akademisk
academic quarter
akkvarter
tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning
Aalborg Universitet
Volume 10 06 • 2015

ICONS

akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning

Akademisk kvarter
Tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning

Academic Quarter
Journal for humanistic research

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Tidsskriftsdesign og layout / Journal design and layout:
Kirsten Bach Larsen

ISSN 1904-0008

Yderligere information / Further information:
http://akademiskkvarter.hum.aau.dk/

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CULTURAL ICONICITY

An Emergent Field

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This issue of *Academic Quarter* on the topic of **Icon** has aimed to bring together scholars from the following fields: Imagology, cultural semiotics, star studies, fashion studies, film and media history, art history, literary history, and cultural studies to initiate a further exploration of the phenomenon of 'cultural iconicity'. We have sought contributions analyzing the phenomenon of cultural iconicity in the following areas of study: literature, music, art, fashion, film and other visual media, including photography. We called for both papers that contribute further to the theorization of the field and its concepts, and papers that offer analyses of specific cases of cultural iconicity; and not surprisingly the latter category has predominated in the responses to our initial call.

From an editorial position the main ambition in putting together this Icon issue is to explore the potential reach of and possible limits to the concept of cultural iconicity. With this issue we wish through

exemplary analyses of a number of highly diverse cultural icons to test the contours and boundaries of the theoretical frame outlined in this introduction.

For the purpose of this issue we proposed the following definition of a cultural icon: *A commercialized, yet sacralized visual, aural or textual representation anchored in a specific temporal/historical and spatial/geographical context, broadly recognized by its recipients as having iconic status for a group of human agents within one or several discursive fields/communities.*

Such a capsule definition is of necessity both broad, abstract and to an extent reductive. The work of concretizing the analyses of iconicity under our broad umbrella is naturally primarily carried out by the contributions within the volume at hand, but here we, as editors, wish to elaborate a little further on what we see as the contours, and eventually the boundaries, of the new and still emergent field of cultural iconicity.

Cultural iconicity can be carried by the representation of a person, a place, an object, a phenomenon, or an epoch/historical moment – or a combination of any of the abovementioned in interaction. An iconic human agent such as a romantic wanderer set in an iconic sublime landscape wielding an iconic object such as an iPhone based on Friedrich's *Wanderer above the Sea Fog* is an example of such a combination of carriers and an example of some of the central complexities in the logic of cultural iconicity[1].

The iconicity of a human representation is furthered through the human icon having agency to act in a cultural space anchored in time, and by the consumers of cultural iconicity having agency to do 'icon work' on those representations, whether taking the form of collaborative iconolatry or adversarial iconoclasm. Sørensen, in a 2007 article, defined 'icon-work' as an interactive process, which allows anyone to become a textual agent or producer, to manipulate existing iconic textual images, or create new additions to the bank of already existing iconic representations of a given cultural icon. "Images enter the cultural field of cultural iconicity and everyone may contribute freely to elaborate and reinterpret their iconic status," he writes (Sørensen, 2007, 157-158). As such human agency is an inherent element in the production of cultural iconicity. However, iconicity embedded in non-human forms of representation is also open to manipulation and re-mixing and re-purposing. Even

objects or design details and practices (i.e. phenomena that are inanimate, and in some cases exist only as digital files) can be of sufficient cultural significance for large groups to become exposed to icon-work practices (Google doodles are an example of this type of icon). These practices are usually complex and often involve a tension between branding purposes and consumer criticism.

Regardless of the specific kinds of cultural icons on which one is focusing, a cultural icon can also be defined as a stereotype undergoing icon-work in a cultural context – whether collaborative or adversarial. Thus, cultural icons are related to stereotypes and in this regard the study of cultural icons is particularly akin to the discipline of imagology (particularly the 'new' intermedial imagology proposed by Johnson in his 2005 article "Notes Towards a New Imagology"). The concepts of auto- and hetero-images as developed by Leerssen are also particularly useful in such analyses.[2]

In this process of investigating the defining characteristics of the phenomenon of cultural iconicity it is crucial to emphasize that such an analysis of cultural icons in our view is best carried out as a cultural semiotic text study based on a broad understanding of what constitutes a text. As such our theme issue engages with iconicity as it manifests itself in cultural texts across a wide spectrum of genres and media. When we analyze a cultural icon we are analyzing visual-textual representations of this icon through a reading method, which we might term 'cultural iconology' (See also Sørensen 2006). Central to this approach to doing cultural studies is a charting of the various cultural and textual agents' icon-work. In the following we will try to point to the broad field of possible analytical objects, as well as to some of the elements we find it most logical and beneficial to take into consideration and investigate when practicing cultural iconology on these objects.

For scholars in the field of star studies, fashion studies and other branches of cultural studies, the usual object of interest will be the biographical or fictional/mythologized representation of a real person or fictional character. Such iconic personalities and characters will most often have been constructed by a complex interaction between the human behind the character (say, an actor) and handlers and marketers of the character and the artifact, product or cultural text he or she is found embedded in (this range of co-producers of iconicity would include, say, a film or record company, producers,

designers and marketing personnel – making such contemporary icons the product of multiple authorships).

For scholars in art, music, literary history or visual culture, the iconicity of time and place in representation will be the natural point of entry into the field of iconicity studies. For instance, an iconic shot, scene, dialogue sequence, special effect or sound element from a film (the *Battleship Potemkin* baby carriage, the burger dialogue from *Pulp Fiction*, the shower scene from *Psycho*, the wail of a harmonica in a Leone spaghetti western – are all examples of iconic instances in film history), or a well-known motif in pictorial art (a Degas dancer, a dripped stream of paint on a Pollack canvas, or the fist of the thinker in Rodin's sculpture), or the visual tropes of photo journalism (the open road, the bread line or the nude female or male form) – all can be argued to form cultural icons. Similarly a whole work (for instance a seminal film such as *Breakfast at Tiffany's* that has iconic status in both film and fashion history), period (such as a decade denomination, for instance 'The 20s'), or site (the ghost town, suburbia, etc.) can become a cultural icon under specific circumstances of reception, usually through a theorization in cultural history or other types of history writing, and many more global phenomena could also be analyzed through iconicity theory.

As editors we have formulated a set of dichotomies that contributions could explore, discuss and/or supplement. The cultural icon is bound up at least on the following semiotic chains of meaning:

Stylization/Sacralization
Familiarity/Transgression
Immortality/Historicity
Communion/Consumption
Overexposure/Iconoclasm
Martyrdom (Apotheosis)/Reduction (Translation)
Transcendence/Revelation

Cultural icons signify through a combination of 1) a reduction to the simplest forms of signification (as does the commercial, representational icon, found for instance in signage or on computer screens); and 2) a (re)sacralization of the signs in question (as does the religious icon found in faiths which do not interdict the use of images in act of worship – archetypically orthodox Catholicism). An example

of the tensions in this first chain of iconic signification is how Marilyn Monroe is metonymically reduced to her blondeness, bustiness, red lips and beauty spot – all features that are extensively resacralized and sexualized in her iconic representations, most notably in strongly manipulated art works such as Andy Warhol's serial Monroes. Similarly, place can be metonymized through a single establishing shot that sets the scene using a specific icon to represent a whole site (Eiffel Tower = Paris, etc.). Simplification is a reductive maneuver but seems to be the precondition for mass dissemination and recognition. There is eventually no Freud without a cigar, to give an example from one of the articles within. However, Freud's cigar is exactly the semiotic carrier of new meaning in cases where the icon's image is recuperated or critiqued through *détournement* in the icon's afterlife as a cultural text.

Cultural icons presuppose familiarity in a group context (indeed, one could argue that without the common and participatory element, they would not fully be 'cultural'), yet is fuelled – and to an extent constituted – by transgression of the same group's cultural norms. Here, again the study of cultural iconicity is very akin to imagology, where such norms are considered to be expressed via a gamut, or canon if one likes, of auto-images, and conversely deviations from the norm often lead to adversarial hetero-images of Otherness.

The significance of time as well as place is highly relevant in the study of cultural iconicity. Cultural icons seem immortal for their historically synchronic period, but are in reality as historically contingent as any other cultural construct. Some cultural icons turn out to have a short life span (see the Madonna example below), and others to endure and develop over generations and even centuries. Active icon-work can extend and revitalize an icon's significance in the iconosphere, whereas indifference and lack of references to prior icons can further their demise as significant icons. An example of how one icon can be superseded by another very similar one in the same field seems to be unfolding at this very moment when Madonna's iconicity is largely being usurped and then supplanted by that of Lady Gaga.

Also place – and the specific cultural groupings doing icon work in a specific place – becomes a relevant site for investigation and consideration when doing cultural icon analysis. Some of the most

familiar cultural icons, such as for example highly polarizing political figures (Stalin) or heroes (Che Guevara), are associated with very different and maybe even oppositional attributes in different places in the world and in different cultural groups. Some cultural icons are quite local and primarily recognized as a cultural icon to a limited number of people in a specific cultural context in a specific area of the world, whereas others have a more global identity, being broadly recognized as cultural icons by diverse cultural contexts and people across the world – and in this day and age especially across the World Wide Web. For the cultural icon analyst the degree of transgression (or entire lack thereof) of a cultural icon in terms of time, place and cultural context is potentially of great importance.

These focus areas are ultimately what take the study of a cultural icon and its specific production from the field of a limited, local visual-textual analysis to the field of a broader, more generally valid and interesting cultural analysis. However appealing in its own right a narrow semiotic analysis of a specific cultural icon may be, an approach also taking directly into account trans-textual and contextual aspects of cultural icons facilitates rich comparisons and points to be made across the histories of even very different cultural icons and their production. This ultimately furthers our general understanding of cultural icon production as a phenomenon all the while and, when successfully carried out, brings us valuable new insights into processes of human agency, time and place, in short into the human condition and Culture as such.

The consumer of cultural iconicity is inevitably in the position of the voyeur, seeking to force a communion with/of the iconic object. The consumption of icons can take many active forms, for instance in the shape of iconoclastic manipulation, or other more collaborative forms of icon work (fan fiction, art, and other forms of iconolatry.). The question ultimately is, whether any icon can be effectively established and sustained without constant *post festum* icon-work of either type. While icons are constantly in peril of overexposure, they require exposure to survive, and one is tempted to suggest that the more transgressive the exposure the more secure the position in the iconosphere becomes for the individual icon[3].

Overexposure, however, can lead to aggressive adversarial icon intervention on the part of the public in the form of backlashes. For a living human icon, this process can resemble a form of pub-

lic martyrdom, as punishment for transgression – creating a balance between apotheosis and translation. One could mention sports icons such as Tiger Woods as evidence of the frequency of such a process.

The processes involved in cultural iconicity are thus a battleground between transcendence and revelation, and this opens up a fertile space for cultural analysis. The individual articles in this issue exemplify these processes in great detail, whether the iconic object in question is an abstract concept, a concrete object or design practice, or specific human carriers of iconicity and transgression. We are pleased to include a highly diverse group of articles in terms of the types of iconic objects addressed as this diversity serves to show the broad reach and potential of the discipline of cultural iconography.

The first portion of contributions in this issue all approach the topic of cultural iconicity through iconic objects and to an extent with analytical perspectives that do indeed broaden the field of cultural iconicity and take it further than the investigation of iconic human figures – fictional or real – which are at the center of the articles in the second portion of our issue.

The first analytical article is "Deep England" by Jørger Riber Christensen. His iconic object is an abstract concept related to a specific place, i.e. England. He explores the concept of 'Deep England' – an icon that arose during the Second World War – as a unifying concept of everything English. This icon, however, has deep historical roots, and its significance is not only patriotic, but also a reaction to modernity. The icon is materialized in a fictitious southern, rural and pastoral England with close-knit communities centered on the village green. Through a number of analytical samples Christensen explores the cultural meaning of the icon in the light of the theories of Svetlana Boym (nostalgia), Marc Augé (places), Angus Calder (cultural history) and Paul Kingsnorth (sociology). Based on analyses of these samples the article finally suggests a cultural, semiotic definition of icons.

In "Affective practice in the icon-city. Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space" Anna Klara Bom also addresses a 'place-object' as she introduces the concept of icon-city. She defines icon-city as a city where a pervasive narrative about an iconic event or figure is intentionally and explicitly attached to an urban space – an action that supplies the city with symbolic meaning because it is

staged and experienced as the city of the specific icon. In her article the focus of attention is on an icon-city where the iconicity is attached to a historical person, namely the author Hans Christian Andersen and his city of birth, Odense. Bom presents the concept icon-

city as a setting for glocal heritage tourism and posits it as an experience-scape where people represent themselves through the connection between the icon and the urban space. Methodologically, the discourse analytical concept 'affective practice' is put to use in as a sensitizing concept in an analysis of the inauguration of the itinerary "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense". In the analysis, three significant themes are identified as pivotal research themes: Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space.

In "Circus days. The 1990s as an iconic period of time for Swedish Internet entrepreneurs" Lisa Wiklund addresses not a specific place, but a time-space conjunction, through providing an important framework for the making of a space in Michel de Certeau's sense of the word. Her article is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out on behalf of a research project about the Swedish startup/internet community. Wiklund suggests that the 1990s can be seen as an iconic period of time for the Swedish Internet scene. It is argued that mental associations and imaginations associated with the 1990s are still relevant for the intellectual construction of the present-day Internet scene. The article presents recurring themes from the interviews with the informants, highlighted as examples of important stories about the 1990s that are active in constructing the framework for the organization of later experiences.

Staying within the realm of the Internet Iben Bredahl Jessen takes us on a journey of exploration of an iconic brand logo in her article "Variations of a brand logo. Google's doodles". Provisional changes of the well-known Google logo have been a recurring phenomenon on the front page of the search engine since 1998. Google calls them "doodles". The doodles are variations of the Google logo that celebrate famous individuals or cultural events, but the doodles also point to the iconic status of the Google logo as a locus of creativity and reinterpretation. The article explores the iconic status of the Google logo and on the basis of a multimodal typographic analysis of a sample of Google's doodles from 1998 to 2013, Bredahl Jessen identifies different types of relations between the well-known

Google letters and the new graphic features. The article examines how these relations produce and communicate brand iconicity, and how this iconicity has developed from a typographic perspective.

Moving from the Internet to lifestyle magazines, Stinne Gunder Strøm Kroager's article "Den androgyne figur som ikon (modefotografi). Om *Euromans* brug af ikonografiske forlæg i modereportagen" takes as its topic fashion photography and particularly the notion of androgyny in relation to cultural iconicity. Kroager argues that lifestyle magazines not just communicate consumer-oriented fashion and lifestyle in the fashion editorial, but often also functions as a tool for the magazine to orchestrate its cultural identity, which can be perceived as the magazine's work of art. As an autonomous work of art it involves the reader by a vast use of iconic references that draw on a comprehensive variety of historical, literary, cultural as well as artistic icons, symbols and representations. These are staged delicately, in an ironical and aesthetic act of sexualization, and they function as visual appetizers as well as challenges of decoding for the reader. Through analyses of selected fashion photographs from a fashion editorial from the Danish lifestyle magazine for men, *Euroman*, this article argues that the use of iconic representations mirrors the reader and his intellectual competence.

From here we move on to two articles, which in term of topic may be said to broaden the scope of the study of cultural iconicity while zooming in on micro-iconic objects and practices. In his article "The Iconic Microphone. Insight and Audibility: Iconic Sound in Media" Jos Mulder enters the area of sound studies, as he takes as his topic both the visuality and the aurality of the microphone. Mulder discusses the iconicity of the microphone both as a physical object, but also as a transducer and shaper of a distinctive mediatized sound. Different facets of iconicity are examined in his article in order to tease out the multiple meanings and usages of this ubiquitous artifact. In addition to the physical object, whether hidden or highlighted, used as a prop or as a crutch, common microphone usages since the early days of radio have resulted in an iconic mediatized sound, which has realigned the way we experience the spoken word and the musical voice, Mulder argues.

Moving from the realm of sound effects to the realm of visual temporal effects, Steen Christiansen, in "Bullet-Time. A Temporal Icon", investigates *The Matrix*'s use of 'bullet time', the extreme slowing

down of the cinematic image, which instantly became iconic for action cinema and has almost become as recognizable as Hitchcock's famous dolly zoom in *Vertigo*. Circulated so much as to almost render the effect meaningless, this article proposes the question of what purpose, in a time of incessant acceleration, the slowing down of time could have and why it has become so iconic. Christiansen argues that bullet time in action films is, paradoxically, an intensification of speed, a different but related way of making movement felt. Although difficult to delimit, speed and its felt sensations are central concerns for contemporary culture. These intensifications of moments are ways not only to express narrative momentum but also to provide distinct pay-offs, durations of pure sensation and astonishment. Time is tamed in bullet time. Rather than the transcendent desire of slow cinema, we find a kinesthetic desire in cultural acceleration, a desire that is attenuated in contemporary action films and their use of bullet time.

Compared to the somewhat intangible object/practices of cultural icons addressed in the articles presented above, we are continuing now to three articles each concerned with fictional figures: action-adventure game characters, the figure of the zombie, and the circus spectacle, respectively.

In his article "An Animated Adoration. The Folk Art of Japanese Gamers" Dale K. Andrews argues that consumers of manga (comics), anime (cartoons), and video games increasingly search for alternative ways to forge a connection with their favorite characters. In Japan, many of the actual places used in such media as models for background scenery have within recent years become popular as tourist destinations. In an effort to connect with the characters from the action-adventure game *Sengoku Basara*, female gamers have begun to gather at a shrine dedicated to Japan's war dead. At the shrine they choose to express their adoration for the game characters by drawing comic illustrations on votive prayer tablets. Based on a field survey of the votive prayer tablets found on display at the shrine, Andrews argues that through the production of folk art, i.e. religious icons, fans engage with the game characters in a personal and spiritual manner, while simultaneously creating communal bonds with other fans.

In "The Icon of the Zombie Mob" Jørgen Riber Christensen puts this research question forward: "In the film *World War Z* (Marc For-

ster, 2013) not only the iconology of the zombie has changed, also its iconography is new. How does this double alteration of the zombie influence its iconic significance?" Christensen proposes a hypothetical answer to this question based on an investigation of the locations of the film, including the climactic battle scene with zombies in Moscow's Red Square, which was dropped from the final cut. This answer is contextualized in a description of the relatively short cultural history of the zombie with its most recent manifestation in this film. The article sees this zombie manifestation as a mob, a new kind of magnification monster that has entered the global body politic. This shows the zombie as an icon of fear of globalization which is a new twist on the cultural critique of mass society as expressed in for instance George Romero's zombie film trilogy. If the zombie has become the mob, then a reciprocal question remains. Why has the mob been depicted as zombies in World War Z? Here a historical contextualization can provide an answer, and the article connects the historical role of crowds and mobs in the world of politics, including the so-called "Year of the crowd", 1989 to contemporary media iconography of mobs in especially Middle Eastern politics. Finally, the article connects the double nature of a cultural icon as both a popular and a hegemonic tool to the historically dualistic conception of mobs.

In "Circus, Sexuality and the Catholic Imagination in Jordan's *The Miracle* [1991] and Heaney's 'Wheels Within Wheels' [1991]" Ellie Lavan explores how Young male protagonists in Neil Jordan's *The Miracle* [1991] and Seamus Heaney's 'Wheels Within Wheels' [*Seeing Things*, 1991] gain sexual experience and excitement from circus spectacle. Lavan highlights how Jordan's film confronts the taboo of an incestuous relationship between a starlet mother and her abandoned son through circus scenes, and in comparison how Heaney's poem deals with the process of sexual maturity from onanism to shared pleasure through similar circus imagery. She compares these two texts and questions how it is that the circus seems to speak so eloquently of juvenile sexuality. Further, Lavan connects sexuality as rendered in these circus stories with the Irish Catholic imagination, considering the function of the religious icon in Jordan's film, and the tension between past and present selves that is conceived in Heaney's poem in religious terms.

This concludes our first section of articles centered on somewhat abstract and untraditional iconic objects in the study of cultural iconicity. The next section contains the more traditional, yet certainly not less interesting or relevant, contributions addressing real human icons.

Opening this section is Helle Kannik Haastrup with "Hollywood Icons. Contemporary Film Stars in Celebrity Genres". Haastrup's article is an analysis of how Hollywood stars are represented in three central celebrity genres – the fashion magazine interview, the endorsement advertisement and the appearance of the red carpet live broadcast. In contrast to recent research in celebrity culture this is an investigation of how specific media texts articulate key concepts central to an understanding of contemporary celebrity culture, such as the star as both ordinary and extraordinary, the star as resource and the notion of intimacy at a distance. Thus the article offers a useful framework for analysis of traditional celebrity genres and how Hollywood icons - in this context exemplified by Benedict Cumberbatch and Lupita Nyong'o - are represented.

Also focusing on the iconicity of the Hollywood star, Penny Spirou focuses on a single transgressive Hollywood icon in her article "He's Still Here. Joaquin Phoenix as Transgressive Hollywood Star". On 11 February 2009, Joaquin Phoenix announced that he would be retiring from acting to pursue his ambition of becoming a hip hop musician. One year later, 'documentary' feature film *I'm Still Here* was theatrically released, chronicling the life of Phoenix that followed the announcement of his retirement. A week into its release in the US, director Casey Affleck confessed to *The New York Times* (Cieply 2010) that the film was in fact a mockumentary. *I'm Still Here* is Affleck's (and Phoenix's) statement film, inviting the audience to reflect on their own contribution to celebrity culture. The film draws attention to both the star and the fan and their joint contribution in developing the myth of the Hollywood star. However, this paper argues, it primarily shows Phoenix's transition from star to celebrity. This case is framed by the scholarly study of stars, iconology and celebrity, and argues that the series of media events created by Phoenix and Affleck provide a commentary on the contemporary notion of Hollywood stardom.

From the Hollywood stars of today the next article takes us back in time to the 1920s. In "Josephine Baker's Image, Identity & Iconic-

ity" Gary L. Lampley investigates Harlem Jazz icon Josephine Baker from her arrival in Paris in the summer of 1925, during the height of France's obsession with American jazz music and all things exotic. Immediately after her famous semi-nude banana-clad performance on October 2, 1925, Baker appeared in a jazz club wearing an ice-blue dress, cut on the bias, which had been selected for her by a Paris design house. This glamorous side of Baker quickly dispelled the notion of her as primitive, and Baker quickly became a woman others wanted to copy. In his article Lampley maps the huge influence of Josephine Baker, who symbolized the beauty and vitality of African American culture during this time. Baker influenced architecture, urban and interior design, fashion, sculpture, graphic arts, painting and photography, and this influence establishes her as one of the most famous symbols of the jazz age, the first African American superstar and a universal icon.

Turning from performance culture to sports with Nicolás Llano Linares's article "Your blood is our blood. The metaphorical extensions of 'Lucho' Herrera's glory" on an iconic Columbian cyclist. On July 12 of 1985 at Saint-Étienne, France, Luis Alberto 'Lucho' Herrera, the first Colombian cyclist to have won a Tour de France stage (1984), became an international hero and a national martyr. Not only did the image of Herrera's bloodied face staring at the horizon after winning the 14th stage acquire cult status within cycling circles around the world, it also established a subtle, yet passionate, connection between the figure, his performance, and Colombian reality. Linares argues that Herrera's image worked as a metaphorical extension that stimulated the association between Herrera's martyred image and the collective struggle people had to go through on a daily basis, accentuating the strongly Catholic iconographic dimension attached to popular sport practices in Colombia (faith, endurance, and suffering). Using applied elements of Charles S. Peirce's semiotic apparatus, this article analyzes three symbolic elements embedded in Herrera's image – blood, struggle, and redemption – to discuss the photograph's power to resonate with the average Colombian at a time when narcotics terrorism ruled most of the territory and the escalation of insurgency and paramilitary violence were daily occurrences.

In "The Iconicity of an 'Immigrant Writer'. Jonas Hassen Khemiri and Yahya Hassan" Natia Gokieli asks: "What do Jonas Hassen

Khemiri from Sweden and Yahya Hassan from Denmark have in common"? Besides the visual commonalities – they both have a non-white physical appearance – they share an outstanding commercial and critical success. Through examples of these young, highly hyped bestselling authors, this article aims at discussing the iconic function of the 'immigrant writer's' authentic body in the public discourse on 'national' and 'immigrant' identities. The emphasis lies on the marketability of an 'immigrant writer', which derives its commercial value from the iconicity based on ethnic visibility, recognizability and exemplarity. Gokieli draws a connection between the existing fixed iconography of an 'immigrant' in the mass media and the visual ethnicized representations of Khemiri and Hassan in the daily press and puts their literary performance into a socio-political context. Her article considers their popular author-images as objectified icons of hegemonic normative discourses on national culture, while it simultaneously understands their subversive literary and extra-textual renegotiations of national self-imagery as iconoclasms of traditional order of 'Swedishness' resp. 'Danishness'.

Taking the connection of cultural iconicity and politics even further than in the three previous articles, Erja Simuna discusses hunger strikers as cultural icons in her article "The Northern Irish hunger strikers as cultural icons". Simuna points out that fasting is a non-violent way of communicating a message or achieving a goal. It is a process that includes and reveals poignant cultural values, and can be regarded as a symbolic gesture. It is also a phenomenon recognized by many cultures. As the nature of this recognition can vary between different cultures, wider cross-cultural aspects of iconicity can be reached. Specifically this article examines the 1981 Northern Irish hunger strike to find out what iconic attributes are connected with the hunger strikers. A special focus is given to the role of international news media as an intensifier of iconicity.

The "ultimate political figure" of the 20th century, Adolph Hitler, is the topic of Mirjam Gebauer's article "The Pop-Icon Hitler as a Trope of Critical Reflection on Media Society. The World's Most Recognisable Face". Gebauer argues that countless representations in different media and genres make Hitler one of the most productive icons on a global scale. The analysis of this icon seems of fundamental theoretical interest as its original semantics as the embodiment of evil challenges common notions of icon work between collaborative

iconolatry, on the one hand, and adversarial iconoclasm, on the other. However, the range of different significances to be found in contemporary Hitler representations suggests that the icon serves to work through issues of the respective context in which it is used. Gebauer argues that, interestingly, especially representations claiming to do justice to history and to the historical person Hitler might be problematized and seen as part of a "remembrance industry", while pop-cultural, often humorous representations of the icon establish a critical meta-level allowing audiences to reflect on certain phenomena in contemporary media society.

Ending this issue on cultural iconicity is Bent Sørensen's article "Images of Freud. Icon Work" about the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. Sørensen points out that not many cultural critics or other academic figures become so well known in the general public that one can argue that their physical image (whether based on photographs, films, portraits and caricatures) has become iconic, along with a wide-spread dissemination of their intellectual ideas. This however is undoubtedly the case with Freud, whose image is still immediately recognizable to a majority of the population of at least Europe and North America. Freud's ideas (albeit in popularized form) also travel with ease in current public discourses, ranging from cartoons, jokes and other forms of comedy to serious essays, fictions and films. This is, Sørensen argues, a phenomenon, which reflects the extent to which 'Freudian' ideas are incorporated in the dominant Western middle-class culture of the early 21st century, and he shows multiple examples of the practice of collaborative and adversarial, recuperative and *détournée* icon work on Freud's image.

As a concluding remark in this introductory article it should be pointed out that it has – besides from bringing forth some interesting analytical work and bringing attention to the topic of cultural iconicity – also been our hope to have our conceptual work here brought to the test, expanded upon, potentially criticized and entered into dialogue with. This has to some extent indeed happened – explicitly as well as implicitly – through the more or less elaborated theoretical reflections and discussions within the contributing articles. We hope the enclosed articles will inspire further work by scholars in this emerging field.

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Notes

1 http://www.ageofartists.org/make-space-for-playing-interview-with-tim-leberecht-part-1/

2 See for example: http://www.imagologica.eu/leerssen

3 The term 'iconosphere' was introduced by Polish architecture critic Jan Bialostocki in an unpublished series of lectures. Anthony Johnson gives the following explanation of the term's potential use in the discipline of imagology and by extension in cultural text studies pertaining to icon-work and the decoding of cultural iconology in Johnson, 2005: "[T]he iconosphere connotes [...] a mapped world of possibilities from a particular period which has been realized in material form: whether it be in paper, parchment, wood, silk, canvas, clay, stone, plastic, film, or even digitized and encrypted in binary code. Shored up against the irrecoverable horizons of knowledge which were available to past minds, the iconosphere of a period consists of the traces that have survived, in whatever form, from individuals of that passing world." (Johnson, 2005: 52-53).

akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

Deep England

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Abstract

Deep England as an icon arose during the Second World War as a unifying concept of everything English. This icon has, however, long historical roots, and its significance is not only patriotic, but it is also a reaction to modernity. The icon is materialized in a fictitious southern, rural and pastoral England with close-knit communities centred on the village green. A number of samples will be analysed to identify the cultural meaning of the icon in the light of the theories of Svetlana Boym (nostalgia), Marc Augé (places), Angus Calder (cultural history) and Paul Kingsnorth (sociology). Based on analyses of these samples the article finally suggests a cultural, semiotic definition of icons.

The samples are:

- Rupert Brooke: "The Old Vicarage, Grantchester", 1912
- Humphrey Jennings: *The Farm*, 1938, *English Harvest*, 1939 and *Spring Offensive*, 1940
- Terence Cuneo: "BRITAIN in WINTER", 1948
- J.R.R. Tolkien: "The Scouring of the Shire" from *The Lord of the Rings*, 1939-1949
- Agatha Christie: *The Mirror Crack'd from Side to Side*, 1962

- Norman Scarfe: *Shell Guide Essex*, 1968/1975
- Paul Kingsnorth: *Real England. The Battle against the Bland*, 2008
- *Midsomer Murder: Small Mercies*. 2009.

Keywords: #Deep England, #village, # nostalgia, #modernity, #icon

A poster from 1948 by Terence Cuneo for the Travel Association of the British Tourist and Holidays Board depicts a scene in a village street outside the pub the Flying Swan, an old slightly crooked building with a dangling painted pub sign on its front. In the foreground, a hunter with his two spaniels and his bag of three rabbits is talking to the squire on horseback and in riding dress and boots. In the background, the locals and a couple on a cycling holiday enjoy their pewter tankards of beer, pipes and cigarettes in the clear winter sunshine in front of the pub. The sense of community is stressed by the building in the poster being a public house, not a private one. All are in friendly conversation. At the bottom of the poster there is the caption "BRITAIN in WINTER". Is this really a picture of Britain in the winter of 1948? The question is the entrance to a wider research question of this article. It will examine the cultural meaning of renditions of English society of the nature of "BRITAIN in WINTER". It is the intention of the article to seek to explain why a semiotical construction of a rural and pastoral England with close-knit communities centred on the village green had become and possibly remains as an icon of English identity? The article will combine cultural history and sociological theories with a sample of different types of texts in the one hundred years from 1912 to today to find a pattern in the development of the icon of what has been called Deep England (Calder 1991, 182). The empirical material stretches over several media and genres, and as such, the approach of the article is consistent with the method called "a new imagology" by Anthony W. Johnson, which he describes as "a truly interdisciplinary field" (Johnson 2005, 50). In conclusion, the article will suggest how a semiotic process between an insecure and non-stable social reality and its textual representations can create a cultural icon. Here the term occlusion will be used to characterize this semiotic process of the production of icons.

Deep England: An Icon of a Perpetually Vanishing World

A sense of loss and longing, which seems to run through depictions of Deep England, can already be found in Rupert Brooke's poem written in May 1912 "The Old Vicarage, Grantchester" (Brooke 1918/2010, 91). The poem is structured around "here" and "there". The poet is in Berlin ("here"), and he is longing for the old vicarage in Grantchester, Cambridgeshire ("there"). Whereas even nature in Germany is characterized by discipline and order "Here tulips bloom as they are told", English nature is pastorally free: "Unkempt about those hedges blows / An English unofficial rose". Obviously, the poet's homesickness is connected to distance, but in the final stanza with repetitions of the words "yet" and "still" and its often quoted line "And is there honey still for tea?", time enters into his concern. Grantchester is not only far away, there is a sense of foreboding that the place has no permanence and that it will vanish and be lost, and the poet's wish for time to stand still may not be fulfilled "Stands the Church clock at ten to three?"

There is nothing new in associating the English countryside with loss. In *The Country and the City* (1973/1975) Raymond Williams has documented how rural life has always been disappearing and has always belonged to the past. Williams goes back in a selection of literary history through the centuries (Hardy, Eliot, Bewick, Crabbe, Goldsmith, Massinger, More, Langland) to illustrate how the country and rural life have always fallen victim to societal changes. The result is that country life and culture have always been something that has passed away and is no more, and Williams' destination is the Garden of Eden, as the first loss of the many to come (Williams 1973/1975, 18-22).

More recently, Paul Kingsnorth has travelled all over England to document the disappearance and loss of the parts of English culture, society, landscape, nature, economy and trade that are necessary to bind a community together and to shape a national identity or Englishness. Seven chapters in *Real England The Battle against the Bland* (2008) each contains case stories and statistics about the loss of rural pubs, canals, main street shops, non-industrial farming, local markets, orchards, and villages. Kingsnorth concludes that the result is loss of identity. The local places are drained of character and "replaced by things which would be familiar anywhere." (Kingsnorth 2008/2009, 6), and he sees his book as being "about promoting and

defending cultural distinctiveness" (9). Already in *The Heart of England* from 1935, Ivor Brown decries the new suburbs for their uniformity and anonymity: "What strikes one as so oppressive is street after street of exact similarity in all but name" (68).

Rural life, the country or the countryside have found their concentrated and iconic expression in the concept of Deep England, which was coined by Angus Calder in *The Myth of the Blitz* (1991). Angus Calder examines the intellectual history of the image presented of Britain in wartime propaganda. Geographically and culturally, Deep England is demarcated to this area: "There was a Green and Pleasant heartland, 'Deep England', which stretched from Hardy's Wessex to Tennyson's Lincolnshire, from Kipling's Sussex to Elgar's Worcestershire… It included those areas of the Home Counties around London that had not been invaded by suburban development. Parts of Kent, for instance, were 'deeper' than anywhere." (Calder 1991, 182).

In the three short films by Humphrey Jennings *The Farm* (1938), *English Harvest* (1939) and *Spring Offensive* (aka *An Unrecorded Victory* – 1940) the subject is purely rural. These films share some of the same footage of life in an East Anglia farm in Clopton through a spring day and of the wheat harvest at Sawston in Cambridgeshire. *Spring Offensive* is expanded with sequences about the importance of food production in the war economy and about the new War Agricultural Committees and an evacuee boy from Holloway. The Constable-like shots of farm life with pastoral harmony between animals, people, the land, the seasons and the slow tempo of country life culminate in a picnic scene, in which the womenfolk carry pitchers with home-brewed beer and refreshments to the harvesters' lunch-break. Two agents, however, disturb this static and traditional farm life of Deep England. The voice-over in *Spring Offensive* asks, "What will war mean to the countrymen?", and the harvesting sequences are a combination of an agricultural labourer working with a scythe to open the way for the new technology of the reaper binder. In other words, farming life is being changed by state or governmental interference and control of the War Agricultural Committees and by industrial technology, gyro tillers and tractors to plough up and drain grassland for wartime food production. Typical of Jennings (Christensen 2013, 115-135) this change is embedded in continuity because the agricultural committees are shown

to consist of the local farmers themselves, and the reaper binder cannot operate unless the edges of the field have been shorn by the traditional scythe. These three wartime propaganda films produced for The Crown Film Unit and the Film Division of the Ministry of Information are part of Humphrey Jennings' attempt to "to find the real character of England" (Aldgate and Richards 2007, 226). In this effort, rural life with its blend of modernity and continuity plays a central part, and in the context of Second World War propaganda film production, the role of the countryside and agriculture in the war effort was of importance. The Second World War had caused a renewed empowerment to the countryside as an economically crucial part of the war effort with its need to feed the population. The propaganda value of the English countryside and agriculture as described by Jennings in his films had this economic factor as one of its causes together with the cultural causes. The cultural cause was that the countryside with its organic continuity could become a patriotic icon that could unity the whole of Britain in the war. Calder mentions, "Jennings's troubled obsession with finding some interior essence of Britain" (Calder 1991, 181), and he concludes that this essence was found in the icon Deep England. The social consensus that was sought after in the war years and praised by Jennings was found here.

The Scouring of the Shire: Middle or Deep England?

The temporal insecurity in Rupert Brooke's "The Old Vicarage, Grantchester" with its questions of "yet" and "still" is repeated in the "Prologue Concerning Hobbits, and other matters" in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. The present and the past tense are used indiscriminately so that the effect is that this world of the Shire is out of time (Tolkien 1939-1949/1974, vol. 1, 13). The Shire in itself is as close as one may get to Deep England, but this is a lost Deep England, and *The Lord of the Rings* may be read as an elegy for this world. Most prominently, the chapter "The Scouring of the Shire" illustrates the destruction of the Shire through Saruman, an agent of modernity and industrialism (Tolkien 1939-1949/1974, vol. 3, 249). The critique of modernity and the lament of the loss of a world of chivalry based on neat gardens, orchards, farm-production and artisans is a regressive critique. No solutions are offered apart from escape to the Western Isles together with the elves.

The epic strife between orcs and hobbits in Middle Earth does not belong to peaceful Deep England. It has been suggested that the Shire is more Middle England and deeply conservative than Deep. In the article "The real roots of Middle England" Charlie Lee-Potter (2004, 25) asks: "Scared of modernity, obsessed with tidy houses, they call the lower orders orcs (or is it oiks?). What do the Hobbits remind you of?" The concept of Middle England is a politico-sociological one and it connotes a postulated majority of middle-class and lower-middle class people with right-wing views (Moran 2005). Deep England and Middle England are related ideological concepts, but there are decisive differences. Deep England is consensus seeking, whereas Middle England is aggressively defensive. Deep England is an alternative to modernity, whereas Middle England is a reaction to modernity. The habitat of Deep England is the ideal of an unchanged rural village with gardens, whereas the habitat of Middle England is the suburb with gardens centres. Middle England is an as exclusive as it is a defensive, political concept, whereas Deep England with its inclusive and unifying function has inherent power to be iconic of a whole nation's self-image.

A discussion of nostalgia may clarify the distinction between Deep and Middle England. Nostalgia can be defined as longing motivated by loss of the original object of desire and by its spatial and temporal displacement, as already seen in Rupert Brooke's poem. Svetlana Boym (Boym 2001, XVIII) has distinguished between two kinds of nostalgia, and this distinction can be applied to Deep and Middle England. Restorative nostalgia concentrates on the imagined past and seeks to rebuild it. This kind of nostalgia is characteristic of nationalist movements and revivals, and it is anti-modern. Reflective nostalgia concentrates on the longing for the lost past and the loss of it, and as such it is an ongoing process about the presents relationship to the past. Reflective nostalgia is constructive in the sense that it in its negotiation with the past makes use of it to define the present in a critical way, and not just seeks to recreate the past in the present as restorative nostalgia does. Seen in this light, Middle England's conception of the present is pure loss as expressed in the elegiac aspects of *The Lord of the Rings*, whereas Deep England becomes a tool of dealing with the present. Most clearly seen, Second World War British propaganda uses the icon of Deep England as an antithesis to fascism.

Shell Guides: Anthropological Places and Non-places

The Shell Guides each covering a county were published from 1934 to 1984. The series was financed by the Shell Oil Company, and notable general editors were John Betjeman and John Piper. The target group was the new middle-class suburban motorists, a fast growing number of customers. By 1933 there were two millions licenced cars in Britain and in 1938 three million (Heathcote 2011, 58). The guides advocated a mode of travelling that was motoring on the open road and arriving at an authentic and unspoilt rural, possibly secluded, village, which could not be reached by train. A guide typically contained a map, a gazetteer and some essays dealing with specific subjects pertaining to its county. Each guide was illustrated with a large number of black and white photographs.

The Shell Guides contain a paradoxical mixture of the modernity of the motorcar and on the other hand the ideal of unspoilt places to drive to or drive through. The cover photo of the *Shell Guide Essex*, 1968/1975, shows the street in the historic village Stepping from the point of view of a driver as he is entering the village from the open road, and there is a solitary pedestrian precariously walking in the middle of the village street. The meeting of the modern car and the ancient village cannot be completely harmonious. A closer inspection of this guide reveals, however, that this guide was a turning point in the general attitude of the series to modernity. The guide published before in the series, *Rutland*, 1963, written by W.G. Hoskins had a conservationist standpoint, and it regarded modern development as detrimental to authentic, rural England. There are echoes of Tolkien's "The Scouring of the Shire" in *Rutland*: "The worst blot on the landscape is not indeed buildings at all, but the hideous poles and wires of the electricity board." (Hoskins 1963, 8) In the 1975-edition of *Essex* its writer Norman Scarfe is cautiously optimistic as he describes how public planning has sought to retain the old in the new. He quotes from the policy statement of *The Essex County Council's Design Guide for Residential Areas*, 1973: "To perpetuate the unique building character of the County and to re-establish local identity…" (Scarfe 1968/1975, 7), and he praises a number of restoration projects, before he concludes that the tide seems to be turning. Nevertheless, after two pages about modern Essex in the seventies, the introductory essay of the book is about historical subjects, and it includes a stanza by John Betjeman:

The deepest Essex few explore
  Where steepest thatch is sunk in flowers
And out of elm and sycamore
  Rise flinty fifteenth-century towers. (8)

A survey of the subjects of the 122 illustrations in all in the guide indicates that also *Essex* presents an England of the past. 101 photos have historical subjects, primarily architecture, 15 photos show the modern world, and six are timeless, primarily nature. Ten of the illustrations show people, and almost ironically, considering it is a Shell Guide, only three photos have cars in them. On p. 133 of *Essex*, there is a photo of the modern world of transit. It has the caption EAST MERSEA, and most of the space of the photo is taken up by closely parked caravans. Only in the far background, the silhouette of historic buildings can be glimpsed. This photo illustrates the paradox of the Shell Guides. The desire of the guides to introduce the new car-owning, suburban, often educated middle classes to the heritage and landscape of authentic Deep England and Englishness, and the guides' invitation to their readers to go there, helped create a new kind of places that were without any social-semiotic meaning. They certainly did not have the iconic cultural significance of the authentic places written about with enthusiasm in the guides. This kind of places has been called non-places by Marc Augé.

The eternal and iconic Englishness that the Shell Guides document is severely disturbed by the non-places, which Marc Augé writes about in his *Non-Places An Introduction to Supermodernity*. These non-places are without social and historical memory and their function is transit. Examples are service stations, motorways, laybys, out-of-town shopping centres, leisure parks, caravan parks and airports (Augé 1992/2008, xxii, 28, 64). It is the kind of places berated by Norman Scarfe in *Essex*. The places that are iconic, and which provide the main content of the Shell Guides, also as we have seen in *Essex*, are what Augé calls anthropological places. These places and architecture embody especially local history, social memory and communal identity. Augé gives as examples provincial town centres with war memorials, churches and town halls. (Augé 1992/2008, 42-43, 53-54). The large majority of the places presented in the Shell Guides are anthropological in this sense of the word, and as places, they embody the iconic quality of Deep England. The con-

cept of the Shell Guides themselves as motorists' handbooks documents that the icon of Deep England with its manifestation of a rural world outside time is on its way to becoming a tourist attraction of a fictitious nature.

From St. Mary Mead to Midsomer: Deep England as Pastiche

The icon of Deep England and the English countryside in general was celebrated in the Shell Guides, but as the icon met with the reality of the motor car and its landscape demolishing accessories in the form of non-places, which are defined by their lack of social-semiotic content, the icon became threatened. Even a retreat into fiction was not always enough. A fictional representation of a Deep England village is Agatha Christie's St Mary Mead. Miss Marple's village was also being changed by modernity in the shape of the welfare state with a new housing estate, appropriately referred to as "The Development" by the villagers in *The Mirror Crack'd from Side to Side*: "One had to face the fact: St Mary Mead was *not* the place it has been." (Christie 1962/1984, 8-10)

The iconic Deep England village of St. Mary Mead has been reborn as pastiche in *Midsomer Murders*. The television series *Midsomer Murders* is set in a fictional English county, Midsomer. Apart from a spectacular high crime rate, this setting shares the characteristics of Deep England. The villages are always picturesque with well-trimmed hedges, and stable ingredients of each episode are the institutions of traditional English villages that according to Kingston's *Real England* are being lost at an alarming rate. One example is the village fete and flower show. In *Midsomer Murders,* the village flower show is the backdrop for murders, so that the series' reconstruction of Deep England and its community is negated. Here the icon of Deep England is merely pastiche, but it is still there. This is never more obvious than in the episode *Small Mercies* from 2009 where the village has been scaled down to an actual model village. The Bekonscot Model Village in Beaconsfield was used as part of the criminal plot. The body of a local young man is found dead in this model village, which is the chief tourist attraction of Little Worthy. In conversations in the episode, "the village" may sometimes refer to the real village and it may sometimes refer to the model village, thus stressing the unreality of both. The episode's

variation of the village flower show is a silly boat race. When DCI Tom Barnaby surveys this traditional communal celebration, he remarks: "You see, Jones, you look at this. You'd think you were in some kind of rural paradise, but how wrong you'd be!" Midsomer is pastiche of the icon of Deep England. As an icon, Midsomer is both unreal and real, and this middle semiotic position appears from the production notes in the Extra Features on the episode's DVD. The series *Midsomer Murders* is filmed in real locations, and as such, it is tied to English reality. However, the locations of each episode are a conglomerate of different locations from England, but these are edited together so that they form a specific Midsomer village and its surrounding countryside (Smith 2009).

As in the case of Humphrey Jennings' films from the late 1930s, Midsomer has been shot in real English, rural locations, but whereas Jennings' films were documentary with real, authentic local characters, Midsomer is fiction with well-known actors. It is the tension between fictitious plots and the real locations in Midsomer, which create a semiotic sign structure that results in a cultural icon. This semiotic process will be described in the conclusion of the article.

