above claims also exerted political pressure on top environmental officials and state lawmakers to conclude that plans to drill for natural gas near the C/D watersheds posed little danger to the drinking water supply.[60] In addition, a study by USEPA found no evidence for the possible connection between hydrofracking and water supply contamination but was later criticized as being politically motivated and scientifically unsound.[61] In 2008, NYS Governor Paterson directed the NYSDEC to conduct a Supplemental Generic Environmental Impact Assessment (SGEIC) to address the potential impacts of hydrofracking and put drilling on hold.[62] However, NYC officials argued that the draft SGEIC, released for public comment in late 2009,

did not sufficiently assess the potential impacts on its drinking water supply.[63] Other public comments concluded that further restrictions on hydrofracking were required to prevent adverse impacts.[64] Differences in the influence that each stakeholder carries to drive political agendas concerning the Marcellus Shale has forced local governments to find an alternative to the State's powers to protect their water resources.

Within the climate of political pressure upon the NYS government, media reports and academic studies have shown that local governments are becoming the best form of protection against hydrofracking.[65] However, the NYSDEC has allowed the courts to dictate the authority of local governments to zone-out hydrofracking. Media reports suggest that zoning alone will not be sufficient in limiting the development of Marcellus Shale.[66] Local governments have argued that they must be able to exercise zoning and land use powers on natural gas production just as they can with other kinds of industrial, commercial uses and mining.[67] Local jurisdictions have also argued to the courts that they are not trying to regulate hydrofracking but rather are trying to protect its citizens and property. On the other hand, energy companies, citing state legislature, contend that local governments should not be able to make such decisions.[68] Local governments have only those powers granted to them by the state, and given some ambiguity, the courts must construe those powers narrowly.[69] Despite the fact that the state has the authority to regulate private property and affairs of government, it has limited authority to intervene in local affairs.[70] Considering the tensions and uncertainties of dealing with federal and state governments, local governments are increasingly entering into agreements to address common problems.[71] Local government officials have constructed a complex inter-governmental system where the role and actions of each jurisdiction have direct effects on each other as they are increasingly engaged. In doing so they are able to address problems that transcend the boundaries of their governance and are still able to retain their identities.[72]

These agreements which have allowed NYC to avoid the filtration of its water supply from C/D watersheds have so far been able to fend off the potential threat of Marcellus Shale development. The network theories discussed above, explain the manner in which the relations, which developed following the 1997 MOA, became critical to the preservation of NYC's watersheds. Thus, the MOA represents a blueprint necessary for understanding the relations with the C/D watershed. These relations were negotiated behind closed doors under the oversight of NYS but they are voluntary.[73] An important doctrine in social network theory is one which states that inter-governmental relationships lead to norms of reciprocity.[74]

An outcome from the MOA was the concession by NYC to avoid the acquisition of land through eminent domain, and in turn, the upstate watershed communities agreed to not file legal challenges to block any element of the agreement.[75] From a governance perspective, the cooperation hypothesis explains the interactions between different local jurisdictions within the C/D watersheds.[76] More importantly, the reciprocation of policies has triggered several mechanisms which have served to preserve the C/D watersheds.

This fundamental shift in the relations between NYC and its rural hinterlands has stimulated public support for the protection strategies employed under the FAD and has led to the recognition of downstream consequences of local actions.[77] Undoubtedly, the reestablishment of trust among the jurisdictions was essentially driven by the common desire to protect water quality, as this represents a mutual benefit. The shared interest in maintaining the C/D watersheds arguably provides specific monetary and non-monetary assets to the watershed communities, and consequently tampers with the antipathy towards NYC's overreach upstate.[78] Recognition of the potential downstream impact of Marcellus Shale on the regional water supply system provoked the critical participation of watershed communities to impose bans on hydrofracking. Seen as self-maximizing organizations, these communities' interests in protecting their own residents have transmitted downstream due to the biophysical and relational connection to NYC. Faced with increasing suspicion from watershed communities prior to the MOA, the scientific justification for NYC's approach was viewed with great uncertainty. Thus, this presents the tension between science and public perception of the imposed regulations due to the conflicting interests.[79] The engagement of the diverse interests of the watershed communities led to a decrease in the weight applied to scientific findings because each stakeholder becomes a problem-solver due to the stimulated sense of inclusiveness and empowerment.[80] Similarly, the resistance of upstate watershed towns against the development of Marcellus Shale has risen more concretely due to public perception rather than the competing scientific findings, as evidenced in media reports.[81] Upstate communities have come to accept the downstream consequences of their actions but the reciprocation of their actions is required to further enhance the bilateral relations.

The recognition for the role of local governments in protecting the watersheds can be credited for the strong relations between NYC and the watershed communities. Pfeffer and Wagenet emphasize the need to balance the rights and responsibilities associated with the use of natural resources.[82] Within the social structure of networks, upstate communities are in a position of vulnerability due to differential resource endowments and structural capacities. Consequently, this has caused longstanding conflicts with NYC as detailed above. Thus, ethicists contend that environmental conflicts represent competing ethical perspectives and theories of justice. Simultaneously, social scientists have found that failing to understand underlying ethical issues can undermine relations, and in turn, generate conflicts.[83] The use of eminent domain to secure upstate lands in order to avoid the filtration of the C/D watersheds provokes these ethical sympathies and further questions the implications of the overreaching land-use controls on private property. In addition, the proponents of Marcellus Shale present an attractive case of economic development for the state of New York but potentially affect the residents of NYC and watershed communities by decreasing the affordability of drinking water due to the significant costs associated with filtration facilities.[84] Nevertheless, these watershed relations are broadening the manner in which local actions are understood in relation to spatially-diffused implications to the C/D watersheds.

While financial and social inequities are accentuated by conflicting interests, inter-jurisdictional relations can serve to temper times of conflict and enhance future interactions.[85] Discussions concerning the Marcellus Shale have resurfaced many of the conflicts between NYC and its rural hinterlands due to the implications of land-use controls. However, the response of watershed communities to challenge the stake of energy companies has ensured that the MOA remains intact. Thus, the relations across the C/D watersheds have continued to represent NYC's interests outside its boundaries. Even though this has exerted a significant pressure on rural localities the resilient support generated by the interests in mutual benefits has generated sustainable resisting forces. Moreover, the potential re-ignition of the previous watershed conflicts has been subdued through the cooperative local approach.[86] Network analysis infers that the multiple linkages between NYC and its rural hinterland require more trust in order to improve the chances for future exchanges. Thus, the reciprocal relationships established through the MOA have allowed for more bilateral exchanges, presenting opportunities for local governments to engage in positive behaviour, and the repeated interactions help develop mutual trust.[87] The underlying reciprocity enhances a sense of mutuality between the jurisdictions by developing expectations of taking turns and trust in exchange. These vital relationships further increase in importance as they address the need for economic development within upstate communities by negotiating compatible goals.