Deep England and the Semiotic Creation of an Icon

The iconicity of Deep England may be explained semiotically. During the article, it has been demonstrated that Deep England has the characteristics of an already vanished or a fast-vanishing world. Deep England is not real. Yet the significance of Deep England is all the stronger for this fact. In 1939, H.J. Massingham pointed out that the rupture between the country and the town had meant, "that the country really is regarded by the enormous majority as a picturesque playground." (Massingham 1939, 6) This reduction of the country to an aesthetic concept is also a reduction of the semiotic power of it as a signified. As an icon, the nearly vanished country and villages of Deep England have had semiotic content transferred from the signified to the signifier. The signifiers of Deep England have been exemplified in this article by different textual genres such as Brooke's poem, Jennings' documentary films, Cuneo's poster, Tolkien's fantasy novel, Christie's crime story, Scarfe's tourist guide, Kingsnorth's sociological tract, and the Midsomer TV-series. These textual cases span a 100 years, but they share and refer to the same signified, namely the concept of Deep England that was never

a real and stable place, but always vanishing. All the different textual forms of Deep England, of which we have seen some in this article, are potent with meaning of English identity that is far out of proportion with the actual existence of Deep England.

Based on this mechanism it is suggested here that this may be a general trait of cultural icons. Semiotically, a cultural icon is a sign where the signifier has achieved mythical proportions, and this achievement is based on the lack of balance between signifier and signified. A sign can become a cultural icon when it as a sign contains a much larger amount of signification than what the signified initially warranted. The Saussurean ideas of signifier, signified and sign were elaborated by Roland Barthes in his *Mythologies* (1957/1972), who added a second-order semiological system. In this, an overall new term or function, the myth was made up solely semiotically of a sign (the original combination of signifier and signified in the first-order semiological system) that became the new signifier. This new signifier then combined with a new signified to create a new sign. (Barthes 1957/1972, 115). This new sign Barthes called "signification" (117). Barthes gave the name "the concept" to the signified in this second-order process. The second-order process is a metalanguage as it is employed to speak about the first-order process, and myth has "a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us." (117) The initial distance mentioned above about cultural icons between the signified and the signifier where the sign contains more significance than the signified entailed can now be reformulated as the "significance" of Barthian myth. The "significance" of the myth is created through two semiological systems, a first-order and a second-order. Barthes points out that "the concept" (the signified in the second-order process) is elusive: "One must firmly stress this open character of the concept; it is not at all an abstract, purified essence; it is a formless, unstable, nebulous condensation, whose unity and coherence are above all due to its function." (119) The disproportion between signified and signifier is included in Barthes' description of myth. He writes that generally a signified can have several signifiers, and "In myth… the concept can spread over a very large expanse of signifier." In the same way as myths can have many signifiers, myth is unstable and changeable: "they can come into being, alter disintegrate, disappear completely." (120)

Kenyan G. Tomaselli and David Scott (2009) also approach their definition of icons through semiotics. Initially they point out the iconic (i.e. mimetic) nature of icons, and then they proceed to modify this representational function of icons: "Icons can be deceitful to the extent that they occlude as much as represent their object." (18)

The lack of balance between signifier and signified as suggested in this article as a characteristic of cultural icons has now been elaborated with Barthes' semiotic process of creating a myth, and with the addition of Tomaselli and Scott's definition we can now be more precise about this lacking balance, and we can term it "occlusion". There is a semiotic passage between the original signified (e.g. the idea of Deep England), and its iconic signifier (e.g. the samples in this article), but this passage is meandering, and the thoroughfare is partially obstructed by occlusion. As Tomaselli and Scott put it "In this way the gap between icon and object can be filled with invisible layers of semiotic function that, like successive glazes or laminates of glass, both highlight and occlude the object." (19) These "successive glazes" have coated the icon of Deep England in different ways through one hundred years of samples in the article, and we have seen how many different signifiers the "concept" (the signified in the second-order mythical process) of Deep England has had in this period. Each "concept" coming and going, but the initial signified in the first-order process remaining. It is therefore quite possible to regard a cultural icon in the light of Barthes' system of cultural semiotics to understand its changeable nature better. In this connection, Walter W. Hölbling's *US Icons and Iconicity* (2006) also stresses how signification is an element of cultural icons: "icons constitute an attempt to focus and anchor the sliding of signification, to freeze the social indetermination into hegemonic forms, and to foster social cohesion by placing consensus over conflict. They are in short, a central element in the manufacturing of consent." (9) This social and hegemonic mechanism of cultural icons to create consensus through social and historical processes of changing signification has been demonstrated in this article. A relatively large sample of different versions of the icon of Deep England all reflect changing culture, history and social conditions, yet they all refer to the signified of the first-order process, Deep England. By doing so they "anchor the sliding of signification", and they "freeze the social indetermination into hegemonic forms", so that the icon of Deep

England contains consensus. The article has demonstrated how different kinds of texts during a period of one hundred years have used an almost non-existing Deep England as an icon of Englishness and English national identity.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

Affective practice in the icon-city

Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space

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Abstract

An icon-city is a city where a pervasive narrative about an iconic event or figure is intentionally and explicitly attached to an urban space – an action that supplies the city with symbolic meaning because it is staged and experienced as the city of the specific icon. In this article, the focus of attention is on an icon-city where the icon is a historical person, namely the author Hans Christian Andersen and his city of birth, Odense. The article presents the concept icon-city as a setting for glocal heritage tourism and situates it as an analytical object for cultural studies. Thus, the icon-city is contemplated as an *experiencescape* where people represent themselves through the connection between the icon and the urban space. Methodically, the discourse analytical concept *affective practice* is put to use as a sensitizing concept in an analysis of the inauguration of the itinerary "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense". In the analysis, three significant themes are identified as pivotal research themes in studies of literary icon-cities: Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space.

Keywords: #icon-city, #Hans Christian Andersen, #cultural studies, #affective practice, #discourse analysis

Introduction

There are people who – because of their life and work – leave an imprint so thorough that their history of effect is reflected in generation after generation. As these people are repeatedly found valuable enough to be integrated in new cultural contexts, they become *more* than their biography and their work. The meaning and value added to them makes them specific signifiers of cultures – and when they are used as representatives of local, national or global narratives, they become iconic (Bom 2014a). All over the world, narratives about iconic events or figures are attached to places, comprising urban spaces. By use of Odense, the world famous fairy-tale writer Hans Christian Andersen's city of birth, as an example, a theoretical and analytical approach to icon-cities will be presented and discussed in this article.

The icon-city can be defined as a city where a pervasive narrative about an iconic event or figure is intentionally and explicitly attached to an urban space – an action that supplies the city with symbolic meaning as it is staged and experienced as the city of a specific icon.

Icon-cities that have obtained their status because of historical, iconic events count for example Berlin, where cultural narratives about the city's "doubly dictatorial past" (Fulbrook 2009) are communicated in a mix of material elements representing both pasts, such as Checkpoint Charlie, The Holocaust Memorial, The Berlin Wall and the stumbling blocks in front of houses of Holocaust victims. Analyses of this category of icon-cities will pay attention to how the past is "distorted" (Hewison 1987; Timothy and Boyd 2003, 244-54) in a specific urban space. As the case presented in this article is Hans Christian Andersen's Odense, the focus of attention is on the dynamic process where a cultural icon's life *and* work is attached to a city.

In this article the icon-city is presented as an object for cultural analysis. With this approach, the icon-city is regarded as a setting where hegemonic battles are fought over the discursive meaning attached to the icon, the city and especially the connection between the two. Geographer Shelagh Squire has argued that the use of the

cultural studies framework in heritage tourism studies enables an approach to tourism experiences as a "form of cultural expression and communication involving the appropriation of images between different symbolic systems" (Squire 1994, 117). This article takes Squire's statement as its point of departure and extends it further, as it is suggested that the distinction between tourism developers and tourists must be ignored, because all articulators can be analyzed as struggling equally to be parts of "the present" that "selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 6). A significant challenge in icon-cities – seen from a cultural analytic point of view – is that the processes where people represent themselves and their imagined communities (Anderson 1983) through "their" icons are global while the cities are local, and every process of representation is loaded with culturally specific feelings (Bom 2014b, 197-98). In the article it is suggested that these processes of representation can be analyzed as *affective practice* (Wetherell 2012). The case used to illustrate this is the inauguration of the itinerary "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense". The affective practice that surfaced at the inauguration is categorized in three themes that all shed light on what is at stake when people represent themselves through the connection between an icon and an urban space.

Approaching the icon-city as a theoretical and analytical concept

Heritage tourism is conducted in icon-cities. For the past decades, heritage tourism has been regarded as one of the most wide-spread and fastest growing forms of tourism (Herbert 1995; Poria, Butler and Airey 2003; Squire 1994; Timothy and Boyd 2006).

Studies of heritage tourism have grown and dispersed thematically concurrently with the rapid growth and dispersion of heritage tourists. Traditionally, the scholarly focus has been on either the supply of *or* the demand for heritage tourism. Apostolakis (2003) has argued that these different foci have transformed into two different paradigms within heritage tourism studies: The descriptive, product-oriented and the experiential, customer-oriented paradigm (799). Roughly put, scholars within the descriptive paradigm are concerned with the tangible aspects of heritage

tourism, focusing on different kinds of resource management (Fyall, Garrod and Leask 2003; Leask and Fyall 2006; Maitland 2006; Nuryanti 1997; Shackley 2001) and scholars within the experiential paradigm concentrate on the intangible aspects, paying attention to motivation and segmenting visitor markets, but also to how the individual tourist experience can be seen as a co-constructing factor on heritage sites (Dahles 1998; Herbert 2001; Poria, Butler and Airey 2003; Prentice 2001; Prideaux and Kininmont 1999;). Significant contributions to the field have originated from both paradigms, but the division has also had at least one unfortunate side-effect, namely the positioning of tourism developers as a concern for the descriptive group and of the individual tourist as a concern for the experiential group.

Within the field of heritage tourism, the situation in cities that contain some kind of attractive heritage has mostly been handled as a matter for management studies (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Hubbard and Lilley 2000; Maitland 2006; Murray and Graham 1997; Vong and Ung 2012). Very few heritage scholars have pointed to the otherwise obvious fact that heritage sites are also evident objects of analysis for cultural studies, because of their functions as stages where culture is produced, consumed and transformed in processes that concern the representations of identities and values (Herbert 2001, 317; Squire 1994, 106) expressed in dialogues "between folk experience, elite interests and actions of commodification and commercialism" (Harvey 2001, 332).

In the examination of icon-cities, however, it is pivotal to surmount this dichotomy between the tangible and the intangible, the developers and the tourists, as the icon-city is constructed in the tension field between the two: It is a tangible urban space that gains its significance through the affective and symbolically loaded discursive constructions of "its" icon. Using a term from O'Dell, the icon-cities can be perceived as *experiencescapes*, because "while experiences may be ephemeral, they are organized spatially, and generated through the manipulation of the material culture around us" (O'Dell 2005, 15). Following the lead of O'Dell, it can be argued that tourism developers, tourists and the population in icon-cities are all equal participants in the constant processes of (re-)construction and (re-)definition of the connection between the icon and the city.

Methodology

On the 24th of June 2014 an explicit connection between the urban space of Odense and Hans Christian Andersen was presented when the itinerary "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense" was inaugurated. The itinerary consists of 13 locations in the center of the city with historical relation to Andersen. The locations are connected with 2350 footprints. This concrete staging of the connection between Hans Christian Andersen and Odense is the object of analysis in this article.

The analytical approach is grounded in Neo-Gramscian cultural studies (Storey 1999; 2001). Cultural studies co-founder Stuart Hall, who was one of the most famous Neo-Gramscian scholars, defined culture as "sites of struggle", where individuals struggle to obtain hegemony with their meanings; meanings that can always be re- and de-articulated (Hall 1981, 233). Furthermore, Hall has suggested that culture is conjured up and systematically organized in representational systems of "shared meanings" (Hall 1997, 2): "(…) we give things meaning by how we *represent* them - the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them" (3). In line with Hall, Leurs has argued that Antonio Gramsci's "hegemonic class struggles" and the "meaning struggles" in cultural studies are compatible and that Neo-Gramscian cultural analysis therefore can use as guideline the threefold question of cultural studies presented by communication researcher John Corner: "What meaning is being construed, why is it this particular meaning and how does this particular meaning relate to power, knowledge and identity?" (Leurs 2009; Corner 1991). These questions and Hall's approach to cultural analysis work as guidelines in the case study below, as specific attention is paid to how people represent themselves through the icon, the city and especially the connection between the two, thereby adding symbolic meaning and value to the icon-city.

The two main characteristics of cultural studies analyses are that they are cross-disciplinary and multi-perspective in their attempts to understand and shed light on complex and composite cultural processes and phenomena (Sørensen et al. 2010, 116). Therefore, in analytical practice, the object of analysis will always be of more significance than the approach to it. Thus, the most important thing in

the analysis in this article is to make sense of what is at stake when different people from different positions represent themselves through the connection between Hans Christian Andersen and the urban space of Odense, and how these representations reflect the cultural processes where Odense is articulated as an icon-city.

In the case study, each element in the empirical material is analyzed as a representation of the connection between Hans Christian Andersen and Odense. The material is collected on different platforms around the time of the inauguration of the itinerary. One specific staging of this connection between icon and city has been chosen in line with discourse analyst Norman Fairclough who has suggested that fruitful material for discourse analysis can be selected from "moments of crisis" (Fairclough 1992, 230). Fairclough refers to "moments in the discourse where there is evidence that things are going wrong". In this article, moments of crisis are perceived as moments in discourse where things are put at stake, as it is expected that "visible aspects of practices which might normally be naturalized, and therefore difficult to notice" (230) surfaced when Hans Christian Andersen was explicitly and materially connected to Odense via the itinerary.

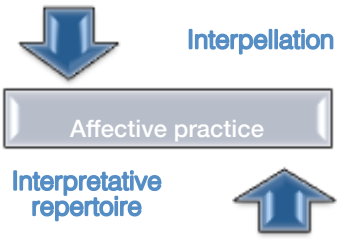
The empirical material consists of the author's observations carried out on the day of the inauguration, textual material, such as speeches given at the inauguration, the museum's application for funding of the route, the tourist material developed as a part of the initiative, and semi-structured interviews with the curator responsible for the itinerary and the director of the performance group who was a part of the inauguration.

All of these representational practices are founded on emotions and ideologically rooted conceptions – not facts. Therefore, these actions of representation are perceived as *affective practice*, a term coined by social psychologist Margaret Wetherell: "Affective practice focuses on the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do" (Wetherell 2012, 4). The analytical aim of this concept is to integrate the affective in the discursive because "affect is about sense as well as sensibility. It is practical, communicative and organized" (13).

The analysis unfolds as a discourse analysis. I have argued elsewhere (Bom 2014a, 34-71) that discourse analysis can be a fruitful analytical tool in Neo-Gramscian cultural analysis if concepts are

chosen and used as "sensitizing concepts" that can tell the researcher "what to look for and where to look" (Carpentier 2010, 259; Carpentier and De Cleen 2007, 273). The primary sensitizing concept in the analysis below is *affective practice*. As a sensitizing concept, *affective practice* can be used to examine the affective as a powerful element that embraces and intensifies feelings in discursive practice (7) and the discursive as the realm that very frequently makes affect powerful (19).

The sensitizing concept *affective practice* can be situated in the tension field between hegemonic *interpellations* (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 115) and *interpretative repertoires* (Wetherell and Potter 1992, 92), which consist of versions of "reality" available for the individual (Bom 2014a, 63). Thus, every articulation in the empirical material is perceived and analyzed as expressions of the dialectical relation between the structuring forces of society and people's actions in everyday life (cf. Wetherell 2012, 56). This methodical approach can be summed up in an analytical model (Bom 2014a, 63):



As it will be illustrated below, the model can function as a frame when research questions inspired by Corner are asked:

- What meaning about the icon-city is construed in representational practice?
- How is this / these particular discursive practice(s) justified and constituted?

The analysis is structured around three themes that were specifically dominant in the case of the inauguration of Hans Christian Andersen's Odense: Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space.

Hans Christian Andersen's Odense

> In these places, a visitor can still walk out of a house and into landscapes which have barely changed since the writer drew breath from them and breathed literature into them (…) We walk in our writers' footsteps and see through their eyes when we enter these spaces (Marsh 1993, xixv).

With the 2350 footsteps in Odense, the city presents an organized itinerary that weaves the city, Andersen's early life there and even his fiction together in one image. This specific offer of route-based tourism (Hardy 2003; Murray and Graham 1997) makes it possible for footstep-tourists (Sjöholm 2010; Waade 2013, 64) to conduct literary tourism (Herbert 1995; 2001; Squire 1994; 1996; Timothy and Boyd 2003, 40-3).

When the historical part of Odense and a tourist-oriented offer were connected explicitly at the inauguration of the route, a local affective practice about the icon and its city surfaced. This affective practice is here categorized into three significant themes that can be relevant in future cultural analyses of icon-cities. The three themes are ownership, authenticity and fictionalization.

1. The contested ownership

It has been argued that when local residents express negative feelings towards iconic fellow-townsmen it can be contemplated as a contestation of space (Hubbard and Lilley 2000, 229) but also as a contestation of who the "rightful owners" of the icon are: the tourists or the residents, the global or the local? (Bom 2013) of course, nobody owns the icon or the city in a legal sense. Any contestations of ownership are solely reflections of feelings and convictions, and can thus be analyzed as affective practice.

For several decades, the population of Odense has produced and re-produced a "very negative local self-understanding" (Kortbek 2013a, 136) and perceptions of Odense as a city that can do nothing right were hegemonic for years. These ideological convictions have also surfaced in connection to Hans Christian Andersen and thus, Odense has a very difficult and conflict-ridden history when it

comes to staging itself as Andersen's city of birth (Bom 2013; Frandsen 2007; Kortbek 2013b).

Recently, however, several stakeholders, politicians, researchers and citizens in Odense joined forces in what can be analyzed as a *hegemonic intervention* (Laclau 1993, 282f) by initiating a change in the affective practice of Andersen's Odense from negative to positive.

To name the route "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense" can be perceived as another attempt to settle the ownership in a positive manner. This was also expressed at the inauguration when the responsible curator addressed the local audience in this way: "'Hans Christian Andersen's Odense', it says in the invitation. You could be tempted to ask: (…) Hasn't Odense always been Hans Christian Andersen's Odense?' Maybe! – for us locals. But for tourists, Odense has just been a city with a Hans Christian Andersen Museum" (Lübker 2014). In this quote, the local ownership is articulated without reference to the "Hans Christian Andersen-sickness" that permeated the population just a few years ago (Bom 2013, 101). Instead, the curator uses the word "always" about the ownership and he constructs a "we": "us locals". Thus, he appeals affectively to an "imagined" local community that proudly owns and preserves its historical heritage. By positioning "the locals" in an imagined community glued together with the Andersen-heritage, the residents are reminded that a part of their local identity resides in the Andersen-legacy.

In the application for funding of the itinerary it is clear, though, that the locally oriented affective practice has a global dimension as well for the tourism developers. It is formulated like this in the application: "Andersen became a world citizen in his time and as an attraction he is a world citizen today. But the beginning of it all was local. Therefore, the project expresses a union of local cultural heritage with a global perspective" (Odense Bys Museer 2013). Thus, this initiative can also be perceived as an act of *glocalization* of heritage, in Robertson's sense of the concept (Robertson 1995, 30). The use of the route as an opportunity to generate meaning about being a resident in a glocal heritage attraction became even clearer in articulations concerned with the second significant theme: authenticity.

2. The negotiable authenticity

Every icon-city has reached its status because a cultural icon or an iconic event once was attached to it and thus, it holds a heritage that can be contemplated as authentic. At the inauguration, the local ownership of something authentic was a significant part of the affective practice. In her speech at the inauguration, The Head of Regional Development in Southern Denmark explicitly attached the local conviction of ownership to tangible, historical elements in the urban space: "We (…) don't have to invent new attractions. We already have the authentic surroundings from Andersen's time. (…) We have the authentic locations and buildings that meant so much for his childhood and later authorship" (Lohse 2014). The retention of the process where the local Andersen-legacy is passed on from one generation to another depends on both generations appraising it as a signifier of culture. By attaching this legacy to more than convictions and situating it in the city's "authentic" environment, the connection between the local icon and his city becomes a matter of both tangible and intangible heritage preservation.

Representational practice can be seen as a way of *doing* culture. In the presentation of their quadruple concept of culture, Sørensen et al. have argued that when people do culture, they show what they "have", "are" and "can" (Sørensen et al. 2008, 30). At the inauguration, the itinerary was articulated as a reminder of what Odense *has*. The Councilor of Culture in Odense expressed it like this:

> (…) I think we will realize that the big HCA-park we have talked about for so many years actually already exists. We have the authentic settings, we have Odense City Museum's great knowledge about Andersen and now we have got 'Hans Christian Andersen's Odense' to tie it all together. (Jegind 2014)

Of course, the authentic cannot be objectively captured and defined (Cohen 1988; Moscardo 2001; Taylor 2001) as everything is more or less conveyed and staged for the sake of tourists (MacCannell 1973). The design of the itinerary, however, does its part to appeal to authentic experiences as the footsteps are all Andersen's exact shoe size, 47, and the distance between each step is consistent with the estimated actual length of Andersen's strides.

Scholars have recently argued that the authentic experience does not necessarily stem from the confrontation with authentic objects. Rather, it surfaces in a complex mix between cultural values, ideological convictions and individual preceding perceptions of the place/icon (Herbert 2001; Jansson 2002; Sjöholm 2010; Squire 1994; Wang 1999; Waade 2013). As Teo and Yeoh put it: "As more and more tourists are attracted to a place, its authenticity will be put at stake. Tourists will select a destination not according to its intrinsic values of authenticity, but based on their expectations of the destination" (1997, 193).

This little snip of a conversation between two members of the audience at the inauguration illustrates how the itinerary appealed to their sense of authenticity:

> *Listener 1*: Your shoes are almost as big as his, aren't they?
> *Listener 2*: No, they are only a 45. But I *have* tried the footsteps through the pedestrian street. I had to see if I could keep up – and I could, but only just. But one shouldn't get too lazy – then he'll get ahead of me.

In this exchange of words, the listeners express an affective practice where they position themselves close to the historical person Hans Christian Andersen. On a local scale, the footsteps around the city can thus work as 2350 "unmindful reminders" (Billig 2001, 219) of the iconic fellow-townsman who once walked the "same" streets. On a global scale, the route invites any tourist in the city to walk in Andersen's footsteps and relate affectively to it in a way consistent with his or her individual interpretative repertoire. Thus, the glocal dimension in the itinerary is also present in negotiations of authenticity.

3. The fictionalization of urban space

The third significant theme that surfaced at the inauguration was the staging of a connection between the urban space and Andersen's world-famous fiction. One of the locations, for example, is the reconstruction of the place by the river where Andersen's mother worked as a washerwoman before she died of delirium tremens. In the folder published with the route, this location is described as follows: "Back then, the poor poet couldn't help her, but many years

later he restored her justice in the fairy-tale 'She was Good for Nothing'" (Odense Bys Museer 2014). In this way, Odense is staged as the city that generated the fairy-tales and thereby as a literary place where "imagined worlds vie with real-life experiences" (Herbert 1995, 33). This way of connecting life and work in the literary icon-city is a way of greeting the one thing tourists know Andersen for: His fairy-tales.

At the inauguration, a performance group contributed further to this fictionalization of the urban space (Sandvik and Waade 2008) as they performed actual incidents in Andersen's life at the exact locations. When Andersen was presented in Sct. Hans Church as a baby, he cried so much that the vicar bursted: "He screams like a cat!" This short historical anecdote was performed by the actors, and thus, the urban space and Andersen's life was transformed into fiction. In a subsequent interview, the director from the group said this about the fictionalization of urban space:

> …when people walk through their city they will have some markers where they say 'Once, I saw a young woman dressed in a tutu standing in that gateway on one leg, isn't that funny? I can still see her before my eyes.' It stays there, like a memory trace, and in that way, the city becomes vibrant, even when the magic has left again. (Juul 2014)

By the use of fictional markers on the itinerary it can be argued that Odense demands ownership of both Andersen and his work by constructing a material connection between the person and the fairy-tales. As the responsible curator stated in a correspondence with the author after the inauguration:

> The close connection between the biographical and the magical allowed this walk around Odense that has the historical as its launch pad but at the same time points to the magical. My hope is that people in use of the itinerary not only get a sense of the depths of history in the places (…) but that they also meet the trans-historical, existential qualities in the fairytales. (Henrik Lübker, email message to author, July 5, 2014)

This fictionalization of the material environment in the icon-city adds an imaginary, magical layer to the urban space, where tourists and citizens walk around in the "real life" Odense and an augmented version of the city, simultaneously (Sandvik and Waade 2008, 5).

Conclusion and perspectives

Icon-cities can be contemplated as managerial challenges or as generators for multi-faceted experiences. However, the purpose of presenting cultural studies as a framework for analysis of icon-cities resides in the scarcely explored tension field between these two paradigmatic approaches to heritage sites.

In this article, the representations that surfaced at the inauguration of the itinerary "Hans Christian Andersen's Odense" were examined as affective practice. The affective practice of Odense's Andersen and Andersen's Odense was categorized into three significant themes: Ownership, authenticity and fictionalization. These themes can also be analyzed as elements in a dynamic process where locals represented themselves through a glocal heritage attraction – the icon-city: In the representational practice, they positioned themselves as members of an imagined community that owns Hans Christian Andersen, and this feeling of ownership was materialized in the staging of authenticity and in the fictionalization of the urban space.

The itinerary Hans Christian Andersen's Odense is loaded with local symbolic meaning and value *and* presented for a global audience with its own preceding perceptions of the cultural icon Hans Christian Andersen. This glocal dimension in the affective practice of icon-cities can be further explored by focusing more on residents in icon-cities, but it can also be fruitful to extend the scope to international tourist experiences of ownership, authenticity and fictionalization of urban space, as people represent themselves through "their" icons no matter where they come from and no matter where they visit. The main challenge for icon-cities as heritage tourist attractions is to serve as tangible settings for these meetings – or collisions – between different discursive constructions of the icon.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

Circus days

The 1990s as an iconic period of time for Swedish Internet entrepreneurs

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Abstract

The article is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out on behalf of a research project about the Swedish startup/internet community and suggests that the 1990s can be seen as an iconic period of time for the Swedish Internet scene. It is argued that mental associations and imaginations associated with the 1990s are still relevant for the intellectual construction of the present-day internet-scene through providing a framework for the making of a *space* in Michel de Certeau's sense of the word. The article presents reoccurring themes from the interviews with the informants, highlighted as examples of important stories about the 1990s that are active in constructing the framework for the organization of later experiences.

Keywords: #internet bubble, #1990s, #entrepreneurs, #startup, #Sweden

Early spring 2013, in Soho, New York City. At a coffee shop, down the stairs from his brand new New York-office, I meet a young man dressed in what he tells me is his usual attire; head to toe in blue and yellow, the colors of the Swedish flag. Born in the second half

of the eighties, and already running a successful Internet based company that focuses on personal web shops (at the time for the interview, they have raised about 10 million dollars from American, British, German and Swedish investors) he has discovered the advantages of branding himself as a Swede in his line of work. Even though he was only a child in the 1990s, he still relates to this decade when he talks about what has become known as the "Swedish Internet wonder". In his opinion "senior players", meaning Swedish entrepreneurs that made money and gained experiences from "a couple of heavy gigs" back then, has been crucial for today's big Swedish successes, internet related companies such as for example Skype, Spotify and Klarna.

The idea that the 1990s are relevant also for the present-day internet-scene is reoccurring in material collected for this research project, set out to investigate Swedish Internet entrepreneurs. This is not only because money made then has been reinvested in new companies, but also in a more symbolic sense. This article explores how the 1990s are talked about and made into something that still carry meaning for the entrepreneurs that are active today, and thereby holds a status as an iconic and emblematic era for the scene today.

Background, research aim and theoretical starting point

This article sets out to investigate the significance of the period of the Internet boom/bubble in the late 1990s, before the NASDAQ-crash in 2000. It is explored how the so called second wave of Swedish internet companies in the latest years position themselves in relation to this period, and the article suggests that this era in Sweden in the 1990s can be understood as a period of cultural iconicity that holds a symbolic status for people within the internet/startup-community. The examination of the cultural iconicity of this entire era, is partly comparable to how for example Paul Heyer has investigated the era of Titanc as a cultural icon, where the final tragedy – much like the NASDAQ-crash - is the defining moment for in what way Titanic is talked about today (Heyer 2012).

The epoch has been glorified as well as accused of representing a built-up hype of overvalued, overspending companies. How does the Internet bubble affect the self-image of today's startups/internet companies and how does this period of time still create meaning today?[1] Sweden was in the late 1990s in the frontiers of the

development to a digital society, something that has later been examined by then active entrepreneurs, as well as researchers and writers (Elmbrandt 2005; Lindstedt 2001; Malmsten, Portanger & Drazin 2001; Willim 2002) Three particular reasons can be identified as especially contributing to the fact that Sweden had a head start when it came to Internet and the web. The first reason is the government's substantial and early investment in broadband infrastructure that made Internet access and penetration very good throughout the nation at a relatively early stage. The second factor is the so-called "home PC reform" (*hem-pc-reformen*) that the Swedish social democratic government launched in 1998. The reform gave everyone that was employed in Sweden the chance to borrow a computer to keep at their home and then later, if they wished, buy it, to a very favorable price. The third important factor usually pointed out as a reason for Sweden's early entrance on the digital arena is simply the fact that Sweden is a relatively rich country, with good welfare and free education for all.

The understanding of a cultural icon as something that is open to "a wide range of interpretive responses that in turn reflect prior interpellations of class, race gender and other social classifications determining individual subjectivity" as well as something that do not necessarily carry stable or fixed meanings over time (Hariman & Lucaites 2007, 28) is possible to link to Michel de Certeau's concept of space. De Certeau understands space as both a physical place and the mental image of the same place made up by the individuals that are using it, space is thus defined as a "practiced place" (1988, 117). One advantage with this definition is that it makes space into something both concrete and abstract. What create space are people's everyday routines, and their practices of places in everyday life, which also includes all sorts of stories and mental associations connected with these places. Michel de Certeau has expressed it as "everyday stories [...] are treatments of space" (1988: 122). Everyday stories thus tell us what we can do with the different places, and they are used to continuously help to create spaces so that they carry different kinds meaning to us. These stories can certainly be changed or challenged by new stories, but the new ones insert themselves in the old established ones, for the particular space; "the accepted framework" (de Certeau 1988:107). Consequently, this can lead to differences being understated at the expense

of the more familiar, which may explain how spaces become "mythical", well-known for one thing or one specific feeling – when contradictory and/or individual depictions are fitted into the larger framework that holds the main story about the particular space.

The place is here is defined as the specific physical locations and manifestations of the Swedish Internet scene and stories and associations connected with this physical place thus make this into to a space. A space is defined in the moment that it is created, and I suggest that the particular era of the 1990s still holds relevance in the creation of this space today. The article will show how the informants choose their preferred stories and artifacts and how these are being activated in the making of this space. Although this space is now stretched into a longer period of time, what the informants communicate about the scene today still relates back to what happened in the 1990s – and the new stories impose themselves into this given framework, which I propose can be seen as a sign of the iconicity of this specific period of time. In some ways this is done by the enforcement of the established stories and in some ways by opposing them, the article will give examples of both.

Empirical material and disposition

The article is based on the material collected for a research project about individuals that are now active Swedish Internet entrepreneurs or active in the start-up scene. Many of them have experience from the 1990s while some of them are too young to have been a part of the professional scene of that time period themselves. All of them, however, in some way relates to this era, that has at least been touched upon, but in most of the cases more thoroughly discussed in all of the interviews. The material consists of ethnographical fieldwork based on interviews and participant observation (e.g., Kaijser & Öhlander 1999). The fieldwork has been carried out between 2013 and 2014 in Berlin, New York City, San Francisco and Stockholm and consists of qualitative interviews with informants born in the 1970s, 80s and early 90s and participant observation. All interviews were carried out in Swedish and have been translated into English, original quotes in Swedish can be found in the endnotes.[2]

The article is structured around three reoccurring themes that are highlighted and are examples of stories about the 1990s, that I argue are active in constructing the framework for the organization of

later experiences. These themes are related to each other and therefor not entirely separable. Firstly, there is a tendency to talk about the period of the 1990s as being first and foremost about *exploring* and the experiences made primarily as a result of being part of something new and unheard of. Secondly, the era is in different ways described as *extreme* because of the raised expectations of the companies that made the evolvement very fast. The third theme is how the period is perceived as extremely *extravagant* and decadent when it came to spending money. I will now further go into detail on each one of these themes and after that sum up the article with a recapitulation of the most relevant conclusions and how the empirical material is possible to comprehend in relation to de Certeau's concept of space.

Exploring something new

The description of a feeling of being part of something exciting, inspiring and also rather immature is reoccurring in the interviews when it is discussed what it was like to work in the Internet-scene of Stockholm in the 1990s. One informant born in the beginning of the 1980s describes it like this:

> When people started writing about these Internet companies and stuff like that I was maybe 16 years old. So of course that was extremely inspiring. It led to my first job as a programmer that I got when I was 18. [...] It was a job at this trendy web agency in Stockholm. So I moved there and started working. I had no training in it; I did not even know what I was doing.[3]

The general narrative about the era is that everything was done for the first time and that everybody was more or less amateurs, which naturally offered opportunities for the young, even if they had little or no experience. It was a chance to gain knowledge and learn how to do something on your own. It is emphasized how the emergent scene made experts out of everyone that had the slightest idea on how to program. The websites were "amazingly […] boring experiences" at a start and everyone was looking for someone that could make them more interesting, one entrepreneur born in the early seventies states. He got to play an important role at one of the leading

web agencies in Sweden at the time and describes how the company instantly recruited him, although he did not regard himself as particularly qualified for the job:

> I remember I had some friend who was involved and then I went to a meeting and that was it... I had learned some HTML and that was enough to get a job. […] I was considered an expert [*laughs*]. But it was amazing, it was an incredible experience. Lot of young people who believed in themselves and above all leadership that believed in all the people they had hired.[4]

The unprofessional atmosphere and the newness of it all is emphasized by all of the informants that were involved in the scene. It is very much connected with the specific era and repeatedly turned into something that is considered actually quite favorable, because it is experienced as a creative and explorative time. One problem highlighted in the interviews, however, is the skepticism against the scene from the older generation, often represented by non-understanding parents, in doubt that the "Internet business" could ever lead to a meaningful career for their children. One of the informants tells a rather emotional story on how he tried to convince his parents and their friends of the bright future of computers and Internet:

> And I remember that my parents had some dinner party and I guess I was 17 or something and I sat and talked with some of my dad's friends, and then I said something that I had read in some computer magazine, that one year in the computer industry is like ten years in the car industry. And everyone thought it was *soo* funny, like they just could not stop laughing. But obviously they were wrong. So when I got my first job without having any training and my starting salary was higher than the salary my mom had, who had worked for thirty years at the Institute of Education, then I think they realized kind of like "hell, maybe there's a future here"[5]

The era's special status is clearly articulated in the interviews and the chance of being a part of it is seen as something extraordinary

that only became reality for a few chosen ones. The younger entrepreneurs of the study who were not personally involved talk about this period of time with the same enthusiasm and also easily relate it to their own businesses today.

At the same time the era is thus described in terms of "amateurs' night" and similar accounts of the alleged non-professionalism that characterized the period, but also as "a great era" and "an incredible journey", that it was a privilege to experience, especially as an opportunity for young people, that got the chance to be a part of something that became historical. The "underdog" stories of how for example parents were in doubt are also turned in to stories about accomplishment, in the light of later success.

Extreme expectations

It is clearly described how the high expectations of the young companies made the era very fast and since the whole situation was so hyped; there was not always time to think things through. There are several accounts in the interviews of how the informants worked around the clock because it was so much fun, and also of an ideal where making quick decisions was preferred over making the right ones, since everything was done at a very quick paced speed. Some of the entrepreneurs are in this sense skeptical about the period and stress for example that their amateurism led them to make the wrong choices. However, even though the 1990s ended in the NASDAQ-crash, the crash is not really remembered as something traumatic or as something that had a particularly harsh impact, but rather as a good experience. One informant that owned a company that went bankrupt has a typical way of describing his feelings about the situation:

> I felt mostly like it had whetted my appetite, like this was fun, to *do* something. I mean, sure, the company didn't do very well, but I got inspired to keep on.[6]

The interviews are laden with spectacular stories about the recklessness of the era; for example one of the entrepreneurs describes how he at one point even hired his mother, until then a landscape architect, who had a personal interest in websites and was skilled enough to give them a "super cool website, with spinning things

and stuff like that". When the company went bankrupt his mother lost her job. Even though this seems like a rather stressful situation, being 20 years old and together with his partner, a friend the same age, being the reason that his mother was suddenly unemployed, it is still a story that places itself well into the framework of the foolish playfulness of the era, rather than as a story about something hard or painful. This is just one example of many of the same kind of "bad" stories that can be found in the interviews, but that are all imposed in the overlying story with the message that all incidents that took place during this period, good or bad, are still seen as good experiences, if nothing else at least as humbling and educating. The creation of this space as a bit extreme in this way primarily carries the message that the person telling the story is competent and has been able to navigate in this extraordinary environment.

Economic extravagance

The high valuation of companies in the 1990s generated sizeable investments in them. One of the informants that started working after he finished school in 1999 describes that year, the end of the first dotcom-boom as "still pretty much a circus"

> It was pretty unrealistic how companies were valued and the business plans were quite unrealistic and sometimes non-existent. But at the time it was enough to just say "the Internet blah blah the Internet blah blah" and then you got like piles of money flying in.[7]

There are a lot of descriptions from the informants of a reckless attitude in the companies that made it acceptable with wasteful and extravagant spending that stands as a backdrop to how many of the entrepreneurs now highlights a new economic moral. The crash has of course formed the view of this era as irrational and over the top while it is now regarded as status to be able to bootstrap a company and not take in that much investments, or to at least be in much more control of the investors and the money that comes in – to have money "flying in" is not at all an ideal or even acceptable. The informants empathize how the goal is not to make an exit but rather to work on building a sustainable business. Even the younger entrepreneurs that were not active then often put this in contrast to the

1990s. There are also reflections on the possibility that there might be a new Internet bubble, however the entrepreneurs tend to talk of themselves and their companies as more mature and not really at risk, although others might be. For example the scene in Berlin is by many considered especially immature and tend to be accused of accommodating "lifestyle entrepreneurs" that are "mingling instead of working"[8] and taking in (relatively) small amounts of cash from investors that they spend over a year without ever becoming profitable. The importance of bringing in the "right" money, meaning the right investors with a genuine interest in the company, not just speculation is expressed as an important lesson learned from the 1990s. Although regarded as important, the ideal is not just to grow to be able to create value for investors, what is really being emphasized is being able to build something lasting, but also to be able to "change" or "have an impact" on the world, or on peoples daily lives. A strive to "make things better" is reoccurring in the interviews:

> So the drive has never been like "it would be nice to have a tech startup and earn a lot of money". It's that too, but I mean that's not it, that's not where it begins [...] I mean there's no shortage of things that can be improved in society by using technology you know! [...] You feel kind of like: do we really need another photo sharing-app, you know? [...] Sometimes I feel that people are watching other tech services too much, when they want to start a tech service – instead of looking at society.[9]

The ability to change through the actual service provided is not the only thing emphasized. The New York-based entrepreneur described in the beginning for example states that he would like to contribute to developing economic structures for entrepreneurship in poor countries for example through providing microloans or investing in infrastructure for shipping.

These are examples of how a new story, that of social responsibility, is lifted. However, it is also clear how it imposes itself in the established framework, which the 1990s have played a significant part in creating. The main story still concerns business and entrepreneurship per se, which is obvious when the young entrepreneur is asked follow up questions about his engagement:

> I also think it's about ... well like this ... it's somehow also superficial. Like how... how big can it get? […] It feels like an exciting challenge [*laughs*] like being able to act on such a global playing field [...] I guess it's a lot about the challenge of getting there. The correct answer I guess would be like "Yeah I really care about the difference we can make"; I *will* be very proud of the difference if we would get there, but what really drives me is more the challenge than the impact.[10]

According to de Certeau space is created in part through "crack[s] in the system" that allows for different stories, and this is what makes spaces habitable (1988, 105). This last example, as well as some of the earlier, illustrates how this is done without the core story being totally challenged, which will now be further discussed in the final conclusions of the article.

Conclusions

As the examples have shown, the memories, imaginations and stories relating to the 1990s continue to effect how the informants talk about their work, and the Internet scene is still affected by the understanding of this decade as a very significant era. I argue that it is possible to see the 1990s as a temporal unit that is very important in creating the main framework for what in de Certeau's meaning can be defined as the space being the Swedish Internet scene as a whole and as a period that holds an iconic status (cf. Heyer 2012). The article has given several examples of how contrary elements fill the established form of the story, when new components are being inserted into "the accepted framework" (de Certeau 1988, 107). One example is how the 1990s are described as a phase characterized by amateurism and exploring the new, which becomes the framework for later success stories about catching opportunities and gaining individual competence. Another is how the scene at a more collective level is described as extreme and relatively chaotic, but how bad incidents and occurrences are later understood mainly as good learning experiences. Further, the notion of extravagant spending as typical for the scene before the NASDAQ-crash has now become the framework for a new contrasting economic morale where control over money and better, or even philanthropic values, are new

opposing stories that impose themselves in the established framework. Both the past and the present can be put to practice in the making of space - which experiences and stories are being highlighted depends on the circumstances relevant for the very moment space is created (de Certeau 1988, 117). This is why both bad experiences from the 1990s and later, better, experiences together make up the stories that create a space characterized by the stories of success and professionalism rather than failure. This is also possible to understand through the idea that the creation of a space is often tactical (de Cerateau 1988, xix). The core stories are however functioning as a backdrop and the associations related to the 1990s still have a big influencing. Some of the stories are being held on to, for example there is a slight tendency to glorify the foolish and sometimes reckless atmosphere surrounding the iconic era and even though new stories of corporate responsibility are arising, there is still frankness about the fact that entrepreneurship and corporate success is really what comes first. The stories formulated out of associations, mental images and fantasies related to the 1990s are, although challenged, still very active in forming the space of the Swedish Internet scene today.

Notes

1 For the project as a whole, questions concerning national identification in a global context have been the main focus for research. This article more exclusively sets out to portray the starting point for when a professional national identity was established in this particular context.

2 The interviews with the 23 informants are about one hour long and have been recorded and then transcripted. The participant observation consists of visting the informants at work participating in meetings, but also visting the informants at home and meeting them off hours on their free time. All informants are anonymized.

3 "När folk började skriva om de här internetbolagen och sådär då var jag kanske 16 år gammal. Så det är klart det var ju jätteinspirerande. Det ledde ju till mitt första jobb också som programmerare som jag fick när jag var 18. […] Det var ett jobb på en såhär trendig webbyrå i Stockholm. Dit jag flyttade då och så började jag jobba där. Jag hade ju ingen utbildning i det, jag visste ju inte ens vad jag höll på med." Interview with informant 1.

4 "Då hade jag nån kompis som var involverad då gick jag på ett möte. Jag hade ju lärt mig att knacka lite HTML och det räckte ju för att få ett jobb liksom. […] Man var ju en expert [*skrattar*] men det var fantastiskt det var ju en otrolig erfarenhet. Massa unga människor som trodde på sig själva och framförallt ledarskap som trodde på alla människor de hade anställt." Interview with informant 2.

5 "Och jag kommer ihåg att mina föräldrar hade nån middag nån gång och jag var väl 17 år eller nåt och så satt jag och snackade med några av min pappas kompisar och då så sa jag nåt citat som jag hade läst då i nån datortidning såhär att ett år i datorbranschen det är ungefär som tio år i bilbranschen. Och alla tyckte det var såå kul de bara garvade de kunde inte sluta skratta såhär. Tji fick dem. Så att sen när jag fick mitt första jobb utan att ha nån utbildning och min ingångslön var högre än min mammas som hade jobbat i trettio år i lärarhögskolan, då tror jag att de insåg lite såhär bara 'fan, det kanske finns en framtid här'." Interview with informant 1.

6 "Jag kände mest såhär blodad tand att det här var kul, att göra nånting. Visst att bolaget inte gick så bra, men man blev inspirerad att göra nånting, fortsätta." Interview with informant 3.

7 "Det var ju ganska orealistiska företagsvärderingar och det var ganska orealistiska och ibland obefintliga affärsplaner. Men just då så räckte det ju med att säga internet "blabla intenet bla bla" och sen så kom det liksom högar med pengar flygandes." Interview with informant 4.

8 Interview with informant 3.

9 "Så drivkraften har ju inte varit "det vore nice att ha en tech-startup och tjäna massa pengar" såhär. Det är det också, men jag menar det är inte det, det är inte där det börjar […] jag menar det är ju ingen brist på saker som kan bli bättre i samhället med hjälp av teknik liksom! […] Man känner såhära behöver man ytterligare en photosharingapp liksom så? […]Ibland kan jag känna att folk tittar för mycket på andra techtjänster när de ska starta en techtjänst istället för att titta på samhället." Interview with informant 5.

10 "Jag tror också det handlar om… alltså såhär… det är väl också på något sätt ytligt. Alltså hur… hur stort kan det bli? […] Det känns som en spännande utmaning [skrattar] liksom att kunna agera på en så global spelplan. […] Det är väl mycket såhär utmaningen att komma dit. Det rätta svaret är väl såhär "jo men jag brinner så mycket för den skillnaden vi kan göra"; jag *kommer* vara jättestolt över den skillnaden om vi nu skulle komma dit, men det som driver mig är mer utmaningen än impacten." Interview with informant 6.

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Unpublished

Interviews with 23 informants carried out between 2013 and 2014 in Berlin, New York City, San Francisco and Stockholm. All transcripts and recordings are in possession of the researcher.

Research notes from field work in Berlin, New York City, San Francisco and Stockholm between 2013 and 2014.

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Volume 10 • 2015

Variations of a brand logo

Google's doodles

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Abstract

Provisional changes of the well-known Google logo have been a recurring phenomenon on the front page of the search engine since 1998. Google calls them "doodles". The doodles are variations of the Google logo that celebrate famous individuals or cultural events, but the doodles also point to the iconic status of the Google logo as a locus of creativity and reinterpretation. The article explores the iconic status of the Google logo as expressed in the doodles. On the basis of a multimodal typographic analysis of a sample of Google's doodles from 1998 to 2013, the article identifies different types of relations between the well-known Google letters and the new graphic features. The article examines how these relations produce and communicate brand iconicity, and how this iconicity has developed from a typographic perspective.

Keywords: doodle, Google, logo, typography, visual identity

Introduction

A drawing of a stick man behind the logo on Google's start page on August 30, 1998, marks the beginning of a remarkable semiotic

phenomenon related to the Google logo, the so-called "doodles". The stick man refers to Google founders Larry Page's and Sergey Brin's attendance in the Burning Man festival (Google 2014a). From 2000, webmaster Dennis Hwang begins to create doodles more frequently, and today the creation of doodles is dedicated to a full-time team of graphic designers, animators and engineers (Google 2014b). Google describes doodles as "the fun, surprising and sometimes spontaneous changes that are made to the Google logo to celebrate holidays, anniversaries and the lives of famous artists, pioneers and scientists" (Google 2014a). However, the doodles also seem to celebrate the Google logo itself. This article explores the iconic status of the Google logo by an analysis of typographic variations in doodles. The aim of the article is to understand how doodles construct and communicate brand iconicity.

Google and the doodles

Following Danesi's categorisation of logos, Google's logo is a "letter logo": "a visual iconic rendering of the brand name that stylizes the letters (or one of the letters) of that name in some distinctive way" (Danesi 2013, 469). The first version of the present Google logo was designed by Ruth Kedar in 1999 using Catull typeface (Zjawinski 2008a). Compared to its original shaded typography, the logo has developed towards a more flattened typography due to design changes in 2010 and 2013, but the logo still appears in the same (but slightly modified) colours.[1] Thus, the logo has maintained an overall recognisable visual identity throughout the years, visually suggesting "continuity" (Floch 2001, 33). In semiotic terms, the logo is a visual sign "standing for the brand in some way" (Danesi 2013, 468), and at the same time differentiating the brand from other brands (Floch 2001, 33). According to the designer of the logo, the "old style" serif typeface is intended to create a link to searching as a "look into the past" (Zjawinski 2008a). Moreover, the different colourings of the letters connect Google to ideas of playfulness and innovation. The use of primary colours (blue, red, yellow) and the insertion of a green letter instead of another yellow letter in the sequence of letters point to meaning potentials connected to the mixing of new colours (cf. blue and yellow make green). Likewise, changing the order of colours from blue, red and yellow to blue, green (not red, nor yellow) and red (not yellow) in-

dicates a brand that is full of surprises and inventive of new ways. As explained by Kedar: "We ended up with the primary colors, but instead of having the pattern go in order, we put a secondary color on the *L*, which brought back the idea that Google doesn't follow the rules" (Zjawinski 2008b).[2]

Google's "Doodle Archive" – comprising around 2,000 published doodles from 1998 and onwards – bears witness to the design of doodles as an important branding activity within the company.[3] However, being provisional logos that replace and alter the Google logo in different ways, the doodles represent a somewhat peculiar branding phenomenon. On the one hand, the doodles distract attention from the Google logo as they refer to individuals or cultural events (mostly) not related to Google. Moreover, the doodles function as clickable search entries to what is celebrated (usually, the Google logo is not clickable). On the other hand, the doodles seem to point to the power of the Google logo inherent in its 'capacity' to refer to something else. Yet, this power also relates to the function of the doodles as clickable search entries which demonstrate the use of the search engine. Accordingly, the doodles demonstrate the nature of Google searching.

Method

On the basis of an empirical study, the article will now explore the Google logo's iconic status as expressed in the doodles. The study involves a multimodal typographic analysis of a large sample of doodles. The sampling is based on Google's archive (https://www.google.com/doodles), which presumably comprises the most complete and readily accessible collection of doodles on the web, compared with captured doodles in wide-ranging web archives such as the Internet Archive.[4] Google's archive is organised in reverse chronological order and, as a minimum, it provides information about the celebrated event, date of publication and the geographical reach of each doodle. Due to the researcher's geographical location, the study will focus on doodles published in Denmark. However, this 'centralised', 'small country' starting point turned out to be an appropriate strategy for identifying typographic variations even in a global perspective, as most doodles displayed in Denmark were displayed in other countries as well.

Since Google's archive does not allow for country based browsing, nor provide effective searching by country, the registration of doodles was 'made by hand' by systematically browsing the archive from 1998 to 2013. At the outset, the unique URLs of all doodles showed in Denmark were listed, and the events celebrated by the doodles were registered. To document the global reach of the sampling procedure, other regions displaying the doodles were also registered. Next, the collected material was subjected to several selective reviews. First, all registered doodles were reviewed in a chronological order, focusing on typographic variations of the logo. This procedure included tentative descriptions of every new variation appearing in the doodles regardless of what was represented. More specifically, it was described how the logo was altered by means of, for example, 'overlapping graphic elements', 'letter replaced by picture' or 'logo in new colours'. Next, the described variations were analysed in more detail in order to enable the identification and grouping of more general types of typographic variations appearing in the sample.

The aim of this explorative approach is to identify variations in the sample, not to calculate on statistical significance. Furthermore, the study will not take into account the reasons for particular events being celebrated in specific geographical areas, or the reasons why particular events are represented in particular ways. The study is inspired by research on typography as multimodal sign-making (Stöckl 2005; van Leeuwen 2005). In particular, the study will draw on Stöckl's framework proposing "microtypography", "mesotypography", "macrotypography" and "paratypography" as levels of description (Stöckl 2005). Compared with studies related to specific typographic elements, for example, the effects of animation (Malik, Aitken, and Waalen, 2009), typeface (Grohmann, Giese, and Parkman, 2013), or the use of visual elements in logos (Cian, Krishna, and Elder, 2014), this study will concentrate on the doodles' various typographic features and their interplay.

The sample

The sample comprises 439 doodles registered from 1998 to 2013. As illustrated in Table 1, only six doodles in the sample were showed exclusively in Denmark. Most doodles showed in Denmark were showed in other parts of the world as well.

Regional reach of doodles in the sample (N=439)	Number
Denmark only	6
Denmark and other European countries	432
Denmark and North America	413
Denmark and Latin America	408
Denmark and Africa	403
Denmark and Middle East	393
Denmark and Asia Pacific	421

Table 1: Regional reach of the doodles in the sample.

The doodles in the sample generally celebrate a wide range of events, including the celebration of holidays (Valentine's Day, Christmas, New Year, Halloween), global sport events (the Olympic Games), and the celebration of scientists, artists and writers. Emphasising the playfulness related to the doodle phenomenon (and to the Google logo), the doodles often celebrate 'surprising' anniversaries, for example "Claude Monet's 161st Birthday" (2001) or "Niels Bohr's 127th Birthday" (2012). Most doodles appear as 'single' doodles, but the sample also includes 'serial' doodles, for example doodles designed in the same style (during the Olympic Games, for instance) or doodles forming a narrative.

Typographic variations

The sample provides the basis for identifying different types of relations between the Google letters and the new typographic features represented in the doodles. Thus, the analysis does not aim at describing different *types* of doodles, but typographic *variations* in the doodles. This means that one doodle may include one or more of the described features. In the following, the identified typographic variations in the sample will be presented.

Letters together with illustrations. As exemplified by the first doodle from 1998 (the "Burning Man Festival"), typographic variation appears as the use of the well-known Google letters together with graphic illustrations. This variation is related to "macrotypography", which in the present context refers to the overall graphic organisation of the logo, including constellations of letters and images

(cf. Stöckl 2005, 209). The Google logo is accompanied by one or more illustrations signifying the celebrated event. The illustrations appear to be distinct from the logo, either clearly separated from the logo (beside, beneath or above), behind the logo or overlapping the logo. While the overlapping illustrations sometimes represent the Google letters partly covered, for example 'dressed' in clothing or hats, the logo remains intact and easy to distinguish from the image elements (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: "Happy New Year 2000". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Letter(s) replaced by illustration(s). Another 'macrotypographic' variation registered very early in the sample (from 2000) is the replacement of one or more of the Google letters by graphic illustrations. The inserted illustrations should primarily refer to the celebrated events. But, at the same time, they hint at the replaced letters by means of colours or shapes, for instance. In a doodle celebrating Valentine's Day (2000), the two 'o's are replaced by two hearts (referring to Valentine's Day), but the colours and 'roundness' of the hearts also refer to the letters they replace. Likewise, in Figure 2, the first 'o' is replaced by a drawing of the celebrated person (Ray Charles), suggesting the shape of the missing letter.

Figure 2: "Ray Charles' 74th Birthday" (2004). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

More radical variants of this type of typographic change are registered in the sample from 2006. In a doodle celebrating Louis Braille, the Latin letters are replaced by Braille letters in Google colours ("Louis Braille's 107th Birthday"). However, the sample also represents doodles in which all the letters are replaced by illustrations without colour references. As exemplified in Figures 3 and 4, the

shapes and numbers of letters are only vaguely suggested. The most radical example is the replacement of the Google letters with a black barcode (see Figure 5).

Figure 3: "Constantin Brancusi's 135th Birthday" (2011). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 4: "226th Birthday of John James Audubon" (2011). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 5: "Invention of the Bar Code" (2009). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Letters in new colours, textures and typefaces. Variations connected to the individual letters in the logo relate to "microtypography" (Stöckl 2005, 209). In the sample, 'microtypographic' variations are registered from the year 2000 in a series of doodles referring to the Olympic Games in Sydney. These doodles represent the Google letters in the original typeface, but in the colours of the Olympic rings. The sample also includes ornamented or patterned letters, as illustrated in the Mondrian-style letters in Figure 6, as well as letters with new types of lightings and shades. Moreover, 'microtypografic' variations are registered as imitations of texture considered as "an illustration of tangibility, by shifts in focus and colour and by patterns of lines and shapes" (Djonov and van Leeuwen 2011, 541). These variations represent the letters in a Google-like typeface which imitate – or remediate – other types of material substances, for example painted letters (see Figure 7), drawn letters (see Figure 8) or letters made of marble (see Figure 9).

Figure 6: "Piet Mondrian's 130th Birthday" (2002). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 7: "Claude Monet's 161st Birthday" (2001). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

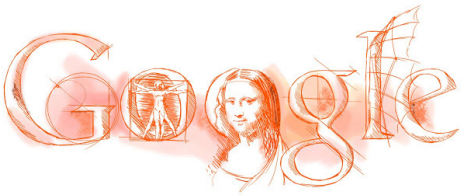

Figure 8: "Leonardo da Vinci's 553rd Birthday" (2005). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 9: "Michelangelo's 528th Birthday" (2003). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Typographic variations on the typeface level are closely connected to the imitation of textures and the replacement of letters by illustrations (cf. above). As illustrated in Figure 7, the porous contours of the painted letters even point to the disintegration of the typeface. Yet, perhaps more remarkably, the replacement of letters with letter-like illustrations exemplifies the complete disappearance of the typeface (see Figure 10).

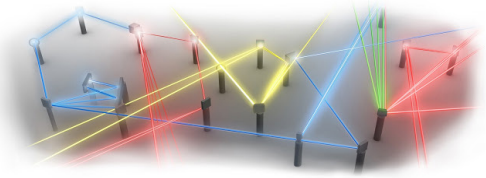

Figure 10: "Invention of the First Laser" (2008). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 11: "Anniversary of the Ice Cream Sundae" (2011). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Replacements of the original Google typeface with other 'real' typefaces are registered relatively late in the sample. In a doodle from 2010 celebrating the anniversary of Pac Man, the Google logo is represented in a Pac-Man style typeface. The replacement of Google's typeface with more conventional typefaces is illustrated in Figure 11.

Reorganised letters. Logo variations in which the Google letters are reorganised or seem to 'break out' from their usual position in the logo are registered early in the sample (from 2000). These 'mesotypographic' variations are related to "the configuration of typographic signs in lines and text blocks" (Stöckl 2005, 209) and appear in different shapes. In Figure 12, the enlarged space between to two o's redefines the letters as illustrations of gymnastic rings. In a doodle celebrating Valentine's Day (2003), a slanted font adds human-like qualities to the letters (the 'l' and the 'e' are 'attracted to each other'), and Figure 13 shows an example of letters expressing acceleration by means of reduced spacing and reshaped letters.

Figure 12: "2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney – Gymnastics". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 13: "Large Hadron Collider" (2008). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Letters in sceneries. Inclusion of the Google letters in different types of sceneries shows early in the sample, for example in a doodle from 1999 in which partly overlapping white shapes and snow-

flakes make up a snow-covered landscape ("Happy Holidays from Google"). Later on, more detailed sceneries are registered. The sceneries now represent illusions of depth, and the letters appear as more 'integrated' elements in the sceneries (see Figures 14 and 15). Unlike the non-framed Google logo, the sceneries also involve distinct framings (see Figure 15).

Figure 14: "Halloween 2003". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

Figure 15: "Halloween 2007". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

As is the case for the development characterising letters replaced by illustrations, the inclusion of letters in sceneries involves the blurring or total concealment of the letters (see Figures 16 and 17). The Google letters become objects to search *for*, thus inverting or playfully hinting at Google as a tool to search *with*.

Figure 16: "40th Anniversary of Moon Landing" (2009). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

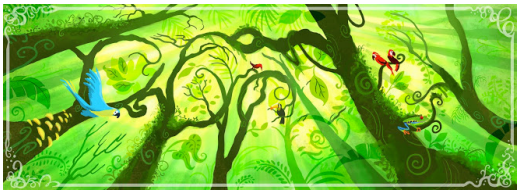

Figure 17: "Earth Day 2010". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

From 2010, animated and interactive doodles are registered in the sample, and from 2011, doodles including moving images are registered. While these doodles represent one or more of the aforementioned typographic variations of the Google logo, they also implicate 'paratypographic' variations connected to "materials, instruments and techniques of graphic sign-making" (Stöckl 2005, 210). Compared with the imitation of material substance in terms of texture (cf. above), these doodles involve 'new' technologies and modes for typographic sign-making, including graphic animations, moving pictures (film), sound and user input. In the following, the "paratypographic" variations of the Google logo will be outlined in relation to movement and transformation.

Movement. The first animated doodle registered in the sample represents the original Google logo with an apple (and its branch) replacing the first 'o' ("Sir Isaac Newton's 367th Birthday", 2010). In the doodle, movement – an apple falling down – is connected to the illustration that replaces the letter. Likewise, in interactive doodles (which allow for different types of user input), movement is registered in combination with animated graphic elements surrounding the logo. In a Pac-Man style game setting formed by the Google logo and accompanied by electronic sounds, the Pac-Man doodle (see Figure 18) represents various moving game objects to be 'eaten' by the yellow circle. At the same time, the doodle exemplifies movement initiated by user interaction. As in a computer game, the user is able to control the course of the yellow Pac-Man by using the keyboard.

In the Pac-Man doodle, the user is performing movement *around* the logo letters. In other interactive doodles, the user's performance of movement implies other types of relations to the brand name, for example detached from, in front of, or beside the logo letters (cf. interactive doodles for the Olympics Games in London 2012, in which the user can 'compete' in disciplines such as "hurdles", "basketball" and "soccer"). User initiated movement is also registered as the disclosure of an otherwise absent Google logo by opening 'doors' (see Figure 19).

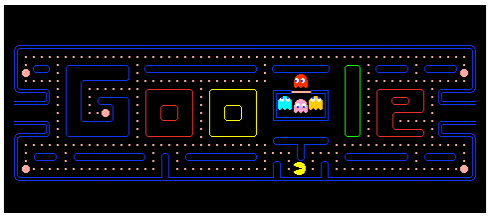

Figure 18: "30th Anniversary of PAC-MAN" (2010). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

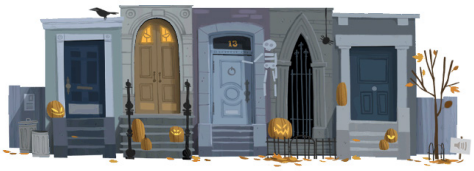

Figure 19: "Halloween 2012". Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

In filmic doodles, movement is connected to objects surrounding or carrying the logo in the film. In a silent film celebrating Charlie Chaplin (2011), the brand name appears in different typefaces as a heading in a newspaper, as 'letter sculptures' on a carriage, and in a drawing. The brand name is fully integrated in the filmic setting (*on* and *as* requisites – as a type of 'logo placement'), thus taking part in a narrative. In an animated doodle celebrating Saul Bass (2013), the brand name appears in a rhythmic arrangement. An animated sequence accompanied by music playfully represents the brand name in at least seven different typefaces and colours. In this doodle, movement serves to focus on the Google logo as a subject of continuous remaking.

The various types of movements connected to the logo (or altered versions of the logo) mentioned above differ from that which Brownie describes as "temporal" or "fluid" typography in which "letterforms transform to become other letters, pictures or objects, hence altering their fundamental identity" (Brownie 2013a, 168). In the present context, this type of typographic variation will be identified as multimodal processes of transformation in which 'something' turns into or emerges as 'something else'.

Transformation. In the sample, two transformation variants are registered. The first variant is related to sequential representations such as animations. In a doodle celebrating John Lennon (2010), animated drawings of flowers, leaves and butterflies accompanied by music combine to form the brand name. This doodle represents transformation as a multimodal process, including changes from

lines to pictures to letters. A similar photographic variant of transformation is illustrated in a doodle referring to Earth Day (2012). This doodle involves of a 'fast-moving' photo sequence of the brand name represented by flowers bursting into bloom.

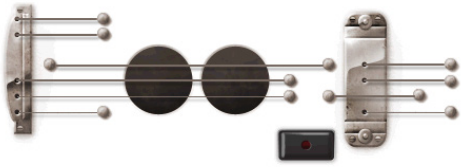

Figure 20: "Les Paul's 96th Birthday" (2011). Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc., used with permission.

The second variant of transformation registered in the sample is related to interactive doodles. In a doodle celebrating Les Paul, the Google letters are replaced by graphic illustrations forming a guitar (see Figure 20). When the user 'touches' the grey strings, the strings turn into Google colours and sound emerges. The user thus becomes an initiator of multimodal transformations in which colours change into other colours, and graphic elements (also) emerge as sound elements. Hence, the doodle involves play with the logo as well as the guitar.

Summing up, the doodles in the sample include typographic variations of the Google logo at several levels (see Table 2). As the identified variations refer to features, each doodle may include one or more of the described features, and these features may be related to one (or a number of) letter(s), or to the entire logo. In addition, some of the described features may overlap, for example no clear line exists between 'letter-like' images (cf. *Letter(s) replaced by illustration(s)*) and letters with 'image-like' qualities (cf. *Reorganised letters*). Likewise, doodles in which all the letters are replaced by illustrations may resemble sceneries.

Microtypographic variations	Mesotypographic variations	Macrotypographic variations	Paratypographic variations
Letters in new colours, textures and typefaces	*Reorganised letters*	*Letters and illustrations* *Letter(s) replaced by illustration(s)* *Letters in sceneries*	*Movement* *Transformation*

Table 2: Overview of typographic variations of the Google logo.

As already mentioned, the analytical procedure does not allow for generalisations related to the distributions of different types of logo variations over the years. However, the analysis has identified the *different ways* in which the Google logo is altered. The 'paratypographic' variations appear as clearly different from the 'still' variations as they involve variations related to the material substance of the doodles, including animation, moving images and user interaction. Perhaps most notably, 'paratypographic' variations include logos to play with and listen to. Yet, also in relation to the 'micro-', 'meso-' and 'macrotypographic' levels of variation, clear tendencies are identified. In particular, the degree to which the Google logo appears distinct seems important. While the distinct logo is characteristic of the doodles from the very start, blurring and concealment of the logo are features of the doodles that are introduced later.

Communicating brand iconicity

What do the variations of the logo communicate about Google as brand? As described in the analysis, the doodles represent the Google logo's distinctiveness in many ways, also in altered forms, but it appears that typeface plays an important role in 'maintaining' the logo, especially in early doodles. However, during the years, the Google logo has taken on into new distinctive shapes in which the brand name has been represented in many different typefaces. This extensive typographic repertoire related to the creation of (a new type of) distinctiveness seems to point to the iconic status of the logo. Likewise, the blurring and concealment of the logo registered later in the sample seem to emphasise the iconic status of the logo. Promptings to 'disclose' or 'search for' the logo presuppose knowledge of what to look for. Thus, familiarity with the logo is implied or taken for granted (for a similar point in an analysis of television idents, see Brownie 2013b). The iconic status of the Google logo can therefore be explained by the 'multimodal work' inherent in or required by the doodles. Users are prompted to translate or 'transcribe' (cf. Stöckl 2009, 7) from one mode to another, while keeping the Google logo in mind. Probably, this is possible because the doodles appear as provisional changes to a very stable and 'continuous' (everyday) logo which has undergone only minor design changes so far. However, due to the (somewhat surprising) recur-

rence of doodles, even the variations in the Google logo constitute 'continuity'. As described by Floch: "Continuity cannot be seen (…) as mere repetition but rather as a kind of 'becoming' with its own logic and directional sequence" (Floch 2001, 33).

In the analysis, the 'elasticity' of the brand logo as a locus of creativity and reinterpretation is demonstrated from a typographic perspective. More generally, the variations of the Google logo advertise the 'varieties' related to searching by Google. This means that the doodle phenomenon is closely connected to Google being a search engine. Compared to the fact that (in principle), 'anything' can be the subject of a (Google) search, the doodles represent *common* search entries or reference points. Accordingly, the variations of the logo function as features in 'community building' by which Google users are 'gathered around' global and national events by means of specific search entries. While some of these events (such as the Olympic Games, holidays etc.) are widely known and recognised as ongoing events, many of the celebrated events are, as mentioned, referring to 'surprising' anniversaries. Consequently, the typographic variations represented in the doodles also create and communicate brand iconicity by proposing and constructing shared reference points.

Conclusion

In the analysis of doodles, typographic developments are outlined as different types of relations to the well-known letter logo. The iconic status of the logo involves playing with the logo in several ways. Most notably, the doodles are playing with the distinctiveness of the letters in the logo, on the one hand resulting in letter logos in new typefaces and colours and on the other, involving hidden logos. Thus, the doodles become logos to play with, sometimes also in more tactile ways as interactive logos. At the same time, the playful constructions of common search entries refer to the Google brand as a gathering point.

Notes

1 Illustrations of the design changes (and the logos preceding the version made by Kedar) are available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_logo (accessed August 15, 2014). The most recent flattened logo used on Google's start page is

not, however, used on all Google's sites, see for example an earlier version of the logo at: http://scholar.google.dk/ (accessed August 15, 2014).

2 The brand name 'Google' is resulting from a similar exchange. In Google's company presentation, the brand name is explained as "a play on the word "googol," the mathematical term for a 1 followed by 100 zeros" (https://www.google.dk/intl/eng/about/company/).

3 Doodles are also used to initiate dialogue with users. For example, users are encouraged to email suggestions for future doodles, and Google organises national "Doodle 4 Google" competitions where school children are invited to (co-) create doodles.

4 Cf. Internet Archive Wayback Machine: https://archive.org/web/

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Volume 10 • 2015

Den androgyne figur som ikon

Om Euromans brug af ikonografiske forlæg i modereportagen

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Abstract

Lifestyle magazines do not just communicate consumer-oriented fashion and lifestyle in the fashion editorial. On the contrary, it often functions as a tool for the magazine to orchestrate its cultural identity and this way it can be perceived as the magazine's work of art. As an autonomous work of art it involves the reader by a vast use of iconic references, which draws on a comprehensive variety of historical, literary, cultural as well as artistic icons, symbols and representations. These are staged delicately, ironically, sexualized and aesthetically and they function as a visual appetizer as well as a challenge of decoding for the reader. This article argues that the use of iconic representations mirrors the reader and his intellectual competence and this argument is based on an analysis of fashion photographs taken from a fashion editorial from the Danish lifestyle magazine for men, Euroman[1].

Keywords: mode, fotografi, ikonografi, ironi, androgyn.

Mode, magasin og mand

I midten af det 20. århundrede undergik modens funktion en omkalfatring. Fra at moden havde været universel og udgjort et symbolsk midtpunkt, opstod der efter 2. Verdenskrig 'fashion pluralism' (Davis, 1992: 107-108): moden dikterede ikke længere krinoline eller kjolelængde på tværs af samfundsklasser og sociale grupper. Det var endvidere ikke længere kun tøjet i sig selv, der var i fokus men også, hvordan det blev båret (Best, 2010: 148). I dag er polycentrisme institutionaliseret som et af modens dominerende karakteristika. Forskellige socioøkonomiske grupperinger, aldersgrupper, subkulturer, etniske og regionale grupperinger "adopt and frequently create their own rather distinctive fashions, some of which […] soon spread, via lateral and even upward movement, to other subcultures and more inclusive social groupings." (Davis, 1992: 108). Livsstilsmagasinerne fungerer i dag som medium for italesættelse og iscenesættelse af mode til disse specifikke (mål)grupper, og de kan betragtes som vor tids "takt og tone-vejledere" (Povlsen 1995: 56). Et af de områder, hvor livsstilsmagasinerne for alvor har fået fat de senere årtier, er hos mændene (Stevenson, 2003: 118), hvor mode og livsstilsfeltet i høj grad har været præget af "the modern British 'lad' culture" overfor en mere 'posh', 'highbrow' tendens (Gauntlett, 2002: 168; Jackson, 2001: 29; Benwell, 2003: 95). I Danmark er magasiner som *M!* eksponent for 'drengerøvskulturen', hvorimod den mere overklasseagtige pendant, Euroman ifølge sin egen hjemmeside henvender sig til: "mænd, der interesserer sig for livsstil, mode, design og kultur, men i lige så høj grad er samfundsorienterede og engagerede." Redaktionen "tilstræber originalitet, kvalitet og eksklusivitet i både indhold og udtryk." (http://www.euroman.dk/om-redaktionen/om-euroman/). En analyse af Euromans kernelæser i TNS Index Danmark/Gallup understreger Euromans 'highbrow'-profil, idet Euroman i særlig høj grad finder sine læsere blandt højtlønnede (over 400.000 kr. årligt) mænd mellem 12-39 år[2].

Denne artikel skal forsøge at skabe et billede af Euromans kommunikative og æstetiske iscenesættelse ud fra modefotografiet, som ofte blot "forbindes [..] med kroppens udsmykning – særligt i form af tøjet – men genren omhandler naturligvis også dens rum og ageren, og i sidste ende "formgivningen" af vores selvbilleder og identitet i bred forstand." (Andersen, 2006: 28). Ud fra betragtningen af modefotografiets kapacitet som identitetsmarkør tages analytisk

afsæt i den redaktionelle modereportage. Endskønt modereportagen omfangs©mæssigt ikke udgør en så betragtelig del af magasinerne[3], er det dog her, magasinet frit kan iscenesætte og formidle sin kulturelle identitet[4]. Dette gøres i høj grad ved at indskrive ikonografiske forlæg i billederne – i denne sammenhæng med den androgyne figur som omdrejningspunkt, hvilket den følgende analyse vil illustrere.

Den androgyne figur som litterært og kunstnerisk ikon

Androgynitet har siden 1. Verdenskrig præget moden i perioder, og denne periodiske tendens kan betragtes som en måde, hvorpå moden har adresseret og udnyttet ustabiliteten mellem den feminine og den maskuline kønsidentitet (Davis, 1992: 35). I den paradigmatiske modereportage-case (Flyvbjerg, 2009), som artiklen tager afsæt i, er androgyniteten materialiseret i den unge, mandlige model, der går igen på alle fotos. Modereportagen hedder *Forsmag fra Sverige* og består af i alt ni fotografier, et indledende opslag og otte helsides

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fotografier[5]. Seks fotografier er sort-hvide og tre i farver – meget douce nuancer. Fire af reportagens fotografier vil i det følgende fungere som analytisk afsæt, og reportagen kan ses i sin helhed ovenfor. Analysens fokus er på den androgyne figur og de ikoniske referencer, som knytter sig hertil. Derfor udgør artiklen selvsagt ikke en udtømmelig analyse af de enkelte billeder endsige reportagen som helhed men derimod et fokuseret blik på iscenesættelsen af androgynitet i reportagen[6].

I *Forsmag fra Sverige* er 'en stillen sig an' som seksuelt attråværdig endskønt uopnåelig gennemgående. Til venstre har modellen et direkte blik fæstnet på beskueren, og de let adskilte rosafarvede læber stiller ham dristigt an som forførerisk i al sin ungdommelige naivitet, men de store altmodische briller og bogen, som han holder i favnen, kommer samtidig til at negere mundens indsmigren, og disse effekter danner således et skjold mod en eventuel iagttager, der kunne være stedt i lysternes vold. Som helhed betragtet gennemsyrer seksuelle hentydninger reportagen, og det bærende element for mange af disse forskelligartede seksuelle og kønsidentifikatoriske implikationer er netop modellen. Det smalle og præpubertære kæbeparti, sarte og velformede læber, store bløde krøller, skægløse kinder og ubehårede bryst, der synes at være modellens gennemgående karakteristika i denne reportage, indplacerer ham i et korpus af androgyne forlæg, der sammen med forskellige kulturelle kodekser som feminine positurer og mimiker ansporer en lang række af seksuelle konnotationer.

Ralph Tegtmeier skelner mellem fire slags androgyne figurer (Prinz und Bierling, 1986, 113ff; Jespersen, 2000, 203)[7]:

1 Den androgyne som legemliggørelse af oprindelsen; den paradisiske enhed før kønsspaltningen.
2 Den androgyne som forjættelse og løfte om genvindelse af den oprindelige fuldkommenhed.
3 Den androgyne som udtryksform for en bestemt skønhedskvalitet; en art transcendent tiltrækningskraft.
4 Den androgyne som steril.

De første to figurer er filosofisk-verdensanskuende, hvorimod de sidste to er karakteriseret af den androgyne figurs attributive og æstetiske karaktertræk.

Den mest oplagte reference i reportagen er netop båret af den androgyne figur, som den blandt andet beskrives i Thomas Manns store novellistiske tragedie *Døden i Venedig* fra 1913. Den skriveblokkerede forfatter Gustav von Aschenbach rejser på inspirations- og rekreationsferie til Venedig, hvor han møder Tadzio – en ung og smuk polsk dreng, der øjeblikkeligt bjergtager ham: "Med undren bemærkede Aschenbach at drengen var fuldendt skøn. Hans hoved, der var blegt, yndefuldt og undseligt omgivet af honninggule lokker og med en næse, en henrivende mund, med et udtryk af mild og guddommelig alvor, mindede om græske billedværker fra den ældste tid […] " (Mann 2000, 45). Og senere: "Eros' hoved, med det parisiske marmors gullige glans, med fine og alvorsfulde bryn, med tindinger og øren skjult af det mørke og bløde hårs pageklippede lokker." (Mann 2000, 52). Aschenbachs betagelse af Tadzio vokser siden hen fra denne æstetiske og apollinske fascination til en amourøs og dionysisk berusende besættelse, der ender i et pinefuldt begær efter den skønne afgud og kun bremses af dødens indtræffen.

Det forekommer, at Tadzio som androgyn figur hovedsaligt må placeres under Tegtmeiers tredje kategori, som den skønne, der rækker hinsides mod noget guddommeligt og således opnår en quasi-gud-funktion som skæbnefører (Jespersen, 2000), idet figuren konstant bevæger sig (set fra betragterens side) imellem den profane verden og den guddommelige. Dog synes det ikke besnærende, at karakterisere tadziofiguren som tilhørende alene én af de fire kategorier al den stund, at Tegtmeiers to første androgyne figurer også forekommer at besidde *karakteristika*, der er forenelige med tadziofiguren. Det element af oprindelighed, der ligger i de to første kategorier, forekommer netop også oplagt i forhold til figuren,

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da den guddommelige ophøjelse tilkender denne en vis form for sidestilling med den oprindelige fuldkommenhed både som legemliggørelse og forjættelse af oprindelsens formfuldendthed. I en læsning af reportagens model med tydelige forlæg i tadziofiguren synes foto nummer to, som ses til venstre, i særdeleshed at inkarnere den dugfriske og drengede maskulinitet. Posituren er åben; modellens kropssprog udstråler en umiddelbar tilgængelighed, der dog dementeres i den fraværende mimik. Legemligt forekommer han opnåelig, men det fabulerende blik ophøjer ham over de begærende blikke, som han kan være genstand for.

Han inkarnerer som tadziofiguren et guddommeligt ideal, der kan manifestere sig i et profant begær fra en eventuel beskuers side. Det fraværende og drømmende blik giver ham netop det milde men dog grublende og alvorsfulde udtryk, der skænker ham det "guddommelige" skær og alluderer "græske billedværker fra den ældste tid", hvorved han eksempelvis kan inkarnere statuen *Apollon fra Belvedere*, der er blevet betragtet som et af de højeste kunstneriske idealer blandt antikkens overlevne værker og som en kompleks komposition af erotisk ladet skønhed og sublim styrke og opløftelse. Dette værk anses som materialisationen af det absolutte mandeideal (Jespersen, 2000); ikke et virilt muskelbundt men derimod en forening af det asketisk sublime og sensuelt skønne. Ynglingefiguren fremstiller billedet af mandlighed, før denne formes af en fuldtudviklet seksuel identitet, hvilket gengives i reportagen ved den bestandige insisteren på introverte seksuelle implikationer; den lille umodne dreng, der leger med kønsdriften og udsender seksuelle signaler, der dog er mere indadrettede end udadrettede mod en eventuel beskuer.

En sidste eksplicit reference til det ophøjede, som skal nævnes, findes i modellens utvetydige positur; han står med venstre hånd på en globus og mimer således rollen som den store hersker og beskytter. Fotografiet ligner til forveksling en klassisk kunsthistorisk opstilling, hvor den gestus at røre ved et objekt betyder, at man gør det til sit; man indtager det. Globusen kan i denne sammenhæng både henvise til (ud)dannelsesmomentet, idet den lærde ofte afbildes rørende ved globusen, der netop står som eksponent for dennes kundskab og ekspertise[8], men den kan også repræsentere ophøjelse i en mere subtil kontekst, hvor globusen bruges til at ophøje enten enkelte personer eller nationer til overmennesker på jorden[9].

Kitch, camp og ironi – dannelsesromanen som forlæg

Forsmag fra Sverige spiller også på mange og foranderlige nostalgiske facetter. Den fremstår således i sit samlede udtryk i høj grad ironisk og refleksiv nostalgisk endsige retro, kitschet og campet (Thorlacius, 2009; Guffey, 2006; Boym, 2001; Mallan and McGills, 2005; Sontag, 1966, Greenberg, 1939). Inden en næranalytisk udredning af begrebernes funktion i reportagen skal der her først meget kortfattet redegøres for de beslægtede begreber kitsch og avantgarde, der historisk set udgør en dikotomi. Kitsch er blevet brugt til at beskrive en dårlig kopi af noget eksisterende (kunst), hvorimod avantgarde (-kunsten) opstod som et forsøg på at beskytte æstetiske standarder fra at forfalde til kommercialisme og allemandseje. Med tiden er kitschbegrebet blevet mere løseligt brugt til at beskrive kunst, som er prætentiøs og i sig selv udgør dårlig smag, eller kommercielle effekter, der betragtes som fortærskede og banale, og i dag bruges kitsch om den kunst eller det *blik*, der har nedbrudt grænsen mellem den gode og dårlige smag. Avantgarde derimod bruges om eksperimenterende og nyskabende tendenser i særdeleshed indenfor kunst, kultur og politik: tendenser der udfordrer normen (Adorno, 1991; Elias, 1998; Bürger, 1984).

Det konstituerende mytologiske motiv i reportagen udgøres af 1800-tallets dannelsesroman tilsat en anselig mængde moderne referencer; den androgynt udseende model agerer ynglingen, der rejser ud i verden for at blive dannet (Barthes, 1969). I reportagens indledende opslag, som ses nedenfor, er modellen klædt i sort taljeret jakkesæt og hvid butterfly, han bærer en lædertaske med et

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landkort stikkende ud i den ene ende, og han læner sig op ad en rå væg, hvor der hænger adskillige landkort, og i forgrunden er placeret et bord med to globusser.

Udrejsekonnotationerne er tydelige, idet der på fem af reportagens ni fotos indgår en eller flere globusser; på to er ynglingen klædt i nydelige spadseredragter og udstyret med en rejsetaske, og på andre to fotos er han klædt i hjemlige antræk. Der synes således at være indlejret adskillige hjem-ude-hjem-fortællinger i den overordnede dannelsesrejsetematik, og reportagens vekslen mellem at være på vej ud og netop hjemvendt tilfører således reportagen en episk kronologi, der forankres i ynglingens dannelse og hermed udvikling fra dreng til mand. Netop i denne sammenhæng synes nostalgielementet tematisk indlysende; udviklingen fra dreng til mand og det implicitte tab af uskyld er tæt knyttet til nostalgiens længsel og dvælen ved det henfarne. Reportagens nostalgiske tematik fungerer på

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et raffineret niveau, idet de ironiske elementer også refererer til erotisk ladede motiver, der på sin vis står i stærk kontrast til reportagens umiddelbart så sømmelige yngling, hvilket desuden demonstrerer camp som en indlysende intention bag reportagens æstetik.

På fotografiet til venstre er modellen placeret siddende ved et skrivebord, og overkroppen og ansigtet er vendt mod beskueren; ynglingen har et konfronterende blik i øjnene, og i venstre hånd holder han en afrikansk træfigur. Han hviler figuren på højre hånd, der ligger på bordet, og indtager således en positur som den seksuelle revser; fetichen repræsenterer pisken og fallossymbolet.

Denne brug af vulgært fortærskede associationer insisterer på camp som en del af reportagens ironiske begrebsapparat; idet camp "is associated with a particular kind of performance in which the overt meaning of what is performed is subverted or inverted by drawing attention to the fact that it is a performance, and thus a kind of lie (drag being a perfect example)." (Mallan and McGills, 2005, 1). Camp udgør for så vidt blikket for – og lysten til det teatralske og det overdrevne, der i den grad er iscenesat, at det gør opmærksom på sin egen kunstighed. Også andre intertekstuelle aspekter spiller ind i skabelsen af det fundamentet, der gør, at reportagen kan tillægges adjektivet camp, og her skal endnu en litterær parafrase nævnes. Oscar Wildes *The picture of Dorian Gray* fra 1891 handler ligesom *Døden i Venedig* om moralsk dekadence. Den unge smukke muse Dorian Gray kommer uforvarende til at indgå en pagt i lutter betagelse af sit eget portræt:

> "I shall grow old, and horrible, and dreadful. But this picture will remain always young […] If it were only the

> other way! If it were I who was to be always young, and the picture that was to grow old! For that – for that – I would give everything! Yes, there is nothing in the whole world I would not give! I would give my soul for that!" (Wilde, 1992: 40).

Beskyttet af evig ungdom og skønhed erstatter Dorian Gray sin ungdommelige begejstring med indifference og ikke mindst sin virkelighed med kunsten. Portrættet forfalder i takt med Dorians moralske dekadence, og det ender som en hæslig parodi af den adonis, han engang var. *The picture of Dorian Gray* inkorporerer ligesom *Døden i Venedig* begæret, skønheden, forfaldet og seksualiteten, men herudover inddrager den det essentielle aspekt i anskuelsen af campbegrebet; betragtningen af kunsten som nytteløs, som netop Oscar Wilde var drivkraften bag: "It was Wilde who formulated an important element of the Camp sensibility – the equivalence of all objects – when he announced his intention of "living up" to his blue-and-white china, or declared that a doorknob could be as admirable as a painting." (Sontag, 1966, 289). Camp forekommer således også at udgøre et forsæt bag modereportagens æstetik, og det kan ses som en fra afsenderens side ironisk afstandtagen til sit eget projekt – en distance, som Euroman udtrykker i sin æstetiske og kunstneriske fremstilling af den campede maskulinitet. Sammenblandingen af retro- og kitschelementer underbygger desuden denne distance til forlægget, idet de to begreber via deres genbrugsstil i en vis forstand *vrænger af* forlægget og trivialiserer det: "Irony provides a 'protective layer', then, between lifestyle information and the readers, so that men don't have to feel patronised or inadequate." (Gauntlett, 2002: 177). Modereportagens ironi, som opbygges via de ovenfor fremstillede greb, fungerer altså som en form for beskyttelse af både læser og modereportage. Dette perspektiv skal ses i forhold til magasinet som helhed. Som beskrevet indledningsvist henvender Euroman sig til mænd, der blandt andet er både samfundsorienterede og –engagerede og har interesse for kultur, og det afspejles i meget af magasinets øvrige redaktionelle indhold som fx dybdeborende artikler om samfundets spydspidser, hvor ironi ikke spiller en tilsvarende rolle. Den redaktionelle modereportage i Euroman fungerer som et modstykke til mere seriøst redaktionelt indhold, således at magasinet ikke forfalder til at tage sig selv alt for alvorligt. Euroman leverer

seriøse moderåd men det gøres med ironi således, at læseren ikke føler sig talt ned til "[···] male readers seem to be extremely wary of being told what to do – they like to feel they know best already […]." (Gauntlett, 2002: 176-177). Euromans modereportage fungerer således både som råd og vejledning til tidens trends på en måde, hvor læseren ikke belæres. Samtidig fungerer den ironiske modus som iscenesættelse og spejling af en kulturel identitet, som magasin og læser deler, og den kendetegnes af beherskelsen af et kanonisk repertoire, der bruges til afkodningen af den ikoniske intertekstualitet.

Ironi, intellekt og identitet

Forsmag fra Sverige svælger i intertekstualitet med den androgyne figur som omdrejningspunkt. Denne iscenesættes som litterært, kunstnerisk og (populær)kulturelt ikon ofte gennemsyret af seksuelle referencer. 'Drengerøvsmagasiner' som *M!* bruges til forhandling af traditionelle kønspositioner, hvorimod Euroman demonstrerer en raffineret performance af livsstil (Povlsen, 2007). Euromanlæseren skal ikke bruge den androgyne figur som et referencepunkt i forhold til forhandlingen af kønsidentitet og maskulinitet, derimod udgør den androgyne figur som ikon og de referentielle og ironiske merbetydninger et formsprog og en inherent smag og afsmag, der netop er med til at bestemme Euromanlæserens sociale, æstetisk og intellektuelle tilhørsforhold og kulturelle identitet (Simmel, 1998; Douglas, 1996; Bourdieu, 1986; Miller, 2007; Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright, 2009).

Som beskrevet indledningsvist er androgynitet blevet betraget som en måde, hvorpå moden har adresseret ustabiliteten imellem den feminine og maskuline kønsidentitet (Davis, 1992: 35). Iscenesættelsen af den androgyne figur i nærværende modereportage spiller selvsagt på denne ustabilitet, men som analysen har påpeget, gøres dette på en gennemgribende ironisk måde, der netop negerer, at der hos Euroman eller læseren for den sags skyld er tvivl eller ustabilitet i maskulinitet og kønsidentitet. Magasinerne udgør en skueplads for forskellige maskuline diskurser (Gauntlett, 2002), og i Euroman handler det ikke om en traditionel maskulin eller 'laddish' diskurs men om performance af en raffineret diskurs og livsstil, der knyttes op på et æstetisk, intertekstuelt referencepunkt (maffesoli, 1996) som eksemplificeret i analysen af den androgyne figur som ikon.

Noter

1 Magasinet Euroman udgives af Euroman Publications A/S, som er et selskab i Egmont Magasiner. Euroman udkom første gang i marts 1992, og det var på daværende tidspunkt Danmarks eneste bud på et mandemagasin.

2 Analysen i TNS Index Danmark/Gallup er baseret på tal for helåret 2013. Undersøgelsen er et survey baseret på en repræsentativ stikprøve på i alt 26.463 danskere. Et gennemsnitligt nummer af Euroman blev i 2013 læst af 185.000 danskere.

3 Denne udgave af Euroman består af i alt 162 sider. En inddeling i kategorier viser følgende vægtning af indholdet: Modereportager fylder 18 sider (11,11%), artikler fylder 37 sider (22,84%), reklamer 41 sider (25,31%), gastronomi 5,5 side (3,4%), bolig og design 2 sider (1,23%), motor 6 sider (3,7%), sport 2 sider (1,23%), anmeldelser 11 sider (6,79%) og redaktionelt stof (foruden redaktionelle modereportager) 39,5 sider (24,38%).

4 Det kunne have været interessant at inddrage det institutionelle modefotografi (reklamen), som i udpræget grad også siger noget om magasinet og ikke mindst dets læser. Det har ikke været muligt i dette format.

5 Fra 2006 magasin nummer 145. Fotograf: www.mattiasedwall.com.

6 I den følgende analyse beskrives modereportagens som Euromans 'produkt' og magasinets redaktionelle 'rum' til at iscenesætte sin kulturelle identitet. Naturligvis spiller reportagens fotograf og stylist en stor rolle, men jeg tillader mig i denne sammenhæng at fokusere på Euroman som afsender.

7 Disse figurer er karakteriseret ud fra fin-de-siécle-litteraturen, men de synes i høj grad at være operationelle i en langt bredere kontekst, og jeg tillader mig derfor uforbeholdent at anvende dem i dette ærinde.

8 Eksempler herpå er Vermeers *Astronom* fra 1668 og Rafaels *Skolen i Athen* 1509-1511.

9 Et eksempel er Tiepolos *Europa* 1752-53; én loftfresko ud af fire, der viser (den tids) fire kontinenter: Europa, Asien; Afrika og Amerika, hvor Europa (og europæerne som folk) fremhæves for sin særegne og overlegne kultur.