NYS has embraced the potential contribution of Marcellus Shale to the local economy, which has complicated the government's attempt to balance its stance on the protection of natural resources. To counteract this substantial force,

inter-local relations will allow jurisdictions to expand their funding potential and resources opportunities by facilitating new flows.[88] The MOA ensured that NYC provided resources for infrastructure upgrade and just compensation to upstate communities.[89] For an investment just over one billion dollars, NYC is able to combine its fiscal resources with the natural and human resource of upstate communities to avoid the costs of protecting its water supply through filtration. Antoci et al. show us that defensive expenditures, that 'agents' bear to protect themselves against environmental deterioration, have been rapidly growing over time.[90] This illustrates the economic importance of the FAD to NYC. In fact, no wastewater treatment plants in NYC are equipped to treat the expected contaminants from hydrofracking.[91] As another example of resource pooling, Thurmaier and Wood outline that the sharing of information with other jurisdictions can reduce environmental uncertainty and enhance interdependency among them.[92] However, without mutual trust they will not share information. In order for stakeholders to resolve conflicts, they must develop a shared knowledge base regarding the watershed, which helps establish common goals. This approach also allows for the consideration of trade-offs in conflicts between competing economic, social and environmental interests.[93] In establishing trusted relations, several factors are at play, and simultaneously, several conflicts may be resolved. Watershed relations bring together competing perspectives in relation to the City's determination to avoid filtration creating a complex dynamic of factors that lead to agreement. Thus, the decisions regarding the distribution of economic development cannot be credited for the resolution of conflicts within the C/D watersheds whether pertaining to the MOA or Marcellus Shale.[94]

Since there are several interests at play surrounding NYC's water supply from C/D watersheds, some experts and media reports suggest that unexpected changes in political conditions make the success of watershed plans to protect local water resources highly variable. Pfeffer and Wagenet along with Steinberg and Clark argue that the consensus generated from strong watershed relations, as detailed above, is able to resolve the conflicting environmental, social, and economic interests.[95, 96] However, the works of the National Resource Council and Bae and Feiock raise concerns over opportunistic behaviour and environmental uncertainties.[97, 98] Also, the former authors point out that there is no guarantee that rural development will proceed to maintain NYC's interest in water quality protection. Moreover, the swinging stance of NYS government in regards to the protection of the C/D watersheds from Marcellus Shale accentuates the uncertainty in the viability of the evolving watershed relations. Nevertheless, the established relations between the local governments have so far, at the time of

writing, been able to withstand the pressures of the Marcellus Shale proponents. Therefore, strongly attributing these relations and agreements to the decision by NYSDEC to recommend the prohibition of hydrofracking in the C/D watersheds within the revised SGEIS released in September 2011.[99]

Undoubtedly these recommendations will cause further dramatic political and legal conflict involving NYC, upstate watershed counties, both the federal and state governments, environmental activists, and powerful energy companies.[100] The rising interest in Marcellus Shale gas collides against NYC's determination to avoid the filtration of its C/D watersheds. The energy potential of the geologic formation has served to re-highlight the conflicts between NYC and upstate counties over the implications of land-use controls. The increasing dependency of the City on its rural hinterlands has caused significant conflict due to the City's authority over land-use controls. The resulting legal battles urged NYS to intervene and lead the closed-door negotiations of the 1997 MOA. With the flailing stance of NYS, local governments have been pitted against the powerful oil and gas companies. As such, the MOA represents the evolving relations within the C/D watersheds, which are explained using the theories of network analysis, social networks, and government actions. Through encouraging cooperation, generating public support and consensus, and balancing resource endowments, the watershed relations have acted as mechanisms of conflict resolution. This has allowed NYC and upstate communities to protect the C/D watersheds from the development of the Marcellus Shale.

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Realpolitik With A Liberal Face

Pearson Croney-Clark

■

The major goal of the Democratic and Republican parties during the 2012 United States presidential race was to convince the American public that each held starkly different positions regarding America's role in international affairs. In addition, Barack Obama and Mitt Romney attempted to persuade the public that they each held distinct philosophies that guided their proposals about how America should utilize its economic and military power in the world. However, a close examination of the candidates' arguments presented during the foreign policy debate during the Third United States Presidential Debate of 2012 reveals that both candidates are in basic agreement about their approaches to foreign policy, differing primarily in their superficial implementation tactics. Further, both candidates' foreign polices appeared to be based upon U.S. national interests, rather than those of the electorate. This paper will demonstrate that while Barack Obama and Mitt Romney held theoretically Realist understandings of foreign policy, when they moved to justify actions guided by Realist theory, they used what could be identified as Liberal justifications. In addition, it will show that the foreign policy debate revealed both candidates' support of a Realist foreign policy; while they often used Liberal terminology, the specific goals that they hoped to achieve were aligned with Realist theory.

Theories of Realism and Liberalism

Realism is grounded in the premise that there is an Anarchical world system, which is characterized by the profound absence of any centralized, ruling authority over every actor in the international system.[1] Because of this state of affairs, each actor must "take their own "self-help" measures to ensure their continued existence."[2] In contrast, Liberalism is grounded in the premise that mutual cooperation and interdependence lead to public good.[3] Liberal theory also holds that more democracy leads to more cooperation and that "multilateral institutions that can monitor and disseminate information can reassure important players that cheating will be detected and punished."[4]

Debate Analysis

The first topic discussed during the debate was the occurrence and cause of the recent attack on the American embassy in Libya where four Americans were killed.[5] The moderator asked whether this had been a foreign policy mistake or perhaps an intelligence failure. President Obama stated that his most important task as president was to keep the American people safe. To do this he focused on retaliating against those responsible for the attacks on 9/11.[6] Obama then asserted that immediately after the attack on Libya he began to work on doing the same thing. This aligns directly with Realist theory because the United States was taking a forceful "self-help" measure to ensure the security of their people.[7] To justify this retaliatory action, he stated that:

> I and Americans took leadership in organizing an international coalition that made sure that we were able to — without putting troops on the ground, at the cost of less than what we spent in two weeks in Iraq — liberate a country that had been under the yoke of dictatorship for 40 years, got rid of a despot who had killed Americans.[8]

Obama stated that because of this liberation, Libyans rallied to show their support for America. He then chastised Romney for a plan that was not "designed to keep Americans safe or to build on the opportunities that exist in the Middle East."[9] Using an international coalition to create a democracy is a clearly a Liberal strategy.[10] However, because of the overarching sentiment in doing this to further America's own security interests, we can see that Obama was using this coalition in a Realist way, so that Americans could "augment their own capabilities and interests."[11]

This also aligns with the Obama administration's foreign policy strategy of 'counter-punching." During this presidency, the United States "has been willing to assert its influence and ideals across the globe when challenged by other countries, reassuring allies and signaling resolve to rivals."[12] It is evident that this is a Realist strategy of 'doing what it takes', including using force, to secure the existence of the state.[13]

Romney demonstrated Realist approaches in his response to the same question. He stated that his straightforward strategy was "to go after the bad guys, to make sure we do our very best to interrupt them, to — to kill them, to take them out of the picture"[14] This is an echo of Obama's Realist sentiment stated above, taking out the "bad guys" to keep America safe. Romney also justified his actions with Liberal statements. He claimed that "the right course for [the United States] is to make sure that [the United States goes] after the — the people who are leaders of these various anti-American groups and these — these jihadists,

but also help the Muslim world."[15] He pointed out that these anti-American groups were a threat to America and eliminating them would promote American security. Helping the "Muslim world" become safer would also achieve this goal. It can be inferred that Romney believed that a self-sufficient Middle East would reject terrorists, and therefore, be safer for America.

The next section of the debate was a discussion regarding the Middle East and the Syrian civil conflict. President Obama insisted that to surmount the challenges America faces in the Middle East, the United States must ensure that the region's countries are supporting American counter-terrorism efforts, standing by Israel's security interests, and protecting religious minorities and women's safety.[16] He believes that the U.S. must support economic growth in the region but insists that America could not nation-build in the Middle East.[17] Though these sound like Liberal arguments promote an international policy, when examined closely we see that there are Realist strategies lurking behind them. The creation of peace and cooperation in the Middle East may sound like Liberal theory,[18] but because the reasons for these priorities are to create American security and to ensure the continued existence of the United States,[19] it should be considered a Realist policy.