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Volume 10 • 2015

The Iconic Microphone

Insight and Audibility: Iconic Sound in Media

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Abstract

This paper discusses the iconicity of the microphone both as a physical object but also as a transducer and shaper of a distinctive mediatized sound. Different facets of iconicity are examined in order to tease out the multiple meanings and usages of this ubiquitous artifact. In addition to the physical object, whether hidden or highlighted, used as a prop or as a crutch, common microphone usage since the early days of radio have resulted in an iconic mediatized sound, which has realigned the way we experience the spoken word and the musical voice.

Keywords: Microphones, Transducers, Media, Technology, Experience

It looks just like a Telefunken U47

(Frank Zappa, *Joe's Garage* Act I, 1979)

Microphones are omnipresent. TV, radio, YouTube, your mobile phone, most media, old or new, use sound and generally need a microphone at the start of the audio chain. Microphones can be iconic; some are more iconic than others. Even though they perform

a strictly sound technological function, their visual presence can be equally important. Images of Crooners and Rockers alike depict such singers generally with a microphone in or at hand. TV talk show hosts present with 70 year old – unconnected – antique microphones on their desks. Sometimes microphones are kept out of sight, at other times they are emphasized visually, supporting some sort of authenticity as if wanting to express: "it is really me you are hearing". For that very reason a lip-syncing – pretend – artist will rarely perform without a microphone, even if it has no technical function. Microphone usage attracts a repertoire of iconic gestures, sometimes involving microphone stands (Elvis Presley, Freddy Mercury) or even swinging the microphone by the cable (The Who's Roger Daltrey as reported in Abelson 2011, 18). In the 1990s Madonna reformed the look of pop and dance music shows when she changed from a handheld microphone to a head worn type, freeing up her hands and enabling her to enhance her choreographies. Rappers and MCs have a tendency to hold the device by its head, instead of by its stem (which looks cool but in technological terms sounds terrible). The microphone has become ubiquitous to such extent that even so-called unplugged concerts need microphones, as if the plugs on the cables that connect the microphones don't count (generally the term unplugged appears to mean using only acoustic instruments and singing voice).

Iconolatry can be identified in the obsession of some sound engineers' enthusiasm for certain vintage microphones which, according to some, are unsurpassed in technical and/or aesthetic sound characteristics; so called gear-freaks roam the Internet for affordable classic models, such as the famous Telefunken or Neumann U47. Recording and live sound engineers select microphones along both technical and aesthetic criteria. As a consequence of shape, size and working principle all different microphone models behave differently in terms of directionality and sensitivity. Many older, but still current, microphones use pre-transistor tube technology. The specific non-linearity (in terms of sensitivity for low frequency (bass) or high frequency (treble) for instance) of such tube microphones is sought after in many popular music recording studios. The presence of classic tube microphones in a studio's stock can give a considerable boost to a studio's credibility and reputation.

Some microphones have both an iconic sound and look, for instance Helen Macallen and Andrew Plain (2010, 255) describe working with what is known as the "Larry King" microphone:

> The use of the 1950s Larry King microphone rather than a modern one, brings a particular grain to Frannie's voice, but without the inevitable dirt that would have attached to it if it had been recorded in the 1950s. The voice is, of course, still a mediated one and it is perhaps not without significance that this particular microphone was principally used for radio broadcasting, the medium where the ultimate separation of the voice from the body occurs.

That particular microphone (RCA type-77) was in production from 1945 until 1973 and currently there is lively trade in both used models and replicas. It is a relatively large and heavy model whose design echoes the Streamline Moderne (late Art Deco) style of the 1930s, featuring rounded edges and a chrome base. Another example of an iconic model is the Shure Unidyne 55, first presented in 1939 and sporting an equally modernist look. It can be spotted in famous images of Mahatma Ghandi, John F. Kennedy or Eva Peron and takes a lead role, with billing credits, in the radio themed movie *Good Morning Vietnam* (1987) starring Robin Williams. A Shure Brother Inc. promotional brochure (DeTogne 1996) assures us it is the device's technical qualities that gave rise to its prominent status:

> The visibility of the 55 Series and the permanent marks it etched on the world's collective psyche are not the result of happenstance [either]. Nor are they the careful craftings of some slick advertising campaign. The 55 Series' benchmark status was earned through its reputation as a tireless workhorse and dependable performer, and achieved by its unprecedented audio quality and reliability.

Frank Zappa (1979) has underlined phallic connotations attached to some particular microphone models, notably on his Joe's Garage albums. The narrative presented on those records is drenched in male rock and roll stereotypes with a special roll for the roadie whose most prominent tools include "a wrench in his pocket" and a U47

microphone at one point even dressed in leather, to pile up the (rock) stereotypes. Although its functions initially appear straightforward the microphone and its many iconic appearances hint at a plethora of meanings in as many every day and cultural settings.

To have the floor

The microphones on the desks of Larry King, David Letterman and other TV hosts are not physically connected to any broadcasting apparatus, but they are connected semiotically to the wider broadcasting traditions. In addition to a sentiment related to the golden era of radio in an unspecified past, they can be read as a symbol of power, the importance of the 'talking stick' and the significance of 'having the floor'. Deborah Wong (2004, 249) in her book *Speak it Louder* refers to the microphone as: "…the technologically and socially empowering vehicle op the rap artist." Earlier in that publication (86) she points at the agency derived from the microphone: "I've got the microphone, I *want* the microphone, and yes, I'm an agent". A scene in the movie *Bridesmaids* (Feig 2011) shows two competing bridesmaids declaiming their appreciation of the to-be-weds at a pre-wedding ceremony. The drama of the scene is amplified by the use of a microphone, which the two actresses end up pulling from each other's hands, competing to be heard. Although a simple and common prop the microphone performs important functions, including that of a talking stick: the holder is granted not just the power of speech but also the attention of the audience. Amanda Weidman (2006, 90) discusses microphone use in classical Indian music performance and points out that microphones can also aid in drawing crowds: "… the promise of microphone arrangements would make people imagine that a great crowd would show up and therefore that the event couldn't be missed." (cited in Weidman (ibid) from a satirical article *The greatness of the mic* that appeared in India in 1947).

Outside of the entertainment world, at rallies or meetings, the microphone can more easily be perceived as talking stick, sometimes just in a metaphorical way as demonstrated by the 'human microphone' at occupy Wall Street, amplifying speeches while the use of sound systems was prohibited; even in absence a microphone has its own meaning (Kim 2011). There is a photograph of Lenin addressing an enormous crowd on the Sverdlov Square in Moscow. The photo is famous for its manipulative history; the images of

Trotsky and Kamenev were erased from that photo after they fell out of grace with the communist party. Another interesting aspect of this photo is another thing that is lacking: a microphone or even a megaphone (which would not solve very much a megaphone bundles the acoustic energy and delivers it in one specific direction only). Without the support of advantageous acoustic support how and what did the crowd hear? Along similar lines: how many people actually heard Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address being delivered, there and then? Recent work by Braxton Boren and Agnieszka Roginska (2012) revisits anecdotal research (by Benjamin Franklin) into preacher George Whitefield addressing a crowd of as many as 30,000 people in 18th century Philadelphia. Combining historical and empirical approaches the authors aim for the reconstruction of a number of elements including quantitative measurement of an orator's acoustic output, likely background noise in that city around that time and acoustic conditions presented by the built environment of the era.

Not quite as successful as the microphone, but nevertheless iconic is the megaphone. For a while synonymous with cheerleaders and player announcements in sports matches it became a sign for activism, a tool for voicing opinions. [1] Footage of political rallies in newspaper or on TV often includes one or more people with a megaphone; although generally unintelligible, hearing and seeing megaphones equates with political or social activism. Perhaps more than the words it is the rhythm and melody of the amplified chants that do the job. 'Das Rote Sprachrohr' ('the red speaking tube') was a Berlin communist agitprop group lead by Maxim Vallentin active from the 1920s until the rise of the Nazis in 1933. Composer Hans Eisler worked with the group as a composer, pianist and conductor and wrote their signature tune 'Wir sind das Rote Sprachrohr' (Blake 1995, 79). The iconic megaphone was not just claimed by the political activists, according to C.S. Lewis (1942, 83), metaphorically it was a holy instrument in its own right: "God whispers to us in our pleasures, speaks in our conscience, but shouts in our pain: it is His megaphone to rouse a deaf world."

Modern electronic megaphones combine microphone and loudspeaker, the latter essentially realizing the inverse process of a microphone. Loudspeakers transduce electronic signals to audible sound in air, and these devices too can be perceived as iconic in

some situations. For example, the white ear-buds that were the trademark of the iPod, or at rock concerts where more means louder which, apparently, equates to better. Rock band ACDC allegedly toured with an enormous PA system, which was much bigger than needed and therefore half the system consisted of dummy loudspeakers. Swedish metal guitarist Yngwie Malmsteen is famous for referring to his 'stack' of legendary Marshall guitar amplifiers as the only other man-made structure visible from space besides the Great Wall of China (Hickling 2012, 16).

Etymophony

Philip Tagg (2013, 159) operationalizes a sonic parallel to etymology, namely *etymophony*: studying the origins of a non-verbal sonic structure and the development of its meanings and functions over time. Somewhat obviously, we wouldn't be able to hear what we see on TV or in the cinema without microphones (and amplifiers and loudspeakers). Less obvious is the impact microphone choice has on how we hear people's voices when mediated. The microphone's iconicity is not limited to the actual object or the visual; the transduced sound – the technical outcome – can also be iconic. The latter can be found in the close-microphone intimate speaking voice of radio, TV, cinema and more recently in theatre.[2] The phenomenon is perhaps best illustrated by the stereotypical voiceover of many Hollywood movie trailers. The sonic particulars are not just a result of the common deep dark authoritative male voice, it is exploiting the non-linearity that comes with placing a directional microphone very near a speaker's mouth.

It took a little while for performers and presenters in the 1920s to adjust their voices to the novel technologies of radio and electronic – microphone – recording (before circa 1925 recording was mechanical, inscribing the medium directly). The earliest microphone models were very sensitive and could easily be over-modulated causing audible and undesirable distortion. There is a story of opera singer Rosa Raisa performing with her back to the device when recording her music (in Vennard 1967, 206).[3] The need to address the early microphones with a gentle voice, to treat them as if singing a lullaby, is one of possible origins of the term crooner (McCracken 1999, 5).

From Roosevelt's fireside chats and the crooners of the thirties to the French breathy vocal stars such as Vanessa Paradis or Charlotte Gainsbourg, the close microphone sound has realigned the social distance of vocal sounds (see Hall (1966) on social distance and Van Leeuwen (1999, 12) on its relation to the sonic). For the sake of intelligibility (and in some situations for sensuality) our mediated voices have been decontextualized, severed from local acoustics and placed in a spatial void. Embodiment – shaped by speech-affect, spitting, breathing, swallowing, popping – determines our relation to the recorded voice instead of the present acoustics conditions (in the outdoors versus in a cathedral, for instance). The same goes for the disconnection of speech level and distance; the dynamic range of speech has become a technical procedure ultimately determined by our local control over playback volume. When it comes to recorded speech whether for auditory or audiovisual media, everything that is not recorded with a close microphone is perceived as a fault, or an indication of amateurism. For instance in the many online videos that are made with people's phones; the image may be in HD but the sound is distant and hampered by the microphone being too distant from the subject, allowing the local acoustics to reduce intelligibility and intervene with the 'grain' of the voice (here in a technical reading of Roland Barthes' (1977) famous essay).

This iconicity of the mediated voice is not limited to Western culture, as Weidman (2006) points out at length. Synchronous with developments in Europe and the USA the microphone became an option for music amplification in India in the 1930s. An interesting current day cultural difference is that often performing Indian classical musicians insist on using amplification regardless of the acoustics, whereas in the European classical music tradition the use of microphones and loudspeakers other than for recording and radio broadcast is frowned upon (see also Potter and Sorrel 2012, 181). European classical music concerts generally take place in purpose built concert halls with acoustics that are optimized for the romantic symphonic repertoire. In India (classical) music performance venues, in the 20th century, have developed less formally, often relying on microphones, amplifiers and loudspeakers to project the performance.

Auditory Icons and Iconic Sounds

The iconic close microphone sound differs from so-called auditory icons. An auditory icon, as proposed by Bill Gaver (1989), is comparable to icons in your word processor or on your computer's desktop. Auditory icons are related to single events whereas the microphone sound is a continuous aspect of mediated sound. The iconic sound of the mediated voice is a consequence of the transduction processes that first create an electronic signal from sound in air (microphone) and later in reverse, loudspeakers reproducing sound in air. In a similar vein we can identify iconic sounds of different audio technologies. The static crackles of a vinyl record, the reduced fidelity of old wax cylinders and pre-electronic records, the tiny fluctuations (in speed) of reel-to-reel tape and audiocassettes or the particular distortion that goes with the yelling of demagogues. Such audio effects can be compared to video technologies: the reduced quality of VHS recordings or the low frame rate of our parent's 8-millimeter films. Those subtle effects are used in, for instance, cinematic sound design to bring sound technologies to life, in addition to the tradition of re-recorded close microphone voices for reasons of intelligibility and affect. Even über-wizard Dumbledore in the Harry Potter movies has to resort to an iconic gesture, a touch of his wand to the side of his throat allows the headmaster's voice to carry all over the premises of the wizardry school. In non-magic cinematic sound design scenes featuring an amplified public address are often preceded by the squeal of a microphone feeding back, a misfiring of technology underscoring its use. That iconic signal (referred to as sonic vomiting in Weidman's (2006, 89) book) is both emblematic for, and a consequence of, electronic amplification.

Conclusion

Microphones, even though univocally linked to sonic process are visually and sonically iconic. The close microphone voice is a key element of the electronic media soundscape. Microphones are everywhere, in your phone, in your computer, or in the intercom. Often these domestic microphones have been molded into an appliance that performs more functions than just mediating sound. The microphone's iconicity is the tip of the iceberg that is a metaphor for its ubiquity. It is connected as a technological object and in imagery through tradition, heuristics, reputation and application to the rea-

lignment of sonic communication. That realignment has been with us and grown upon us since the days of early radio and the dry rational sound of radio studio and movie theatre, as argued by Emily Thompson (2003). The intimacy of the iconic close microphone voice has become the de facto standard of mediatized sound. Acoustic information (so essential in our everyday hearing and getting about) has been reduced to noise, but we have traded up in intelligibility, immediacy and 'grain'.

Notes

1. Coincidently, 'Player Announce' fits with the acronym for Public Address (system): PA.
2. Michel Chion (1994, 98-9) points out that increased definition in film sound, contributed to by the use of the close microphone, is often misunderstood as fidelity. See also Jonathan Sterne (2012, 4-5).
3. Rosa Raisa (1893 –1963) was a Polish-born, Italian-trained, dramatic operatic soprano. She was well known for her vocal power.

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Volume 10 • 2015

Bullet-Time
A Temporal Icon

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Abstract

The Matrix's use of bullet time, the extreme slowing down of the cinematic image, instantly became iconic for action cinema and has almost become as recognizable as Hitchcock's famous dolly zoom in *Vertigo.* Circulated so much as to almost render the effect meaningless, this paper proposes the question of what purpose, in a time of incessant acceleration, could the slowing down of time mean and why has it become so iconic? This paper argues that bullet time in action films is, paradoxically, an intensification of speed, a different but related way of making movement felt. Although difficult to delimit, speed and its felt sensations are central concerns for contemporary culture. These intensifications of moments are ways not only to express narrative momentum but also to provide distinct payoffs, durations of pure sensation and astonishment. Time is tamed in bullet time. Rather than the transcendent desire of slow cinema, we find a kinesthetic desire in cultural acceleration, a desire which is attenuated in contemporary action films and their use of bullet time.

Keywords action film, bullet time, sensations, slow-motion, temporal icon

Slow-motion has always been part of cinema's repertoire, but with *The Matrix's* use of bullet-time, the extreme slowing down of the cinematic image instantly became iconic for action cinema and has become as recognizable as Hitchcock's famous dolly zoom in *Vertigo*. Circulated so much as to almost render the bullet-time effect meaningless, one must consider what, in a time of incessant acceleration, can the slowing down of time mean? Considered in relation to most other studies of icons, a temporal sequence gains prominence and iconicity when its effect can be translated between different narratives, genres, and even media. While the iconographic content differs, the unfolding of this content remains reproducible. Hence, it is feasible to speak of a temporal icon, despite the content not resembling each other. Reproducibility and recognizability are paramount in relation to any form of icons and bullet-time and super-slow have that in spades.

I argue that the iconicity of bullet-time comes from the mixing of control and intensity. Bullet-time, and super-slow more generally, places the spectator in an exhilarating position, a position that is reproducible as an action for us and on us. By tracing the development of bullet-time from *The Matrix* onwards, it becomes clear that this effect has become iconic for the way it allows for an intensified spectator position — a position in which control over speed becomes the central pleasure. This is also a recognizable position, on two counts. First, placing the spectator in a position of control and power is recognizable as a favored strategy of much popular cinema. Second, as spectators we recognize the sensation of experiencing super-slow, precisely because it is a reproducible sensation. In this way, super-slow becomes a temporal icon.

For the term icon, I draw on the work of the self-proclaimed iconologist W.J.T. Mitchell, who argues in his early book *Iconology* that icons are images, pictures, or likenesses (1). Mitchell is interested in the study of images, broadly defined (meaning that he includes verbal images in his definition of images). He proposes that icons are images and that images are "not just a particular kind of sign, but something like an actor on the historical stage, a presence or character endowed with legendary status" (Mitchell 9). Icons, in other words, do things. Their presences are more than symbols to be interpreted and deciphered, they are also actions. Actions because images do things for us and to us. For bullet-time, this image-action is

paradoxically an intensification of speed, a way of making movement felt. Making movement felt has been cinema's central occupation since its inception.

Cinema and Time

Time is central for cinema. André Bazin argued that the long take is crucial to film, Sergei Eisenstein emphasized the use of montage to splice different times together, and Andrei Tarkovsky called cinema sculpting in time. Early cinema was fascinated by visual change, a fascination clearly connected to a more general fascination with time and our ability to manipulate and control it. As Mary Ann Doane makes clear in *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*, cinema and the archiving of time is paramount for modernity. Discussing a wide array of technologies and cultural techniques, Doane points out that the late 19th century was obsessed with standardizing and rationalizing time. Everything from train schedules to pocket watches made time external and measurable. Time was conquered, argues Doane, and cinema was simply one of many technologies to do so (Doane 9).

Cinema conquered and repossessed time through its ability to represent time, but there was another dimension to time which also opened up during the early 20th century — the sensation of speed. Enda Duffy asserts that the experience of speed was the only wholly new experience engendered by modernity — the ability to move at a speed one is not normally used to, while also having the sensation of controlling that movement (Duffy 2009, ch. 1). A felt experience more than the representation of speed, cinema nonetheless serves as a node that allows the sensation of speed through representations.

Duffy tends to equate speed with rapidity, but as Vivian Sobchack argues in her essay "Cutting to the Quick", slow and fast are different articulations of the category speed (Sobchack 338). What matters is how tempo and rhythm manifest as concrete historical and cultural phenomena. Sobchack points out the acceleration of still images into moving images was the shock of the new in early cinema, but that today, the reverse situation of moving images slowing down has become more prominent (Sobchack 340). As Sobchack argues, this is because we are acclimated to a culture of fast to faster, which makes slow-motion an attenuation of movement in itself. We do not notice acceleration anymore; it has become second nature to us. Only when things slow down do we notice them.

As slow-motion becomes a way of heightening intensity in cinema, it makes sense to examine how such intensity plays out in action films, a genre which trades on intense sensations. As a special effect and a moment of excess or astonishment, slow-motion cannot retain its astonishing effect, but necessarily becomes familiar to us. *The Matrix* rejuvenated the use of slow-motion by speeding time down more than ever before with an effect that came to be known as bullet-time, or super-slow motion.

Bullet-Time

Despite earlier examples, *The Matrix* from 1999 represents the first major film to employ bullet-time, particularly as a significant component of the film's story. Used sparingly but effectively, bullet-time is first introduced briefly in the opening scene which shows Trinity (Carrie-Anne Moss) escaping from an Agent of the matrix. This scene not only serves as an impressive opening but also hints at what is to come later in terms of visual effects.

The primary use of bullet-time comes late in the film. Thomas 'Neo' Anderson (Keanu Reeves) chooses the red pill and joins the resistance to become the messiah who will lead humanity out of machine slavery. While the pinnacle of Neo's insight and power comes when he can see through the code of the matrix and manipulate it at will, this moment is overshadowed by his ability to slow down time while fighting the Agents of the matrix. More than the code lines scrolling down the screen, the iconic moments of *The Matrix* are the majestic bullet-time scenes, where Neo's power is made visible and the astonishing super-slow is felt by the audience as Neo's total control over the environment.

Neo's ability to slow time visualizes his struggle against the matrix and underlines his messianic powers. From a narrative perspective, Neo's time warping comes at crucial, high tension moments and so extends the tension felt in these scenes.

A good example is when Neo confronts an Agent on a rooftop during Trinity and Neo's attempt at rescuing Morpheus. At this point, Neo has never before slowed down time outside the training room, and so the scene functions as a test of Neo's abilities. When the agent shoots his gun at Neo, the slowing down of time is filmed to emphasize the uncertainty of whether or not Neo will actually succeed. As the bullets fly toward Neo, the camera travels a full

circle around him, simultaneously zooming closer and closer. The constant near misses as the image slows down prolongs the tension almost unbearably. The speed ramps back to normal as two bullets graze Neo and he falls to the ground. The effect is in excess of narrative information: it intensifies the scene, while also showing us that Neo's strength is increasing.

The use of bullet-time increases towards the end of the film and also takes on even more astonishing qualities. When Neo and Trinity attack the Agent stronghold to free Morpheus, there is a shot from below looking up at the rebel helicopter as shells from Neo's machine gun rain down. The camera position is humanly impossible and does not belong to any character point-of-view, and the bullet-time effect lends an epic quality to the shot. A trivial shot is turned into an occasion for spectacle. Similarly, the final showdown between Neo and Agent Smith not only employs bullet-time, but also speed-ups of Neo's fists, and even more spectacularly, a shot where time stands still except for the camera. As Neo and Agent Smith jump toward each other, time slows down until it stops completely. The camera swirls around the two, from Neo's side to behind Agent Smith. Particularly the camera's circling movements are breathtaking and provide spectacular shots that extend beyond the regular capacities of film cameras.

Paradoxically filmed through the use of still cameras placed in a circle around the actors and shooting quickly, these photos were then composited in postproduction to produce the spectacular effects. These scenes produce an interesting double temporality, where time stands still (the characters do not move) while simultaneously passing (our perspective moves). Time and space meld together, taking us beyond human perception. Bullet-time thus appears to transcend both time and space, soliciting sensations in excess of mere speed and producing a cinematic subject that may move freely.

The iconicity of bullet-time is understandable from this perspective, as the film gives us access to sensations that were hitherto insensible. While the bullet-time sequences intensify our experience, they also transport us out of our everyday sensory experience into an amplified state of excitation. We cannot normally see bullets fly through the air nor can we flit about as if we were weightless, but bullet-time produces a sensation of what this might feel like. As a

new experience, one might find it either elating or sickening but it is unique. While bullet-time is visually stunning and easily recognizable, I believe its iconicity comes from the distinctive sensations it offers. More than a recyclable image, bullet-time is memorable for how it makes us feel, which, as it turns out, is far harder to duplicate.

Suspended Suspense

Soon after *The Matrix*, action films such as *Swordfish* (2001), *Charlie's Angels* (2000) and *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle* (2003), *Ultraviolet* (2006), and *Max Payne* (2008) began copying the iconic effect for their own purposes. Due to its distinctive look, Warner Brothers quickly trademarked the term bullet-time, but the effect of slowing down time cannot be trademarked. Instead, one refers to super-slow motion or alternatively speed ramping if speed changes within the shot. Out of all of these *Max Payne* is interesting, because it is an adaptation of a computer game, which was the first game to feature super-slow effect, a design decision made before *The Matrix* was released. The game is a third-person shooter with a detective story, distinguished from other similar games primarily by the use of super-slow in the gunfights. Super-slow is part of the gameplay and represents an innovative and engaging way of conducting gunfights.

For the *May Payne* film, this signature effect had to be recreated. Used far less extensively than in *The Matrix* and particularly other films such as *Charlie's Angels*, a different technique was used. High-speed cameras were used during shooting and then morphed with other footage. Necessary in part due to the film's heavy reliance on CG sets, shooting high-speed meant that speed ramping was not possible. Considering the innovation of the game it is somewhat surprising to see how little super-slow is actually used in the film. More surprising is the fact that there is no real integration between the story and the use of super-slow. Used only as an intensifier, super-slow appears sporadically in the film.

The first use is when Payne attempts to stop Owen Greene from falling out the window, where the camera moves from left to right in a slow tracking shot. On the left-hand side, Payne moves towards Owen. As the camera tracks past the wall into the air on the other side, we see a valkyrie (a demon in the film's universe) pulling Owen through the window. The point-of-view changes from Payne's to Owen's in the moment the camera tracks past the wall. An astonish-

ing sequence, the super-slow extends the tension of whether or not Payne will reach Owen in time, combined with the spectacle of the valkyrie pulling Owen backwards out the window. This use of super-slow is therefore a clear-cut example of intensifying the suspense of the scene and emphasizing the valkyrie creature effect.

Two scenes where super-slow works in essentially the same manner are when Jason Colvin and BB Hensley are shot. Colvin is a crony for the villain corporation in the film, and Payne interrogates him to learn more about the murder of Payne's wife. Colvin is shot by the response team sent to help him. Super-slow is employed as the shot is fired and punches through Colvin's body, emphasizing the surprise that the team sent to help him is willing to sacrifice him for a chance to get at Payne. Similarly, BB Hensley is Payne's closest friend but in an unsurprising twist turns out to be behind the drug experiments to make better soldiers and he is directly the cause of Payne's wife's death. When this betrayal is revealed, Payne sees fit to kill Hensley for his misdeeds and the execution is filmed in super-slow, clearly meant to draw out the climactic moment to allow us to savor the righteous vengeance.

Super-slow becomes a cheap way for *Max Payne* to draw out spectacular, astonishing, or narratively poignant scenes. The inherent fascination of slowed-down time is exploited to capture the audience's attention, while also paying lip service to the game's innovations. What was iconic for the game ends up as trivial for the film. *Max Payne* is not a particularly good film, but it is a good example of how super-slow has become part of action cinema's repertoire. While the film had every reason to make much of the device, its uses of super-slow fizzled and never added much to the impact of the film. The iconicity of the game was lost in translation, as was the genre tradition the film so clearly wanted to activate.

The problem with using super-slow in the way that most films immediately after *The Matrix* did, was that there was little understanding of the effect super-slow has on the rhythm of the film's pacing. Viewed solely as an intensity effect, filmmakers disregarded the dilation effect of super-slow. As time dilates, the narrative slows to a halt. In excess of narrative, bullet-time provided plenty of thrill and astonishment for the spectator. In contrast, *Max Payne* halts the narrative at crucial moments. When Colvin is shot, a surprising

moment is protracted, which ends up lessening the intensity of the scene rather than increasing it.

While slow-motion is inherently fascinating, simply because it gives us access to a world we cannot normally see, this slowness can easily feel turgid. Using super-slow for exhilarating action scenes is a balancing act, since these scenes are meant to pull us along for the ride. Slowness when we want to go fast easily becomes more frustrating than intense. Case in point would be *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle* (2003), which constantly slows down chase scenes and fight scenes for moments of super-slow. Much like with *Max Payne* the super-slow moments feel mostly superfluous and actually get in the way of the expected sensation of — precisely — full throttle.

Contrapuntal Speed

There are, however, examples of super-slow being used successfully in recent cinema, primarily in films featuring protagonists with extraordinary powers, such as *Sherlock Holmes* (2009), *Sherlock Holmes: Game of Shadows* (2011), *Spider-Man* (2002), and *The Amazing Spider-Man 2* (2014). While there are immense differences between Sherlock Holmes, sleuth extraordinaire, and Peter Parker, your friendly neighborhood Spider-Man, the recent adaptations of these two characters have one thing in common: they all employ super-slow sequences to visualize the superhuman powers of their protagonist.[1]

For Guy Ritchie's *Sherlock Holmes* films, super-slow marks the sensation of Holmes' superior intellect working overtime, analyzing and deducing how events will unfold before they occur. Speed slows almost to a crawl as Holmes sees potential threats, openings, and opportunities. At this pace, everything becomes clear and the spectator can follow along with Holmes, getting a sense of what it would be like to be as quick-witted as Holmes. Significantly, however, once Holmes has perceived the outcome, time speeds back up and we see the events unfold in real time. This effect serves two purposes. Firstly, it serves to showcase how fast Holmes' thinking is, when we see the difference in speed between Holmes' deductions and the actions that take place. Secondly, the contrast between super-slow and full speed creates a contrapuntal relation between the two sequences. The super-slow sequence sets up what will happen, generating anticipation and excitement. Then comes the payoff of seeing the sequence at full speed. This replay serves as an

intensifier, showcasing the difference between Holmes' perception and our own.

An even more intense contrapuntal time effect is used in *The Amazing Spider-Man 2*, where the super-slow sequence comes when Spider-Man (Andrew Garfield) tries to save people from Electro's (Jamie Foxx) lashing out. Before Spider-Man acts, the camera travels in super-slow up the stairs, zooming in on all the points where people are in danger of being electrocuted as Spider-Man leaps to save the day. The long take speed ramps between super-slow, which shows Spider-Man's web shooter break and electricity spark up a metal bannister, and full speed moments of Spider-Man pulling people away from certain death, back to super-slow and so forth. However, as a way of visualizing Spider-Man's superpowers, when Spider-Man attacks Electro the scene is also undercranked to play slightly faster than normal.[2]

An exhilarating contrapuntal thrill comes from this alternation between three modalities of speed: first slower-than-human speed, then regular speed and finally faster-than-human speed. The intensities of speed are central to this scene and reveal how these intensities emerge more from the disparity between our everyday perception of the world and the perception presented by the film. What the Holmes films and Spider-Man films succeed in doing is to make this disparity felt. They make the audience feel superhuman in these scenes, and so provide their own version of superhuman sensations, much like we found in *The Matrix*.

The contrapuntal uses of speed indicate an elastic relation to time as category. No longer tied to a particular corporeal time of the spectator, speed ramping has become as second-nature to filmmaking as close-ups and long shots. Wile different spatial articulations have always been part of cinema's aesthetics, temporal articulations have usually been only a matter of editing. As much as slow-motion was always a possibility, it was rarely used as it tended to disrupt the narrative momentum. Only recently have super-slow and speed ramping become viable options, in cinema's quest to always find new ways to astonish.

Slow Burn

I have traced how super-slow has become iconic for action films, yet another addition to the repertoire of the genre. As is so often

the case, the device loses much of its meaning as it disseminates across a wide variety of films, sometimes adding only listless recycled images, and at other times taking on new scintillation. While *The Matrix* and bullet-time will forever be conjoined, it is clear that super-slow motion remains visually fascinating, even as its use is sometimes deplorably repetitive.

This larger shift marks the attenuation of speed as something to be manipulated and exploited. The slowing down of time to an extreme degree, in the way that this temporal articulation has disseminated across action cinema, speaks of a different relation to time. Time is tamed in super-slow. Rather than a contemplative pace, we find a kinesthetic desire for acceleration, a desire which is expressed in the use of super-slow. While it may sound paradoxical that super-slow can express a kinesthetic desire for acceleration, as we have seen super-slow ties in to two modes of desire for speed — representation of control, and the prolonging of sensation.

First is the glorified representation of speed. Watching every detail of time unfold represents mastery over time, it is something which we are in control of, despite its speed. For a culture of incessant acceleration, the representation of control over speed becomes a compensation for acceleration. Second is the prolonging of the sensation of speed. Super-slow is not only a matter of control, it is also a desire for increased intensity. While some films employ a contrapuntal contrast between super-slow and faster-than-normal images, in all cases we find an interest in intensifying a specific moment, or prolonging a certain event.

The iconicity of bullet-time and later on super-slow comes from the feeling of control mixed with intensity. While slow-motion has always opened up a new world of perception, super-slow not only goes further and opens up the world even more, it does so by placing the spectator in an even more powerful position than previously. The stylization inevitably involved in super-slow sequences becomes the safety of repetition, but a repetition that feels new. Super-slow, as an action for us and on us, makes time felt and makes us feel in control of time.

Notes

1. True to contemporary media culture's incessant cross-pollinations, remakes, and reboots, there are several versions of both characters currently on offer. For Sherlock Holmes, I only deal with Guy Ritchie's film versions, not the BBC series *Sherlock* (2010-) or CBS' *Elementary* (2012-).
2. Undercranking is the technical term for running a camera at slightly slower speed than the standard 24 frames per second. When played back at normal speed, the image is slightly faster.

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Volume 10 • 2015

An Animated Adoration

The Folk Art of Japanese Gamers

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Abstract

Consumers of *manga* (comics), *anime* (cartoons), and video games increasingly search for alternative ways to forge a connection with their favorite characters. In Japan, many of the actual places used in such media as models for background scenery have within recent years become popular as tourist destinations.

In an effort to connect with the characters from the action-adventure game *Sengoku Basara,* female gamers began to gather at a shrine dedicated to Japan's war dead. At the shrine they choose to express their adoration for the game characters by drawing comic illustrations on votive prayer tablets. Based on a field survey of the votive prayer tablets found on display at the shrine, I argue that through the production of folk art, that is religious icons, fans engage with the game characters in a personal and spiritual manner, while simultaneously creating bonds with other fans.

Keywords fan, folk art, icon, Japan, video game

Introduction

Through the year tourists flock to Aobayama in Sendai City, Japan. From an elevated hilltop, where a castle once stood, visitors look out over the modern urban landscape under a statue of the feudal lord Date Masamune (1567-1653), who rides on a horse in full samurai regalia. Behind his statue lies the Miyagi Prefecture Gokoku Shrine (henceforth Gokoku Shrine), which is the prefectural branch of Yasukuni Shrine where Class A war criminals are deified. It enshrines, but does not inter, over 56,000 souls of the war dead. Gokoku Shrine was built in 1904 on the spot of the inner citadel of Masamune's Sendai Castle. Today tourists to the castle site often make impromptu visits to the shrine.

Whereas mainstream visitors pass through the shrine in a cut-and-dried manner, one group of excursionists converges on the shrine to leave their mark. In apparent disconnect with the purpose of Gokoku Shrine, they do not come to pray to the spirits of fallen soldiers. They instead pay homage to Masamune, former master of the castle. Although he is not enshrined in the shrine proper, "fans" of Masamune demonstrate their devotion to him by consecrating what, I argue, are religious icons. Many of the icons are illustrated with images of Masamune that lack historical accuracy, since the young artists who create them have come to love Masamune through his incarnation as a video game character.

The Lord of the Game

Sengoku Basara (henceforth *Basara*) is an action-adventure game produced by Capcom originally released for PlayStation 2 in July 2005. In the game version released in Japan the Sengoku (Warring States) period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries provides the historical backdrop for the game. Most of the sixteen playable characters are based on actual, feudal era samurai lords. The popularity of the game led to an *anime* (cartoon) broadcast on television in April 2009 followed by a theatric play, an animated feature film, and a television drama.

In *Basara* one playable character is based on the seventeenth lord of the Date clan, Masamune. As a real historical figure, Masamune was named the first *daimyō* (feudal lord) of the Sendai fief for aiding the first *shogun* (generalissimo) of the Tokugawa family at the battle of Sekigahara in the year 1600. Masamune was thirty-four years old.

Three years later he moved into Sendai Castle where he and his descendants ruled for over two-hundred years until the fall of the shogunate (the *shogun* controlled government). Masamune now endures as a popular *Basara* character. His first place ranking among characters in fan voting polls on Capcom's official *Basara* homepage (Capcom 2005) and in the fan magazine *Basara Style* (Capcom 2007, 64-65) demonstrates his game world popularity from early on. In the game Masamune is depicted wearing a black helmet bearing a gold-colored crescent moon resting horizontally across the front. His body is wrapped in black armor covered by a fashionably cut, blue tunic. A patch covering his right eye signals a shadowy temperament and gives him his nickname, "One-Eyed Dragon." He carries six swords, which he wields in both hands. Tall and slim with dark, untamed locks, his game/*anime* image mirrors a prevailing fashion ideal for Japanese men (Miller 2006). This image contrasts with the historical rendering of Masamune in painting and sculpture depicting him as an older, pudgy patriarch.

Fan Engagement

In this article I define fans of *manga* (comics), *anime*, and video games as people who go beyond simply reading, watching, or playing and engage in additional practices and activities, and, as per one definition of "folklore," artistically communicate with one other (Ben-Amos 1971, 13). Although Gray, Sandvoss, and Harrington (2007, 3-4) might caution against excluding those who consume this media in an ordinary fashion, I wish to underscore that the fans I spotlight do not just passively receive media, but creatively respond to it on their own terms. For instance, fans of *manga*, *anime*, and games in Japan increasingly visit "mundane places that fandom has made sacred and special" (Brooker 2007, 149). They typically refer to this practice as *seichi junrei*, literally "sacred-land pilgrimage." Creating the background scenery for such media from scratch costs time and money, so creators frequently adopt scenery from real-life. As a cultural byproduct the incorporated scenery serves as a springboard moving the consuming fans away from the two-dimensional screen out into the physical landscape of Japan to find the actual places used. Guide books providing background and travel information to pilgrimage sites reflect a desire to tangibly connect with the media (Ofusai-

do Bukkusu Henshūbu 1999; Kakizaki 2005; Dorirupurojekuto 2010; Seichi Junrei Iinkai 2013).

Among the *Basara* gamers are dedicated fans who make a pilgrimage to the historical sites associated with the feudal lords in the game. Pilgrimaging fans of Masamune inevitably visit Aobayama where they find Gokoku Shrine. Here, visitants throw coins in the offertory box, shake a rope to ring a bell, bow, clap, and pressing their hands together offer a silent prayer. This is standard practice at shrines throughout Japan. For the majority of visitors this ritual action is the sum of their religious engagement at the shrine. Generally a shrine visit begins and ends with a short, unlabored prayer, to a divine recipient whose name is left unsaid.

A few purchase an *ema* (wooden votive tablet) at a stall where amulets, talismans, and written fortunes are sold. In the past, a worshiper, or a professional artisan, would paint an auspicious image or scene, which symbolically conveyed the meaning of the intended supplication. Nowadays drawing or painting pictures is uncommon. Instead, worshipers write a prayer directly onto the *ema*. The written prayers cover a wide range of practical concerns, from passing examinations (popular for students) to a quick and safe childbirth. Prayers in the form of written text have become standard. Fans of *Basara* however choose to break away from the convention of text centered *ema*, preferring instead to draw, for instance, the inspired likeness of Masamune.

Figure 1

At the Gokoku Shrine the fans place their *ema* on the *emakake*, a rack used to display *ema* (figure 1). An attached string allows the *ema* to be hung from hooks. In particular for fans, as a public venue the *emakake* functions like a message board on the Internet with new postings (*ema*) being directed to the viewing fans, which they can alternately respond to in kind. The *ema* on the *emakake* represents a new form of offline communication, which comparable to the Internet does not entail face-to-face conversation (Andrews 2014, 220). At a time when the majority of Japanese

youth feel uncomfortable conversing directly (Schmidt-Fajlik 2010, 119), the *ema* allow complete strangers to interact with one another sharing their innermost feelings and desires, yet in a detached, unpressured, and playful manner.

The conspicuous art of the *Basara ema* beckons the attention of other fans. But different from the ordinary situation in which worshipers blanket the *emakake* with only written messages, when fans start to collectively display their art the visual dynamic of the *emakake* dramatically changes. It has been suggested fans endeavor to cluster their *ema* together because they feel the need to obscure their activities from the shrine custodians (Satō 2010, 118). Clustering, however, brings about a stimulating visual effect. Aldama (2010, 321) discusses the white margin dividing drawn panels in comics. The margin allows the viewer to form a mental picture of the interconnecting action. In similar fashion the space between *ema* on the *emakake* furnishes the viewer's imagination with a "margin" where the characters can become animated.

The offering of *ema* by *Basara* fans at Gokoku Shrine is not without controversy. When a newspaper article (*Sankei Shimbun*, May 15, 2009) addressed the presence of *Basara* fans at Gokoku Shrine the priest stated thus: "This (Gokoku Shrine) is the place where the souls who died in the war are worshiped. When offering an *ema*, we would be pleased if people were understanding of the shrine's history and respectful of the spirits of the dead soldiers" (My translation). The attention grabbing artwork advertises the presence of fans whose pilgrimage activities would otherwise likely fly under the radar. A little over two hundred years after Masamune's death, the Date clan faced off against imperial troops in the Boshin Civil War (1868-1869), ending with the fall of the shogunate with which the Date fief was aligned. Whereas imperial troops were the first to be enshrined at Gokoku Shrine their Date foes as enemies of the state were not. In consequence of fans offering artwork depicting Masamune, fans unintentionally challenge the legitimacy of the shrine (and the state) to occupy the grounds of Masamune's castle.

An Eye on the Art

On December 29, 2008, I conducted a survey of the *ema* at Gokoku Shrine. I photographed 569 *ema* in total. Not all the *ema* have dates inscribed on them, but reviewing the 291 dated *ema*, all were dedi-

cated in 2008 with a single *ema* dated 2007. This marks a period of intense fan activity at the shrine. Of the 569 *ema*, 219 (thirty-eight percent) contain illustrations. A total of 174 (thirty-one percent), what can be discerned as fan dedicated *ema*, make specific textual or visual references to *Basara.* Differing from an ordinary shrine visitor, a fan may refrain from writing a prayer instead writing about the game and its characters or noting their experience visiting the places related to the historical figures. Yet among the fan dedicated *ema* 136 (seventy-eight percent) have prayers, 150 (eighty-six percent) contain *Basara* related artwork, and significantly 146 (eighty-four percent) are illustrated with Masamune's likeness. In addition to analyzing textual data from the *ema*, I also examine the artwork noting the characters drawn, their number, placement, action, posture, facial expression, accouterment, and speech, giving consideration to scale, composition, space, and mass.

Fan art tangibly links *Basara* fans to the pilgrimage, capturing their attention, providing motivation, and further drawing them together as a community. Despite a general consensus that fan art is the defining characteristic of fan produced *ema*, researchers show reluctance to address what and how fans illustrate, concentrating instead on the accompanying text (Imai 2009; Satō 2009; Satō 2010; Imai 2012; Yoshitani and Satō 2014). My research is not the first published survey of the *Basara ema* at Gokoku Shrine. Satō (2010, 118) conducted a survey of 289 ema on March 14, 2009. The smaller number of *ema* in his study is the result of an annual ritual removal of the past year's *ema* in conjunction with New Years. In his research Satō (2010, 119) remarks on the generous representation of *Basara* characters (close to ninety percent of the illustrations). Nevertheless he opts for a statistical analysis of commonly occurring words and expressions. Lamarre (2009, ix-x) citing the problematic disinterest in examining *anime* "as moving images" finds commentators tend to view *anime* merely as a text, not seeing the forest for the trees, so to speak. The art, which stirs the hearts of so many fans, equally deserves our attention if we are to determine whether *ema* truly function as religious icons.

Consecrating Icons

Condry (2013, 185) asserts that a "love revolution" is taking place in Japan in which fans are vocalizing their adoration for two-dimen-

sional characters. The messages written on the *ema* affirm that *Basara* is by no means an exception. A woman makes clear her motivation when she pens, "I came to meet you dear Masamune! I love you!" (All translations of fan written text are my own). On thirty *ema* fans express love for Masamune showing their emotional attachment as with the following words: "Dear Masamune thank you for being born." Fans go so far as to express an unending commitment, for example, "Lord Master! I will follow you to the end!" Another expresses the depth of her feelings when she writes, "Having been able to meet (you) dear Masamune, I am moved to tears!" Encountering and engaging with Masamune can be a powerful emotional experience.

The *Basara* fans make public various details about themselves on the *ema*. *Basara* is popular with women in their teens and early twenties. They jot down a personal name, which can indicate their sex, or a call sign, which reflects their familiarity with the Internet. From prayer content we can determine whether the fan is in school or not. Throughout Japan students commonly petition deities to pass entrance examinations, to graduate, or to get their first job. Regarding the *Basara ema*, I find the greatest number of prayers, eighteen percent, concern examinations and graduation. Prayers for work and employment rank second at seventeen percent. Through their prayer messages *Basara* fans additionally divulge information regarding personal relationships, health, and finances. By posting publically at the *emakake*, they move to communicate the information to other *Basara* fans. Even so, first and foremost they channel it to Masamune, asking him for help with graduation, employment, romance, and other worldly matters. In a conversation about how sacrifice sets the stage for the exchange of goods between people forming the basis of social relationships, it has been suggested: "The first exchange is with the divine. The second is with other people" (Miller 2012, 21). Putting this in context, fans produce and present an *ema* of their own design. And by offering it to Masamune, even playfully, they consecrate a pattern of exchange among fans, who sharing an interest in *Basara* and an adoration for its characters show their dedication to the fan community by producing more *ema* that again attract fans, further extending the umbrella of interaction and cultivating a sense of belonging.

Reader (1991, 375) contends that *ema* constitute religious behavior if a person directs a message to a deity and then offers the *ema* at a shrine or a temple. The fans do just that. One fan writes to Masamune, "Thank you for a wonderful meeting/relationship." It remains unclear whether she refers to her encounter with Masamune or an actual person. Regardless, Masamune is the entity that actualizes it. Many of the young women who petition Masamune express interest in having a relationship or getting married. A passionate fan prays for help in finding a partner saying, "I beseech you, Masamune." One woman further requests that her romantic partner resemble Masamune. She writes, "I pray someone like (you) Masamune comes along!" Masamune represents an aesthetic ideal, not only for possible love interests, but also for the fan herself. Whereas one fan avows the difficulties of life stating, "I pray the day of triumph will come to me for whom every day is a battle." Another suggests in Masamune lies the power to overcome. She writes, "I pray I become strong, resolute, and beautiful like (you) Date Masamune. I pray I become a samurai who does not falter in the face of adversity." To fans this dashing hero not only personifies an ideal romantic partner, but represents someone they aspire to be like.

As evinced by the *ema*, fans entertain a personal relationship with the character Masamune. It has been suggested the Japanese possess a cultural proclivity "to relate personally, almost spiritually, with a product/mass-produced imaginary" (Allison 2006, 193). Nineteen fans mention on the *ema* that they journey to Sendai in hope of "meeting" Masamune. One fan writes, "It has already been two years since I first thought 'I want to go to Sendai.' I finally have come to meet (you) dear Masamune! I spent two days traveling around all the places connected to (you) dear Masamune." Two women draw a side view portrait of Masamune along with Musubimaru, the official promotional *kyara* (character) for Sendai and Miyagi prefecture (figure 2). Musubimaru, an anthropomorphic cross between a rice ball and Masamune, is fre-

Figure 2

quently pictured on the *ema*. Because of Musubimaru's simple design, it appears some fans draw him in place of Masamune, a substitution made easier by virtue of Masamune's two-dimensionality. In their message to Masamune the two fans seek his praise stating, "It took us seven hours to come from Tokyo. Masamune, please show us your appreciation." The pair voice what they have given to him: seven hours of travel, implying a laborious sacrifice. Next, they ask him to help find, in their own words, a "three-dimensional" boyfriend. As Ruddock (1969, 41) notes, "The essence of relationship is reciprocity." Such exchanges foster a fan's relationship with Masamune.

Figure 3

The artwork, although based on the characters in the game and related *anime* productions, bespeaks the fans imagined relation with and feelings towards Masamune. The text in an *ema* picturing Masamune (figure 3) reads, "I have come to Sendai. I pray that I will continue to be blessed with propitious chances/relations. I love (you) Date Masamune." The text accentuates the reciprocal relation between the fan and Masamune. Resembling many other illustrations, this bust drawing focuses on Masamune's face. In a comparison with photography, Berger (1982, 52) explains that when drawing a picture "the artist gives more time to what she or he considers important." Here, Masamune's hair drapes down to outline his eyes and mouth, two principal facial features that communicate emotion. He wears his trademark *kimegao*, a posed facial expression. The ambiguity of his emotional concern adds to his enigmatic character. The form of his mouth lies somewhere between a smirk and a smile. His blind eye, covered by a patch, further shrouds his intentions and heightens the mystery surrounding his presence. The blind eye also works to focus our attention on his open eye, drawing the viewer in, and intensifying the effect of his receptive gaze. In her research of Russian Orthodox icons of divine figures, Weaver (2011, 397) confirms that believers "assumed that

icons initiated actions, were aware of their surroundings, and participated in communication." The artist's creation of a gaze results in Masamune looking outward towards the viewing fan. Awaiting a visual connection, he is poised to communicate: "In a face-to-face encounter, even a non-reaction is a reaction" (Frank 2009, 101).

Fans also produce many childlike images of Masamune. The historical Masamune participated in his first military campaign at the age of fourteen and came to rule the Sendai fiefdom in his thirties, living until the advanced age of sixty-nine. Nonetheless, fans do not portray Masamune as anything but youthful. The appeal of Masamune as an adolescent or as a twenty something connects with the contemporary representation of male attractiveness that can be "aesthetically pleasing and erotically charged" for Japanese women (Miller 2006, 127). Why then do some fans choose to draw pictures of Masamune that are not only at odds with his historic representation in artwork, but also unrepresented in the game? We find various examples showing childlike depictions of Masamune. Two representative examples were coproduced by two fans (figure 4), showing two cherubic-faced Masamune. Unlike the examples with a more mature Masamune, the faces in these childlike versions lack detail. Proclaiming her love for Masamune, the author on the right explains that they traveled far just to meet with him. They both talk about starting university, and although not stated, they pray to be successful in that respect. The childlike depictions these two women draw adhere to the characteristics of *kawaii* (cuteness), which are "roundness, flatness, simplicity, and smiles" (Shiokawa 1999, 97). Cuteness is, as Shiokawa attests, "not threatening" (ibid.). This is not to say that the adolescent or twenty something image of Masamune is. Glasspool (2012, 119) offers that the "beautiful boy" adolescent image "provides a 'safer' form of masculinity." So then, what does the childlike image of Masamune alternatively provide? Cuteness causes a desire to "play with, talk to, or otherwise engage

Figure 4

the cute entity" (Sherman and Haidt 2011, 5). We can infer that cuteness broadens Masamune's accessibility and his appeal.

Figure 5

In both words and images fans narrate their emotional connection to Masamune. On her first visit to Aobayama, one fan details her encounter with Masamune (figure 5). She narrates how seeing his statue moves her, then how she is moved again after seeing all the *Basara ema*. She sums up her emotional state by writing that she is euphoric. Lastly, she comments that she looks forward to an upcoming *anime* version of *Basara*. Yet, speaking louder than words is the picture she pens. The larger figure is Masamune. He is backed by a smaller figure, his historical retainer Katakura Kojūrō (1557-1615). On closer examination we find Kojūrō holds in his hand a *negi* (a long green onion). The *negi* appears in several other *ema* as well. This meme probably originated from an *anime* called *Bleach* (2004). As a motif the *negi* marks the *ema* as the communal property of Japan's subculture of *manga*, *anime*, and game enthusiasts, generally referred to as *otaku*. These shared references from both inside and outside of the game serve to bring fans together (Hendricks 2006, 55). The diminutive Kojūrō conveys that Masamune is the principal in the narrative fans are creating. In the drawing, Kojūrō, holding the symbol of the *otaku*, represents the fans, which are Masamune's faithful retainers (worshipers). The skillful lines put down by the artist portray Masamune as an alluring, charismatic youth. Breaking his smirk, he opens his mouth, to reveal a smile as if ready to speak. Speech bubbles float around Masamune's head in several *ema*, but the fans usually frame him as a silent figure. Fans "turn to art, as both listeners to artistic narratives and constructors of them, for meaning" (Walsh 1993, 18). On final examination we notice a small, black heart emerging from Masamune as if exhaled in a sudden response to seeing the viewing fan. Untainted by words, the heart mark speaks a mouthful.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have focused on how *Basara* gamers engage with Masamune through the production of folk art. In doing so, they effectuate a new means of communication with other fans in a location far removed from the game console. Kinsella (1995, 224), who examines the "cute handwriting" phenomenon that emerged in the 1970s, explains Japanese youth "had invented a new language in which they were suddenly able to speak freely on their own terms for the first time." When fans draw comic illustrations of Masamune they are transforming votive prayer tablets into something more. Thorn (2004, 184) writes that "in drawing and in words, revolution is easy. In fiction, one can rewrite the world, remodel human relationships, with the stroke of a pen." A "revolution" is taking place in which the *Basara* fans are transforming their relationships to the game characters that they draw, and to which they are drawn, and consequently with one another.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

The Icon of the Zombie Mob

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Abstract

The research question of the article is: In the film *World War Z* (Marc Forster, 2013) not only the iconology of the zombie has changed, also its iconography is new. How does this double alteration of the zombie influence its iconic significance? A hypothetical answer to this question is based on an investigation of the locations of the film, including the climactic battle scene with zombies in Moscow Red Square, which was dropped from the final cut. This answer is contextualized in a description of the relatively short cultural history of the zombie with its most recent manifestation in this film. The article sees this zombie manifestation as a mob, a new kind of magnification monster that has entered the global body politic. This is in a more specific sense than the prevalent understanding of the zombie as an icon of fear of globalisation; but it is also a continuation of the cultural critique of mass society as expressed in for instance George Romero's zombie film trilogy. If the zombie has become the mob, then a reciprocal question remains. Why has the mob been depicted as zombies in *World War Z*? Here a historical contextualisation can provide an answer, and the article connects the historical role of crowds and mobs in the world of politics,

including the so-called "Year of the crowd", 1989 to contemporary media iconography of mobs in especially Middle Eastern politics. Finally, the article connects the double nature of a cultural icon as both popular and a hegemonic tool to the historically dualistic conception of mobs.

Keywords #mob, #zombie, # ochlocracy, #World War Z, #crowd

In contrast to the aristocratic vampire, the zombie has always belonged to the underclass of monsters. With humble folkloristic Haitian voodoo beginnings as a few mindless slaves in sugarcane plantations the zombie of today has become empowered with potential of world domination, and it has become a negative icon of globalisation. In the blockbuster film, *World War Z* (Marc Forster 2013) humanity is on the brink of extinction and milliards of zombies nearly take over the world. It is characteristic of the zombies in this film that they manifest themselves as a destructive mob, and it is the aim of this article to examine how and why the icon of the zombie has changed in this way, both iconographically and iconologically. It is the hypothesis of the article that the role of crowds in the present period leads to changes in the general iconography of zombies, and that this change is reflected in *World War Z*. To explain the zombie's current iconic status as threatening ochlocracy, i.e. mob rule, the article will briefly describe the mutable icon of the zombie. This approach is historical, as its subject is the change in the iconography and the iconology of the zombie. These changes will be explained by primarily the historical development of the role and functions of the crowd, including the form of ochlocracy. Finally, the film *World War Z* will be analysed in this light, and the film will be characterized as a manifestation of the new zombie icon that belongs to the sphere of the global body politic.

The Zombie as Monster

An obvious, but still necessary point of departure is that zombies do not exist in reality. Yet in fiction, they abound. In his *Theories of International Politics and Zombies* (2011), Daniel W. Drezner has demonstrated a spectacular growth in interest in zombies since the 1960s and especially after 2000 (Drezner 2011, 2-5). These finding are sup-

ported by Google's Ngram viewer that records the occurrence of the word "zombie" in Google Books from 1800 to 2008 like this:

Drezner's survey shows that it is not only fiction e.g., zombie movies, video games and television series, which zombies infest, but generally in the media and in scholarly publications. The post-2000 zombie spread in both fiction and other media may indicate that the zombie has become an icon of certain aspects of contemporary life, primarily fear of globalization, but also because of the mindless mob behaviour of modern-day zombies of a globalized world as the ultimate mass society. The bearer of this iconicity is the runner zombie. Metonymically, it has been magnified into numberless crowds that spread exponentially, infesting the whole world unaffected by ineffective and muddled countermeasures carried out far too late by national authorities. The traditional slow and lumbering zombie is the type fusion monster, which in Noel Carroll's *The Philosophy of Horror* (Carroll 1990, 42-52) is defined by its being two categories at the same time, in this case dead, yet living. The modern runner zombie that appears in hordes, swarms or mobs, i.e. in great numbers, is also Carroll's magnification monster type. This monster type is a creature that is already dangerous or repellent, but by becoming extremely large in size or in numbers, it becomes monstrous. The combination of its magnification characteristics with the mindless horde behaviour of this zombie type allows it to become a general icon of the mob.

The abject nature of the living corpse, the zombie can cause nausea and fear in its reception in fiction; yet as it does not exist outside fiction, the reception of it is also characterized by what may be called the interpretative imperative. As this monster is a sign, like all other fictional monsters, it has no referent in the real world, and

it must necessarily have other significations. It is here that the zombie can be regarded as an icon that it culturally determined, and as such changeable. This interpretative imperative demands that the audience of a zombie movie like *World War Z* seeks to understand the monster and its specific narrative as nothing but a sign, but also a sign embedded in a specific historical context. This context provides the clues to its significance. Monsters are then signs of what worries and causes fear in a historical and social context (Christensen 2012a, 39) and regarded as this, they are useful objects of analysis and interpretation.

The Film: *World War Z*

The plot structure of *World War Z* departs from both the formulaic narrative pattern of the generic monster film and from the zombie film of the apocalyptic type. The formula of the generic monster film may look like this:

- One or more victims are attacked, but it is unclear by what or by whom?
- The protagonists of the film suspect that the attacker is a monster.
- The protagonists seek to prove the existence of the monster and to convince the authorities (police, army) about its existence.
- The monster visualization: the monster is seen by the protagonists and by the film's audience.
- The monster is defeated.
- Epilogue: The monster may show signs of life and a threat of resurrection. (Christensen 2012b, 43-44)

As it may be seen, the conflict in this formula is just as much of a phenomenological nature as it is physical. The similar pattern and content of the subgenre the zombie film of the apocalyptic type are described by Kyle William Bishop in his *American Zombie Gothic* (2010): "the apocalyptic invasion of our world by hordes of cannibalistic, contagious, and animated corpses… These generic protocols include not only the zombies themselves and the imminent threat of violent death, but also a post-apocalyptic backdrop: the collapse of societal infrastructures, the resurgence of survivalist fantasies, and the fear of other surviving humans." (19) Further generic plot ele-

ments and subgenre characteristics may be gleaned from Bishop: Zombie movies are almost always set during (or shortly after) the apocalypse, where the infrastructures of police or military cease to exist, and there are scanty media reports that zombies have overrun the country before the media gradually become silent (22). Survivors hole up in shopping malls or underground bunkers and are under siege, but relief never arrives (22). Looting becomes practically legal (23). The zombies have a virus-like reproductive process, they cannot be reasoned with (20), and they are in an active state of decay (21), yet "the zombies pursue living humans with relentless, tireless dedication and kill people mercilessly by eating them alive" (20). "Once people start to die at an uncontrollable rate, panic rages through all levels of the government and the military… and most are more interested in saving themselves and their families than simply doing their jobs." (23)

Compare to this the action of *World War Z*. Retired UN problem solver Gerry Lane (Brad Pitt) and his family barely escape zombie attacks in Philadelphia. The zombie infestation spreads like wildfire. Lane is in contact with the UN Deputy Secretary-General Thierry Umutoni, who wants him to combat the zombie plague, and Lane and his family are flown to sanctuary on a U.S. aircraft carrier in the Atlantic Ocean. To try to develop a vaccine against the zombie virus Lane is flown with a virologist to an American military base in South Korea. The virologist is killed, but there Lane is told by a CIA agent that he must go to Jerusalem to seek information from an Israel government official. Lane flies to Israel, which was the first country to believe in the zombie outbreak, and therefore had managed to build high walls to protect its citizens from the zombies. However, Jerusalem is overrun by zombies. Lane notices that the zombie horde ignores a sick old man and a dying boy. Lane and an Israel soldier escape from the city to go to Wales to a WHO virology laboratory. There Lane and some scientists discover that if a human is infected with a fatal disease, he is invisible to the zombies. The zombie is host for the virus, and the virus only wants healthy new carriers. Lane is united with his family, and based on the information he has provided the UN can develop a vaccine so that people become immune to the zombie pandemic. A 12-minutes climatic Russian scene was left out from the final cut (Holson 2013).

In *World War Z* itself, there is no initial phenomenological doubt about the existence of the zombie infestation. This doubt, it is explained, lies before the beginning of the film, and in a scene with the Israeli government official this phenomenological doubt is directly addressed. Due to the tragic history of the Jews, the most unlikely and monstrous occurrences in the world cannot be ruled out, and therefore the state of Israel was quick to respond to the threat. It follows that the monster visualisation is quite early in the film. It appears in a close-up only nine and a half minutes into the film, the total running time of which is 116 minutes. In the same way the protagonist of the film, Gerry Lane has no such phenomenological doubt, and as he is a member himself of the authorities, he does not have to follow the generic narrative pattern of having to convince these authorities of anything. Though the authorities are exiled to ships in the Atlantic, they are the acting protagonist of the film, personalised in Lane. This is a significant shift from the formula, and this change must be seen in conjunction with the hypothesis of the article that the role of crowds in the present period leads to changes in the general iconography of zombies. Local and in many cases national governmental power structures have been destroyed. For instance, the American president and four of six Joint Chiefs V.P have become victims to the zombie virus, but a new more global executive power has arisen in the film with the UN. Another significant departure from the generic zombie genre is the sheer movability of the action of the film. Siege situations with survivors being surrounded by hordes of zombies are present in the film, but the main plot structure is the itinerary of Lane. This is not surprising as he is on a quest to find the elixir or vaccine to save the world. As he advises another character, "I used to work in dangerous places. People who moved survive, and those who didn't... Movement is life.", and so the locations of the film become Philadelphia, Newark, a U.S. aircraft carrier in the Atlantic Ocean, a U.S. army camp in South Korea, Jerusalem, a WHO research facility in Wales, and Nova Scotia. Family values loom large in the film, yet it is only when the protagonist decides to leave his family that the world is saved. The part of the zombie film template that states that "Once people start to die at an uncontrollable rate, panic rages through all levels of the government and the military… and most are more interested in saving themselves and their families than simply doing

their jobs." (Bishop 2010, 23) is contradicted by this film, which transposes its subject from the private sphere to a public sphere. The conflict of the film is not of an epistemological nature, but it is a physical struggle between world governmental forces and hordes of zombies, and it is not between a group of protagonists and authorities that will not be convinced about the monstrous threat. The conflict is between governmental authorities, which are always presented in a favourable light, and unruly and irrational mobs of zombies, which cannot be controlled or contained. The political aspects of this film are stressed by international UN leadership, but also by the role of national states. For instance, it is reported that grotesquely North Korea solved the risk of infection from contagious zombie bites by pulling out all the teeth of its entire population. The Israeli solution of enclosure by high walls to keep out the zombie realistically mirrors its present-day 440 km long security wall or fence. It may now be tentatively stated that the subject of the film belongs to the body politic, and the next part of the article investigates the concepts of crowds and mobs.

Mobs and Crowds in History

In Charles Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge: A Tale of the Riots of Eighty* (1840-41) mob behaviour is described as irrational and without any control, and also insensible in the meaning that the members of the mob or rioters were unaware of bodily pain and injuries (Dickens 1840-41/1868, 135). This kind of behaviour is also what characterizes the zombies in many scenes of *World War Z*. They can only be exterminated by direct shots into the brain. All other injuries are ignored by the zombies. In the book, which was adapted into the film, Max Brooks' *World War Z An Oral History of the Zombie War* the description of the Battle of Yonkers contains this description of zombie behaviour, similar to Dickens' mob:

> And then they came, right out of the smoke like a freakin' little kid's nightmare! Some were steaming, some were even still burning . . . some were walking, some crawling, some just dragging themselves along on their torn bellies . . . maybe one in twenty were still able to move, which left . . . shit . . . a couple thousand? And behind them, mixing with their ranks and pushing steadily toward us, the re-

> maining million that the air strike hadn't even touched! (Brooks 2006/2007, 102)

The article now sets out to examine whether the physical likeness between the zombie mobs of *World War Z* and these literary mobs is supplemented by any ideological likeness also. In the following, there will be a movement from ochlocracy to historical conceptions of the crowd as a framework for the zombie mobs in *World War Z*.

It was not until around 1950 that crowds were regarded as a possibly beneficial force in the body politic. In Antiquity, Polybius described how mob rule, ochlocracy, was a perversion of popular government, i.e. democracy: "…democracy comes into existence; which again by its violence and contempt of law becomes sheer mob-rule." (Polybius 2014, Book 6.4) Ochlocracy (from Greek okhlos "mob" and kratos "rule, power, strength") was one of the three forms of bad government, the other two being tyranny and oligarchy. Polybius' characterization of ochlocracy as contempt of law and violence does not necessarily apply to any crowd. In his "Crowds in History" Manfred Gailus defines crowds as "relatively short-term gatherings of large groups of people (on streets or squares or in the countryside—in any event, in the open air), whose actions are goal oriented and, as a rule, conflictual." (Gailus 2001, 3022). Negative and positive attitudes to crowds were personified primarily by Gustave Le Bon around 1900 on the one hand, and George Rudé and Eric Hobsbawm around 1950 on the other.

Gustave Le Bon's school regarded crowds as destructive, irresponsible, irrational, and highly suggestible as the individual in a crowd lost its usual inhibitions and morals and conscious personality. It came "in possession of a sort of collective mind" instead of its own individual faculties (Le Bon 2009/1896, 21), and crowds are regarded as "barbarians", as "Crowds are only powerful for destruction" (12). Le Bon viewed crowds as inherently conservative, and so crowds were not regarded by him as political instruments of any societal progressive change. We shall soon see how the Rudé and Hobsbawm school had the opposite opinion that crowds could be historical, political forces of change. Le Bon's description of the collective mind of crows adds to this lack of any historical impetus: "they can never accomplish acts demanding a high degree of intelligence… In crowds, it is stupidity and not mother-wit that is accu-

mulated." (23) It follows implicitly that crowds are led, but the leader of a crowd "is nothing more than a ringleader or agitator" (108), and "The leaders of crowds wield a very despotic authority" (111). Here Le Bon echoes Polybius' ochlocracy with a mob being manipulated by demagogues as a bad system of government. As this article is dealing with a film about a pandemic zombie infestation, it may be helpful to consider what Le Bon writes about the mechanism of contagion as a special characteristic of crowds: "In a crowd, every sentiment and act is contagious, and contagious to such a degree that individuals readily sacrifice their personal interest to the collective interest." (24)

More specific historical studies than those of Le Bon have nuanced the view of crowds and their role in history. Gailus stresses that European crowds were not politically aimless. Food riots and riots for liberties have dominated (Gailus 2001, 3024-3025). Rudé and Hobsbawm argued that crowds did have specific goals. These might be a sort of collective bargaining through riots, often performed in the hands of specific social classes such as peasants, working men and women; but they might also be conservative such as "Church and King Mobs". Therefore, the revision of Le Bon's *Psychology of Crowds* has as its main thrust that there were not only "bad crowds", but also "good crowds", which could be regarded as forerunners of later democratic mechanisms and social and political organisations (Gailus 2001, 3024).

Recent years, which are also the historical context of *World War Z*, have manifested the paradoxical political role of crowds as both conservative and progressive. The changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s have been regarded as a result of popular protests when the people of for instance Leipzig, East Germany took to the streets. 1989 was described as "The year of the crowd" by a special issue of *The New Statesman*. The magazine lists crowds as agents of so-called Velvet Revolutions behind the Iron Curtain in Romania overthrowing the dictator Ceausescu, in Prague and Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, riots in Kosovo, pro-democracy protesters in Sofia, Bulgaria, and mass demonstrations in the Baltic States. 1989 was also the year when the Iranian ayatollah Khomeini died, and the mourners at his burial counted millions so that the ceremony was disrupted. People were killed and 10,800 people were treated for injuries. *Time* described the proceedings as "bizarre, frightening – and ultimately in-

comprehensible" (Buchan 2009, 28) with the body falling out of the coffin. The same year a much smaller crowd of 1,000 Muslim protesters burned copies of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* in Bradford in Britain (Malik 2009, 40-41). This crowd with the burning book has been described as "an icon of Islamic rage, and portent of a new kind of conflict" (40). On a much larger and much more violent scale this kind of conflict with uncontrollable rage in mobs was regrettably provoked by the so-called Muhammad cartoons controversy in 2005. Crowds or mobs in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Libya, Nigeria, Indonesia, the Palestinian territories and in other countries rioted with more than 150 deaths, and Danish and Norwegian embassies were beleaguered by mobs and set on fire (Wikipedia 2014). News coverage of these riots like "Muslim cartoon fury claims lives" (BBC 2006a) described mob scenes and also showed footage of rampaging mobs (BBC 2006b). Kenan Malik concept of an "icon of Islamic rage, and a portent of a new kind of conflict" (Malik 2009, 40) based on the protest against *The Satanic Verses* in 1989 and hugely expanded almost globally in 2005 and 2006 must be included in a description of the history of mobs or crowds. However, the civil resistance and progressive aspects of the role of mobs or crowds in and after 2010 in the Arab Spring nuances this picture, and the Arab Spring has been compared to 1989 (Cook 2011). The article now moves on to consider how these new manifestations of mobs may have been reflected in fiction films such as *World War Z* and changed the icon of the zombie.

Conclusion: The Icon of the Zombie as a Mob

It is the hypothesis of the article that the role of crowds in this historical period leads to changes in the general iconography of zombies, and that this change is reflected in *World War Z*. We have seen that not only this iconography has been changed, but also that the formulaic structure of the zombie narrative is reformulated in the film. The iconological method has its roots in art history; in particular in Erwin Panofsky's work (Panofsky 1939/1972). Explained in brief, this method deals with the identification of the subject and motifs of art, and its aim is to explain the specific form of a subject in the piece of art to be analysed. There are three steps in this method. In the pre-iconographic step the shapes and colours of a painting are recognized as representations of parts the physical world.

The iconographic step combines these objects into narratives, e.g. The Genesis Flood narrative. The successful completion of this step is dependent on cultural competences. The final step explains why the specific rendition of the narrative has been given its specific form. This is done by combining the symbolical values of the piece of art to its historical, functional context, or as Panofsky puts it to "the political, poetical, religious, philosophical, and social tendencies of the personality, period or country under investigation" (Panofsky 1939/1972, 16).

In the case of zombies the pre-iconographic and the iconographic step pose a phenomenological challenge that is met by intertextual competences as zombies do not exist outside fiction, though the zombie can be recognized as an abject corpse combined with a living person as the zombie is a fusion monster (Carroll 1990, 43). As the cultural history of zombies does not go further back than the 1930s, the iconological step is not unsurmountable, and only a condensed history of the zombie icon in "the political, poetical, religious, philosophical, and social tendencies of the personality, period or country under investigation" will be offered here as it is available elsewhere (Bishops 2010, Christensen 2012a, Christiansen 2012). In the 1930s and 1940s, the zombie was a scarce, dumb and slow-moving folkloristic victim and an icon of colonial suppression as seen in Victor Halperin's *White Zombie* (1932) and Jacques Tourneur's *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943). However, in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s there was an iconological change, as zombies appeared in fairly large numbers and they were cannibalistic. The zombie now became part of a cultural critique of primarily American mass society. In George Romero's films it had become an icon of the family institution, mindless consumerism, and the scientific and military complex in *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) and *Day of the Dead* (1985).

During the 1980s and 1990s, there was a significant shift in zombie iconology, as the zombie became a magnification monster of pandemic proportions. Zombies became many, often described as swarms or hordes, and they became fast, the so-called runner type. One of the first instances was Dan O'Bannon's *The Return of the Living Dead* (1985) with around 100 zombies of the runner type, and in Ruben Fleischer's *Zombieland* (2009) zombies were pandemic, and they could be iconologically understood as an icon of globalization (Christiansen 2012). It is characteristic of the narrative structure of

most zombie films until now that the action was that a group of survivors holed up under siege and if there was movement, it was only from one safe place to another. However, the iconological change of the meaning of the zombie from its first manifestations has been so fundamental that its iconography has been altered. Present-day zombie are fast, furious and magnifications monsters to the extent that they through their numbers are pandemic. The narrative structure with its locations of *World War Z* and the quest of an American with his Israeli allied against mobs of zombies that are presented iconographically not unlike news media footage of Middle Eastern mobs, but also mobs of zombies in American cities, has added a new iconological signification to the fictional zombie monster. It has now become a contemporary icon of mobs, and this icon can be identified more specifically as the mob, characterized by Le Bon's original, conservative view. The zombie icon of the mob is Le Bon's mob reborn, and this mob is solely destructive and not a political instrument of change for something better. As Le Bon claimed, this mob is manipulated by demagogues, which in this film has made the zombie mobs into unconscious and unwitting instruments of a lethal and global virus. The film's choice of locations is some of the world's hot spots: The Middle East and Korea, and the deleted Moscow scenes. The view of global politics in the film *World War Z* with this choice of locations is bordering on being defeatist as political antagonists are represented as magnification monsters beyond understanding and control. In the film, the zombie as a magnification monster has become a dark cultural icon of a world that is populated by mobs and is globally ungovernable.

A couple of times in the article we have seen that the terms crowds and mobs have been used interchangeably, and we have seen that they have been used negatively and positively about their role in the body politic through history. This dualism also applies to the film *World War Z* and its construction of zombies as a cultural icon. Especially the film's Jerusalem scenes with the wall unsuccessfully keeping out the besieging zombies has so obvious relevance to contemporary Middle-Eastern politics that it more than any other aspects of the film foregrounds the interpretative imperative, and the audience can find it hard not to draw parallels to the conflict between Israel and Palestinians.

In conclusion, this double significance of the icon of the zombies in the film is in accord with how a cultural icon is defined in Walter W. Hölbling's *US Icons and Iconicity* (2006). Hölbling notes that a condition necessary for an icon to obtain a lasting value is its ambivalence. It must function "as hegemonic tools of dominant groups to control the shifting identities of the mass of people, and on the other hand, as democratic elements in the media age, as symbols of popular identities and interests. Icons can thus be expressions both of dominant and popular interest" (Hölbling 2006, 8). That the zombie has taken on the form of mobs in the global body politic in *World War Z* demonstrates this ambivalent and tension-filled cultural and social function of icons.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter

Volume 10 • 2015

The friction of the animal and the divine

Sex and the circus in Neil Jordan's The Miracle (1991)

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Abstract:
This article looks at representations of early sexual experience in Neil Jordan's *The Miracle* (1991). It contrasts the fantasies and the realities of the parallel sex lives of the film's teenage protagonists, which are central to the narrative and set within a travelling circus. Both the circus ring and the Catholic Church feature in Jordan's film as locations in which sexual desires are expressed, and this article considers the associated functions of the actors and icons proper to these spaces as we see them on screen. It thereby forges new critical connections between *The Miracle* and prose, poetry, and plays written by W.B. Yeats and J.M. Synge. The article also makes extensive use of an original and as yet unpublished interview conducted with Neil Jordan in June 2014.

Keywords *circus; Jordan; sexuality; Yeats; Synge*

The Circus Association of Ireland published journal-cum-fanzine *Circus* between 1990 and 2000. Over ten years, the magazine detailed trade secrets such as the latest developments in human physical performance styles, state-of-the-art designs in circus machines, appara-

tus and architecture, and the practices of world-class animal trainers working in Ireland. *Circus* is caught between looking forward and looking back, combining historical features with news and reviews. The magazine shows that the circus is most often a family business: photographic portraits chronicling major events in the personal histories of Ireland's leading show families – births, deaths, and marriages – which are prominent in the magazine. On facing pages, trends in Irish consumerism are seen in promotions for Clairol hair colour or adverts for Irish-manufactured farm machinery. And of course there are announcements from the circuses themselves detailing their touring routes for the coming or current season: Ireland's National Circus Fossett's took a full-page advertisement in *Circus* in November 1990. Audiences could expect a terrific show from famed ringmaster Edward Fossett Jnr and his troupe. Mr Fossett would command expertly an African elephant, camels, llamas, zebras and myriad horses – big and little, chestnut and arab. Fossett's also presented exotic acts to the people of Ireland including El Hakim the Fakir (played by familiar favourite Barry Walls) and their latest version of the ever-popular American Frontier narrative "The Westerners with Chief Otaki: Ropes, whips, fire etc." (*Circus* 1990, 6). Other less spectacular recommendations were printed beneath an aerial photograph of their big top: plain text quietly touts the names of a number of Fossett's performers recently featured on RTE, and records that movie goers would be able to see Fossett's on the big screen when "Neil Jordan's *The Miracle* filmed at Bray" was released the following year.

Jordan's film received relatively favourable reviews in more recognisable publications from British and American critics on its release in 1991. Relatively favourable reviews by Brian Palma and Julie Salamon appeared in the *Guardian* (Palma, 25) and the *Wall Street Journal* (Salamon, A10) respectively; however, both Palma and Salamon express reservations about whether or not the treatment of conventional themes and complex relationships is convincingly pulled off by the director and his lead actress, Beverly D'Angelo. Desson Howe's piece in the *Washington Post* was less kind: entitled 'No Cure for 'Miracle'', the critic felt that Jordan's "shortcomings" were, ironically, held up to the light by cinematographer Phillippe Rousselot's excellent camerawork (Howe, 41). Meanwhile, Philip French counted the film among his favourites in

an end-of-year round-up review for the *Observer* – an article for the English newspaper in which he all-too-easily claims Irish director Jordan as "one of half-a-dozen of our most remarkable movie-makers." However, French is correct to appreciate and identify the particularly fine observations Jordan makes in his characters, which make *The Miracle* a picture of: "individuality and distinction on local subjects." (French, 39).

French's appraisal accords with the director's own view of the film. Jordan commented in an interview given to the *Washington Post* around the time of the US release of *The Miracle* in July 1991, that: "By and large my preoccupations are more personal than political. More emotional." (Hinson, G1) Therefore, social constructs of the present country are seen only incidentally and in the background of the film – for example, in people's hairstyles and clothing, and in their leisure pursuits. Its soundtrack is not pop, soul, and rock-and-roll, but the compositions of Hoagy Carmichael, and the lyrics of Alberto Testa. Jordan's effort is, then, to create a study of personal and emotional subjects that are in some ways out of time, if not timeless, through sensitive deployment of sounds and images that were considered classic, if not outdated, by 1991. But although *The Miracle* refuses to be fixed in time, it is definitely located in a place. Jordan's own production notes describe his film as "particularly Irish" and state that its "Irishness" was constituted in its representation of male/female relationships (Zucker, 2008, 87). Predominantly, *The Miracle* explores these fundamental – and fundamentally Irish – male/female relationships through the character of adolescent Jimmy. The film is an Oedipal narrative of desire in which the boy obsessively pursues Renee, the mother he presumed dead, who responds to her son's increasingly forceful advances with increasing ambivalence. Jordan's subtle, sophisticated study of the emotional complexities bound up in encounters between Jimmy and Renee takes place between live performance venues: seaside dance hall, city theatre, parish church, and visiting Fossett's Circus. These locations are generously full of images that come to frame the narrative. It is notable that dance hall and parish church belong to the real world of lived experience; these are familiar and unimpressive locations where Jimmy works alongside Sam, and in which he challenges the efforts of his father and the promise of his faith. Theatre and circus amusements, meanwhile, are transposed

from life to coexist in Jimmy's imagination, transforming his intangible emotions into vivid images. Tellingly, the theatre is where Renee works, and the circus is where Jimmy's fantasies about her are set. But the religious icons and circus images that feature separately as markers of distinct stages in his development towards a better-informed state of self-consciousness combine to produce the film's final sequence.

Jordan went back to Ireland, and back to his own childhood, after a run of professional disappointments in Hollywood. The director explained in interview why Bray, County Wicklow was his chosen location for *The Miracle*:

> It's very simple. My mother grew up in Bray. I spent time there as a child. It's been a convenient backdrop to a number of my films. It's always had that strange element of fantasy against the general greyness of Irish life. (Interview, 10 June 2014)

Strangely fantastic Bray is seen as a version of Tír Na nÓg: dissimilar from the mystical vision of that mythical place that is seen in Jim Sheridan's *Into the West* (1992), and rather more robust and tawdry. The locations of leisure, pleasure, and entertainment between which the story is set are the concrete means by which the special effort required to secure eternal youth is made apparent. Women work particularly hard to arrest the appearance of maturity. It is "Not Mrs, boy. Miss." Strange who fascinates Jimmy and his friend Rose as they walk along the promenade. Renee believes that she "lost it a long time ago" – according to Rose, her hands betray that she is much older than she looks. Renee is associated with a time that is long before her own in her style. Before they speak, Jimmy thinks that given the general cool of her red lipstick, sunglasses, and "old-fashioned" stockings, her desirability must derive from the fact that she is French. But the pathos inherent within attempts to defer age and maturity are coolly recognised and easily accommodated by Jordan as plausible, personal narratives of desire. There is no suggestion in actress d'Angelo's characterisation of Renee that the desire to return to a past self has overtaken her, nor any hint of her visible surrender to a time that has gone. She is perfectly composed in classic fashions of the Forties

film star, which coordinate with Twenties popular jazz and Sixties bosa nova performed by Jimmy on saxophone and piano, to indicate the attractive and expressive potential of the outmoded.

Chiefly, it is Renee who produces the contemplative mode of *The Miracle*, which Elizabeth Butler Cullingford has accurately, if uncertainly, described as "oddly reverent" (Cullingford, 2001, 252). Oddly reverent is apt, since it connects the way in which D'Angelo is styled – both in performance and appearance – to the habit in which Waters continues to use the language of Catholic devotion to express the novel and exciting articulacy his generation found in popular icons. Jimmy often watches Renee swimming, and, accordingly, this lead actress and new-found object of adolescent fascination becomes, in a certain sense, a secular Star of the Sea. This association is reinforced by the recurring group of holidaying nuns who, so beautifully directed to imply a child-like delight, rush towards the water in their swimming hats and old-fashioned full-length bathing suits – costumes that are suitably muted counter symbols to the loud leotards sported by the female acts at Fossett's which leave nothing to the imagination. Renee is further secured by the recurrent use of Hoagy Carmichael's 'Stardust' (1927). Mitchell Parish's lyrics trail images of a lost paradise garden out of the lover's dreams into the world of musical performance. 'Stardust' is often heard in scenes where D'Angelo is costumed in sequined garments. Accordingly, she embodies her own memory of "the years gone by" when she stood literally demurred beside the garden wall – just inside Eden, or just on other side of that immoveable symbol of lost innocence.

The circus, as both a real event and an imagined location, provides Jordan with images that give form to the unuttered narrative of Jimmy's desire: to lose his innocence to Renee. The director elaborated in interview on his decision to give Fossett's such a prominent role in *The Miracle*:

> At the circus, there's the possibility of enacting a real and a fantasy event [...] Selfishly, I suppose, I just chose what I could from the circus. I just wanted to create images. (Interview, 10 June 2014)

As he related the cinematic influences that determined how the circus was made to appear in his film – Fellini's *La Strada* (1954), Carol

Reed's *Trapeze* (1956), and Tod Browning's *Freaks* (1932) – Jordan emphasised the popular image of the circus as something "slightly sinister" or "slightly 'other'": especially in "the small and closed society of Ireland, performers are almost inevitably from strange and 'other' backgrounds – [there's] always something almost orientalised about them." (Interview, 10 June 2014) The extent to which Fossett's, as filmed for *The Miracle*, could be considered sinister is arguably limited. Nevertheless, its slight 'other'-ness and exotic potential, especially within the Irish context, are deployed to great effect in Jordan's deliberate co-ordination of sexual suggestion and religious expression within the circus image.

In scenes filmed during 'real' circus performances, Jordan makes frames out of human bodies or circus apparatus effectively to develop the plot. Jimmy is seen playing the saxophone alongside a bored-looking clown through the legs of a contortionist who bends over backwards to pick up a rose. At a more advanced stage in Jimmy's pursuit of Renee, the same contortionist is seen firing an arrow with her feet into a crudely shaped plasticine heart. These frames draw attention to Jimmy, indicating that his narrative of experience is manufactured out of conventions. They are, in themselves, complex structures, founded upon the woman and her actions in performance, which signal the drive of this peculiar narrative, as they elide the obviously sexual with clichéd icons of the banally romantic: the rose and the heart.

Unspoken truths are realised and wishes are fulfilled through the circus as constructed in Jimmy's dream-space. In filming the dream sequences Jordan wrote for his character, cinematographer Rousselot allows his camerawork to appear self-consciously naïve, transforming human faces into types or icons of themselves. Jimmy's first circus dream stages the son's primary, sexual fascination with his mother. Circus semiotician Paul Bouissac reveals that in the circus system "natural objects (humans, animals, artifacts) undergo a process of *iconization*" [original emphasis] (Bouissac, 2010, 36). In this scene, Renee becomes an illustrative case in point. She is cast as an aerialist, dressed in a sequined bustier to perform her routine; her son masters the *cord lisse* apparatus. Throughout the couple's performance, 'Stardust' is heard non-diegetically, played off-key by an unseen saxophonist. Renee smiles down at Jimmy in an illuminated inversion of an earlier dream, or memory in which, silhou-

etted, she is framed with the fringes of what is first taken as a miniature theatre, or promenading parasol, but then understood to be the decoration on infant Jimmy's pram. Intercut with these shots are moments from a sequence in which father Sam is burnt alive. First, a photograph of Jimmy's father catches light and then, flames spread to the man himself, lying in his single bed.

These dreamed images appear to resolve the Oedipal phase of Jimmy's development, a resolution necessarily postponed until the return of his mother. The result is the second circus dream, the desexualised content of which belongs to the more mature latency phase. The sequence reveals another aspect of Jimmy's emotional response to Renee's return: the unfulfilled hope for a reunion between mother and father. It is presented in the dress circle of Dublin's Olympia Theatre where his mother takes on the role of Frenchy in a stage adaptation of Hollywood Western, *Destry Rides Again* (1939). Jimmy has followed Sam and watched from a distance as his father tries to prevent Renee from future visits to Bray. As Jimmy's eyes close sleepily, curtains lift on an open-air, sea-side tableau in which Renee and Sam flank two kneeling circus elephants. His mother is outfitted as a saloon girl, while his father is dressed as a Mexican bandolero. Though symbolising adversarial communities in the folklore of the American West, the pair hold hands and bow together gracefully. Bouissac argues that family circus refuse to hint at of "any kind of dysfunction", and Jimmy manufactures for himself that same functioning unit out of the circus trope (Bouissac, 2010, 83). Seen in his family picture, framed in the symbolic logic of the traditional circus, his parents smile to an audience applauding them from elsewhere – apparently they are with Jimmy in the dress circle, since the hands that clap for this reunion overlap with the son's sleeping face. When he wakes he is alone again, save for the cleaning lady sweeping between the seats, too late to enjoy his parent's performance and to join in with the audience's elated response.

Jimmy's companion, the aspiring writer Rose, is equipped with the skills to interpret these dream sequences in the mode of the psychoanalytic literary critic. Rose deconstructs their significance according to basic principles she has learnt in an advanced alphabet of narrative theory, which she also uses to compose her own original fantasies. In turn, she delivers her lessons to Jimmy as they eat

chips and ice creams, walk the promenade, or ride the seaside rollercoaster. Rose ornaments these designs with excessive words and arch phrases that erupt into her conversations with Jimmy to disrupt the manner in which two teenagers might be expected to talk: "pellucid" and "gauche" are fine examples. It is in this vein that Rose describes from behind the bars of the circus animal lorries her advancing plan to seduce Jonner, the brutish animal trainer, and thereby orchestrate the final sequence of the film; Rose works to tame him through the inflictions of sexual frustration and humiliation. But in the scene shot in the animal lorries, Rose occupies an ambivalent position: there, she perhaps deliberately inverts her civilising intentions as she is equated with the animals that Jonner commands and coerces into performance.

The few critics who have hitherto considered the role of the circus in the film have insisted upon the relationship between the sequences shot at Fossett's Circus and the fleeting circus images in W.B. Yeats's 'The Circus Animals' Desertion' (*Last Poems*, 1939). Kathleen Gallagher Winarski reads *The Miracle* as a redemptive transformation of Yeats's despair, enacted as Jordan stretches literary traditions to liberate his own fiction. According to Gallagher Winarksi, the poet's elusive theme is constituted by the director who can capture real circus animals on film, thereby "breathing life into Ireland's stories of family and nation." (Winarksi, 1999, 98) However, Jordan himself denies the relevance of Yeats's late-style melancholia for his work (Interview, 10 June 2014). And so, the Fossett's animals as captured on film in scenes such as that where Rose is caught in the animal cages are not like Yeats's past 'theme'. Jordan sees in his circus creatures living, vital beings that offer him dramatically ironic images: his characters appear in these moments of identification in complex and negative terms.

In interview, the director commented: "At a circus you have tents; a series of cages; the vehicles. They house both people and animals. It's a place where wonder, fantasy, magic have to be chained and put in cages." (Interview, 10 June 2014) This lamentable recognition of the need to contain and limit the reach of wonder, fantasy, and magic bears striking resemblance to Yeats's review of his own sense of the power of the artist in 'The Theatre, The Pulpit, and The Newspapers' (1903):

> I had spoken of the capricious power of the artist and compared it to the capricious movements of a wild creature, and *The Independent*, speaking quite logically from its point of view, tells me that these movements were only interesting 'under restraint'. (Yeats, 1962, 119)

Yeats cannot have known that the point of view of *The Independent* aligned exactly with that of famed circus proprietor Frank Bostock, who wrote in 1903 (the same year in which the poet published his essay responding to and lamenting the logical perspective of the newspaper) about what his "public does not know", that: "the tamed animal is a chimera of the optimistic imagination, a forecast of the millennium." (Bostock, 1903, 185) Jordan communicates his own unrosy view of the caged animal through aspirant artist Rose, caged at the circus. His unwitting return to Yeats is even more complete as Bostock's symbolic chimera is mated with chimeras of the Catholic Church. For in her caged setting, Rose is also associated with the nuns she observes and narrates as they paddle and splash in the sea: "Nuns remain children longer than most [...] It's to do with their lifetime's confinement." According to Rose, nuns maintain their childhood beyond the expected time because they are "married to a man they never meet." That Jesus Christ should not be named outright and his proper sign should be replaced with the humbler concept of 'man' indicates the gentle irreverence with which Catholicism is viewed throughout *The Miracle*. But, importantly, Jordan's script casts forward a poignant, if naïve reflection on Rose as she is seen behind the circus bars. The inference is that, in being wedded to an absence, nuns stay children because they remain intact, and immaculate, in marriage. Rose is confined by the role she has given herself in Jimmy's present narrative of desire, within which her virginity and, by standard implication, her childhood are coincidental sacrifices. Both Catholic practices of devotion and adolescent sexual drives are, then, caught within this particular circus frame.