In the same discussion we see Mitt Romney reject a key Liberal notion, the dependence upon international organizations.[20] He complained that "And what I'm afraid of is that we've watched over the past year or so first the president saying, well, we'll let the U.N. deal with it..."[21] Romney was rejecting the notion that an organization such as the United Nations could deal with the conflict in Syria. President Obama then disagrees that the United States is being inactive and stated:

> We are mobilizing humanitarian support and support for the opposition. And we are making sure that that those we help are those who will be friends of ours in the long term and friends of our allies in the region over the long term.[22]

Once again, Obama is creating friends in other nations to protect the security of the United States. Right after this moment, Romney reflects the same idea, stating that America's objectives are "to replace Assad and to have in place a new government which is friendly to us — a responsible government."[23] Obama then points out to the moderator that Romney is just repeating him,[24] further evidence that both men hold to the same foreign policy theory.

Obama and Romney found themselves agreeing once again when the discussion moved to the turmoil in Egypt. In this instance, Obama and Romney invoked the same arguments that were used in the Middle East discussion: Egypt must promote women's education, and cooperate with the United States, concerning

counter-terrorism and diplomacy with Israel.[25] Obama insisted, "for America to be successful in this region, there are some things that we're going to have to do here at home as well."[26] The goal in the region, as stated here, is for America to be successful. This "self-help"[27] mindset is clearly Realist. Romney then stated that he supported the President's actions.[28]

The debate then moved to military matters. On this subject, there was more disagreement than seen in earlier moments. However, it will become evident that the disagreements between the candidates were superficial, and at the core of their arguments, they both supported the implementation of Realist policies. Mitt Romney argued that the Navy "is smaller now than any time since 1917," and the Air Force was "smaller than at any time since it was founded in 1947."[29] Realists believe that "because force is the *ne plus ultra* of power, the actors that count are those with the greatest ability to use force — states with sizeable armed forces."[30] Mitt Romney is arguing in accordance with this statement. He believes that it is the responsibility of the President of the United States to keep America safe, and in his opinion, the budget must include funds for building up the military.[31]

Obama disagreed with Romney's point and responded rather frankly: "You — you mentioned the Navy, for example, and that we have fewer ships than we did in 1916. Well, Governor, we also have fewer horses and bayonets — (laughter) — because the nature of our military's changed."[32] He said that he convened the Secretary of the Navy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and determined how best to meet the defense needs of the country while keeping faith with the troops and supporting veterans.[33] Obama and Romney disagreed not purely, but only superficially. They both believed in supporting a strong military but they had different ideas on how to achieve this end.

When the discussion moved to Iran, both men agreed again, so much so that Obama quipped, "there have been times, Governor, frankly, during the course of this campaign, where it sounded like you thought that you'd do the same things we did, but you'd say them louder."[34] Obama said that the United States' goal was to convince Iran to scrap their nuclear program, and abide by U.N. regulations so that they could "re-enter the community of nations."[35] He also stated that to get Iran to cooperate, other countries such as China and Russia needed to participate in the sanctions that have been set up.[36] Here the observer will detect the Realist idea of "creating temporary alliances of convenience."[37] These alliances with countries that were earlier pointed out as problematic to the United States[38] help prevent Iran from gaining a nuclear weapon, which in turn would keep America safer. Romney elaborates on this point, though stating that he would be tougher on Iran, yet another example of a superficial difference between the two men's foreign policy strategies. Romney said, "our diplomatic isolation needs to be tougher. We need to indict Ahmadinejad. We need to put the pressure on them as hard as we possibly can..."[39]

Conclusion
With overwhelming evidence from the debate, it was apparent that Barack Obama and Mitt Romney are both Realist foreign policy makers who employ Liberal language. It is important to analyze candidates' putative differences through a theoretical framework because political theories allow us to compare and contrast the positions of Presidential candidates without primary reliance on the media or the candidates' "spin" machines. Further, theory allows the observer to develop independent appraisals of what politicians are proposing. Candidates often disagree superficially on tactics while maintaining strong agreement about Realist strategy. An exhaustive examination of every disagreement between the parties would yield different results (e.g., domestic policy), but in terms of the foreign policy debate, it appears there exist few unbridgeable gaps between Republicans and Democrats. It is important to analyze the actual texts of presidential debates because they are opportunities for politicians to accentuate their differences to their constituents. Throughout their presidential campaigns, both the candidates and the media insisted upon the strong differences between Republican and Democratic policies; however, this analysis reveals that in the realm of foreign policy, they were both proposing Realpolitik with a Liberal face.

Notes

1. Daniel W. Drezner, *Theory of International Politics and Zombies* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011), 13.
2. Ibid.
3. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 17.
4. Ibid.
5. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate," last modified October 22, 2012, accessed November 1, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/22/us/politics/transcript-of-the-third-presidential-debate-in-boca-raton-fla.html?pagewanted=all.
6. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
7. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 13.
8. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
9. Ibid.
10. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 17.
11. Ibid, 15.
12. Daniel Drezner, "Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy?" *Foreign Affairs* 90/4 (2011): 57-68.
13. Ibid.
14. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate"
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*.
19. Ibid.
20. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*.
21. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 13.
28. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
29. Ibid.
30. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 13.
31. Ibid.
32. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Drezner, *International Politics and Zombies*, 16.
38. "Transcript of the Third Presidential Debate."
39. Ibid.

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Preceding Image

Presidential seal by Flickr user 'John Gamez' — http://www.flickr.com/photos/flagman00/8540119793/in/photolist-e1Em5H-7qKiPE-7RGszE-9vZPG2-6iSjPD-bDidN1-dMso5u-a3wux-58a2nH-f8vSGx-f8vSzn-5h9vjX-9JZN94-9K3C8S-6Apcd9-dguxKg-7guKXk-8Ww25Y-6zEX6f-619dKF-618Cyr-619cCt-618CUe-6DRTmA-aSpYL6-47YW58-c4QKP-887SPY-4Ko5wV-cLD94S-4t8fXu-4t4ddV-6gV8ro-bCAHAj-4HxAnQ-5TiLte-2eqHQV-ajx-3wT-7WwKMe-aJd9oD-iEzn4-7nZjCN-6ZsmN2-7ofmRn-cXxgj5-5FrWvE-ak4UKA-5zmNSh-d4pBTm-4U1A8E-4TWnZ2/

Rebel and Sell

Intersections of Counterculture and Consumer Culture in 1960s America
Savannah Baronette

∎

Norman Mailer, an American novelist, once wrote in his essay "The White Negro" that "one is Hip or one is Square, one is a rebel or one conforms."[1] This statement set counterculture, linked with rebellion, and consumer culture, often linked to conformity, into a dichotomous relationship. The very moniker "counterculture" suggested that the rebellion, distrust of authority, spiritualism, individualism, and disdain of conformity, as attributed to counterculture, were in direct opposition to the consumerist, capitalist, orderly and conformist norms of the dominant mainstream culture. However, the demarcation of "hip" from "square" was not as clear as Mailer intoned. At its heart, consumerism relied on individualism, such as the hippies espoused in the 1960s, to discover stylistic trends that others want to purchase.[2] Criticisms of conformity at the expense of the individual were not solely elicited by countercultural groups but were also produced from within the mainstream itself and proliferated in advertising culture and mainstream magazines such as *Life*. Rock, the vehicle of the countercultural message of rebellion, was not immune to mainstream commerce; rather, rock and commerce became closely intertwined in the 1960s as the rock industry boomed. Neither were record companies simply composed of mainstream businessmen appropriating rock from above; hippies were hired by record labels as "company freaks"[3] and "house hippies"[4] that bridged the gap between rock and the mainstream. Rock artists like Janis Joplin and Jefferson Airplane themselves embraced consumerism, even to the extent of performing in commercials to sell Levi's jeans, suggesting the complete assimilation of not only the countercultural medium of rock, but the producers of rock themselves into the mainstream. Accordingly, square society came to ostensibly appropriate the dress, style and even the rebellious ideologies of counterculture. Yet, at the same time that the mainstream appropriated elements of counterculture, countercultural artists such as the Diggers and the Yippies appropriated elements of mainstream culture, namely the store and mass media, for their own ends, to reveal the consumerist

mainstream as essentially morally corrupt. The counterculture and the mainstream operated in terms of reciprocity; at the same time that consumerism appropriated hip counterculture, the hip appropriated consumerism. Mainstream consumerism and countercultural rebellion in the 1960s relied on a reciprocal relationship of interdependence rather than mere opposition; the hip and the square were not rigid, diametrically opposed categories but elastic, integrable constructs.