Prevailing critical approaches to *The Miracle* are arrested at the Oedipal phase of Jimmy's sexuality, and thereby fail to attend to both the dreamt circus form that represents his fantasies of deliverance, and the real circus image that represents Rose's sexual experience. Carole Zucker's reading falls short in this regard. She lauds

Jordan enthusiastically for entering "untrammelled territory" in his "postmodern fairy tale" and exploring: "a dark recess of the mind that has not been substantially addressed in thousands of years of folklore and fairy tales, although Oedipus is an obvious exception." (Zucker, 2008, 89) Zucker's reading is deficient, too, as it fails to appreciate the possibility that the conventional elements of Jordan's narrative are themselves "particularly Irish", and indebted to Irish literary traditions. Toni O'Brien Johnson has persuasively demonstrated how Irish literature's most famous parricide, Synge's Christy Mahon, is typical of medieval tales, and considers that his entertainment value for the coastal community of *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907) is derived from his concretisation of the archetypal struggle between youth and age – a contest hitherto confined to the oral tradition both within the setting of Synge's play and the context of its production. Synge parallels the archetypal struggle between Christy and Old Mahon with that between Pegeen and the Widow Quin as they vie for Christy's attention – Pegeen more energetically than the Widow. Elements of this tripartite male-female relationship are also explored by Jordan in *The Miracle*, most notably in Rose's absent-minded disappointment at Jimmy's lack of interest in her as sexual partner. "Gauche", one of Rose's prize words, is used disparagingly to dismiss the rather trashy and predictable narrative Jimmy invents for Renee before he realises her actual story. But gauche is an adjective that might just as easily catch Rose herself in the cross fire of her attempts to wound his image of Renee: she snaps cattily that it is probably the menopause that makes the older woman emotional.

Rose's resolution to seduce, and thereby "humanise", Jonner doubles in force after Jimmy promises that he will try to "work" on his jealousy. Instead, he remains preoccupied with Renee. The ambivalent, ambiguous mood in which Rose is seen in relation to Jonner lends to the uncertain tone of *The Miracle*. Zucker is quite incorrect in her statement that Jordan did not produce a sex scene until he filmed the extravagant sequences involving Julianne Moore and Ralph Fiennes in his adaptation of Graham Greene's *The End of the Affair* (1999) (Zucker, 2008, 138); their couplings convey confidence, assurance, and a wealth of sexual experience. However, Jordan's first sex scene is, in fact, played out by Rose and Jonner on the hay-strewn floor of a Fossett's tent. It is less sophisticated, but consider-

ably more affecting. Rose and Jimmy discuss the humanising plan before it is affected. Jimmy asks Rose if it will not hurt, and Rose says, quite calmly, that it will. The intimation of the pain of a girl's first sexual experience gets to two orders of discomfort: the physical and the emotional. In what Jordan subsequently films, Rose is seen wooden and distracted as Jonner pumps energetically at her. Sexual pleasure is not supposed to be the end, but the means by which Rose sets the spectacular final sequence of the film in motion. But what she imagines before and narrates after the event in Jimmy's company has quite a different tenor. It is not the girl's sense of practicality, but rather her romantic bent that are conveyed in her descriptions. However, she differs from Gabriel as her overblown images are devoid of any mawkishness or melancholy: Rose sees herself in classical terms, like the goddess of love, with her hair spread out across the floor like a seashell. Conclusively, she owns the revisioned moment when Jimmy suggests that her crown might have been more like a fan: "Who's hair was it? *My* hair – like a seashell – on the hay." The girl sees herself after the fact as classical Venus, and not as conventional coquette.

The severance between the recorded image of the lived moment and the repetition of that moment taken out of memory and put into words allows the Rose/Jonner sex scene to be read as Romantic drama as defined by O'Brien Johnson in relation to the plays of Synge. According to her, the grotesque appears in Romantic drama as "the vital foil for the sublime"; the grotesque finds a correlate in the comic, while the sublime is associated with the awesomely dramatic (O'Brien Johnson, 1982, 2). To inject comedy into what is, ostensibly, a serious inquisition of morality is an action Jordan performs in *The Miracle*. Walking past the circus animal cages, Jimmy describes his mother's acting style as both comic and tragic. Rose pitches the central "story to do with love" involving father, mother, and son between tragedy and farce on the seaside rollercoaster. In even simpler terms, when Jimmy says that he is no longer "sad" at the end of the film, that makes Rose "happy". The mood of the film is, then, indefinite, or blurred. In his preface to the first published edition of *The Well of Saints* (1905), Yeats described the almost magical power of the masterful playwright over use of idiomatic language in resonant terms. For Yeats, Synge made "word and phrase dance to a very strange rhythm" that:

> blurs definition, clear edges, everything that comes from the will, it turns imagination from all that is present, like a gold background in a religious picture, and it strengthens in every emotion whatever comes to it from far off, from brooding memory and dangerous hope. (ed. Saddlemyer, 1998, 53)

In the final sequence of *The Miracle*, Jimmy seeks relief from his anxieties in the parish church. He turns to plaster icons in the hope that they will turn his imagination from all that is present. These are the same icons to whom Rose had made irreverent devotions on his behalf, euphemistically asking in mischievous tones that they help him to win Renee in sexual conquest. But at that moment, Jimmy renounces his faith in their power; in the instant, Rose gives him "no reason to believe". The passive, dispassionate saints, who are akin to his saintly-yet-defeated father Sam, stare blankly out at Jimmy, but at once seem to share the knowledge of 'The Statues' that inspired one of Yeats's *Last Poems*: "Empty eyeballs knew / That knowledge increases unreality, that / Mirror on mirror mirrored is all show." (Yeats, 1992, ll.20-22, 384) The potential of Jordan's statues as intercessors and articulate advocates on behalf of the faithful has been overpowered by other secular images more ready and better able to turn the imagination away from the present time.

Jordan explains that while Jimmy might look to the church in desperation:

> He finds no answer within the space of the church or the world it represents. But he does find it in his girlfriend's sense of fun – in her imagination – in their mutual imaginations which are allowed to run riot. (Interview, 10 June 2014)

To return to 'The Theatre, the Pulpit and the Newspapers', Yeats argued that the theatre – that drama – was "the most immediately powerful form of literature, the most vivid image of life." (Yeats, 1962, 119) It stood, then, in opposition to life's enemies as they are instituted in the pulpit and the press. Transforming noun into similar adjective, Jordan is a director keenly aware of the power of theatricality – the dramatic – in the images he creates, and looks for cine-

matographers who are "willing to use colour and light and shade in a way that is consciously unrealistic." (McIlroy, 1989, 115) The final opposition staged in *The Miracle* is not between the pulpit and the theatre; instead it is between the pulpit and the circus. Jimmy's imagination literally runs riot at the close of the film, as Rose releases the animals that embody his brooding memory and dangerous hopes though her ambiguous self-sacrifice. In place of a miracle, the incredible presence of the circus elephant appears in the aisle, freed from its cage by Rose, as promised, with the keys she has stolen from Jonner as he pumped thoughtlessly away at her. Her act of revenge – Jordan's own "anarchic, untrammelled gesture" – is at once an act of devotion to Jimmy (Interview, 10 June 2014). Upon exiting the church, he finds himself within a kinematic scene in which circus animals run comically wild on the promenade. Men rush after them, trying to recapture the llamas and lions, the horses and ponies, the zebras and monkeys that scatter across the seafront in place of the child-like nuns. And yet, despite the comedy of this scene, *The Miracle*'s final narrative note is deliberately off-key; to talk in simple terms of sadness and happiness is, at this point, unsatisfactory. Rose has given herself up to two boys in one act; there is no real resolution for Jimmy or his parents. Both nuns and animals will be returned to habitual life in the convent or at the circus. But in this wonderfully upsetting moment of symbolic equivalence that is sprung from the anxieties of juvenile sexuality, a fundamental belief that once belonged to Synge is displayed: "The gaiety of life is in the friction of the animal and the divine."(ed. Saddlemyer, 1968, 186)

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

Hollywood Icons

Contemporary Film Stars in Celebrity Genres

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Abstract

This article is an analysis of how Hollywood stars are represented in three central celebrity genres – the fashion magazine interview, the endorsement advertisement and the appearance of the red carpet live broadcast. In contrast to recent research in celebrity culture this is an investigation of how specific media texts articulate key concepts central to an understanding of contemporary celebrity culture such as the star as both ordinary and extraordinary, the star as resource and the notion of intimacy at a distance. Thus the article offers a useful framework for analysis of traditional celebrity genres and how Hollywood icons - in this context exemplified by Benedict Cumberbatch and Lupita Nyong'o - are represented.

Keywords celebrity culture, media genre, Hollywood stardom, portrait interviews, endorsements, red carpet appearance

This article analyses how contemporary Hollywood stars are represented in different ways in three key celebrity genres: the fashion magazine interview, the endorsement advertisement, and the appearance on the red carpet live broadcast. In contrast to existing

research in celebrity studies (most recently by Redmond (2013), Rojek (2013), and Gibson (2013)), this is a 'bottom up' study of how specific media texts articulate central concepts from theories of contemporary celebrity culture in general and Hollywood stardom in particular. In this study, the focus is on how the singular media text in specific genres articulates stardom within digital media culture. First, I discuss three key concepts within celebrity culture theory for the analysis of celebrity genres. These include the notions of ordinariness and extraordinariness (Dyer 1979), intimacy at a distance (Thompson 1996), and the stars as a resource (Stacey 1994, Redmond 2013). Then I characterise the three genres and how they articulate Hollywood stardom in celebrity culture: As examples of the star image in contemporary Hollywood, I have chosen British actor Benedict Cumberbatch and Kenyan actress Lupita Nyong'o, both of whom are depicted in these three particular genres and are relatively new stars still working on their image. The fashion magazine interview is exemplified by Nyong'o and Cumberbatch interviews in the fashion and lifestyle magazines *Vogue* and *GQ* respectively. The endorsement advertisement genre includes their respective advertisements for cosmetics house Lancôme and car manufacturer Jaguar. Finally, red carpet footage of both stars derives from the live broadcast of the 2014 Academy Awards. I will begin, however, by presenting the three key concepts of celebrity culture theory: the star as ordinary and extraordinary, intimacy at a distance, and the star as a resource.

Transcendence: The star as ordinary and extraordinary

The Hollywood star is something special – a celebrity of merit as Chris Rojek (2001) has argued. In his seminal study of stars and their images, Richard Dyer (1979) characterises the star image as a combination of the 'ordinary' and the 'extra ordinary'. This apparent contradiction in terms characterises the composite nature of the star image: The star needs to simultaneously have an element that we can recognise and with which we can identify as well as an element of 'extraordinariness' that makes the star stand out. The audience needs to be able to relate to the star even though he or she has a lavish and glamorous lifestyle, designer clothes, and opulent mansion. An important part of the logic of the star image, however, is also that this lifestyle and extraordinariness can only be achieved

through hard work and professionalism as well as the ability to seize an opportunity in order to get a break. The point is that only by combining the ordinary and the extraordinary can stars appeal to the audience. This contradiction is central to understanding the celebrity genre because it pinpoints how Hollywood stars of today are supposed to simultaneously integrate otherworldliness and exceptionalism with everyday life and scrutiny from the tabloid press. Even though the tabloid media plays an important role in presenting Hollywood stars to the public, the ubiquity of Hollywood stars in entertainment media more broadly coincides with the accessibility of other celebrity genres, suggesting that extraordinariness is still the main attraction for the audience. The tabloids are important in presenting the star image, but it still seems that the celebrity genres in which the celebrity willingly participates as 'part of the job' are key to how the image is established. Interest in the ordinary or in peeking behind the façade, as it were, is only present if the extraordinary is in place. Rojek even argues that the reason for the ubiquity of celebrity culture – and by extension, the presence of Hollywood stars – is that it "affords access to the deep human need for transcendence and meaning" (Rojek 2013: 178). In other words, Dyer's concept of the ordinary and the extraordinary are co-dependent elements of the attraction to and our theoretical understanding of the Hollywood star.

Distance: Up close and personal from afar

The relationship between the audience and the Hollywood star has, in a technological sense, been diminished because the social media makes possible direct communication between the Hollywood star and audience if the star has his or her own Twitter account or website. The circuit of information about celebrity has added an extra dimension since the individual Hollywood star can establish his or her own agenda and target a key audience. The Hollywood star is dependent on interest from the audience, a relationship that Rojek calls 'abstract desire', a desire that is dependent on distance (Rojek 2001). In broader sociological terms, John B. Thompson supports the notion of a mandatory distance between star and audience in his interpretation of Horton and Wohl's concept of para-social communication in television (Thompson 1995). Thompson argues that this 'intimacy at a distance' is established when audiences have a

para-social relationship with media journalists and hosts. Thompson further argues that this para-social intimacy at a distance can have the advantage of making it less stressful to follow the private and public lives of film stars in the media than to engage in demanding interactions in real-life relationships (Thompson 1995). This notion is supported by empirical work that concludes that audience members take different kinds of pleasure in following celebrities through the media, ranging from regarding them as keeping an eye on a distant relative to the more cynical enjoyment when stars fall from grace (Gamson 1994, Hermes 1995). As a mediated celebrity, the Hollywood star is thus always accessible – in forms both fictional and factual – but never demanding.

Resource: Fashionable stars

There is a long Hollywood tradition of connecting the stars with the fashion industry. This was established very early on along with the star system (Cosgrave 2006, Mosely 2005). In the beginning, fashionable clothes were made for the star by the studios and costume designers such as Edith Head and Adrian, and copies of stars' costumes were produced for the public by the studios as well (Eckert 1991). From the late 1950s, European fashion designers dressed stars on and off the screen. In her study of post-war British female film fans, Jackie Stacey makes a useful distinction between what she calls 'cinematic identification' – that is, engaging in the character while at the cinema – and the extra-cinematic identification that takes place outside the cinema and concerns engaging with the star and with the character she plays. Stacey argues that this extra-cinematic identification concerns fashion and hairstyle as well as being inspired by strong female roles and how they stand up for themselves. It was as much a question of translating the glamorous looks of Hollywood to post-war Britain as of being inspired by meaningful characters on screen. Analysing fashion in relation to Hollywood today in *Fashion and Celebrity Culture* (2012), Gibson argues that what stars wear off screen (at premiers, award shows, and in fashion magazines) is now just as – if not more – important than what they wear on screen (Gibson 2012: 69). Still, the notion of extra-cinematic identification is relevant because of the star's important role in film promotion and the necessity of maintaining high media visibility on and off screen.

I) The fashion magazine interview

In order to understand the genre of the fashion magazine interview, the starting point must be Leo Lowenthal's seminal study of magazine biographies or celebrity portraits, informed by the Frankfurt School's critical theory (Lowenthal 2006). Lowenthal detects in 1940s a shift in the type of celebrities that the magazines portray – a shift from portraying 'idols of production' to favouring 'idols of consumption', that is, a shift from portraying public figures who contribute to society in terms of being businessmen or politicians to portraying athletes and actors who are consumed by the public. As an adherent to critical theory, Lowenthal understands this development as indicative of decline in terms of the appreciation and definition of accomplishment in society. In contrast to this understanding, Charles Ponce de Leon regards the celebrity interview as a journalistic human-interest genre with certain properties. Ponce de Leon argues that interviews with celebrities have changed from interviewing great heroes to interviewing celebrities as flawed individuals: Celebrities are characterised just like ordinary people in order to invite the reader to identify with the celebrity as well as to get a glimpse of what the celebrity is 'really like' (Ponce De Leon 2002). The manner in which journalists conduct interviews has also changed from gathering information about the celebrity to regular interviews with him or her at home or in similar everyday surroundings, thereby entering the realm of the celebrity's private life. The interview is a chance to portray 'the true self' of the Hollywood star because this genre offers journalists 'unique opportunities to moralize and to promote values and ideological agendas under the guise of entertainment' (Ponce de Leon 2002).

The celebrity interview and, by extension, the fashion magazine interview consist of five basic elements according to Ponce de Leon (2002) and Marshall (2006): self-improvement, fame and consequences, 'meeting the star', lifestyle indicators, and 'behind the scenes'. 'Self-improvement' is usually considered admirable and productive. 'Fame and consequences' usually entails some reflection on why wealth and fame are not considered important or why happiness is not dependent on those factors. 'Meeting the star' is often described in detail in terms of where the interview is taking place and under which circumstances. Descriptions of lifestyle indicators focus on the personal rituals of the Hollywood star: what he

or she is wearing at the meeting and how it is similar to/different from the way in which the public is accustomed to seeing her/him. The 'behind the scenes' section of the interview reveals the Hollywood star's rendition of what it was like to work on this particular production. The additional sixth element is the fashion shoot, where the star wears the latest fashion and is connected with the discourse of the fashion magazine. Here, the film star's professional skills of transforming her/his appearance are used. The Hollywood star is also usually on the cover of the magazine as well.

This is the case with Benedict Cumberbatch for British *GQ* (December 2013) and Lupita Nyong'o for American *Vogue* (July 2014), who are both on the cover of their respective magazines. In Lupita Nyong'o's interview, 'Lupita Nyong'o on winning the Oscar, becoming the face of Lancôme, and her first cover of *Vogue*', self-improvement is addressed in terms of her education as a Yale alumni, her personal drive, and her privileged upbringing. Regarding fame and consequences, Nyong'o asserts that she has used her new status in a positive way as "the newest golden girl of Hollywood." Nyong'o is reported as saying that she actively wants to be a positive role model for young black women. 'Meeting the star' takes place in the context of a *Vogue* photo shoot that emphasises her pleasant and unspoiled demeanour, which is also remarked upon by the journalist. 'Lifestyle indicators' are addressed in terms of her interest in fashion and her success in hiring a skilled stylist to pick out the right clothes for her purportedly 50+ appearances in connection with *12 Years a Slave*. The fashion shoot takes place on location in Morocco and depicts Nyong'o as simultaneously smiling, glamorous, and cool in luxurious surroundings as well as picturesque environments. In the 'behind the scenes' section, she sings the praises of her director Steve McQueen. The journalist's ideological position seems to be one of enthusiasm and admiration, and he regards Nyong'o as very nearly entitled to her success. In 'The many lives of Benedict Cumberbatch' in *GQ* (December 2013), the studio photo shoot depicts Cumberbatch with a serious stiff upper-lip expression and dressed primarily in contemporary men's outerwear, with plaid and wool linking the images to his Sherlock Holmes persona. Nevertheless, the journalist characterises Cumberbatch as well groomed with a pleasant demeanour and eagerness to talk. Self-improvement is addressed because Cumberbatch shares his experience of being

kidnapped abroad and fearing for his life a few years back and how he afterwards coped with the traumatic incident. Regarding fame and its consequences, he has experienced the unpleasantness of being unable to control people's perceptions of him. 'Meeting the star' is a section that takes up a large portion of the interview, giving the impression that the journalist and Cumberbatch almost become friends of a sort. 'Lifestyle indicators' include his fatigue with what he calls 'posh bashing' in the British media, which hold his upper-middle class background against him. "Behind the scenes" is primarily presented as additional quotes from the team behind the TV series *Sherlock*. The ideological position of the journalist seems to be that Cumberbatch is amiable and highly conscientious, in contrast to the stiff upper lip that he has been accused of presenting. This is, however, somewhat contradicted by the style of the photo shoot.

In various ways, the two interviews address all three celebrity theory concepts, though there seems to be a strong focus on the concept of the 'stars as a resource' in terms of lifestyle indicators and personal improvement and less in terms of consumption of the high-fashion clothes presented in photo shoots. The 'ordinary' dimension of the star image is addressed in the stars' coping strategies and the determination whereas the 'extraordinary' dimension is evident in their stylised and glamorous performances in the photo shoots and on the magazine covers.

II) Endorsement adverts with film stars

In celebrity culture, successful celebrities manage to create a celebrity brand inspired by the managed fame of classic Hollywood stardom. "The celebrity brand refers to the images, symbols and associations built around a celebrity – by strengthening the brand the celebrity builds a fan base. When it is successful, it translates into high impact factors that, in turn attract advertisers. It is estimated that 20 percent of American advertisements now feature celebrities" (Rojek 2013). In *Hollywood Stardom*, McDonald (2013: 3), however, stresses that "Stars are used to sell films through their appearance in marketing media and they are a part of what determines how well a film performs at the box-office." McDonald argues that it makes sense to understand the Hollywood star as a brand: First, there is the 'star as a brand' within the film industry, promoting the film in which he or she stars and sustaining the preferred image. Second,

there are the so-called 'commercial extensions', that is, endorsement deals for products other than films (McDonald 2013: 59). When celebrities endorse products, the most transferable elements are, according to Rojek, athletic competence, intellectual capacity, emotional intelligence, and physical appearance, all of which depend, however, on a certain degree of compatibility between the brand and the celebrity (Rojek 2013). Corporations would not persist with celebrity endorsement if they lacked proof that it enhances brand recognition: Celebrity endorsement is designed to transfer the star's commodified magnetism to the product (Rojek 2013: 93-94). From a consumer research perspective, Grant McCracken makes a distinction in 'Who is the Celebrity Endorser? Cultural Foundations of the Endorsement Process' (McCracken 1989: 310) between four typical modes by which endorsement is articulated in adverts: the explicit mode ("I endorse this this product"), the implicit mode ("I use this product"), the imperative mode ("You should use this product"), and the co-present mode (i.e., in which the celebrity merely appears with the product). For high-end products such as designer fragrances, cosmetics, and luxury cars, the typical strategy is the co-present mode or the implicit mode as in the Cumberbatch Jaguar 'Alive' video commercial (2012),[1] in which Cumberbatch narrates while driving a Jaguar around London: "The minute you get into the car, you realise that everything is tailored for an extraordinary driving experience." The co-present mode is far more common in contemporary media culture, such as Lupita Nyong'o's Lancôme and Miu Miu print adverts.[2] "The effectiveness of the endorser depends, in part, upon the meanings he or she brings to the endorsement process" (McCracken 1989: 313). McCracken distinguishes between demographic categories class, gender, and age on the one hand and personality or lifestyle types on the other (McCracken: 313). In Nyong'o's case, her Lancôme advert demonstrates that she, an Oscar winner and an aspiring poster girl for young black women in popular media, has been successful. For the firm, it also potentially establishes Lancôme as having an eye for beauty that is not determined by race. The demographic is thus widely defined because it not only appeals to young black women but also tells a positive story of an open-minded conglomerate, which may attract other demographics. In Cumberbatch's Jaguar commercial, his voice-over narration directly plays into his upper-middle class upbringing and his

status as a serious actor. In that sense, his roles as highly intelligent characters alongside his posh image fit well into the potential young male demographic for luxury cars.

III) The red carpet at the Academy Awards: The collapse of the star as brand

The live Oscars red carpet is a prestigious event and has been ever since it was first held in 1929. The purpose of the event was to bestow respectability and glamour upon the Hollywood film industry in order to make it a cultural factor to be reckoned with. In recent years, the Oscars live transmission has acquired a global reach, and the red carpet pre-show, in which the stars arrive at the ceremony, has become a show in itself (Haastrup 2008). The Academy Awards is a live media event, a ritual with great authority in the industry (McDonald 2013), and an event with an audience of millions around the world. As a type of media event, it is a combination of a 'competition' type of event because there is only one winner in each category and a 'crowning' type of event because it is an event in which Hollywood showcases some of its most prominent stars (Dayan & Katz 1992). The red carpet appearance is well rehearsed and prepared in advance, yet the nomination or invitation to present at the ceremony cannot be planned. Still, when the stars are present, their performance in the pre-show is meticulously choreographed. The live Oscars red carpet is a good example of the collapse between 'the star as brand' and the star as engaging in 'commercial extensions', as defined above by MacDonald (2013) because the Hollywood star wearing a designer outfit on the red carpet is doing both simultaneously. In recent years, the fashion house Dior has employed Oscar-winning actresses like Natalie Portman, Marion Cotillard, and Jennifer Lawrence, with these actresses wearing a dress from that particular designer the following year when the previous year's winners are invited back to present awards. The stars thus benefit from exposure on the red carpet while simultaneously advertising cosmetics, bags, and perfumes in other media. The star is a brand endorsing a film and himself/herself as an actor as well as a brand endorsing a particular fashion house in a globally broadcast live media event.

At the Oscars in 2014, Lupita Nyong'o was wearing Prada (the firm that also makes the Miu Miu clothes line that she has endorsed).

She told the press in interviews from the red carpet that she had chosen the colour (Nairobi blue) herself, allowing Nyong'o to accentuate that this high-fashion dress is in fact connected to her home country.[3] Benedict Cumberbatch was also impeccably dressed in a Savile Row tuxedo by Spencer Hart, though he was not wearing a bowtie like most of the other men present. Cumberbatch presented himself as a red-carpet prankster when he photo bombed the rock band U2, an image that ensured he was not only perceived as a 'stiff upper lip' but also as someone who can make a joke.[4] In other words, the live Oscars red carpet is not only an example of the collapse of the star as brand and the stars' 'commercial extension' but also works as a platform for managing the star's image: For relatively young stars such as Nyong'o and Cumberbatch, this respectively involved emphasising determined integrity and self-deprecating humour. What sets the red carpet appearance apart from the other celebrity genres is that it is broadcast live. Intimacy at a distance is established through the interviews with the stars, yet extraordinariness is simultaneously accentuated because, when you appear on the red carpet as an Oscar nominee (or presenter), you are recognised as a star.

Concluding remarks

This brief analysis of how Hollywood stars are presented in three different celebrity genres has shown that they all deploy the key concepts of celebrity culture theory such as ordinary/extraordinary, intimacy at a distance, and the star as a resource and that they do so in different ways. The fashion magazine interview accentuates the star as a resource as well as extraordinary, with the photo shoot and the cover showing the star dressed in fashionable clothes and providing lifestyle and self-improvement advice in the interview. In contrast, endorsement advertisements make the star's extraordinary quality their key element whereas live red carpet broadcasts stress extraordinariness as well as 'intimacy at a distance' due to their simultaneous live experience.

The advantage of analysing mainstream media genres within film culture and combining theoretical concepts on celebrity culture with journalism genre analysis, film industry studies, and endorsement analysis is that it provides detailed insight into how stardom is articulated on the level of specific media texts. Digital media culture

and social media in particular also make it possible for Hollywood stars to independently accentuate certain aspects of their star images. Examples include Nyong'o's management of her Instagram account to keep fans updated about her accomplishments in the fashion business and new endorsement deals as well as Cumberbatch's participation in the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge on YouTube, showing him getting a bucket of ice-cold water poured over him for a charity collecting funds for a particular disease. For contemporary Hollywood stars (and celebrities in general), analysis of the various celebrity genres in mainstream media is central to understanding how Hollywood stars are on the one hand part of a strictly managed fame and on the other hand are able manage certain parts of their careers by creating their own 'cultural biographies' (Rojek 2013). In this way, Hollywood stars combine the mainstream celebrity genres analysed here with their own – at least apparently more personal or self-made – presence in social media. New Hollywood stars such as Nyong'o and Cumberbatch often take matters into their own hands and use social media on their own terms (or so it seems). Nevertheless, mainstream celebrity genres offer many different options for managing Hollywood fame in particular ways as this study aimed to demonstrate. However, in terms of genre, both Cumberbatch and Nyong'o – as new Hollywood stars – also address the audience more directly through the social media genres of Instagram and YouTube. This challenges the authority of typical mainstream celebrity genres and conceptions of how Hollywood icons could or should be represented in celebrity culture.

Notes:

1 "Alive" Jaguar commercial (2012) : https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5k-CfXIPcfw

2 Lancome advert (2014): http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/lifestyle/2014/06/26/lupita-nyongo-is-lancomes-first-ever-black-ambassador/
Miu Miu advert (2014): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpGxYsjkoxM

3 Lupita Nyong'o at the Academy Awards 2014: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fX3_BAA7pl8

4 Benedict Cumberbatch Academy Awards 2014 photobomb: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FPyFzLeRYpg

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Benedict Cumberbatch GQ interview:
http://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/entertainment/articles/2013-12/02/benedict-cumberbatch-gq-cover-sherlock

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He's Still Here

Joaquin Phoenix as Transgressive Hollywood Star

Penny Spirou

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Abstract

On 11 February 2009, Joaquin Phoenix announced that he would be retiring from acting to pursue his ambition of becoming a hip hop musician. One year later, 'documentary' feature film, *I'm Still Here* was theatrically released; chronicling the life of Phoenix that followed the announcement of his retirement. A week into its release in the US, director Casey Affleck confessed to *The New York Times* (Cieply 2010) that the film was in fact a mockumentary. *I'm Still Here* is Affleck's (and Phoenix's) statement film, inviting the audience to reflect on their own contribution to celebrity culture. The film draws attention to both the star and the fan and their joint contribution in developing the myth of the Hollywood star. However, primarily, it shows Phoenix's transition from star to celebrity, as argued in this paper. This case is framed by the scholarly study of stars, iconology and celebrity, and argues that the series of media events created by Phoenix and Affleck provide a commentary on the contemporary notion of Hollywood stardom.

Keywords Joaquin Phoenix, Hollywood, transgressive, star, celebrity

Introduction

The last performance Phoenix gave before his transformation to his new identity, 'J.P.' was in the romantic drama film *Two Lovers* (2008). The film received mostly positive reviews,[1] however during the film's promotion, Phoenix appeared as his new 'character' in interviews and press releases.[2] It was at this point that he transitioned from being a star to a celebrity. Richard Dyer states that during the classical Hollywood period "stars were gods, heroes, models... embodiments of ideal ways of behaving" to, more recently, becoming "embodiments of typical ways of behaving" (1986, 24). Stars have some form of talent and behave in a way that is deemed acceptable. In this paper I argue that Phoenix retains his star persona and iconology, even after his (temporary) physical transformation in *I'm Still Here*, where he momentarily became a 'celebrity'. The celebrity does not need to behave typically, or even appropriately and often behaves in a generally unacceptable way. As Cashmore suggests, "a peculiarity of celebrity culture is the shift of emphasis from achievement-based fame to media-driven renown" (2006, 7). As opposed to a star that has a talent and/or exceptional abilities, the celebrity merely has a media presence. David Giles further implies that, "The ultimate modern celebrity is the member of the public who becomes famous solely through media involvement" (2000, 5). The following will demonstrate that this is what Phoenix became when he transformed into 'J.P', the character he became, both on and off screen for *I'm Still Here*.

The following article addresses the differences between celebrity, stardom and iconology. Phoenix has drawn definitional lines between 'star' and 'celebrity' with controversy surrounding *I'm Still Here* and definitions of 'art' and 'entertainment' with media coverage surrounding his return to acting in *The Master*, illustrated in Figure 1.

Celebrity (*I'm Still Here*)	➔	Temporary
Focus on entertainment e.g. Phoenix's comment on celebrity culture		
Star (*The Master*)	➔	Enduring
Focus on art e.g. Phoenix panning the Oscars		

Figure 1: The Star v. The Celebrity

Figure 1 asserts a definitional difference between the terms 'celebrity' and 'star' which are often used interchangeably in academic studies. Celebrity is linked to entertainment; its main function. Therefore, the celebrity is a temporary fixture - it does not linger in the public conscious for any extended period, much like the contestants of reality TV programs (for further definition of celebrity see Kurzman et. al. 2007 and for a study of celebrity and reality television see Bell 2009). The star has a distinct talent in any field and due to this their persona lingers even long after their death. Examples include Michael Jackson and John Lennon (for further study on stardom see Richard Dyer's seminal study on *Stars*, 1979 and Gledhill 1991).

Developing a new approach to iconology, Hans Belting addresses the temporality and spatiality of the image (noted in Figure 1) which will be applied, in this case, to the star image of Joaquin Phoenix. He reveals that:

> Images traditionally live from the body's absence, which is either temporary (that is, spatial) or, in the case of death, final. This absence does not mean that images revoke absent bodies and make them return. Rather, they replace the body's absence with a different kind of presence. Iconic presence still maintains a body's absence and turns it into what must be called visible absence (Belting 2005, 312).

In the instance of Phoenix as film actor, the work he produces is considered art and lingers in the public conscious (film as art is discussed by Bordwell and Thompson, 2009). The notion of celebrity (Figure 1) is temporary and is a key aspect of Phoenix's iconology when shifting (momentarily) to J.P. To further define the term, Marshall suggests that 'celebrity' developed a new definition in contemporary society. He deduces that, "It has become a term that announces a vulgar sense of notoriety" (1997, 5). The vulgar sense of notoriety is what Phoenix intentionally positions himself in. Through the events leading up to *I'm Still Here*, he reinforces the current state of celebrity. Jill Nelmes' definition of the star is that "The star is seen… as an object of desire and is studied in terms of the ways in which spectators identify with, find meaning in, and gain a certain fulfilment from, his or her image" (2003, 171). The

star is an individual who is admired often for a skill or talent they possess. In the case of Joaquin Phoenix it is his acting abilities, therefore his convincing performance in *The Master,* and even previous to the *I'm Still Here* events, including his role in *Gladiator* and *Walk the Line*, allowed for his return to this high standing (from celebrity back to star status).

Background

Before his foray into 'celebrity', Phoenix entered the Hollywood landscape and through selected roles, became what is deemed here as a star. In 2000 Phoenix was recognised for his role as Commodus in *Gladiator*[3] and Johnny Cash in *Walk the Line*.[4] Media/audience perception at this time was that he was a serious actor and he had received acclaim from both critics and audiences (Metacritic 2014). Directors and co-stars he had worked with over the years stated that Phoenix was a method actor and often remained in character off screen, until the film had completely finished shooting including Tony Scott, executive producer of *Clay Pigeons* (Clarke 2002) and Paul Thomas Anderson, director of *The Master* (Lim 2012). Phoenix's acting style is telling of the character he embodied for *I'm Still Here* and his convincing performance.

Figure 2: Joaquin Phoenix in I'M STILL HERE, a Magnolia Pictures release. Photo courtesy of Magnolia Pictures.

The four year span of Joaquin Phoenix's career altered his public persona. In 2008 Phoenix announced that he had made the decision to change his careers from an actor to a hip-hop musician. Here his physical appearance, mannerisms, and personality had completely shifted. Phoenix emerged dirty and dishevelled, with an over-grown beard, hair grown out to the point that it resembled dreadlocks and an unkempt dress sense (see Figure 2). In terms of his mannerisms, he often chewed gum, grumbled and seemed distanced and unfocused. He was initially considered by fans as a strong, serious actor (who maintained his physical appearance), however he slowly deteriorated and many feared for his mental stability, chronicled in numerous media/news articles.[5]

In 2010, *I'm Still Here* was released and marketed as a documentary following Phoenix's transition between the two careers, however shortly after, film director Casey Affleck admitted that it was all an act. It was confirmed that Phoenix did not intend to retire from acting. The series of events was somewhat of a stunt to reinforce the negative aspects of celebrity culture. In 2012 Phoenix returned to Hollywood and starred in *The Master*. His performance was so well received that he was tipped for an Oscar nomination at the 85th awards show. In addition, *Her* (2014), featuring Phoenix in the lead role, received a Best Picture nomination at the 86th Oscars. Phoenix's strong return to 'serious' film acting after the events that led to *I'm Still Here* establishes Phoenix as a transgressive icon of American filmmaking who, even after his celebrity incursion, retains the label of Hollywood star.

Joaquin Phoenix as Celebrity

On 27 October 2008, Phoenix told Jerry Penacoli of *Extra* that he would be retiring from acting (Extra 2010). However, the appearance that provided the most media attention was on the 11 February 2009, where Phoenix appeared on the *Late Show with David Letterman*. An unaware Letterman interviewed Phoenix and tried to promote his new film, *Two Lovers*. Phoenix mumbled through most of the interview, chewing gum which he eventually placed under Letterman's desk. Letterman finally concluded the interview by saying "Joaquin, I'm sorry you couldn't be here tonight."[6] The appearance was discussed by fans and audiences online, commented on by journalists online and on television news. There were also many people who ridiculed him online which leaked through Hollywood when Ben Stiller presented an award at the Oscars dressed like Phoenix, telling Natalie Portman that he "didn't want to be the funny guy anymore" (as noted in Ebert 2010), which was actually planned after the Letterman appearance and before Stiller participated in the filming of *I'm Still Here*. However, unlike stars that are considered permanent fixtures, the celebrity is temporary and does not linger in the media for too long. Soon after the media frenzy sparked by Phoenix's Letterman interview, he and his story were soon completely forgotten.

It was not until 18 months after his appearance on Letterman that *I'm Still Here* was theatrically released on 10 September 2010 in the US, UK and Australia. The official synopsis is as follows:

> The directorial debut of Oscar-nominated actor Casey Affleck, I'm Still Here is a striking portrayal of a tumultuous year in the life of internationally acclaimed actor Joaquin Phoenix. With remarkable access, I'm Still Here follows the Oscar-nominee as he announces his retirement from a successful film career in the fall of 2008 and sets off to reinvent himself as a hip hop musician… the film is a portrait of an artist at a crossroads… it deftly explores notions of courage and creative reinvention, as well as the ramifications of a life spent in the public eye (Magnolia Pictures 2013).

A couple of weeks into the release of *I'm Still Here*, Affleck told the *New York Times* that the series of events were staged and that Phoenix never intended to retire from acting. What Affleck (and Phoenix) intended to do was to comment on celebrity culture. The two agreed that the only way audiences could engage with the film was to believe that the Joaquin Phoenix (or J.P.) in *I'm Still Here* was real, therefore claiming "it's not a hoax, it's a performance" (in Child 2010). Joaquin Phoenix reappeared on the David Letterman show on 22 September 2010 to explain his behaviour on his last appearance, a year and a half prior. In the interview, he said, "We [with Casey Affleck] wanted a film that explored celebrity and explored the relationship between the media and the consumers and the celebrities themselves"[7] Indeed key scenes in the film reflected the actual public reaction to Phoenix's celebrity shift. There is a scene where J.P. is reading comments of his performance online, in the darkness of his hotel room, in nothing more than his underwear, and is noticeably upset by it. He takes his aggression out on his friends and colleagues by verbally and physically abusing them. Here through his role he is attempting to demonstrate the negative impact of celebrity culture with his own image and iconology at stake.

Affleck's intention throughout the project was to draw attention to how destructive audiences/fans are online (with blogs, twitters, comments) and in other public places, verbally abusing and defam-

ing celebrities/stars. Affleck intended to comment on celebrity culture, demonstrating that the consumer is, "fixated on celebrities, we build myths around them" (in Anderson 2010). He also reportedly told *The Times* that he wanted to show, "the disintegration of celebrity, without the clutter of preconceived notions" (in Sieczkowski 2012). His film was intentionally meant to evoke a reaction from the audience - a self-awareness of their role in celebrity culture.

Iconology and Stardom

Joaquin Phoenix in *The Master*

Reinforcing Phoenix's star status, he eventually came back from his celebrity experiment and become a Hollywood star again less than two years later. This is due to, what Jane Davison theorises as, an evocation of the "repressed memory" (2009, 888). Audiences recall Phoenix's star iconicity (his role in *Gladiator*, *Walk the Line*, and others addressed above), and his public identity returns to that of the star. Further, in an interview with Joaquin Phoenix about *The Master* on 1 November 2012, *Independent* journalist, Kaleem Aftab reports that Phoenix was uncomfortable in the interview and that "I'm Still Here was a one-finger salute to the media obsession with celebrity". In the interview, there is a clear distinction made between 'summer blockbusters' and films like *The Master*. What I deem the difference between 'entertainment' and 'art' (Figure 1). Phoenix states that he is not interested in making those blockbuster films but has no problem with their existence.

Joaquin Phoenix was nominated for Best Actor at the Academy Awards for his role as Freddie Quell in *The Master*.[8] Phoenix was present at the awards ceremony, looking distinctly similar to his previous character, J.P. He further confirms, in relation to speculation that these negative comments might have cost him the Oscar nomination:

> But I know that first of all, I wouldn't have the career that I have if it weren't for the Oscars. But in some ways it's the antithesis of what you want to be as an actor. You're always trying to free yourself of the artifice, which is really difficult (Maddox 2012).

In this instance, Phoenix addresses celebrity culture and the pitfalls of being an actor in Hollywood. Through his craft as an actor he is able to exert power over his own iconology in a way that he is able to shape it, moving from star to celebrity, and then returning to stardom. However, as he suggests above, he is bounded by the limitations of the Hollywood industry in which he is vested in.

Conclusion

Joaquin Phoenix is a transgressive Hollywood star who uses his acting abilities to transform from star to celebrity and is able to make his way back to stardom. Through the experimental documentary (now referred to as a mockumentary), *I'm Still Here*, Phoenix (and Affleck) attempted to demonstrate the impact of audience engagement on celebrity culture. By convincing the audiences and media that Phoenix had retired from acting, *I'm Still Here* was able to show viewers the impact of celebrity on the individual at stake, and therefore allow the audience to self-reflectively confront their stance on the culture of celebrity. Further, Phoenix was able to manipulate his iconological presence, by consciously shifting from star to celebrity, potentially putting his career at stake. The result, as is evident in *The Master*, is that Phoenix has a distinct iconic presence that is enduring in its temporality.

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(Endnotes)

1 As examples of positive reviews, *Two Lovers* received an 82% fresh rating on Rotten Tomatoes (http://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/two_lovers/, accessed July 25, 2014) and 7.1 out of 10 on IMDb (http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1103275/, accessed July 25, 2014).

2 *Two Lovers* and *I'm Still Here* were released by Magnolia Pictures.

3 Phoenix was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in the role of Commodus in *Gladiator*.

4 Phoenix was nominated for Best Actor in *Walk the Line* as well as receiving numerous awards including a Golden Globe for his performance as Johnny Cash.

5 An article on CNN compares Phoenix's spiral into mental instability to Charlie Sheen's breakdown: http://edition.cnn.com/2011/SHOWBIZ/celebrity.news.gossip/03/04/team.sheen.joaquin.phoenix/index.html, accessed February 19, 2013.

6 The interview can be viewed here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JZTmw26RYJU, accessed February 11, 2013.

7 The interview can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAaxUi8_4_I, accessed February 11, 2013.

8 Daniel Day Lewis won the award for his portrayal of Abraham Lincoln in *Lincoln*. For a full report of all nominees and winners at the 2013 and 2014 Academy Awards, visit: http://oscar.go.com/nominees (accessed March 5, 2013).

akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

All that jazz

Josephine Baker's Image, Identity & Iconicity

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has held positions as a retail executive, fashion stylist and in various fashion showrooms; all allowing for the examination of dress, adornment and appearance. As a faculty member in the Department of Art at Howard University, Lampley brings his years of apparel experience into the classroom. His knowledge has inspired others to explore the meaning of clothing and choices in dress within society.

Abstract

When Baker was offered an opportunity to move to, Paris, for her dance talents, she did not hesitate to take the chance. Baker arrived in Paris the summer of 1925, during the height of France's obsession with American jazz music and all things exotic. Immediately after her famous performance on October 2, 1925, Baker appeared in a jazz club wearing an ice-blue dress, cut on the bias. It had been selected for her from a Paris design house. This glamorous side of Baker quickly dispelled the notion of her as primitive. Her body type and cinnamon skin proved to be the perfect model for the masters of fashion. Baker quickly became a woman who others wanted to copy.

Josephine Baker, who symbolized the beauty and vitality of African American culture during this time, took Paris by storm personifying many of the modern ideals associated with jazz music. Through private dealings with the masters of various modes whom she attracted, as well as with the pervasive public persona she created, Baker influenced architecture, urban and interior design, fashion, sculpture, graphic arts, painting and photography. This influ-

ence establishes her as one of the most famous symbols of the jazz age, the first African American superstar and a universal icon.

Keywords primitive, exotic, fashion, icon, jazz

Introduction

As the twentieth century evolved, music influenced people of African descent and their style---and for the first time, African American music and style makes a definite impact to mainstream culture and society. Sacred and secular music traditions had existed side-by-side since the arrival of large numbers of slaves in the early 19th century: a secular music that consisted of field hollers, shouts, and moans and used folk tales and motifs; and a mystical music – the spirituals – that became well known after the Civil War when the Fisk Jubilee Singers toured the nation and, eventually, the world. Although the Negro spiritual remains to many, the most beautiful African American musical expression created in the United States – the most important African American folk music has been the blues, a genre that set the pattern for hundreds of blues songs when W.C. Handy, an African American composer, wrote St. Louis Blues in 1914. Handy changed the course of American popular music by integrating the blues idiom into the widely fashionable ragtime, itself the creation of another African American composer, Scott Joplin.

There was, as yet, no name for the music African Americans and Creole musicians began to play together in New Orleans. But the eventual result would be a brand-new music — jazz, unarguably the most original contribution to world culture of the United States. By the mid-1920s, the free spirited jazz was being played in dance halls, roadhouses and speakeasies all over the country. Nothing quite like it had ever happened before in America.

Jazz has been called the purest expression of American democracy because it is built around the same principles; individualism/compromise and independence/cooperation. The music involves a variety of rhythms which are in some way unexpected and which make part or all of a tune off-beat. This confluence of African and European music traditions wasn't heard until around 1917 and suddenly Americans are jazz crazy and the jazz age was about to begin.

An African American Superstar

Josephine Baker is known as one of the most famous symbols of the jazz age, and the first African American superstar. Will Friedwald, author of *A Biographical guide to the Great Jazz and Pop Singers* states that Baker "was the single most important American musical expatriate of the last century- especially African American – especially female Africa American" (Friedwald 2010, 571). Josephine Baker was a key player in the way that American music was created abroad. However, rather than being an exceptional singer, her talent was more in the icon that she created.

As a young girl she grew up in, St. Louis, Missouri. Her family was extremely poor, and at a very early age she began working. As a teenager she got a job touring with, The Jones Family Band and The Dixie Steppers in 1919, performing comedic skits. In 1923 after first being turned down, she got a role in the musical, Shuffle Along, as a member of the chorus. This groundbreaking musical introduced African American composers, dancers, singers and actors to the musical scene in New York. Baker quickly became a crowd favorite because of her comedic performances. She then moved permanently to New York City, and performed in, Chocolate Dandies, at the Plantation Club. Chorus girls who performed there were typically of a much lighter complexion than Baker who had a darker skin tone and a style of dancing that was more expressive. The crowd loved her unique tempo or the way she disrupted the regular flow of rhythm which in itself mimics one of the main characteristics of jazz.