To begin, the mistake that Norman Mailer and other critics made was to assume that capitalism requires conformity to a cultural hegemony in order to operate.[5] Unlike the 1950s, in the 1960s advertisers encouraged consumers to buy products not because everyone had them, but to buy products as a means to stand out and express themselves as individuals through their purchases.[6] The purchase of consumer goods was no longer a means to "keep up with the Joneses" but to reject conformity.[7] As such, capitalism depended on individual choice to create and fuel market trends in a way similar to the importance that counterculture placed on the individual more generally. Similar to the countercultural distrust of authority, market trends were not enforced by the above but were, as Heath argues, a product of consumer behaviour.[8] Building on Frank's argument in *The Conquest of Cool*, the prosperity of consumer society in the 1960s relied on consumers embracing behaviours usually aligned with counterculture: the impulsivity of youth translated into "unrestraint in spending" for the mainstream while experimentation with both drugs and sex translated into the "willingness to enjoy formerly forbidden pleasures" in the world of manufactured products.[9] These brand-name products were marketed to consumers with the concept that brands could represent and display the purchaser's individuality.[10] By emphasizing the importance of individuality and broadening consumer choices, advertisers encouraged consumers to purchase goods that would define themselves as creative or unique — forming the next definition of "cool" — and ironically fuelling new consumer trends that were sold by businesses and offered new types of conformity.[11] Although in reality brands and trends offered new ways to conform, they were not marketed as such, indicating the important role of individuality in perpetuating the business cycle of popular consumer trends. It is in this way that dissent was the driving force of capitalism, for dissent in the form of resisting, rather than embracing conformity, illuminated the next trends to which people and businesses could paradoxically aspire to become "cool."[12] To illustrate: the popularity of the VW Bug, iconographic of the hippie in 1960s, was a product of effective advertising. It was a successful piece of anti-advertisement that mocked large Detroit cars, symbolic of capitalist excesses, while the purchase of the VW Bug, the anti-establishment "anti-car," was represented as the solution to the conformity that capitalism had created.

The VW Bug was labelled as "ugly" and "unglamorous" by "straight" society; as such the car was marketed as a vehicle rejected by the mainstream and was quickly purchased by members of the counterculture.[13] The purchase of a VW Bug became a means of rejecting consumerism and standing out as an individual in mass society, while the purchase paradoxically created a new type of conformity through the creation of a new trend.[14] Consumerism was not diametrically opposed to counterculture, for it depended on countercultural ideas of the individual rebelling against mass society through choices made in his or her purchases to perpetuate the business cycle.

Accordingly, criticisms of conformity were not limited to the counterculture but also came from within the mainstream itself, further deconstructing the idea that the "square" mainstream automatically entailed unquestioning conformity. In a series entitled "Modern Society's Growing Challenge: The Struggle to Be an Individual," the mainstream magazine *Life* decried the conformity, alienation and anonymity created by consumerism and globalized mass society.[15] In this series, John F. Kennedy was cited to link together freedom, democracy and individuality: "I look forward to a world which will be safe not only for democracy and diversity, but also for personal distinction."[16] Mass society and the conformity that consumerism perpetuated were threats to individual freedom; the corporation was a symbol of the "faceless technological age" that constrained both creativity and personal desire.[17] A solution to this problem of conformity was seen in youth counterculture in their "choice to resist isolation, to commit themselves to the recovery of those human relationships that can make existence more comprehensible and just, [and] to make their lives count."[18] The young were "intolerant" of the consumerist and self-negating ways of mainstream culture, and offered a more humanistic promise for the future.[19] Although it cannot be concluded from this series in *Life* magazine that the general populace experienced the same feelings of isolation as expressed by its writers, reader response indicated an interest in and concern about the topic of the well-being of the individual in globalized society. John Tidyman, in a letter to the editor wrote: "You hit upon what is probably the greatest single factor contributing to mass conformity. That is, our society is geared to the average man. There is no average man, and if there were, he wouldn't admit it."[20] Similarly, Shirley Rothstein wrote: "Let us not lose sight of the fact that each of us is an individual by birthright, both chemically and emotionally unique. The struggle is therefore for identity and recognition."[21] Both Tidyman and Rothstein expressed a concern for the loss of the individual to mass society. Much like counterculture, the mainstream criticized consumerism for perpetuating conformity at the expense of individual experience,

further revealing the division of hip and square as a mythic construction.

While rock music disavowed conformity, it did not necessarily entail rebellion against the mainstream. Rock music, a vehicle for countercultural ideas of freedom, rebellion and individuality, was not entirely separate from the ideas of consumerism. The rock industry was booming in the 1960s; artists like Jefferson Airplane, The Beatles, Bob Dylan, The Grateful Dead, and Big Brother and the Holding Company reached mass critical and economic success.[22] Extending well past the countercultural audiences, The Beatles achieved early success in the mainstream with an appearance on the *Ed Sullivan Show* on February 7, 1964 to a televised audience of approximately 73 million viewers.[23] Nor were their song lyrics strictly in favour of rebellion against the mainstream. With songs like "Give Peace a Chance", the Beatles made a call for change but the lyrics of "Revolution" intoned that change was not to come through radical upheaval: "You say you want a revolution . . . But when you talk about destruction / Don't you know that you can count me out."[24] Rather than revolution, the lyrics did not call for rebellious action at all and seemed to be content with consensus: "For people with minds that hate / All I can tell you is brother you have to wait / Don't you know it's gonna be all right."[25] The appeal of countercultural rock artists such as the Beatles reached well beyond the counterculture and into the mainstream, highlighting the permeability of the categories of hip and square.

Beyond their song lyrics, rock artists and bands themselves occupied liminal positions between consumerism and counterculture. Janis Joplin was at times critical of consumerism as illustrated by her song "Mercedes Benz," which criticized the false materialistic spirituality of the mainstream. However, on other occasions Joplin was "not at all sold on the idea of becoming the poor man's Cher", and delighted in the idea of becoming "Haight-Ashbury's first pin-up." Pin-ups, mass-produced images, are often iconic, and much like advertisements, they appeal to a wide consumer base. Rather than be a poor artist Joplin wished to become a "pin-up"[26] (a concept inherently consumerist) for the countercultural neighbourhood of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, representing the co-optation of consumerism and counterculture.