When Baker was offered an opportunity to move to Paris, for her dance talents, she did not hesitate to take the chance. Baker arrived in Paris the summer of 1925, during the height of France's obsession with American jazz music and all things exotic. She performed an original burlesque routine in a show entitled, La Revue Negre. This performance instantly made her a star and from that point on, Baker became an all-around, triple threat entertainer: singer, dancer, and actress, and she also soon became Europe's most popular and highest paid artiste. As a performer, Baker's presence on stage has sometimes been described as genderless. Baker is right on trend as women's dress styles gradually moved from the barrel silhouette at the beginning of the decade to the H silhouette that ultimately dominated, downplaying any bust or hip curves. The style became devoid of any frill, with a very asexual look. Not mascu-

[banana skirt, performing] By Walery, French, 1863-1935 (http://www.vaudeville-postcards.com/) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

line or male but more little boy. She appealed to every race as well. In addition to her success performing on stage, Baker also had the opportunity to perform in films. She starred in, Siren of the Tropics in 1927, La folie du jour in 1929, Princess Tam Tam in 1935, Moulin Rouge in 1927, and The French Way in 1954.

Baker was widely known for her bold, confident and outgoing attitude and because of this she was often described as elegant and exotic or primitive which embodies the Art Deco movement of that time. With the fusion of her personality, Baker was known for stepping out of the box with her stage and personal wardrobe. From the first night she stepped on the Paris stage, she captivated the audience with her sensuality and dancing with only a feather skirt. Baker pushed the envelope with her costumes. Her signature look became dancing in nothing but a beaded necklace and a string of bananas around her waist. Baker performed wearing the banana skirt all over the world, and was known as the "Black Venus", "Black Pearl", and "Creole Goddess". The bold, brazen, and exciting moment of watching a woman dance topless with a string of bananas was a huge turning point for Baker and fashion.

Primitive, Modern or Both?

During the nineteenth century, and continuing through the present, it has become necessary to put quotation marks around the word "primitive" as it refers to cultural objects. Clearly, this process involves an increasing appreciation of ethnic culture, but it also raises problems on both sides of this cultural exchange. Most recently, this issue of primitivism with its dangers of commodification and the appropriation of voices and styles is situated at the heart of theories and controversies concerning race, gender, and class, and elite versus popular modes in the study of culture. This illustrates that the inner feelings about one's own culture and foreign culture produces within a cultural split in personality. Most ethnic people are forced to make a choice and are not made to

[banana skirt seated] By Walery, French, 1863-1935 [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

understand that the cultures need not clash but could perhaps exist together.

In *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*, the author Marianna Torgovnick is scornful of Modernist definitions and ideas about the primitive. Torgovnick argues that we "all take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate, and subordinatable" (Torgovnick 1991, 21). However, Baker clearly offers evidence that some of the arts that various ethnic societies have provided for modern western culture has played a central role in the development of major modern literary, performing and decorative (fashion) arts. The literature, politics and art of the Harlem Renaissance – roughly a period from 1915-1940 also confirms this. It was a time when African American writers, artists, philosophers, activists and musicians, congregating in New York City's Harlem, sought to define African American culture. The era has most frequently been thought of as a 1920s-only phenomenon, and many have suggested that it was less a renaissance than a first flowering of a collective artistic spirit. In any case, Torgovnick has demonstrated that the primitive may be considered modern, without accepting the foreign and sexist abuses of which it has been an instrument.

This notion mirrors on some levels the opinions of Edward Said's Orientalism. The feeling of Orientalism takes for granted, an Orient with such specific characteristics which have been misrepresented by the West. "The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal" (Said 1979, 40). These are binary oppositions which creates the need for dialogue. Said asserts Orientalism is the West's approach of coming to terms with the understanding of the other. He points out that these depictions, next to numerous other representations of the East are images, portrayals and not natural interpretations, and that these descriptions have become repetitive motivations of Western conduct and point of view. The West, Torgovnick asserts, might have developed a "history in which primitive societies were allowed to exist in all their multiplicity, not reduced to a seamless

Western fantasy… when the majority of Euro-Americans can accept that our nations-for all their present comforts and power--exist on the same plane with other social and political entities" (Torgovnick 1991, 247). But perhaps this optimistic trust in openness to different views of knowledge and social reality is itself the ultimate seamless Western fantasy.

Mary Louise Pratt in her essay Arts of the Contact Zone encourages us to look at culture – both the important arts and activities in everyday life to find values and meanings of a group in society. The notion is that by gazing more directly at other cultures and our own culture, and how cultures are represented, we learn more about ourselves and our place on the planet. More significantly, we become conscious of the politics that live in daily life. Pratt clearly makes this point by describing how important it was for Guaman Poma to know the culture he was addressing in his First New Chronicle and Good Government. She stresses the necessity of his knowledge about the Andean culture when she states that "Guaman Poma constructs his text by appropriating and adapting pieces of the representational repertoire of the invaders" (Pratt 2002, 612). Only using information about another culture is it possible to converse with people of that culture correctly and successfully. This theory should include people of all social classes and should integrate them into all activities equally.

Gone Primitive is multifaceted and seeks to answer several important questions about the development, continuity and integration of the primitive from a social historical perspective. The overall message is that there must be an understanding of the relations between patron, artist, and art. The problem with this of course is that we have watched more of the (native) culture disappear in the third world. Pratt explains:

> Thus if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct in response to or in dialogue with those texts. Autoethnographic texts are not, then, what are usually thought of as autochthonous forms of expression or self-representation (as the Andean quipus were). Rather they involve a selec-

> tive collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror. These are merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations intended to intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding (Pratt 2002, 608)

Torgovnick, Said, Pratt and indeed Baker explore the obsessions, fears, and longings that have produced Western views of the primitive.

The New Woman

Baker, however, creates a sensation fully understanding the stereotype associated with her performances and the label primitive. She instead flips the script and was seen as more than just the dancing sensation of Paris. She became a symbol and was the epitome of the New Woman to the French. During the 1920s, French women wanted to retain their new- found independence acquired during the war. Many of them found themselves managing farms and taking office jobs; positions once held only by men. These women wanted to savor their new freedoms even though they still did not have the right to vote. To maintain this new sense of power, they used their sexuality in their outer appearances. To them, Baker represented the New Woman they aspired to be. She became an individual that other women wanted to copy. Her beautiful completion and confidence in being nude was liberating to and proved to the French that Black is beautiful. She did campaigns for Valaze Body cream, with a slogan that read "you can have skin like Josephine if you use Valaze Cream." Shops carried Josephine Baker perfumes and dolls in tiny banana skirts, and whenever someone would see a banana skirt they would automatically think of Baker. The image of Baker in the banana skirt was also made famous by artist Paul Colin and remains perhaps the most iconic image of Josephine Baker to date. Baker was also known for wearing a short, slicked down hairstyle, later called the Eton Crop. The Eton Crop would be crowned with Art Deco feathered, beaded, or glittered headpieces, and big, crafty jewelry.

Immediately after her famous performance on October 2, 1925, Josephine appeared in a jazz club wearing an ice-blue dress, cut on the bias. It had been selected for her from a Paris design house. This glamorous side of Josephine also quickly dispelled the notion of her

as primitive (as defined by the west). Her body type and cinnamon skin proved to be the perfect model for the masters of fashion. Baker's very glamorous personal sense of style off stage soon certified her as one of the most famous style icons of her time. She loved to wear opulent clothing, fancy furs, glitzy jewels, and 14k-gold fingernails. Josephine was the first Black woman to influence the fashion world. She was featured in many issues of the fashion magazines, Vogue and Harper's Bazaar. The sultry songstress was also the muse and inspiration for fashion designers, Jean Patou, Paul Poiret, and Madeleine Vionnet. Baker also became a role model for French society women; they all wanted the Josephine Baker look. Fans who had gone primitive, rushed to copy her slicked-down, boyish bob, purchasing Bakerfix straightening pomade for maximum shine. French women would also go to Deauville, where they rubbed themselves in walnut oil and basked in the sun to try and emulate her coppery skin tone. American performer Marilyn Monroe expressed an interest in traveling to Paris and becoming a beloved, sophisticated woman of culture under the guidance of Baker herself.

Many other entertainers such as Diana Ross, Tyra Banks, Madonna, and Keri Hilson have performed with imitations of Baker's banana skirt or Eton Crop hairstyle and Art Deco influenced designs. In a September 2006 televised performance of Fashion Rocks, singer Beyoncé, paid homage to Josephine Baker wearing a banana skirt during her performance. Beyoncé used larger than life images of Baker as stage props and her Baker inspired dance was a timely reminder of why one of America's most famous expatriates is such an important icon.

Fashion designers continue using aspects of her 1920s styles into today's fashion. Jean Paul Gaultier who has long been considered the 'bad boy' of fashion with past collections that have included everything from cone-shaped metal bras, rubber girdles, skirts for men, and trompe l'oeil tattoos. He based his fall 1997 collection on African American culture. He captivated his audience with the unique individuality of African American style. His survey included looks from Harlem in the 20's influenced by mademoiselle Baker and jazz music. The Creole Goddess' banana look was also given tribute in Prada's Spring/Summer 2011 fashion show where they showcased models with marcel curl/eton crop hairstyles, and the collection consisted of banana printed flared skirts and blouses, so-

phisticated exotic prints, vibrant colors, and funky fur stoles. One of the most remarkable pieces in the collection was a white shift dress colorfully embroidered with an image that represents Baker.

Conclusion

Today the urge has been to eliminate once and for all the use of words such as exotic and primitive to describe the other. We wish to demonstrate that we are all equal and that, so far as history goes, an enlightened "we" who live at the beginning of the twentieth-first century can see the hidden and not-so-hidden sexism and racism of the early twentieth century as it really was. The reason for colonialism was to melt ethnic people into dominant society. That somehow the finest thing that could be done for all ethnicities was to help them grow to be more similar to those from majority cultures and that they must abandon who they were to achieve high levels of success. Josephine Baker, who symbolized the beauty and vitality of African American culture during her time and who took Paris by storm personifying many of the modern ideals associated with jazz music completely dispels this notion. Beyond her historical importance as an integration pioneer and groundbreaking entertainment figure, Baker embodies America's complex relationship with Europe as a place where yearnings for home may be redirected if never completely stifled. While she was a second-class citizen in her native America, through private dealings with the masters of various modes whom she attracted, as well as with the universal public persona she created, Baker influenced architecture, urban and interior design, sculpture, graphic arts, painting, photography and especially fashion. This influence establishes her as one of the most famous symbols of the jazz age, the first African American superstar and a universal icon.

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Volume 10 • 2015

Your blood is our blood

The metaphorical extensions of 'Lucho' Herrera's glory

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Abstract:

On July 12 of 1985 at Saint-Étienne, France, Luis Alberto 'Lucho' Herrera, the first Colombian cyclist to have won a Tour de France stage (1984), became an international hero and a national martyr. Not only did the image of Herrera's bloodied face staring at the horizon after winning the 14th stage acquire cult status within cycling circles around the world, it also established a subtle, yet passionate, connection between the figure, his performance, and Colombian reality. We argue that Herrera's image worked as a metaphorical extension that stimulated the association between Herrera's martyred image and the collective struggle people had to go through on a daily basis, accentuating the strongly Catholic iconographic dimension attached to popular sport practices in Colombia (faith, endurance, and suffering). Using applied elements of Charles S. Peirce's semiotic apparatus, this paper analyze three symbolic elements embedded in Herrera's image – blood, struggle, and redemption – to discuss the photograph's power to resonate with the average Colombian at a time when *narco* terrorism ruled most of the territory and the escalation of insurgency and paramilitary violence were daily occurrences.

Keywords Colombia, Cycling, Tour de France, Martyrdom, Violence

Every country has its own set of cultural icons: visual documents of specific events or figures that encapsulate and define important historical phases for different generations, integrating a variety of meanings into different dimensions of the country's social and cultural life. On July 12 of 1985 at Saint-Étienne, France, Luis Alberto 'Lucho' Herrera, the first Colombian cyclist to have won a Tour de France stage (1984), became an international hero and a national martyr. Having outstripped the main peloton and riding in front with 5km to the finish line, Herrera tried to avoid a spot of mud on a closed curve and skidded. He fell hard and cut his forehead and elbow. The fall was not caught on tape, as the filming cars were following the main pack and the race leader, Bernard Hinault (who also fell that day), and so all that remains are the pictures and footage of Herrera's face covered in rivulets of blood crossing the finish line and standing on the podium.

In Herrera's victory, a team effort and an individual achievement, Colombians saw their life stories and their country's destiny reflected. Among the thousands of gruesome and horrific images that exist as documents of the extended agony of Colombia's inner conflict, few have had the power to resonate so strongly with the average Colombian as 'Lucho' Herrera's bloodied face at the finish line of that stage; and although this paper is by no means trying to compare the suffering of thousands of victims of an extremely complex and horrific historical process to the suffering of an individual athlete, we argue that blood was such an ubiquitous element of the nation's psyche and reality at that time, that the association, a metaphorical and emotional one, was almost inevitable. Why did an image produced in an opposite social dimension generate that type of associations? For Matt Rendell, the embedment of Catholic culture in sporting practices in Colombia holds the key to understanding the massive response to the image:

> The sentimental cast of its Catholicism and the morbid tendency of its national character found their supreme expressions in cycling. In Lucho's tiny physique, bloody features and tortured victory, Colombia saw itself reflected more faithfully than ever. Over the following months new

> waves of violence and tragedy hit Colombia, and the image assumed lasting pathos as a generalized picture of its suffering (Rendell 2002, 179).

Catholicism has been a defining guide in the constitution of many of the national attitudes towards the psychological effects the country's violence has had on the lives of millions of victims. In a country with an immense income inequality gap, where different types of violence became rooted in quotidian life and *trivialized* to a certain degree (Pécaut 1999), religion has often been seen as the only resource to comprehend and deal with the feeling of living in a place without salvation; as Matt Rendell comments: '(…) proximity to poverty's degree zero must draw us closer to the realm of miracles - the Sacred Heart of Christ has offered Colombia's poor their only protection for nearly two centuries' (2002, 31). What at first glance could be seen as a paradox – the fact that Herrera's image represents a sporting landmark for the country and yet some of the meanings and emotional undertones attached to it reflect the cruel reality of a nation immersed in a gruelling armed conflict – is upon closer inspection a characteristic trait of the nation's history and psyche.

Three elements – blood, struggle and redemption – appear to have grown out of the picture frame and echo feelings not only about the inseparable trinity of cycling, Catholicism, and Colombia (Rendell 2002), and also mirror grander narrative themes attached to Colombia's history: violence, negotiation of national identity, and the ever present hope of redemption. It is within this dialogical framework that I use Charles S. Peirce's semiotic apparatus, since his theory allows applied analyses to observe signs to play different 'roles' at once, letting the same sign represent different objects depending on the relation between the constitutive elements of the sign or in relation to other signs (Peirce 2008; Nôth 1995). The triadic structure of the *semiosis* process (production of meaning), and the further phenomenological categories he developed are helpful especially because my hypothesis is grounded in triadic structures as well. Since this reading of Herrera's image is focused on the metaphoric extension of the icon, Pierce's theory provides a valuable hermeneutic due to the stress he places on the iconic character of the metaphorical sign.

Colombians' love for cycling has a long history. Velocipedes arrived in 1894 and by 1899 more than 600 bicycles were cruising around Bogotá. In 1898, two cycling tracks were inaugurated before packed audiences. News and commentaries about the Tour de L'Avenir and the Tour de France were common topics of conversation at the beginning of the XX century (Revista Credencial Historia 2005). During the following decades, amateur cycling competitions were part of the so-called 'rediscovery of Colombia', a process that intended to unite and strengthen political institutions in disregarded parts of the national geography under a progressive political banner. It was not until 1951, when the first edition of The *Vuelta a Colombia* took place that cycling cemented its position as Colombia's national sport. The competition was organized by the *El Tiempo* newspaper and "the political and economic elite with a keen awareness of cycling's value as political theater of national unity during the 1950s" (Cycling Inquisition 2010, 2). The competition, now in its 64th edition, has often been staged against a backdrop of politically-driven terror, national identity fragmentation, and extreme violence.

Cycling and the macro socio-political context of Colombia's reality have long been entangled: the establishment of the nation's major cycling competitions (*Vuelta a Colombia* and the *Clásico RCN*) coincided with the outbreak of the *La Violencia* period in the 1950s, and decades later, the booming of the 1980s generation that paved Colombia's path in the international cycling circuit was set against the expansion of guerrilla and paramilitary armies, drug violence, and the rise of *narco* culture. Among all the great riders that the generation of the 1970s and 1980s gave to the history of Colombian cycling[1], Luis Alberto 'Lucho' Herrera is without a doubt the most important one. He was the first Latin-American to ever win a Tour de France Stage – the mythical Alpe D'Huez in 1984 in his first year riding the most important cycling race in the world – winner of the King of the Mountains jersey in all three major cycling competitions (Tour de France, Giro de Italia, Vuelta a España), winner of the 1987 Vuelta a España and the Vuelta a Aragón (1992) and a two time champion of the Dauphiné Liberé. And that is without listing his numerous victories on the Colombian cycling circuit.

Blood, struggle, and redemption

Herrera's most striking feature were the rivulets of blood pouring down the left side of his face all the way to his chin; an image that rapidly fixed in Colombia's popular consciousness. His blood expanded its meaning from that of an indexical manifestation of a common occurrence in a sporting practice, to assume the role of a metaphorical substitute in a broader "domain of experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, 117): Colombia's national conflict[2]. For many, the blood streaming from Herrera's wounds was not only his, and not only a result of his accident, but a recurring element linked to the nation's reality, an element that radicalized the violent meanings attached to it. At the time of the event, blood was a key component of a shared visual vocabulary for the vast majority of the nation; and although Herrera's blood was the product of a sporting competition and carried positive (euphoric) meanings, the metaphorical association to Colombia's gory reality was, sadly, inevitable: "this was a time when on a national scale the distance between metaphorical martyrdom on the soccer field or on the bicycle and literal martyrdom of life on the streets or in the countryside was often non-existent" (Cycling Inquisition 2012, 2).

During the earlier part of the 1980s, the intensification of Colombia's violent conflict was rapidly becoming the fundamental trait of the national image produced by media discourses (Bonilla and Tamayo 2007). Blood was everywhere: on the streets, rural fields, papers and television screens. In general terms, the decade saw the rise of the drug empires and their *narco* culture, a shift from a "drug bonanza to a drug war" (Bushnell 1993, 259), the escalation and rural expansion of left-wing guerrilla insurgency, the birth of paramilitary movements, and a massive increase in terrorist acts and practices linked to the State-declared war against drug trafficking. All this took place while the country's political, social and cultural institutions were trying to assert their roles in marginalized regions and execute national political control (Semana 2008). Although the 1980s were defined by the intensification of Colombia's conflict, blood has always played a part of the official discourse and has been a constitutive part of symbolic signs regarding Colombia's national identity. Since its creation in 1807 by Francisco Miranda, Colombia's flag has maintained its three colours: yellow, symbolizing the richness of its land, blue representing the two coasts –Caribbean and pacific – that

delimit its territory, and red standing as the allegorical representation of the blood shed by the independence leaders on the battlefield. The institutionalization of these symbolic meanings attached to the chromatic elements is telling from a national identity perspective: "blessed" with an amazing variety of geographical, biological and natural resources, the history of the nation's freedom and redemption has been inseparable from violent struggle.

Formerly known as the country of the 'bleeding heart', the relationship between cycling and religion has also been a long-lasting and steady affair. Although from the 1990s on the expansion of religious diversity has been a nationwide phenomenon[3], Catholicism was and still is the majoritarian religion in the country, and continues to hold an important yet diminished influence in its political and social organization (Cely 2013). The Catholic influence is extremely apparent among professional and amateur cyclists who are often avid followers of Catholic doctrine and dedicated adorers of its saints and virgins, celebrating their faith by wearing scapulars, making and paying promises in the name of their figure of preference (Rendell 2000).

The attachment Colombians feel to "tortured, agonising religious images whom Colombia turn in its time of need" (Rendell 2002, 125) such as The Fallen Lord of Monserrate and The Miraculous Christ of Buga, illustrate how pain, struggle, and abstinence are intrinsic and even necessary features of both the nation's destiny and its cycling culture. If these two religious images are dripping blood and showing signs of struggle – just as Herrera was depicted in the photographs – it is only natural that the cyclists acknowledge and relate to the tribulations they went through. After all, cycling can been seen as a self-imposed sacrifice, a spiritual journey. Roland Barthes' commentaries about the dialectic relation between the Tour de France and the Iliad are magnified under the scope of Colombia's geography (Barthes 1997). Cycling appears as the ultimate spiritual journey, one motivated by the need to overcome the immense power of nature and expose human limitations, a quest filled with pain and obstacles to surmount.

Running parallel to the Catholic beliefs concerning pain, struggle, and redemption is the belief that the escalation of Colombia's inner conflict in the last 60 years is not the result of a series of historical processes but rather an inevitable component of Colombia's destiny,

one that has been cursed with abnegation and struggle as its leading threads. The struggle many Colombians have to go through on a daily basis – specially those living in distant regions of the country or involved in manual and rural labour, and for whom Catholic devotion constitutes a major part of their individual and national identity – was reflected in Herrera's background as a gardener in a small rural town and in the spectacular unfolding of the Tour de France stage. At his arrival at the finish line, Herrera's expression seemed to go beyond the recognizable expression of exhaustion after a competition; although there is a suggestion of joy in his facial expression, a feeling of satisfaction for having endured the necessary sacrifice seems to prevail over other physical and emotional manifestations of his triumph. If iconicity is based on facts of experience as Lakoff and Johnson demonstrated in their seminal *Metaphor we live by* (2003), we could argue that by 1985, a significant part of Colombia's population had been influenced or affected –directly or undirected- by the country's armed conflict, constituting a common 'domain of experience' for the Colombian nation.

For Herrera, a devoted Catholic, accepting pain and overcoming the unexpected difficulties along the treacherous road was a non-negotiable condition on the path to salvation[4]. Herrera's bloodied face and the facial expression he made arriving at the finishing line (arms held high) strengthened the air of martyrdom the Colombian public attached to the victory and the image. The media's portrait of Herrera's triumph reflected this perception. Two of Colombia's major newspapers reinforced the blood and the sacrifice as key signs for understanding its importance. El Tiempo: 'Blood, sweat… and glory' (Clopatofski and Ruíz 1985, 1AB); El Espectador: 'Lucho' won with blood! (Mendoza 1985, 1C); for Klaus Bellón, a Colombian cycling and cultural commentator,

> This gruesome image sent the Colombian press into a state of delirium. Herrera was portrayed as a martyr, a hero, and his stage victory was used to explain that pain was a necessary part of the sport. The press, rightfully, zeroed in on the fact that the image, and what it represented, was almost tailor-made for Colombia's Catholic faithful. His win as his Via Crucis, the Latin term for the Stations of the Cross. He was compared to a bloodied, fallen Christ fig-

> ure. And with that, Herrera was elevated to the status of religious icon. We, the Colombian fans, were quickly indoctrinated into the notion that pain was a necessary ingredient in the sport of cycling (Bellón 2014, 2).

Concluding remarks

What started as a hopeful decade turned out to be one of the most conflictive and violently spectacular decades of the nation's recent history; a fact that contributed to the establishment of a continuum of violent associations that deepened the metaphorical extensions of Herrera's bloody victory. Just as with other national or international sporting landmarks[5], Luis Herrera's triumph was received as a spiritual break from the continuum of violence the country had experiencing since the 1940s. The national celebration was partly motivated by two narratives: on the one hand, a sporting triumph and its public celebrations were commonly used as cathartic experiences that interrupted the continuous sensation of being strangled in a troubled and violent territory that could not find peace and forgiveness. On the other, Herrera's life story had enough biographical elements that allowed for a massive response and identification with his story and achievements. Just as in the soap operas Colombians watch every single night, the story of Herrera's ascension to the pantheon of international cycling was constructed using emotionally charged tropes, black and white personalities, and a unpredictable resolution: it was the popular melodrama of the underdog that defied everybody's expectations securing his place in the annals of sporting glory.

Although the impossibility of reconstructing a wide and thorough overview of the array of interpretations that the image provoked from a geographical, racial and generational perspective infuses the analysis with an individual interpretative voice, I argue that several elements and conditions assisted in the making of the image's resonance: a) Herrera's bloodied victory coincided with a crucial period of Colombia's inner conflict development; b) it established the Colombian cyclist as a protagonists on the international cycling circuit, giving the Colombian people a sense of pride in the midst of their continuous national tragedy; c) it reaffirmed and exposed the deep-rootedness of Catholic practices attached to cycling culture; d) his life story and physical traits fit perfectly into the in-

stitutionalized projection of Colombian national identity; e) it reinforced blood, and the meanings attached to it, as an integral sign of Colombia's reality, facilitating the metaphorical association with an event embedded with opposite meanings; g) it reaffirmed that "The invisible network of lines its cyclist trace over the nation sometimes feel the only force holding it together, weaving past and future, carrying the cross of their homeland into the mountain, and there, through voluntary acts of suffering paying penance for Colombia's sins" (Rendell 2012, 242).

Notes

1. A generation defined by the rise of the *escarabajos* (Colombian preeminent climbers) and the explosion of the famed all-Colombian teams Café de Colombia and Postobon.
2. I understand the metaphor not simply as a rhetorical device or a figure of speech (a trope), but as a conceptual framework that helps understand and experience "one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, 5), as well as understand "one domain of experience in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003, 117).
3. The 1886 constitution recognized Catholicism as the official religion and consecrated the nation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Fernandez 2013). A slow secularization process was recognized by the 1991 constitution, institutionalizing the free religious choosing. By 2010, 16,7% of the population interviewed by the author defined themselves as Protestants, almost all of them linked to the Pentecostal movement (Cely 2013, 99)
4. In an interview with Revista Cromos, Herrera was asked if he though all the sacrifice that professional cycling entails was worth it. His response: "Cycling is a sport based on sacrifice, is all that effort worth it? As a sport, and as a profession as well, I think it is (Redondo and Pulgarin 1997, 39).
5. 'Cochise' Rodríguez World track amateur record in 1970, or Luis Herrera's stage victory at the 1984 Tour de France are landmarks of Colombia's rise to the international cycling spotlight.

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The Iconicity of an 'Immigrant Writer'

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Abstract

What do Jonas Hassen Khemiri from Sweden and Yahya Hassan from Denmark have in common? Apart from the visual commonalities – they both have a non-white physical appearance – they share an outstanding commercial and critical success. Using these young, highly hyped, bestselling authors as examples, this paper aims at discussing the iconic function of the 'immigrant writer's' authentic body in the public discourse on 'national' and 'immigrant' identities. The emphasis lies on the marketability of an 'immigrant writer', which derives its commercial value from the iconicity based on ethnic visibility, recognizability and exemplarity. I want to draw a connection between the existing fixed iconography of an 'immigrant' in the mass media and the visual ethnicized representations of Khemiri and Hassan in the daily press and put their literary performance into the socio-political context. This paper considers their popular author-images as objected icons of hegemonic normative discourses on national culture, while it simultaneously understands their subversive literary and extra-textual renegotiations of national self-imagery as iconoclasms of traditional order of 'Swedishness' resp. 'Danishness'. Rather than going

into deep textual analysis, I focus on the para-texts such as newspaper articles and book covers as iconic performances of the discourse on the 'immigrant literature'.

Keywords Immigrant authors, author image, Jonas Khemiri, Yahya Hassan, iconoclasm

Introduction

Literary criticism has long been concerned with the figure of the author as an interpretative point, announcing him as dead, absent or disappeared, whereas young debutants as Jonas Hassen Khemiri in Sweden and Yahya Hassan in Denmark were celebrated as originators of authentic texts and could establish themselves as authoritative 'immigrant writers'. The mystical notion of an author-figure discarded by Barthes and Foucault shows perseverance when it comes to writers with a foreign name and a non-white physiognomy.

With these young and highly hyped, bestselling authors as examples, this article pays particular attention to the iconicity of a much sought and contested category that is often called 'immigrant literature' in Sweden and in Denmark. This article also considers what should be called the iconic function of the 'immigrant writer's' racialized body in the public discourse on identity (re)negotiations. In this paper I will argue for an inextricably close link between the marketability of Khemiri and Hassan and the iconicity of an 'immigrant writer', which in turn derives its commercial value from ethnic visibility, recognizability and exemplarity. The analysis of the mass media reception aims at showing their function as metonyms for an entire social, generation, religious and gender group. As I draw up a connection between the existing fixed iconography of an 'immigrant' in the mass media and the visual ethnicized representations of Khemiri and Hassan, it can be argued that the cultural production promotes and sacralizes the body of the author as a marketable commodity for purposes of enrichment and re-vitalizing of the national self-imaginary. What matters, as Goh puts it in his study on semiotics of the foreign body, is "their visibly and tangibly foreign bodies, made to appear aberrant and intractable within the smooth abstract socius [...]" (2014, 220) of the majority culture. The authors with the attribute 'immigrant' build a pivotal

point, around which the renegotiation and reconstruction of the non-specified culture's self-imaginary takes place. At the same time this paper understands Khemiri and Hassan as iconoclasms of traditional order of Swedish resp. Danish national identities. The controversial debates around the 'immigrant writer' as a welcome addition to the national literature illustrates how the non-white 'other' becomes an inseparable part of the 'self' and causes fascination as well as irritation. It is remarkable that both writers have sparked unique public debates of large political dimensions on integration, multilingualism, homophobia and Islam. At the same time they have become online-sensations: Hassan's interview (Omar 2013) and Khemiri's open letter to Sweden's minister of justice (Khemiri 2013) are the most shared articles in the online history of Denmark and Sweden. Thus iconicity should also be seen as a stylistic tool for the authors to crave public attention and become active participants in renegotiations of social-symbolic systems.

The departing point of this paper is Khemiri's and Hassan's function as multifaceted cultural icons who actively shape and reconstruct the normative category 'immigrant writer'. This approach highlights the ethnic visibility of these authors without reducing their literature on author's ethnicity as a given factor.

'Swedish' and 'Danish' identities and the 'immigrant literature'

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the literary market in Sweden and Denmark experienced the emergence of 'immigrant literature'. As Behschnitt and Nilsson (2013) argue, ethnicity became the master code for understanding the culturally diverse society, and literature was considered to provide the key to it. In 1995 Clemens Altgård formulated the longing for the first novel about the new multicultural reality and in 2003 the 24-year old half-Tunisian Jonas Hassen Khemiri hit the market with his novel "One Eye Red" (Ett öga rött). The novel, written as a diary, about a teenage boy's struggle for what he assumes to be an authentic Muslim Arab identity in the midst of the Swedish everyday life was an outstanding commercial and critical success. Khemiri established himself as one of the most sought-after literary celebrities, being much in demand as lecturer on topics as language, power, anti-racism and identity. While Alejandro Leiva Wenger's, Johannes Anyuru's and Jonas

Hassen Khemiri's appearance on the Swedish literary market marked what Leonard calls "the ethnic turn in Swedish literature" (2008, 33), the neighbouring countries were very anxious to keep up with the trend. In 2006 publishing house Gyldendal and the daily Berlingske Tidende initiated a fiction-writing contest "New Voices" in order to promote new literature about experiences unknown to broader Danish society (Gaettens 2010). Denmark was actively looking for a Danish Khemiri – a young, authentic, fierce voice with a firsthand experience of the new multi-ethnic Danish society. In October of 2013 Gyldendal promoted Yahya Hassan's "Digte" as an explosive book and an indispensable story about today's Denmark. An 18-year old debutant with Palestinian and Muslim background and a solid police record hit the Danish market with his poetry, each of these attributes contributing to the unique medial sensation. In both cases, the hype started already before the book release, as Khemiri was interviewed by radio Kulturnytt and Hassan's interview was printed in Politiken and then broadcast in a TV-show Deadline on DR2. Both literary debuts reached record sales figures, which is an extremely rare case for debutants, nearly impossible for poetry debuts with lyrics. The success of hoped-for 'immigrant literature' is based on the felicitous interplay of the figuration of the 'immigrant writer' and explosive themes as taboo-breaking, critiques of religion and unmasking of social unfairness. It was more than a longing for a novel that depicts social issues, it was a desire for specific writers – angry young men as they were known in the British literary tradition of the 50s, – whose exasperation would lend urgency and weight to their literary testimonials.

In both countries, the 'immigrant literature' has received huge public and scholarly interest. Behschnitt and Mohnike (2006) deliver two explanations for this. First is what they call the "ethnographic gaze" ("Der ethnographische Blick", Mohnike 2007) or "intention of education" ("Bildungsintention, Behschnitt/Mohnike 2006), meaning the reader's expectation to gain ethnological knowledge about the unknown ethnic 'other' through literature. I want to attach this mode of reading to the figure of the reader as a voyeur. The craving of the cultural spheres for 'immigrant literature' very much resembles a voyeur's lust to peep through the curtains and to get a view into private lives of strangers. The voyeuristic reader is a passionate collector and

consumer of 'authentic artifacts' of the ethnic 'other' in the literary work, author-interviews and features.

The second explanation given by Behschnitt and Mohnike for the popularity of 'immigrant literature' – the ambition of cultural circles to enrich national literature – sheds light on the special emotionality of the hot debates around it. The modern literature in the USA and the UK had well-established authors with immigrant backgrounds, an ennobling label that marked the multiculturality of the new literary world. With their own 'immigrant literature' Swedish and Danish literatures would thus prove their progressivity and claim their place in the world market. Therefore the 'immigrant writer' became a sacralized object of high importance for the status of the national 'self'. It is a legitimation strategy rather than a random choice of image, that Khemiri and Hassan are often compared to Sweden's and Denmark's most authoritarian writers, Hassan to Georg Brandes, with his critique of religion and hypocrisy and his wish to stand out of a collective (Olsson 2014), whereas Khemiri's name is mentioned next to Strindberg's for his disposition to fight for truth and seek beauty in hate, as the reviewer puts it (Strömberg 2003). Hardly any other name than Strindberg's would tie Khemiri to the Swedish literary canon, and hardly any other example than the example of Brandes in the Danish literary tradition would appropriately describe the tumult around Hassan's person and poetry. Both names are controversial authoritative male cultural icons, that are inseparable from the national cultural identity. The iconic images of 'immigrant writers' can be seen as marketable commodity which is profitable for both domestic and international consumption and reflects many levels of power struggle of superiority and inferiority, center and periphery.

It is important to identify a connection between the iconicity of an 'immigrant writer' and the medial icon of an 'immigrant man'. Media scholars Agius (2013), Bredström (2003), Keskinen (2009) and Vuori (2009) pointed out the impact of the daily press on the constitution of the national self-imaginary as opposite to the immigrant 'other', in which the core elements of the modern and progressive Swedish resp. Danish identity are considered to be gender equality, peaceful civil society, welfare and open democracy. Hultén (2006) and Blaagaard (2008) argue that Swedish and Danish journalism have a long history of marginalization of visible minorities through

dichotomization, stereotyping and exclusion. The Swedish 2005-2006 public debates on 'Swedishness' and the Danish "Cultural Battle" (kulturkampen) illustrate, how particularly Muslim communities were marked as a threat to the national values (Andersson 2009, Hübinette/Lundström 2011, Blaagaard 2010). As Brune (2006) writes, back since the first reports on labour migration, the Swedish media opened up present binary oppositions of 'us', meaning the Swedes who are white, educated, progressive, liberal, non-problematic and the 'others', the non-Swedish, non-white, with lack of education, regressive, patriarchal and violent. The medial reception of the 'immigrant literature' makes this unsettling 'other' the object of high interest.

In the mass media discourse on migration it is the migrant's non-white body that serves as a projection screen for stereotypical characteristics that are inconsistent with the notion of 'Swedishness' resp. 'Danishness'. The media's representation of visual minorities created long-lasting stereotypes of the dark-haired, dark-skinned, criminal, sexually violent, aggressive, non-integrated Muslim man (Brune 2002, Andreassen 2005, Soei 2011). This stereotype of an immigrant body is a remarkable synergy of sign and object, as visual ethnic markers lead to immediate recognition of character, habits and social status of the marked person. Simultaneously the icon urges the viewer to take a position on his or her own cultural identity. I want to point to the importance of the visibility of these demarcation criteria and state that the same physical signs shape the category 'immigrant writer'.

Iconicity of an 'immigrant writer's' authentic body

The iconicity of an 'immigrant writer' meets with the fundamental presupposition of "recognition and familiarity" (Sørensen 2011, 122). The first aspect is ensured by establishing an easily recognizable author-image as a brand name on the literary marketplace. The continual references to the writer's physical features connect these brand names to the resilient stereotype of an 'immigrant man' and create a sense of familiarity. I want to emphasize the essential components of age, gender, confession and ethnicity which add up into the iconicity of an 'immigrant writer' and are all equally indispensable. This article considers two male authors, hence gender is the first aspect that I want to address. It is striking, that in both countries the controversial debate on the above mentioned socio-politi-

cal topics primarily took place around male 'immigrant writers'. Especially Marjaneh Bakhtiari, but also Shadi Angelina Bazeghi and Nassrin el Halawani certainly are popular writers, but they were never hyped or reached the stardom as Khemiri and Hassan did. A possible explanation can be found in the synergy of authenticity as a symbolic value of the 'immigrant literature' and the medial stereotypes. Stereotypically, the 'immigrant woman' is bound to the family-sphere, she is less visible in the society and certainly constructed as a victim a of the patriarchal immigrant society. The potential source of conflict is the 'immigrant man', either as an unemployed person with a disposition for violence and criminality, or as a dissatisfied employee with scorn for the established socio-political order of the state. As the symbolic value of the 'immigrant literature' is to depict the conflict of cultures, the angry young Muslim man becomes the pivotal point of the discourse. Khemiri's and Hassan's youth gives them credibility of a first-hand experience of the young generation, which makes them the authentic 'other' within the nation state. Their visible ethnic features as skin, eye and hair colour and the religious confession again distinguish them from the 'white' angry young man of the working class.

In the media reception Khemiri's and Hassan's immigrant bodies are highlighted as the location of the immigrant-writing both in literal and indirect meaning. While analyzing the extensive media coverage, I came upon a repetitive pattern: many critics put an emphasis on figurative descriptions, a narration strategy which refers to Khemiri's and Hassan's ethnic attributes as language, clothes, rituals, music and food preferences, religion etc. (Brovall 2014, Castelius 2003, Kellberg 2003) and distinguishes them as non-White, thus legitimating the label 'immigrant writer'. Their visual appearance, hair colour, eyes, body height, gestures, manners, clothes, voice or intonation are described in detail repeatedly, linking them to the stereotype of a dark-haired, dark-skinned 'immigrant man' from a geo-culturally distant country. The mass media narration stages Khemiri as a modern, attractive man who comes to the meeting on a bike, with disheveled hair, mp3 music plugged into his ears and a friendly smile (Rogeman 2006). His food and music tastes are often referred to (Castelius 2003), mainly to underscore his belonging to two cultures. Hassan's deep and loud voice is often mentioned, (Brovall 2014), connecting the young, criminal, rebellious

author to his aggressive way of recital and the breathless outcry of his angry poetry. His voice is characterized as a particularly melodic mixture of rap and and Koran-reading. Pedersen (2013) writes that Hassan's way of recital varies between aggressiveness and the state of trance, a comparison that is a strong image of a white man's imagination of a religious oriental man. The frequent references to the Koran and rap enhance the conflation of the 'immigrant author' with the stereotype of an unpredictable, dangerous, explosive 'immigrant man' on the peripheries of society.

The marketability of Khemiri and Hassan is connected to their status as writers of suburbia, though only the "ghetto poet" (Pedersen 2013) Hassan grew up in the Trillegården suburb of Aarhus, Khemiri comes from Stockholm's middle-class district Södermalm. The segregation of immigrants is a common phenomenon, but Sweden and Denmark have a striking pattern of racial segregation (Hübinette/Lundström 2011, Sund 2005). I believe this is the reason why it seems to be important for the critics either to locate them in one of these suburbs, or to emphasize them being an exception in the middle-class white center. Several critics like to point to the fact that Khemiri likes to listen to Hip-Hop, that he used to hang around with his friends and play basketball, an image which once again positions him in a stereotypical group of migrant youngsters playing in the high rise suburbs. The 24 and 18 year old debutants with long black hair and black eyes with a connection to the rap culture can be expected to represent the "voice of a real migrant" (Behschnitt 2010), therefore their living condition is subject to public interest (Rogeman 2006).

The reception often reduces the 'immigrant writer' on ethnicized patterns of lifestyle, mentality and bodily inscriptions, sometimes completely leaving out a reference to the literary quality. Kassebeer (2013) lauds Hassan's lyric and provides many examples, which only illustrate biographical data, without a reference to its literary qualities, biographic information being also the pivotal point of interviews with Khemiri (Castelius 2003, Kellberg 2003). Only some reviewers emphasize that the works gain their efficacy from the socio-political playback and the literary work on its own is less remarkable (Sandström 2003) or in need for a years ripening (Andersen Nexø 2013, Larsen 2013). Just as Rabe (2003) tries to concentrate on Khemiri's novel, Munk Rösing praises Hassan for

his language, word creations, the rhythm and melody, his strong poetry work, describing the book as one that "burns between the hands" (2013), the firewood surely being the social and not the literary quality of the work.

The inscription of 'otherness' on the writer's body becomes even more visible when in her extended feature Brovall (2014) writes about Yahya Hassan's tattoo on his right hand. The tattoo says "ord", Danish for "word". Tattoos in general are visual inscriptions on the body, the three letters on Hassan's arm have an enhanced iconic function: this tattoo is an irreversible visible inscription of 'Danishness' through a Danish language, an identity marker on a foreign body, the veracity of his firsthand experience literally burned on his skin. When Brovall mentions Hassan's tattoo, she reasserts the writer's position within the nation state and highlights the question about legitimacy of power: who has the right on words around the migration issues and how should these words be said.

Literary performance of 'immigrant literature'

Though the daily media and public reception of Khemiri and Hassan was highly dominant, I want to point to the authors' active involvement in the process of self-iconization, as both constantly negotiate their own image, performing identity schemes in and outside the literature and use their status for marketing strategies. Both Hassan and Khemiri generated a literary system of coding for their subversive play. The family and living environment of their protagonists mirror the reader's expectation, as does the linguistic repertoire. Both authors delivered an artful play with multi-ethnic language elements of so called 'perkerdansk' and 'rinkebysvenska'. The code-switching between normative and multi-ethnic languages mirrors the complex relation of language and identity. Adopting Jørgen Dines Johansen's argument, that literature can be defined as "the kind of discourse which may iconically represent, i.e. imitate almost any other discourse" (1996, 52), I want to pay particular attention to the book covers as iconic performances of the discourse on the 'immigrant literature'. Both covers build up strong suggestions without even turning the first page. On Khemiri's "One Eye Red" golden oriental ornaments on dominant red background decorate the borders and frame the author's exotic name. The book's strong visuality links it to the Muslim culture and religious inscrip-

tions on Korans and mosques. As Sardo states concerning the iconicity of titles, "they can mime the form of their object of reference directly or they can refer to an iconic dimension of the text" (2003, 349). The Swedish letters on oriental background and Khemiri's first name Jonas promise an authentic oriental story taken out of an otherwise marginal Swedish reality. Hassan's book is also designed in two colours – white letters "Yahya Hassan" on black background – under the name the Danish word "Digte" – poems. An uninformed reader would not know that "Yahya Hassan" both refers to the author and to the title of his poetry collection. The rear side of the cover carries one sentence that says everything the reader should know about the author: "Yahya Hassan, born 1995. A stateless Palestinian with a Danish passport." The colours mime the dichotomous categories of the 'self' and the 'other' in the debates on 'immigrant literature', the black and white of the ethnicized world view, the alleged insurmountability of cultural differences. Furthermore, the colour duality represents the urgent force of the poetry's message, that acusses immigrants in Denmark of fraud, bad parenting, violence, religious fanaticism and demands social consequences. It should be mentioned here that Hassan's poems are written in Capitals-lock, which is a skillful iconic fusion of narrativity and visuality. This mode of exclamatory poetry finds a form for a visual outcry of anger, a proclamation of protest. Obviously, Hassan's narratorial style fully exhausted middle-class Danish readers' expectation to find rebellion and provocation in the voice of the 'immigrant writer'. The iconicity of capital letters functions as an exclamation mark and fuels the message with urgency and hostility, supporting the dichotomy in the identity schemes. It creates a sense of immediacy, making the addressivity of the poems visible. The anger of the lyric "I" proves to enhance the purported facticity and derives from the expressive quality of the Capitals-lock, suggesting sincerity of emotion, honesty and testimonial quality of affectedness. I want to emphasize that both books iconically imitate the discourse on 'immigrant literature', the complexity of the identity renegotiation processes and the ambiguous space between authenticity and reality.

Conclusion

In this article I have tried to elaborate the central role played by mainstream media in the production and reproduction of easily

recognizable iconic representations of an 'immigrant writer' as a marketable commodity. In line with this reasoning, the article has sought to demonstrate that the media narrative reduces the authors to bodily inscriptions, connecting the writer-image to the medial stereotype of an 'immigrant man'. The analysis of the public reception showed the iconic function of Khemiri and Hassan as complex cultural signifiers, which serve as a repository of self-images and stereotypes of 'Swedishness'/'Danishness' and 'Otherness'. The author-image created by the media proved to be a representational icon with a large commercial value that is anchored in the context of the globalized Swedish and Danish society and takes its power from the perpetual controversial debates on identity negotiations. The iconicity of an 'immigrant writer' makes an immediate subsumption between the signifier and the signified, the migrant experience inscribed on the foreign body and the textual story of the same. I have tried to point out the voyeuristic position of the hegemonic cultural society that extensively sacralized and objectified them to processes of self-constitution and have emphasized the authors' performative strategies to challenge straightforward oppositions.

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Volume 10 • 2015

The Northern Irish hunger strikers as cultural icons

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Abstract:

The aim of this article is to discuss hunger strikers as cultural icons. Fasting is a non-violent way of communicating a message or achieving a goal. It is a process that includes and reveals poignant cultural values, and can be regarded as a symbolic gesture. It is also a phenomenon recognised by many cultures. As the nature of this recognition can vary between different cultures, wider cross-cultural aspects of iconicity can be reached.