Rock artists were able to bridge the gap between mainstream and countercultural markets partly through music managers who facilitated the illusion that rock artists were not seeking to make money. Albert Grossman, manager for Bob Dylan and Janis Joplin late into her musical career, enabled his clients to amass large sums of money while allowing the artists to seem detached from the act and interest of actually making that money; artists could maintain their integrity as countercultural and appear as if they were simply pursuing their musical calling.[27]

Expanding on the argument made by Powers, the co-optation of the mainstream and rock counterculture was not only perpetuated by some abstract and capitalistic entity from above such as the record company but was also perpetuated from within the counterculture itself.[28] "Company freaks" or "house hippies", hippies hired by record companies, served an intermediary role between the countercultural bands and the record label. The "company freak" acted as a conduit between the seemingly dichotomous countercultural rock audience and the mainstream music business. This role served as part of a strategy to capitalize on the building popularity of rock music by discovering how best to market it to receptive audiences.[29] Company freaks such as Billy James, Jim Fouratt and Danny Fields were tasked with management of the "collision of two cultures" — that is, counterculture and the mainstream — at the centre of the contemporary 1960s music industry.[30] As Powers argues, house hippies were not merely bridges between counter and corporate culture but rather "forgers of a common culture" in the world of rock music.[31] Hippies themselves, as company freaks, played a role in integrating countercultural rock music into the mainstream, further blurring the imaginary demarcations of the hip and the square.

Countercultural rock artists were also more blatantly involved in consumerism. Jefferson Airplane, a psychedelic rock band, produced songs such as "White Rabbit" which touted the drug culture while concurrently producing radio commercials for white Levi's jeans.[32] In another commercial, the band stated that the "world would be an empty shallow space without stretch Levis."[33] Where consumerism was seen by the counterculture as the reason behind the meaninglessness in society, Jefferson Airplane paradoxically advertised that the purchase of stretch Levi's would fill this void. Although Jefferson Airplane may not have intrinsically believed what they were advertising, the point is that they were advertising consumer goods in the first place — linking together counterculture and consumerism.

As such, countercultural resistance was ostensibly assimilated, redefined by the mainstream and drained of its political anti-consumerist and anti-establishment message in the conversion of hip styles of dress, music and ideology into mass-produced goods.[34] In the 1960s, the style and dress of the Beatles was marketed to the mainstream as the new "mod image," as was the "Twiggy look," an androgynous style inspired by the British model of the same sobriquet.[35] The word "psychedelic," once limited to their mind-altering, trip-inducing counterparts, soon applied to anything from store-bought tie-dye clothing to interior design. The peace symbol appeared on luggage, books and clothes while mass-produced (and once scandalous) miniskirts entered department stores.[36]

The hippie style of faded jeans, bell-bottoms, beaded jewellery and headbands could be purchased in department stores like Sears for inflated prices,[37] deflated of their political, anti-consumerist, and countercultural meaning.

Accordingly, R. Garofalo argues that "far from how the activists would have it," the 1960s was a period in which "capitalism simply became hipper."[38] This sentiment of capitalism simply "becoming hipper" is too simple in itself — it attributes a totalizing power to capitalism while ignoring the hip themselves. At the same time that capitalism became "hipper," the counterculture became hip to capitalism; as aforementioned, company freaks and rock artists played a role in perpetuating capitalism. However, countercultural youths also appropriated elements of capitalism for their own subversive ends. As Glassco argues in his study on the politics of appropriation, "appropriation activists" use elements of mainstream culture as a tactic of dissent and subversion — using the vehicles of mainstream culture to subvert their intended messages and transform them into a means of criticism.[39] This critique would expose the inherently corrupt ideologies of the mainstream in a public setting.[40] Applying Glassco's theory to the 1960s, practitioners of guerrilla theatre, a concept first defined by the San Francisco Mime Troupe in 1965, were countercultural appropriation activists who used art as a form of social commentary.[41] Engaging with Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque, guerrilla theatre was a form of cultural revolt that subverted, challenged, and satirized the mainstream culture that participants in guerrilla theatre understood as racist, devoid of morality, militaristic and repressive.[42] Guerrilla theatre aimed to break down the barriers between art and life, between audience members and actors by removing the establishment of the stage; the street itself became the stage and the audience and the performers became life-actors in the production of everyday life.[43]

The Diggers, an anarchist group founded by members of the Mime Troupe in 1966, and the Yippies, a sobriquet for the Youth International Party founded in late 1967, continued the practice of guerrilla theatre as a means to "dramatize the hip counterculture as a social fact."[44] Both the Diggers and the Yippies appropriated the institution of the store, the heart of capitalism, and converted it into a political statement through its transformation into the Free Store. The Free Store was an establishment that allowed visitors to take its goods without any form of compensation. Through its transformation into the Free Store, the consumer's store became a social art form deprived of capitalism — without an owner, manager, employees or cash-register.[45] In the words of Abbie Hoffman, the co-creator of the Yippies, the Free Store "dispensed art," while the capitalist store dispensed "garbage."[46] Using the consumerist institution of the store, the Diggers and Yippies inverted its purpose (to sell products), and converted it into a Free Store — both critiquing the loss of the human individual in the consumerist exchange and depriving the "store" of its materialistic symbolism.

Like the Diggers, the Yippies were appropriation activists. However, the Yippies mainly practiced guerrilla theatre in the form of "media freaking": to critique capitalism and consumerism on the public stage of mass media. Media freaking functioned by "[manipulating] the media . . . to get them to make an advertisement for . . . revolution — the same way you would advertise soap."[47] Appropriating the traditional vehicle of consumer advertising and the television and mass media more broadly, Abbie Hoffman co-created the Yippies to manipulate the media and "fuck with the system."[48] Appropriating the "tremendous power" of the media, it would "capture the attention of the country," and by usurping the consumerist meaning of the media, destroy the "monetary system" and bring "[the country] to its knees."[49] To illustrate, the Yippies engaged in media freaks such as the release of hundreds of dollar bills into the New York Stock Exchange from the visitor's gallery above onto the trading floor below.[50] Abbie Hoffman emphasized that the event had two audiences: the stockbrokers present as well as the media which captured and exposed the ensuing greedy chaos to the wider world.[51]

Returning to contest Norman Mailer's quote, the hip and the square were not immovable, oppositional categories but flexible, integrable constructs. The hippie was no more the "son of mass media"[52] than he was the brother of mass media, for rock artists and company freaks both played integral roles in the creation of hip capitalism by bridging the gap between countercultural rock and mainstream commerce. While consumerism appropriated the rebellion of hip counterculture to perpetuate the business cycle through the concept of 'cool,' the hip appropriated the consumer's store and media for their own ends as a critique of capitalism. The ideologies of mainstream consumerism and countercultural rebellion in the 1960s relied on a reciprocal and interdependent relationship rather than mere opposition; one could be hip and conform or be square and rebellious, deconstructing the notion that 'hip' and 'square' were rigid, inescapable boundaries.

Notes

1. Qtd. in Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counter-culture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 12.
2. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 19.
3. Devon Powers, "Long-haired, Freaky People Need to Apply: Rock Music, Cultural Intermediation and the Rise of the 'Company Freak,'" *Journal of Consumer Culture* 12.1 (2012): 3, doi: 10.1177/1469540512438156.
4. Ibid.
5. Joseph Heath, "The Structure of Hip Consumerism," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 27.6 (2001): 16, doi: 10.1177/019145370102700601.
6. Ibid., 12-13.
7. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 31.
8. Heath, "The Structure of Hip Consumerism," 16.
9. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 19.
10. Michael Alan Glassco, "Contested Images: The Politics and Poetics of Appropriation" (PhD Diss., University of Iowa, 2012), 5, http://ir. uiowa.edu/etd/2875. pdf.
11. Ibid., 24.
12. Heath, "The Structure of Hip Consumerism," 14 and 16.
13. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 67-68.
14. Heath, "The Structure of Hip Consumerism," 13.
15. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 14.
16. Qtd. in "Modern Society's Growing Challenge: The Struggle to Be an Individual," part 1, Life, April 21 1967, 60. Accessed online, http://books.google.ca/books/serial/ISSN:00243019?rview=1.
17. "Modern Society's Growing Challenge," part 3, May 5 1967, 40 and 45-46.
18. "Modern Society's Growing Challenge," April 28 1967, 66.
19. Ibid.
20. John Tidyman, letter to the editor, *Life*, May 12, 1967.
21. Shirley Rothstein, letter to the editor, *Life*, May 12 1967.
22. Christopher Gair, The American Counterculture, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 162.
23. Ibid., 167.
24. Barbara Tischler, "Counterculture and Over-the-Counter Culture," in *The Legacy: The Vietnam War in the American Imagination*, ed. D. Michael Shafer, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 293. Also important to note: In the White Album edition of "Revolution," ("Revolution 1") Lennon sings "Don't you know that you can count me out . . . in." Although this is pure speculation, the choice to include both "out" and "in" seems indicative of the broad audience of The Beatles.
25. The Beatles, "Revolution," by John Lennon and Paul McCartney, recorded 9-13 July 1968. Single released August 1968.
26. Janis Joplin, "Love, Janis," in *Takin' it to the Streets: A Sixties Reader*, 3rd Edition, eds. Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 240.
27. Gair, *The American Counterculture*, 168-9.
28. Powers, "Long-haired, Freaky People Need to Apply," 7.
29. Ibid., 4.
30. Ibid., 11.
31. Ibid., 12.
32. Gair, *The American Counterculture*, 172.
33. Jefferson Airplane, "Balloons Stretch," *Levi Strauss Salesman's Record*, Fall 1967, 33 1/3 RPM, accessed online, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=st3H-PgtDyVA.
34. Powers, "Long-haired, Freaky People Need to Apply," 5.
35. Tischler, "Counterculture and Over-the-Counter Culture," 291.
36. Ibid., 296-297 and 300.
37. Ibid., 298.
38. Qtd. in Powers, "Long-haired, Freaky People Need to Apply," 5.
39. Glassco, "Contested Images," 13.
40. Ibid.
41. Tischler, "Counterculture and Over-the-Counter Culture," 284.
42. Michael William Doyle, "Staging the Revolution: Guerrilla Theater as a Countercultural Practice, 1965-68," in I*magine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, ed. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 72-4.
43. Ibid., 72.
44. Ibid., 79-80 and 89.
45. Abbie Hoffman ("Free"), *Revolution for the Hell of It* (New York: The Dial Press, 1968), 149.
46. Ibid., 149.

47. Qtd. in "Staging the Revolution," 86.

48. Hoffman, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, 64 and 27.

49. Ibid., 130 and 28.

50. Doyle, "Staging the Revolution," 87.

51. Ibid., 88.

52. The Death of the Hippie and the Birth of the Free Man was a "multi-day happening" organized by the Diggers to "mourn the passing of the hippie, the son of mass media.

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Preceding Image

Money by Flickr user '401(K) 2012' — http://www.flickr.com/photos/68751915@N05/6355220839/in/photolist-aFAaK6-aFATbM-9ZA9J6-bt4mNt-dSZe91-bH1iX8-chEwR9-PzB6b-cnchKE-6hSkjK-aFDjPB-aZfv2-8usD9K-bzmxxS-cMnty-aFAQEv-5G4WCi-4KXNhC-KiXf-3q1C3-bta55K-4sCnNb-bZvUDS-rrCca-2Bvzr6-6zrBb5-42PQoC-6hS6oy-brd1K2-aFAPtx-bi1bhM-6GUsm-a2YSa6-6u2TxZ-apUnh-a2Y7cz-dB7F8e-5QDpJw-doZD-bta3kH-9q3RuT-6Aa4tU-aWUuqV-4THN8w-4CW5zn-ayZVrf-onmVA-MF2UK-fLLMGS-7zGEkf-buV6x/

Wild Orgies, Dope Fiends, and Strange Films

An Early History of American Exploitation Cinema
Ali Koc

■

In a review of *Marihuana: Weed with Roots in Hell*, a 1936 cautionary exploitation film dealing with the dangers of marijuana use, *The Rough Guide to Cult Movies* mentions that the director, Dwain Esper, "may have been considerably more interested in exploitation than social responsibility".[1] Similarly, Eric Schaefer, in his influential *Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959* points out the paradoxical nature of the exploitation film as "ethically dubious" yet made with "good intentions".[2] An examination of film genres such as rape and revenge films and slasher films makes it evident that the paradoxical nature of exploitation cinema, between the exploitation of shocking and taboo subject matter, and the "educational" and moralistic messages delivered, has carried out beyond Schaefer's focus in the book to post-1950s exploitation sub-genres.

This essay will give a brief history of early exploitation cinema, particularly focusing on the era between the 1930s and 1940s. Specifically, this essay will look at how pioneers in exploitation filmmaking created the mold of the exploitation film by attempting to exploit shock value for profits on a low budget while avoiding the strict censorship laws of the recently imposed Motion Picture Production Code. Furthermore, the essay will discuss the ways in which the exploitation film industry challenged Hollywood's hegemony during its oligopoly over the American film industry and how it established one of the first successful independent film industries in the history of the United States.

The exact origins of exploitation film are debated amongst film historians. Many date the first exploitation films back to the mid-1930s to mid-1940s, to such popular exploitation titles as Dwain Esper's *Narcotic, Maniac, Marihuana, and Sex Madness* (released in 1933, 1934, 1936, and 1938 respectively). Others cite the films promoted by Kroger Babb such as 1945's Mom and Dad, and the genre's early classic, Reefer Madness, released in 1936. Eric Schaefer however, in his *Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959*, claims that exploitation films date back even earlier to the release of several sex hygiene

films released in the mid-1910s.[3] Alan Betrock dates the beginning of exploitation cinema even earlier in *The I Was A Teenage Juvenile Delinquent Rock 'n' Roll Horror Beach Party Movie Book*, arguing that exploitation movies are about as old as the moving picture itself.[4] Betrock points to early kinetoscope films concentrated on human vices like drinking, sex, and gambling, geared towards working class immigrants as escapism.[5]

The controversies accompanying exploitation films are just as old as the films themselves, according to Betrock, with the public polarized between groups arguing that social problems must be addressed in the public sphere, and others claiming that such films were merely exploiting the lowest elements of society for the sake of greed.[6] Following the kinetoscope exploitation films, many other waves of proto-exploitation films, such as white slavery films, drug films, and delinquency films, circulated between the early 1910s and the late 1920s.[7]

Although the exploitation film may have had its origins in cinema prior to the 1930s, it became popularized in that decade, spawning several notable titles in the genre. The first popular sub-genre of exploitation cinema to emerge was the sex hygiene film, which debuted in 1914 with the release of *Damaged Goods*.[8] These films were sparked by concerns over disease and class anxiety during the First World War and later fueled by a rapid shift to a consumer driven society in which pleasure, self-gratification, and personal satisfaction was accepted and translated into a new set of sexual norms.[9] Sex hygiene films encompassed a number of topics surrounding sexuality and reproduction, exploiting the pretense of "education" to present titillating or shocking imagery to viewers.[10, 11]

According to filmmaker Frank Henelotter, the only way one could see taboo subject matter such as nudity or sex was to suffer through moral lessons and educational footage.[12] Common topics of sex hygiene films, or "clap operas", as they were known by their makers, were venereal disease, childbirth, and abortion, with some films covering single topics and others covering as much ground as possible.[13] Sexual hygiene films started becoming increasingly daring in their portrayals of sexuality to compete with Hollywood's increasing daringness right before the 1934 formation of the Production Code Administration. Although many of these films often resembled recycled versions of each another and offered little diversity, two films in this era broke from established plots.[14] One was 1934's *Tomorrow's Children*, a controversial film on the issue of sterilization, the other Dwain Esper's *Modern Motherhood* of the same year, a moralistic tale that encouraged couples to conform to the nuclear family.[15]

Although the introduction of the Production Code slowed down production of new exploitation films for several years, sex hygiene films made another great comeback in the late 1930s. This comeback can be credited to the acceptance of birth control by the American Medical Association and several states in 1937.[16] With the battle for the acceptance of contraception largely over, attention turned to the mystery of childbirth. The first film to capitalize on this trend was *The Birth of a Baby* in 1938. This trend led to the creation of the most famous sex hygiene film, dubbed by producer Kroger Babb, as "the world's only educational sex-hygiene film," 1945's *Mom and Dad*, a black and white film about a girl who fell into the wrong crowd and got pregnant, featuring a live, full colour childbirth at the end of the story.[17] To add to the attraction of *Mom and Dad*, screenings of the film would be gender segregated, with viewings for women in the afternoon, and for men in the evening.[18] Speeches would be given by an announcer prior to the screening, advertising a book for sale on birth control, sex hygiene, venereal disease, and the hazards of promiscuity, which would then be sold by a woman dressed as a nurse walking through the aisles.[19] Although the sex hygiene film declined in popularity after the success of *Mom and Dad*, the film's gains were astronomical.[20] By the end of 1947, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the film had grossed $2 million. *Time Magazine* estimated that the film had taken in $8 million by 1949, and the film was still playing at drive-ins by 1975 with an estimated gross of $100 million.[21]

The second prominent genre of early exploitation cinema was the drug film. These films often told hilariously exaggerated cautionary stories of youth who experimented with drugs and subsequently ruined their lives in the process.[22] The drug film, which emerged in the mid-1910s and reached its peak in the early to mid-1930s was sparked by a growing anxiety surrounding drugs in the United States.[23] A large part of the anxiety carried strong racial overtones. Many Americans became worried about the influence of other races corrupting white youth. For example, much of the nation's anxiety surrounding opium was traced to Chinese immigrants who helped to build railroads. Thus opium was seen as an attempt on behalf of the Chinese to undermine the productivity of American citizens.[24] Similarly, the use of cocaine was attributed to blacks, this time using racialized discourse surrounding increased sexual appetites and rape.[25]

The first drug films were made shortly after the Harrison Narcotics Act in 1914 and began a legacy of inaccuracy in the portrayal of narcotics in America.[26] 1923 was also a significant year in the development of drug-related exploitation films with the release of four films, *The Drug Monster*, *The Drug Traffic*, *Human Wreckage*, and *The Greatest Menace* following the opium-related death of film star and director, Wallace Reid.[27] The drug film reached its peak of popularity in the 1930s with the release of several notable films dealing with marijuana such as *Narcotic*,

Marihuana, *Reefer Madness*, and *Assassin of Youth* (released in 1933, 1936, 1936, and 1937 respectively). Marijuana use came into public consciousness when the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN) and its commissioner Harry Anslinger began a campaign to inform the public on its dangers.[28] Similar to opium and cocaine, the discourses surrounding the danger of marijuana were again racialized and attributed to migrant Mexican labourers who were targeted as a source of criminal activity and deviant behavior.[29] Cannabis use was also associated with urban blacks, from which the "reefer" in *Reefer Madness* drew its title, referring to a marijuana cigarette in black jazz slang.[30]

The exaggeration of the effect of narcotics was a crucial element of drug films. Harry Anslinger, in his story about marijuana's origins, claimed that the word assassin was a corruption of the word "hashshashin", referring to the myth of the eleventh-century Persian "Assassins", insinuating that those under the influence of marijuana would commit violent acts.[31] The notion of violent behavior under the influence of marijuana would become a motif in early drug films such as *Reefer Madness*. In addition, such films portrayed marijuana use as not only a bad habit, but also a deadly one.[32] Films about marijuana would be replicated from other drug films and would ignore or exaggerate facts in order to create propaganda material or make profits.[33] Such films thus created new discourses in the American consciousness about the undisciplined and unproductive marijuana user, and the notion that cannabis was a "stepping-stone" or "gateway" drug to hard narcotics such as cocaine and heroin.[34]

Although the moralistic and "educational" nature of exploitation film might lead one to believe that the genre was held in high regard by the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), this was not the case. Upon the release of 1927's provocative sex hygiene film *Is Your Daughter Safe?*, the MPPDA, concerned by the public's inability to distinguish between films made by established companies in Hollywood, and those made by independent exploitation producers, began a campaign against exploitation films.[35] To this end, the MPPDA made the "Don'ts and Be Carefuls", a list of eleven "Don'ts" and twenty-five "Be Carefuls" for filmmakers to self-regulate.[36] The list included nudity, drug traffic, sexual perversion, white slavery, sex hygiene and venereal disease, birth scenes, and children's sex organs amongst the "Don'ts".[37] The MPPDA's "Don'ts and Be Carefuls" list eventually turned into the Production Code in 1930.[38]

Unfortunately for the MPPDA, the weakened economy caused by the Depression allowed an increasing lenience in censorship for the Hollywood companies to attract audiences to the movies. This also allowed exploitation filmmakers to make increasingly provocative films such as *Narcotic*, *Maniac*, and *Tomorrow's Children*,

amongst numerous others. Even smaller companies such as those in the Little Three edged towards exploitation, the most prominent example of this is Colombia Pictures who in 1933 released *What Price Innocence?*, a film that advocated sex education in defiance of the MPPDA rulings, and distributed the 1933 independent exploitation film, *Damaged Lives*.[39]

By the mid-1930s, things were getting increasingly messy for the MPPDA. It had finally come to their attention that the makers of exploitation films weren't necessarily concerned with reaching the public in the same way as the Hollywood majors, but were trying to carve out a niche for themselves.[40] In addition, exploitation filmmakers were becoming increasingly sly in their affairs. Some, like Dwain Esper, tried to get MPPDA approval for their films on a regular basis, while some only sought it when they believed that the films had potential for major box office draws.[41] Some producers such as Esper even got approval for their films and then ignored making the cuts dictated by Code officials or reinserted the cut material after receiving approval.[42]

While the general public has largely forgotten the films of early exploitation directors such as Dwain Esper, their influence on cinematic history has been enormous. Robert G. Weiner opens his essay on Dwain Esper, *The Prince of Exploitation*, by stating that, "the early pioneers of exploitation cinema are really the fathers of the modern independent film".[43] Truly, early American exploitation cinema had little to do with Hollywood, with the exception of profit motives, and could be understood better as a form of countercinema, closer to that of Luis Buñuel than that of Orson Welles.[44] At the most basic level, makers of exploitation films had limited access to capital and faced challenges assembling talent on a low budget, thus causing them to produce sensationalist films as cheaply as possible, inserting moments of forbidden spectacle wherever they could slip them in.[45] However, it is problematic to read early exploitation films like one would read a Hollywood film for several reasons. First, the budgets of exploitation films and the numbers of staff hired are not comparable to those of major Hollywood studios. In addition, companies making exploitation films weren't vertically integrated, and the distribution and exhibition systems were completely separate. Finally, exploitation films were made by completely different standards and for completely different reasons than Hollywood films, thus making a comparison of the two illogical. Is it any wonder that a PCA employee remarked, "In my opinion, this is a tawdry, poorly done feature which should not be shown on any screen." after watching 1937's *Assassin of Youth*?[46]

One of the most notable characteristics of exploitation film is the decidedly low budget of these films. Every facet of early exploitation films was influenced

by the low budgets of their production. For example, the number of personnel in an exploitation production company was usually lower than ten, compared to between nineteen and fifty-four executives and department heads in the majors, and up to thirty-seven in B manufacturers.[47] As a result of the limited personnel in the production of exploitation films, the division of labour was far less rigid than it was in Hollywood. Roles would often be blurred, with individuals taking on multiple tasks, and directors often writing and acting in their own films.[48]

Low budgets also meant that those who worked in exploitation films often didn't have the opportunity to hone their skills to the level of those working in mainstream productions.[49] The few name performers who acted in exploitations films were older stars fallen on hard times and up-and-coming performers getting on an early break, and only a few managed to achieve some minor success through their roles in the films.[50] Exploitation filmmakers also differed from Hollywood in that they didn't own the means of production, and the films derived a sparse look because filmmakers had to rent studio space, lighting, sets, and props as cheaply as possible.[51] After the introduction of sound, this too was of poor quality and original music in exploitation films was utterly unheard of.[52] In order to save money when shooting, exploitation films often reused footage from earlier productions.[53] As the emphasis of exploitation films was not so much the films as much as the tricks used to sell them, plots and characters were also recycled.[54, 55] Thus, early exploitation films had the lowest budgets, shortest shoots, sparsest sets, and fewest stars of all films on American screens and had a uniquely devised system that still allowed producers of such films to profit from them.[56]

If the production of early exploitation films differed from that of the major Hollywood studios, the distribution, advertising, and exhibition of these films were something else altogether. Exploitation films were distributed in two main ways. The first method of distribution was roadshowing, where a film travelled from one town to the next, playing for as long as possible and trying to create a large attraction before moving on to another area. The second method was the states' rights system, where the producer sold exclusive distribution rights for a territory to an exchange or individual for a set period of time.[57] Most exploitation films used the same advertising methods as Hollywood, such as posters, lobby cards, window cards, and trailers. They attempted to distinguish their difference from mainstream movies by featuring similar slogans that advertised the blatantly sexual content or the unusual aberrant nature of the films.[58]

Exploitation filmmakers also utilized several other methods in order to attract audiences to their films. One of these was rereleasing the film every few years with a different title and advertising campaign.[59] For example, *Reefer Madness*

was known and shown under alternate titles; *The Burning Question*, *Tell Your Children*, *Dope Addict*, *Doped Youth*, *Assassin of Youth*, and *Love Madness*.[60] Exploiters also found a number of gimmicks that could be used to attract audiences. For screenings of his drug films, Dwain Esper created displays of fake narcotics, which people would look at for hours, even attracting police attention.[61] Similarly, audiences for *Mom and Dad* would be gender segregated, and were presented with a speech on sex hygiene prior to the screening of the film.[62]

The way in which exploitation filmmakers made films on their own terms, with a blatant disregard for censorship boards, the MPPDA, and the Hollywood majors, is a good measure for understanding how such films briefly disrupted Hollywood's hegemony during the studio era.[63] While Hollywood cinema promised consistency in the quality of its films, the hallmark of exploitation films wasn't so much what the films showed onscreen, but what a person *might* have seen, had they paid for a ticket.[64] Thus, in selling their spectacle, exploitation filmmakers such as Dwain Esper had utter disregard for traditional Hollywood conventions of storytelling such as continuity, timing, music, camera angles, and technical competence.[65]

Directors like Esper not only disregarded Hollywood's conventions, but worked to undermine the self-importance and artistic pretentions of Hollywood, thus making early exploitation cinema more of a countercinema than anything else, and making it problematic to compare them using the same set of standards as classical Hollywood cinema.[66] In this way, it can be noted that early exploitation cinema constituted the first successful independent film industry in America.[67]

One of the most fascinating attributes of exploitation film over time is the consistency across the genre. Although the genre's dualistic nature of moral education and taboo exploitation emerged out of a conflict between censors and greedy producers in the early 20th century, exploitation sub-genres in later decades, like rape and revenge films in the 1970s and slasher films in the 1980s, remained true to the exploitation film's original form. Thus, the genre that initiated a legacy of independent cinema in the United States spawned generation after generation of equally low budget, often ridiculous, and completely exploitative films that continued to terrify the American mainstream for decades to come.

Notes

1. Paul Simpson, *The Rough Guide to Cult Movies* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 158.

2. Eric Schaefer, *Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 17.

3. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 22.

4. Alan Betrock, *The I Was A Teenage Juvenile Delinquent Rock "N" Roll Horror Beach Party Movie Book: A Complete Guide to the Teen Exploitation Film, 1954-1969* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 2.

5. Ibid, 2.

6. Ibid, 2.

7. Ibid, 2.

8. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 22.

9. Ibid, 166.

10. Ibid, 165.

11. Ernest Mathijs and Xavier Mendik, *The Cult Film Reader* (Berkshire, England: Open University Press/McGraw-Hill Education, 2008), 166.

12. Andrea Juno, *Incredibly Strange Films* (San Francisco, CA: RE/Search Publications, 1986), 9.

13. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 166.

14. Ibid, 183.

15. Ibid, 182-184.

16. Ibid, 186-187.

17. Betrock, *I Was a Teenage Juvenile Delinquent*, 16 & 19.

18. Ibid, 19.

19. Ibid, 19-20.

20. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 197.

21. Ibid, 197-198.

22. Ibid, 233-235.

23. Ibid, 217.

24. Ibid, 217-218.

25. Ibid, 218.

26. Ibid, 219-220.

27. Ibid, 223-224.

28. Ibid, 229.

29. Ibid, 228.

30. Allan Havis, *Cult Films: Taboo and Transgression: A Select Survey Over 9 Decades* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2008), 21.

31. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 229-230.

32. Ibid, 235.

33. Ibid, 236.

34. Ibid, 239.

35. Ibid, 145.

36. Ibid, 147.

37. Ibid, 147.

38. Ibid, 150.

39. Ibid, 152.

40. Ibid, 153.

41. Ibid, 156.

42. Ibid, 157.

43. John Cline and Robert G. Weiner, *From the Arthouse to the Grindhouse: Highbrow and Lowbrow Transgression in Cinema's First Century* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 41.

44. Cline and Weiner, *From the Arthouse to the Grindhouse*, 47.

45. Jeffrey Sconce, "Esper, The Renunciator: Teaching "Bad" Movies to Good Students," in *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste*, ed. Mark Jancovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 18-19.

46. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 237.

47. Ibid, 44.

48. Ibid, 46.

49. Ibid, 46.

50. Ibid, 46.

51. Ibid, 47.

52. Ibid, 54-55.

53. Ibid, 57.

54. Mathijs and Mendik, *The Cult Film Reader*, 166.

55. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 58.

56. Ibid, 49.

57. Ibid, 96-100.

58. Ibid, 104 & 111.

59. Betrock, *I Was a Teenage Juvenile Delinquent*, 4.

60. Ibid, 4.

61. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 122.

62. Betrock, *I Was a Teenage Juvenile Delinquent*, 19-21.

63. Schaefer, *A History of Exploitation Films*, 132.

64. Cline and Weiner, *From the Arthouse to the Grindhouse*, 42.

65. Ibid, 46.

66. Ibid, 47.

67. Ibid, 41.

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