This article examines the 1981 Northern Irish hunger strike to find out what iconic attributes are connected with the hunger strikers. A special focus is given to the role of international news media as an intensifier of iconicity.

Keywords: #hunger strike, #iconicity, #news, #cross-cultural; #Irish

Introduction

A smiling portrait (image 1) of Bobby Sands, an Irish republican prisoner and a hunger striker, has become an icon for the Northern Irish conflict. The image is an icon, not only in Sands' own community, but also worldwide.

Image 1. The portrait of Bobby Sands published in Le Figaro, May 6, 1981.

Bobby Sands died as a result of a hunger strike while imprisoned at the Maze prison, in Northern Ireland, in May 1981. His death marked the first of a series of hunger strike deaths in Northern Ireland. Altogether ten prisoners died during the protest. This article aims to briefly discuss the iconic status of the hunger strikers: how the iconicity was built up and what kinds of meanings it connoted. The article will also briefly survey how international newspapers mediated iconic meanings. The examples studied in this article were published by a selection of international newspapers[1] (see References). The examples are intentionally simplified in order to showcase the diversity that can be related to the question of iconicity. They are primarily treated as possibilities rather than as exact truths.

Before examining hunger striking as a cultural icon, some definitional terms are needed. The definition of a cultural icon in this article is loosely based on the definition provided by many experts (e.g. Parker 2012, 12-13). An icon is a symbol. It is a metaphorical representation of a certain meaning. This article focuses on persons as icons. In other words, an icon can be a person linked to a certain idea. The second key definition here is the one of an icon as a cultural manifestation. It is easily recognised and represents cultural norms and values. In this case, I am focusing on hunger strikers as icons that reflect values held by a culture (or a nation). In regard to this article, a cultural icon is a distinct and durable representative of the phenomenon in question. It resides in the collective memories of (different) communities, and upholds a narrative formed by the communities.

The methodological premise for this article is imagology. It is primarily concerned with how mental images – and thus icons – become recognisable. They are seen as properties of their contexts. The fundamental supposition is that there is a cultural difference, a sense in which one nation is perceived to be different from the rest. We know most foreign cultures by reputation only. We have images of specific national characters even though we may not have any personal knowledge of assessing how typical those characters are. We recognize certain attributes as being typical for certain nations (Leersen 2007, 17). These ethnic or national stereotypes and commonplaces are studied in the field of imagology. Imagol-

ogy as a method is primarily comparatist. Therefore, it is well adapted to research that focuses on different interpretations.

Brief background

The mid 1970's was the bloodiest time of the Northern Ireland conflict. The British government altered and tightened legislation on several occasions during this period. As a result, prisoners convicted of the same crimes in different periods were treated differently, some having 'Special Category Status', akin to be treated as political prisoners – having the right, for example, to wear their own clothes – and others being treated as ordinary criminals. After several years of protesting, the Irish republican prisoners launched a series of hunger strikes in order to restore the 'political prisoner' status of the prisoners.

The Officer Commanding of the IRA prisoners, Bobby Sands, started his hunger strike on 1 March 1981. He was joined at one-to-two-week intervals by other prisoners. At first, the hunger strike did not attract much attention outside the prison. Then the MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone died, and Sands was nominated as a candidate for the by-election. Sands was the sole nationalist candidate against a unionist candidate. The election results were announced on 9 April 1981: Bobby Sands had been elected MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone. This gained a lot of publicity for the prisoners. After 66 days on a hunger strike, Sands died on 5 May 1981. The hunger strike continued, and within the next few weeks, three other prisoners died. The British government's hard line against the people on hunger strike continued to generate a lot of media coverage. More publicity was generated, as the Republic of Ireland prepared for a general election in early June. The election strategy continued to be a success for the protesters: Kieran Doherty, who was also on hunger strike, was elected as an MP, along with one other protesting prisoner. As the hunger strike went on, there were a few attempts to resolve the situation, but because neither side was prepared to yield, the deaths continued. In early July, two more people on hunger strike died. Four more followed in August, bringing the total to ten. Even though the prisoners continued to receive support, the most intensive stage of the protest was over. Attempts to end the hunger strike intensified. It was recommended for the families of the men on hunger strike to authorise medical intervention. The hunger

strike was seen as being increasingly futile. On 3 October 1981, the prisoners released a statement announcing that they would end the strike (Beresford 1994, passim; O'Malley 1990, passim.).

The hunger strikers gained plenty of international attention, and in time, they became an iconic reminder of the Northern Ireland conflict. The popular opinions in different countries of the merits of hunger striking reveal interesting differences between cultures.

From a representation to an icon

In order to study the prevalent signifiers of the iconicity of the hunger strikers, I begin with examining the representations of them. Representations can reveal the meanings surrounding the phenomenon, as they communicate beyond the mere texts and visuals.

When Bobby Sands died, his status was immediately assessed by the media. For instance, the Australian newspaper, *The Age*, published a headline: 'Sands a shadowy figure, more symbol than person' (*The Age* 6.5.1981). Just hours after his death, the deceased hunger striker had become a symbol of the conflict. This status only strengthened over time. The same happened in different cultures. Therefore, it is essential to discuss why a convicted prisoner can be considered as an icon.

Death by hunger striking is the most obvious reason. Hunger striking has a long history. It is a cosmopolitan phenomenon. According to one estimate, there were more than 200 hunger strikes in 52 different countries between 1972 and 1982 (Russell 2005, 88). A hunger strike is a startling method of non-violent resistance in which participants fast as an act of protest or to provoke attention. A hunger strike aims to achieve a specific, often political, goal. In the context of Irish history and culture, hunger strikers occupy a significant place. For instance during the struggle for independence, several Irish activists received martyrdom as a result of hunger strikes. They became "a symbol of what lengths small Ireland would go to, of what pain she would bear, to assert her independence in the face of the military power of the mighty Empire" (O'Malley 1990, 26). In Ireland, hunger striking became a powerful myth. This has been deployed during decades to follow.

The depth of emotions, the underlying rationale, and the startling events created an ambiance that was hard to ignore. The Irish hunger strikers confronted people with the dilemma of how to re-

spond. Public fasting resulted in an audience becoming witness to suffering, and consequently, to trying to understand why it all happened. All this processing helped to build a popular representation of the hunger strike. Disturbing and provocative depictions reaffirmed the symbolic meaning of the event.

A group of certain features have become iconic representations of the hunger strikers. These startling attributes make them to stand out. A hunger striker is depicted as withered, yet determined. Physically, weight loss and an overgrown beard (for the males) are the most typical visual signs of the hunger striker. This unkemptness is one of the most iconic attributes connected with hunger striking. It calls attention to the suffering. Despite their physical decline, hunger strikers are usually portrayed as determined, even defiant. This contradiction underlines the reason of the hunger strike. It raises a question: why does someone kill himself (or herself) for a cause? It is a question that appeals universally. Narratives were formed: each community used the hunger strikers to confirm their own perceptions.

Several factors intensified the appeal. For instance, the hunger strikers themselves were not visible to the audience. Instead, the smiling photos became the visual representations of them. The photo of Bobby Sands (image 1) became well known in different parts of the world, not only during the hunger strike, but years and decades later. He was always depicted in the same way. On the other hand, he was also a mystery: no one was able to see him with his (her) own eyes. His appeal was more and more based on imagined features.

Locally, respected persons become visible in many ways. In the Catholic areas of Northern Ireland, the 1981 hunger strikers were portrayed on several murals. Mural painting is considered to be one of the most powerful ways of symbolic expression (Jarman 1998). The hunger strikers remained immortalised as young, healthy and happy. Later on, some of these personalised murals were replaced by more generalised representations of the hunger strikers. These unkempt blanket men appear in contrast to the former murals (Jarman 1997, 236). Anyhow, the iconicity remains. The images of the hunger strikers became icons for resistance against imperialism and nationalism. The murals are memorials that reinforce the spirit of the community. Thus, representations turn into icons.

Iconic status can intensify in time. Again, the interests of the consumer play a major role in how the meaning is viewed. To a person who belongs to the same Republican community as Bobby Sands, he is still an admirable icon:

> Songs have been written about Bobby Sands, films made, streets named after him. He was a poet, a revolutionary, and – in the words of singer Christy Moore – the "People's Own MP". His and his comrades' sacrifices energised and inspired republicans. Bobby spoke of revenge not in terms of one side triumphing over another but said: "Our revenge will be the laughter of our children." Rather than diminishing over the passage of time, the stature of Bobby Sands in history has only increased. (Morrison 2011)

Additionally, over time the iconicity has spread via many channels: in addition to the vast news coverage, the Irish hunger strike has inspired artistic responses (films, poetry, novels, plays, and music). What is really interesting, is that the meaning surrounding the iconicity changes depending on the standpoint of the viewer. The Irish hunger strikers still raise divisions. This complexity fulfills one essential qualification of iconicity: the impressiveness.

This case also backs up the idea of the media's role in creating iconic status. This is briefly discussed next.

Depictions of the Irish hunger strikers in international newspapers

Fasting is an effective method of public protest. Yet it is effective only if it is backed by public support and given attention by the media. The 1981 hunger strike happened when newspapers still dominated the news world. The hunger strike was too good a story to ignore, even worldwide. Aided by the news media, the Irish hunger strikers achieved an iconic status internationally. They become sources of stereotype and prejudice. Next, I will discuss a few examples of how newspapers in different countries depicted the symbolism of the Irish hunger strike.

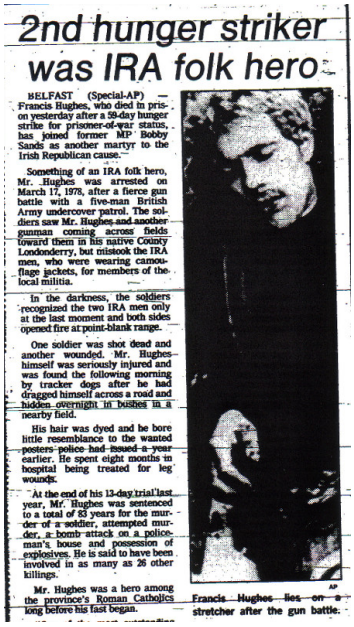
For *The Irish Times*, the hunger strike was an icon for a long struggle: according to the paper, the hunger strike was not won or lost, but was merely one episode in a larger battle (*The Irish Times*

10.10.1981). This reaction was, and still is, typical in Ireland. The hunger strikers are considered to be avatars in the historical battle against the British. They are identified as the antagonists against British rule. However, their participation in paramilitary organisations creates an interesting dilemma. As members of the IRA or INLA, the hunger strikers were not solely 'good' people. The iconicity therefore consists of ambiguous elements. This demonstrates that the nature of an icon is not necessarily positive. Icons can also refer to negative matters. The status of the Irish hunger strikers in England is a clear example of this.

The Times of London depicted the hunger strike as one form of violence. The hunger strike became a representation of Irishness: "Why the Irish use hunger strikes as a weapon" (*The Times* 6.5.1981). The connotation was negative. The hunger strikers symbolised the negative side of the Irish. The long and troubled history between the countries had created a need to have something to summarise the conflict. The hunger strikers became the icons for the troubled part of the relationship.

The above-mentioned examples reveal how cultural and political closeness intensify the meaning of the icon. The iconicity of the hunger strikers were used to suit the (political) relationships between the countries. It is particularly fascinating that the hunger strike was not just a local conflict. With the help of the media, the hunger strikers became recognised across cultures. In addition, the meaning of the hunger strike was different. Few examples of this variation summarise well how the cultural and political links make a difference how their iconicity is used.

The Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* depicted the meaning of the hunger strike as violent and pointless on several occasions. The hunger strikers were terrorists (*The Globe and Mail* 5.8.1981). In other words, the characterisation of the strike by the paper was strongly negative. The elements for the coverage were chosen to support this view. For instance, *The Globe and Mail* reported on the hunger strike death of Francis Hughes using a photo (image 2) of him lying wounded after a gun battle. The report itself focused on his violent past. His own death was less important. A hunger striker was an icon for violence. Hence *The Globe and Mail*'s depiction of the hunger strike was similar to *The Times*' judgement.



2nd hunger striker was IRA folk hero

BELFAST (Special-AP) — Francis Hughes, who died in prison yesterday after a 59-day hunger strike for prisoner-of-war status, has joined former MP Bobby Sands as another martyr to the Irish Republican cause.

Something of an IRA folk hero, Mr. Hughes was arrested on March 17, 1978, after a fierce gun battle with a five-man British Army undercover patrol. The soldiers saw Mr. Hughes and another gunman coming across fields toward them in his native County Londonderry, but mistook the IRA men, who were wearing camouflage jackets, for members of the local militia.

In the darkness, the soldiers recognized the two IRA men only at the last moment and both sides opened fire at point-blank range.

One soldier was shot dead and another wounded. Mr. Hughes himself was seriously injured and was found the following morning by tracker dogs after he had dragged himself across a road and hidden overnight in bushes in a nearby field.

His hair was dyed and he bore little resemblance to the wanted posters police had issued a year earlier. He spent eight months in hospital being treated for leg wounds.

At the end of his 13-day trial last year, Mr. Hughes was sentenced to a total of 83 years for the murder of a soldier, attempted murder, a bomb attack on a policeman's house and possession of explosives. He is said to have been involved in as many as 26 other killings.

Mr. Hughes was a hero among the province's Roman Catholics long before his fast began.

AP

Francis Hughes lies on a stretcher after the gun battle.

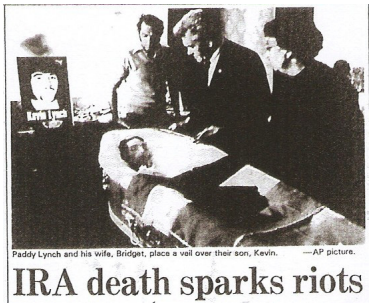
Image 2. News article published by The Globe and Mail, May 13, 1981.

In comparison, some newspapers recognised the traditional meaning of the hunger strike (e.g. *The Age* 21.4.1981; *Dagens Nyheter* 6.5.1981; *Helsingin Sanomat* 6.5.1981). These newspapers portrayed the hunger strikers as icons of the larger conflict. The fate of the hunger strikers was extraordinary. In particular, in Scandinavia, where a hunger strike was not a familiar phenomenon, the hunger strikers were depicted as icons of oddity.

The Age depicted the hunger strikers as icons for guerrilla action (against the British authority). This hinted that the hunger strikers were considered by the paper as icons for fasting for a more justifiable cause. *The Age* did not share the violent hallmark with *The Times*.

All these different perceptions of the hunger strike are true in their own right. They reflect the political circumstances and the values that are dominant at each times in each particular culture. In summary, the political relations between Britain and Canada were close in the early 1980s. Therefore, the violent depiction of *The Globe and Mail* was hardly a coincidence. Meanwhile, the Australians were breaking away from the British ascendancy. (see Roberts 2006, passim) This makes the stance of *The Age* understandable. As the Scandinavian countries did not have any particular interest in the conflict, it was depicted with less intense opinion. Unfortunately, there is not enough space in this article to analyze in detail these fascinating relations. In a word, the symbolism connected with the hunger strikers changed according to the political circumstances. The political and cultural relations of each country with Britain proved to be an imperative factor. The news media reflected the political circumstances of 1981.

The (news) media play a major role in the process of someone/something becoming iconic. Media provide information that is used to form a perception. If the perception is extraordinarily poignant, it can develop into an icon. The Irish hunger strikers have achieved that. Their appeal is based on the most fundamental collective attributes: a sense of nationalism and an ideal of devotion. Additionally, they provide a symbolic representation of iniquity (that can be construed in many ways). The hunger strikes can thus be easily used to reinforce societal opinion. It is remarkable that they have become icons of both right and wrong. The cultural context decides which one prevails in each society.


Paddy Lynch and his wife, Bridget, place a veil over their son, Kevin. —AP picture.

IRA death sparks riots

Image 3. The Front page of South China Morning Post, August 4, 1981.

Conclusion

How do certain persons become important enough that they are remembered for decades after their death? An icon is considered as an element that recaps a certain moment. To see a deceased hunger striker (image 3) is a startling experience. You don't get to see such an image very often. When you do, the personal reaction is enormous. What precisely this reaction will be is the result of a complex set of factors. The status of the Irish hunger strikers brings out all the emotions that are the basis for iconicity. The hunger strikers were, and still are, linked to a particular idea.

The strong spirit of hunger striker captivates audiences. The things that truly affect us become icons. They last in collective memories. The iconicity of the Irish hunger strikers can be treated as a manifestation of cultural diversity. The icons stand for culturally agreed meanings and values. One of the most intriguing phenomenon is the way the same figure can be a source of contradiction. The same person can be an icon for violent terrorists, as well as for determined nationalists. This variation shows how traditions play a major role in the human mind.

Icons that have derived from conflicts or wars are often connected with feelings of nationalism. They are used to highlight the sense of community. Depending on the result (to the community), the icon is used to reaffirm either the victory or the loss. The iconicity of the Irish hunger strikers entails this duality. For those who saw them as mere terrorists, they became icons of violence. For those who supported their cause, they became icons of injustice. Both views are equally right.

A hunger striker is not merely a hunger striker. Significant changes have been inspired by hunger striking. Strong values and sentiments are connected with a hunger striker. These iconic features are culture specific. The treatment of the hunger strikers as icons reveals something profound of each community. The analysis of these treatments is thus very fertile; possibilities for further research are endless.

Note

1 The selection of the newspapers is based on my forthcoming doctoral thesis which examines the international coverage of the 1981 hunger strike. The news-

papers examined in the research are: *The Age* (Australia), *Arab News* (Saudi Arabia). *Dagens Nyheter* (Sweden), *Le Figaro* (France), *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *Helsingin Sanomat* (Finland), *The Irish Times* (Ireland), *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Switzerland), *The New York Times* (USA), El Pais (Spain), *La Prensa* (Argentina), *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), *The Sowetan* (South Africa), *The Times* (Great Britain), and *Die Welt* (FRG). News and editorial material published between 1 March and 10 October, 1981 by the papers were included in the research.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

The Pop-Icon Hitler as a Trope of Critical Reflection on Media Society

The World's Most Recognisable Face

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Abstract

Countless representations in different media and genres through several decades make Hitler one of the most productive icons on a global scale. The analysis of this icon seems of fundamental theoretical interest as its original semantics as the embodiment of evil challenges common notions of icon work between collaborative iconolatry, on the one hand, and adversarial iconoclasm, on the other. However, the range of different significances to be found in contemporary Hitler representations suggests that the icon serves to work through issues of the respective context in which it is used. I will argue that, interestingly, especially representations claiming to do justice to history and to the historical person Hitler might be problematized and seen as part of a "remembrance industry", while pop-cultural, often humorous representations of the icon establish a critical meta-level allowing audiences to reflect on certain phenomena in contemporary media society.

Keywords icon, Hitler, culture of remembrance, Hipster Hitler, Timur Vermes

Countless representations in different media and genres through several decades make Adolf Hitler one of the most productive icons on a global scale, and he is arguably regarded as the most famous and infamous German in history. At the same time, the range of differences in the significance with which this icon is filled in diverse contexts is astonishing, and its meaning can almost seem to have become arbitrary. While Hitler in Western culture "in the post-religious age has replaced the devil as a symbol of evil" (Deutscher 2014, see also Erk 2012: 52f.), some examples for the reception of the icon in an Asian context hint at a somewhat positive perception, namely as a strong sovereign (see for instance Heeger 2012). But even within Western culture one can distinguish between different images of Hitler and a certain transformation of the icon's meaning over time.

The perception of Hitler in different nations and generations seems related to the degree of which they were involved in the events of World War II (see Erk 2012: 21, Deutscher 2014). While in Germany there has been an extensive and complex process of remembering and working through guilt and shame, now the attitude to the issues of the past seems much more laid back. Outside of Germany, the clichés of the evil German and demonic Hitler have gradually being dismissed. Films such as Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) mark that new and more nuanced perspectives towards the past have been established. Yet, the old stereotypes can be revitalized as seen during the Euro crisis, when the German chancellor Angela Merkel was compared to Hitler because of her politics of saving. Seemingly the comparison with Hitler remains an inevitable, yet mostly annoying component of political rhetoric and in many other contexts, even if it is increasingly criticized as is satirically done by Godwin's Rule of Nazi Analogies for internet users.

As one of the most remarkable tendencies in this matter can be regarded the frequent use of the former "Führer" for purely amusing purposes which has even led to the notion of "Hitlertainment", which is the title of an edition of the German magazine for political debate "The European" in October 2014. Indeed, as pop-cultural icon and commercial star Hitler has started a "second carrier" (Erk 2012: 11). The icon is not only used to advertise for Honda-PKWs in Taiwan (Bolten 2007: 127), aftershave and shaving foam in Turkey, but in 2008 also for the first time in the German context by the re-

spectable hat-seller Weber. Commercials with Hitler must be said to be most efficient and low-cost, as the icon generates a maximum of attention at a minimum of costs. Thus, Hitler has become a brand which creates considerable profit.

"Hitler only breeds more Hitler", sounds the resigned conclusion of Daniel Erk (Erk 2012: 17) who collected representations of and references to Hitler in contemporary, different media and genres through several years on his "Hitlerblog". But what exactly is it, that keeps the obsession with Hitler going, an icon which by some is considered the "biggest pop star of all times" (Erk 2014)? Does the Hitler icon symbolize the ultimate breaking of taboos and therefore seem indispensable in a society which has broken so many former taboos and, at the same time, is obsessed by scandals and taboo-breaking? To approach these questions, in this article, I will look at some pop-cultural representations of Hitler in diverse contexts, media and genres asking in which ways the use of the icon can be interpreted. Using examples from both the German and other contexts, the transnational perspective in my analysis will enable me to ask, whether national differences in the perception of the icon still might be observed. Generally, the use of the Hitler icon is complex and seems to follow two opposing basic trends: On the one hand, a discourse occupied with the reflection of the historical events under the NS-regime seems to more and more abandon the notion of Hitler as the personalized embodiment of evil. Instead, evil is less found in the person and more in a certain systemic structure. This implies the assumption that given certain circumstances similar incidences may occur in other societies or contexts. On the other hand, the development of the commercialized media society and an aestheticization of evil (see Agger 2013: 35) lead to a holding on to and even an intensification of the notion of Hitler as the overpowering mass murderer and the personalized evil. I will argue that, interestingly, especially representations claiming to do justice to history and to the historical person Hitler are being problematized by critical observers and seen as part of a "remembrance industry", while pop-cultural, often humorous representations of the icon are often more likely to be able to establish a critical meta-level concerning former Hitler representations and, more general, a mirror directed towards certain phenomena in contemporary media society.

The Ambivalent Representation of the Icon

Between Collaborative Iconolatry and Adversial Iconoclasm

Visually, the Hitler icon is highly stylized and very easy to replicate by the simplest means, in this way there lies a high semiotic economy in the use of the icon because of its "visual singularity and semantic efficiency" (Hirt 2013: 573). The most minimalistic form is a smiley with the hinting of a moustache, but usually also with the dark hair style and side parting. One doesn't even needs to add the brown uniform and the swastika armband. However easily performed, representations of Hitler challenge prevalent notions of icon work as collaborative iconolatry on the one hand and adversial iconoclasm on the other. In this regard, Hitler can't be paralleled with other human icons such as Marilyn Monroe or Pele which are less contradictory and complex.

Still in the same way as other human icons, Hitler and the Nazis aspired to become icons, but they became it in another way then they intended. While Hitler tried to stage himself as the renovator and savior of Germany, his reputation is based on quite the opposite. Yet, he remains a very significant icon. The icon is complex in its meaning and has different meanings for different audiences. Left aside right-wing extremists or neo-Nazis and concentrating on the main Western reception of the icon, a disturbing latent fascination by certain "fascistic" or totalitarian attitudes towards life, society and aesthetics can be observed, as it was already done by Susan Sontag in here famous essay "Fascinating Fascism" (1974). Here, the obsession with Hitler might also to be seen, among others, in relation to the contemporary interest in the evil in a more aesthetical and less moral way. In popular media and genres, evil functions as the "other" which gives the spectator a necessary break from the boring daily grind (see Agger 2013: 35f.).

However, while the spectator usually aspires to melting together with the icon, in the case of Hitler this process seems for most cases ambivalent. Hardly any icon has been abased, humiliated and lampooned to the extent that has the Hitler icon. A significant part of the icon work is directed against the iconisation as such: for instance Hitler humor in films such as Dani Levy's *My Führer – The Really Truest Truth about Adolf Hitler* (2006), Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* (2009), and the trailer to the planned German animated film *Adolf – the Movie* on the basis of Walter Moers' cartoon

around the character of "Adolf, the Nazi pig" parody the monumentalism, gigantism and the elevation of the Nazis and of Hitler. In these representations, Hitler is symbolically diminished and debased, as he is shown in degrading and infantilizing poses and situations – for instance at the toilet, in the bath tub, as a baby and sometimes partly undressed. However, these iconoclastic manipulations are apparently not able to destroy the icon, as it is continually used in many contexts. Indeed, the quasi-cultic status of the icon seems impossible to break one significant explanation of which might to be found in the inconceivably terrible historical events Hitler is related to.

A short look at one example of the above-mentioned films can show in which way the iconoclastic manipulations in humorous Hitler representations, paradoxically contribute to the vitality of the icon. In the trailer of *Adolf – the Movie*, Hitler is seen undressed and exposed from the hip downward and in degrading and intimate situations. He is shown taken a bath with Hitlerized rubber ducks, Hitler pictures on the wall (versions of the famous photographs which show Hitler posing as charismatic orator), and signs with the capital "A" on toilet paper and towels. Because of this serialization of the icon, the gesture of iconoclasm becomes paradoxical as it performs at the same time the destruction and the regeneration or even duplication of the icon. This representation is a good analogy of how in the commercialized media society as a whole, the content is fed in the circuit of products and information in different forms. In this way, the *Adolf*-film is advertised for through Hitler merchandise such as a little Hitler figurine, the song "I'm Sitting in My Bunker", including versions in German, English and French which are accessible on YouTube. There even exists a "Downfall"-version of the song consisting of a video with scenes from the film (in German: *Der Untergang*) from 2005 cut in a way that they play together with the musical rhythm and the vocals of the song.

In this way, despite of numerous continuously renewed acts of iconoclasm, the Hitler icon is reconstructed and revitalized. One could even claim that the Hitler icon has come to symbolize the act of iconoclasm itself which is elevated or even sacralized. Thus, iconoclasm which can be seen as one type of taboo-breaking, for its part, becomes a more abstract icon of the commercialized media society.

The Evolution of the Icon

From the "Icon of Power" to the "Pop-Icon"

An intensive interest in the political figure and private person Adolf Hitler has always been present on a transnational scale. Historians, writers and psychologists have investigated all details of his life and death. Many biographies have been written about Hitler, amongst them the most famous ones by Ian Kershaw and Joachim Fest. In German culture, the engagement with Hitler has certainly been the most complex compared to other national contexts. While in decades, there seemed to rule an "unexpressed picture taboo" (Margit Fröhlich cit. after Orich / Strzelczyk 2011: 301) which only bit by bit has been broken, today Germans have catched up and seem to represent Hitler and laugh about him almost as unburdened as for instance Americans have ever since the "Führer" came to power with classics such as Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) or Walt Disney's *The Fuhrer's Face* (1942). "Hitler humor" has become a genre in his own right and is considered "a potent, twofold vehicle seemingly allowing Germans, on the one hand, to work continuously through their nation's guilt and, on the other, to find comic relief from the burden of the past by experiencing it in a carefree, amusing format" (Orich 2011: 295).

Transnationally, the evolution of the Hitler icon and the general overexposure of the icon seem related to new tendencies in the memory culture since 1989 with a pluralisation of perspectives. Different practices of remembering such as historiography, memorial, memory art or memory talk are positioned side by side without privileging one above the other. Also, it is acknowledged, that different generations (eye witnesses, their children and grandchildren) have different approaches to the past. And finally the heritage of the Holocaust becomes more and more universalized and the perspectives on memory are gradually globalized (see for instance Assmann 2006 and 2013).

However, in the historical discourse of the last decades there can be observed a kind of tabloidization and the unfolding of a "remembrance industry" (Orich / Strzelczyk 2011: 294 / 295). While in several decades after World War II there ruled silence and trauma, under the revolt of the 68-generation, the silence of the parents' generation was criticized. But in the 80ies and more so from the 90ies on the audience was supplied and even filled up with docu-

mentaries and books which in a popular style depicted and retold the events under the Third Reich. These popular styled historical TV programs, often docudramas, a blend of authentic historical material and scenes where events are re-enacted, are in Germany associated with the name of the historian Guido Knopp. His productions and their intense focus on the person of Hitler with titles such as "Hitler's elites", "Hitler's doctors" and "Hitler's women" have invited much mockery. For critiques these documentaries represent a "Vergangenheitsbewältigung lite", a far to easy and entertaining way of dealing with the German past.

Likewise, the epic film *The Downfall* which among others aimed at giving a nuanced image of Hitler was highly criticized. The film depicts the last ten days of the Third Reich with its main focus on Hitler and his closest subordinates. Based on the book with the same title of the highly respected historian Joachim Fest (2002) and the memoirs of Hitler's private secretary Traudl Junge (2002), the film's claim for both historiographical expertise and the authority of authenticity couldn't be more severe taken the genre of the feature film into consideration. Yet, it was criticized that the melodramatic ton of the film distorted the historical truth humanizing and even sympathizing with Hitler and highlighting the victim role of the Germans while remaining silent in regard to the Holocaust. One of the most known critiques of the film, Wim Wenders, criticized for instance that the camera respectfully turns away when Hitler dies and doesn't show directly "that the pig is finally dead" (Wenders 2004: 63, my translation). In this manner, as he claims, the picture taboo is restored. At the same time, the deads of many other ordinary people and soldiers are shown without reserve. Thus, the film not only demonstrates the charisma which Hitler had for his contemporaries, but, according to Wenders, participates in restoring it.

The case of the *The Downfall* seems symptomatic of how attempts to de-demonize and to create a realistic representation of Hitler seem difficult to obtain and in high risk of being mocked. The internet community has reacted to the film with the creation of the "Downfall-Meme" using as filmic material the famous scene in which Hitler outbursts in a rage attack when meeting with his generals and realizing that the war has been lost. In the meme the scene is supplied by new subtitles giving it another, funny meaning. Hitler is commenting on contemporary, mostly trivial phenomena

such as that twitter is down or even ranging about the parodic "Downfall-Meme" itself. The Downfall-Meme conducts a live of its own and even was turned into a video where Hitler dances Gangnam Style and additionally in another version of Psy's second hit "Mother Führer Gentleman".

The digital recycling of the *Downfall* scene illustrates the evolution of the Hitler icon which Stefan Hirt traces in his large volume *Adolf Hitler in American Culture* and characterizes as the transformation from the "icon of power" to the "pop icon" (Hirt 2013: 571) gradually being emptied of content. Hirt considers this tendency as "maybe not a forgetting of history but the reduction of history to icons, slogans, and banal clichés in an attention- and novelty-hungry Internet culture" (Hirt 2013: 571). Here "iconicity" is driven to the extent that the icon becomes "its own context" (571f.). However, if it would be true, that the original historical context does not matter anymore, why use Hitler in the first place? In the following, the analysis of two pop-cultural representations of Hitler will try to approach some answers to this question.

"The Ultimate Irony": Hipster Hitler

One of the most known recent internet phenomena related to Hitler is "Hipster Hitler" or "Adolf Hipster", a character in a web comic registered as "www.hipsterhitler.com" on August 22, 2010. The fundamental idea is based on the combination of two icons: the Hipster and Hitler. The Hipster Hitler character is a typical internet phenomenon of the Web 2.0 which gains vitality and diversity through the engagement of a fan community. In this way, at the user generated site "reddit" images were posted with fans posing in "Hipster Hitler costumes" wearing nerd glasses, the Hitler hair style including moustache and a white thematic T-shirt.

The stories on the "Hipster Hitler" web site are very formulaic. Hipster Hitler wears a different thematic T-shirts in very episode. The messages on the T-shirt fit to the respective story and represent ironic clashes of the Hitler and the Hipster context, in this way, functioning as *mise en abyme*. The language of Hipster Hitler is interspersed with German words, often very long compound nouns of military origin. Mostly, Hipster Hitler is shown in conversation with other Nazi leaders such as Goebbels, Göring and the film maker Leni Riefenstahl.

The first entry is titled "Ironic Invasion". It is paradigmatic for the basic semiotic structure of the small comic stories presented respectively on one web page all having Hipster Hitler has their center. The combination of the two icons, the Hipster and Hitler, is mirrored in the title, as "invasion" evokes the Nazi context and "irony" the culture of the Hipster. The playful alliteration of the title mirrors the alliteration in the name of the central character. Also, it hints at pop culture as rather occupied by surfaces and style and less by content and in-depth reflections. The historical background of Hitler introduced in the web comic consists in the most known and not contested information about him: including for instance that he was the leader of the Third Reich, which attacked other countries, used NS-propaganda and identified with racist ideas, namely anti-Semitism. In this way, the icon is highly reduced and trivialized. Readers, even those with little historical knowledge, don't learn anything new about Hitler. Rather, known content is recycled and novelty and comic punch lines are achieved by the unusual combination of the two different historical and cultural contexts. While in the Nazi context, all is about ruling an empire, oppressing minorities and winning a war, in the Hipster culture it is about gaining attention in the right way. The implied parallelization between these two contexts might lead to the conclusion that the struggle for attention is a new kind of war which can be read as critic of irony culture and commercialized media society. In concrete, the punch lines of the stories are mostly directed against the figure of the hipster, his nerdy engagement for organic food and the environment which is only defeated by his interest for his own appearances and for being unique. Especially the focus on surfaces, instead of content and substance is a recurrent motif in the episodes. For instance, when, in the episode "Speech", Goebbels wants to show Hipster Hitler his draft for the first speech to the German people he has written on a type writer, Hipster Hitler comments on the typeface and not on the content. In another, this time animated, episode with no title, Goebbels and Hipster Hitler discuss the sales figures of the last edition of *Mein Kampf*. Hipster Hitler comments on his swastika armband in terms of a certain clothing style and on the color of the used ink.

In another story, "Triumph", the ironic and reflective play with surfaces is taken to a higher level. Hipster Hitler wears a T-shirt with the text: "Triumph of the Chill" referring to the famous Nazi propa-

ganda film on the occasion of the Olympics held in Berlin in 1936, *Triumph of the Will*. The substitution of the word "will" by "chill" alludes ironically to the tendency of relaxation and doing nothing in the Hipster culture. In the comic, Hipster Hitler discusses with Riefenstahl about how the propaganda film should be shot. He wishes a close up on the SS uniform, while Riefenstahl advises against doing so, because of the black color of the SS uniforms and the skull on the cap suggesting: "Don't you think it looks a bit like the embodiment of pure evil?" Uttered in this specific contemporary context, this at first side extremely banal statement becomes reflective, ironical and in this way original: To begin with, it represents the most common notion of the Nazis and of Hitler in Western culture. This in itself can also be read as the stylistic device of minimalism and of irony – as the evident is stated. However, by deducing the trivial statement from the semiotics of the clothes, that means surfaces and not the terrible crimes which the Nazis committed, it establishes a surprising connection between the historical and the contemporary pop-cultural context. Still, the all too straight forward and in this way ironic causality between the semiotics of the clothing and the characteristic of the people wearing the clothing is reflected on a higher level as Hipster Hitler answers: "And since we are the good guys, it's the ultimate irony." In this way, irony culture again is being targeted, as in this discursive context everything can be reversed in its own opposite – even the evidently evil.

Beyond Irony

Timur Vermes' *Look Who's Back* (2012)

In 2012, the book *Er ist wieder da*, in English *Look Who's Back* (2014), became a bestseller in Germany, was translated into many languages, and a filmatized version is announced for 2015. The publishing house of the book, Eichborn, is spezialising mainly in somewhat out of the box and humorous literature and, as could be said, in the topic of Hitler. For likewise at Eichborn, the comic series by Walter Moers on Hitler where published, and the title of Vermes' book seems to refer to their titles: *Adolf.* Äch bin wieder da! [Adolf. I'm Back!] (1998) and *Adolf, Teil 2. Äch bin schon wieder da!* [Adolf, Part 2. I'm Back Again Already] (1999). In this way, Vermes' book is placed in the context of the ironical and pop-cultural reception of Hitler. Not least, Moers was the first one in Germany to call Hitler "one of the

biggest German pop icons" (see the German Wikipedia article on the character of Moer's Hitler comics "Adolf, the Nazi pig").

In many ways, the reader might get the impression, that Vermes' book is part of the pop-cultural and commercial use of the icon. On the book cover, Hitler's image is depicted in the known Pop Art-inspired minimalistic form with the same stylized hair style as for instance "Hipster Hitler". The moustache consists of the words of the title. Another remarkable detail in this regard is that the novel on the cover in its full title is called *Lock Who's Back – the Novel* in the same 'pop cult' way as the announced animated film on the basis of Moers' comics is called *Adolf – the Movie*. The chapter numeration and the first capital letter of the chapters are set in Gothic types and the page numeration in an old styled writing. Thus, the context of the Third Reich seems to be evoked or cited without any critical distance. This strategy is pursued even further, when in the novel Hitler appears in the role of the narrator and the text in this way invites the identification with the "Führer". The reader meets the narrator-protagonist in the summer of 2011, when he suddenly appears out of nothing or risen from the death, on an open ground in the middle of Berlin. He starts to orient himself in this, to him, new time with the goal of regaining the power in Germany and reestablishing the Third Reich.

The environment of Hitler is astonished and some of the people he meets are even thrilled about his resemblance with the 'original' and the impression of the authentic that he emanates: "one could think, you're it" (cited from the German edition, 24, my translation). Everyone believes him to be a Hitler impersonator and some mistake him for another actor playing the role of Hitler in a known TV comedy show (123). Hitler is hired by the TV production company "Flashlight" which places him in a comedy show immediately after a Turkish comedian who makes fun of foreigners. This comedian can be said to represent the opposite of Hitler, and the placing of the two side by side seems to highlight the arbitrariness, the anything-goes in nowadays media circus. Hitler's demagogic speeches in the TV show are being (mis-)understood as comedic performances, and soon he becomes a TV star. Nevertheless, public discussion arises about the question whether he really is a Nazi or not. In the end, the fact that he is being badly beaten up by skinheads increases his popularity even more and advances his carrier.

Probably the most intriguing aspect of the novel is the way in which it is related, namely by Hitler himself. For much of the first part of the novel, this I-perspective of Hitler is used to, to some extent in time-critical way, portray the present German society, whereas most attention is given to certain tendencies of the media. Clearly, the outside gaze of Hitler is used to alienate and exotizise the domestic. In this way, Hitler stumbles on an advertising leaflet the text of which is entirely incomprehensible to him (18). When Hitler makes the acquaintance of a kiosk owner who harbors him in the first difficult time of his return, he is given the opportunity to get to know more facets of contemporary media society. When he listens to the radio, he hears "an infernal noise often interrupted by stupefying, completely incomprehensible babble. The content didn't change as it continued, only the frequency of the alteration between bluster and babble increased" (32). With more astonishment, Hitler comments on the variety of nowadays newspapers, being puzzled by the presence of foreign, namely Turkish newspapers. Yet, he praises the big types of the tabloid newspaper "Bild" as an excellent propaganda move which "not even the avid Goebbels had thought of" (39). When Hitler watches TV for the first time, he only seems to find cooking shows and trivial reality TV (73ff.): "I saw a cook chopping vegetables. I couldn't belief it: Such a progressive technique was developed and used to accompany a ridiculous cook?" (72). Summarizing his first experiences with the new media, Hitler talks of "mumbo jumbo radio and cooking TV" (75). Watching news broadcasts, Hitler has severe difficulties to follow the program as all kind of different information is faded up on screen simultaneously distracting the attention from the essential. The program is interrupted by adverts in which an alleged diversity is easily revealed as the repetition of the same: "adverts in which shop to buy the cheapest holiday trips, presented in absolutely identical ways by a large number of shops" (78).

Clearly, the point of view of Hitler is used to criticize certain media phenomena in a quite convincing way. Yet, when Hitler ponders on the tabloid press as an effective means of propaganda referring to Goebbels at the same time, the reader is reminded of what position as a whole he actually is made to sympathize with. In addition, Hitler's archaic rhetorical style, in places much inspired by *Mein Kampf*, contributes to establish a perspective which creates

ambiguity and provocation. On the one hand, the reader will identify with Hitler's attempts to orientate himself in the new circumstance and his experiences of strangeness. On the other hand, the xenophobia and nationally aggressive great power visions which break through, from time to time, in the discourse of the narrator, function as reminders of the fact that his perspective is deeply contaminated. Thus an indissoluble ambivalence is created in the novel's point of view.

As Vermes has stated about his novel: "Confronted with the 'I' perspective, the reader is deprived of the possibility of avoiding. He is not only an observer, he is forced to take sides. He is finding himself in a head, he never wanted to be in, and he realizes, that, surprisingly, one can stand it quite well in there" (Das Gupta 2012). In this way, the reader is constantly misled and getting trapped in Hitler's world outlook and has to emancipate himself actively from this point of view. Also in Moers' comic a "first-person narrator invites identification". Thomas Jung's observation concerning the reader's positioning as a consequence of this might as well apply to Vermes' novel: "In this moment of doubled identification the reader has no choice but to become Hitler. That is the banality of evil – or of the *Hitler in us*" (Jung 2005: 257). To Vermes the vital in the Hitler perspective is "the sneaking crossover from reason to insanity". Being confronted with the demur, whether it is acceptable to laugh about Hitler, Vermes states: "the amusing is what makes it interesting. The amusing always signals to us: Now, nothing can happen to you, now there are only jokes to be expected. And I use this unsuspiciousness of the reader, I always serve these situations with an addendum which is indigestible" (Das Gupta 2012).

If the reader nonetheless may remain in doubt whether the novel is to be understood as ironical, pop-cultural playing around with the icon, then the next to last phrase of the novel might be seen as a relatively strong statement, that it is to be regarded as exactly the opposite, namely a critic of tendencies to trivialize the historical role of Hitler in the sign of pop-culture. On the advertising material to start his carrier as a writer and a TV star, the narrator finds the phrase: "Not everything was bad" (396), reminding us that the use of Hitler as harmless toy might entail historical amnesia. In this way, the criticism which was directed against the book that it would play the historical events down (see Fiedler 2013), does not seem to

encounter the intention of the book, which is to focus critically on the use of the Hitler icon in the present media society. Nevertheless, given the circumstance of Vermes' publication in a context which not least commercially rides on the wave of Hitlertainment, the impression left is a bit double edged. As one critique has put it: "The high share of the audience in the novel apparently has similar reasons as the real commercial success of the book" (Fiedler 2013).

Conclusion

The pop-cultural use and overexposure of the Hitler icon is a phenomenon which by many is observed not without concern. While Erk interprets this tendency, by referring to Hannah Arendt's famous dictum, as a "banalisation of evil" (Erk 2012), Thomas Jung sees in the use of the Hitler icon "merely an imitation of a posture of rebellion that has corrupted itself with the knowledge of its own commercialization" (Jung 2005: 256). The most positive outlook on the pop-cultural use of the icon is expressed by Hirt: "While it may provide the ground for investments, it tends toward a playful relation to its own surface-corpus. As such, it is primarily entertaining and less subversive. It is more ironic and pastiche-like and leaves the properties of the icon intact" (Hirt 575). This evaluation is certainly true for "Hipster Hitler" were critical investments are possible, but not equally performed in all comic episodes. In Vermes' novel, the attempt to criticize the somewhat careless consumption of the icon in pop culture can be said to partly being overpowered by the independent existence of the icon – here, life, once again, seems to imitate art. Life goes on, at so will the use of the Hitler icon. As long as its historical context, at least to some degree, is present in collective memory, it will give the opportunity for critical investments. As the analysed examples have shown, these investments are mostly directed towards the present and not towards the past. The Hitler icon, as has been shown, today, among other things, represents a very effective tool for the critical reflection of the media society.

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akademisk kvarter
academic quarter
Volume 10 • 2015

Images of Freud
Icon-Work

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Abstract
Not many cultural critics or other academic figures become so well known in the general public that one can argue that their physical image (whether based on photographs, films, portraits and caricatures) has become iconic, along with a wide-spread dissemination of their intellectual ideas. This however is undoubtedly the case with the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), whose image is still immediately recognizable to a majority of the population of at least Europe and North America. Freud's ideas (albeit in popularized form) also travel with ease in current public discourses, ranging from cartoons, jokes and other forms of comedy to serious essays, fictions and films; a phenomenon which reflects the extent to which 'Freudian' ideas are incorporated in the dominant Western middle-class culture of the early 21st century.

Keywords Freud, icon-work, détournement, slips, jokes, fiction

Broadly speaking, these representations of Freud and renditions of his ideas are rich 'cultural texts', encompassing images, commercial products and advertisements for them, etc. – as well as more

traditional types of objects of academic study, such as books and films. Cultural texts travel together indiscriminately of genre, medium and mode, as the tenets of New Historicism[1] teach us, allowing readers or consumers of cultural texts to create operational mini-canons for each reader's own use. Cultural texts, of course, also constitute the backbone of each reader's cultural competence, or cultural capital, as Bourdieu would term it.

The present article's approach to such, often image-heavy, cultural texts is to read them symptomatically as signs of a cultural dissemination of knowledge (in this case of Sigmund Freud and his thoughts and writings). The process of cultural dissemination of famous figures and their doings and texts can suitably be termed as icon-work (borrowing of course from Freud's own notion of 'work' in connection with dreams or mourning[2]), and this article argues that icon-work can be either adversarial or collaborative (or a mixture of the two) vis-à-vis the greater public's knowledge of the figure in question and his position in the general iconosphere[3].

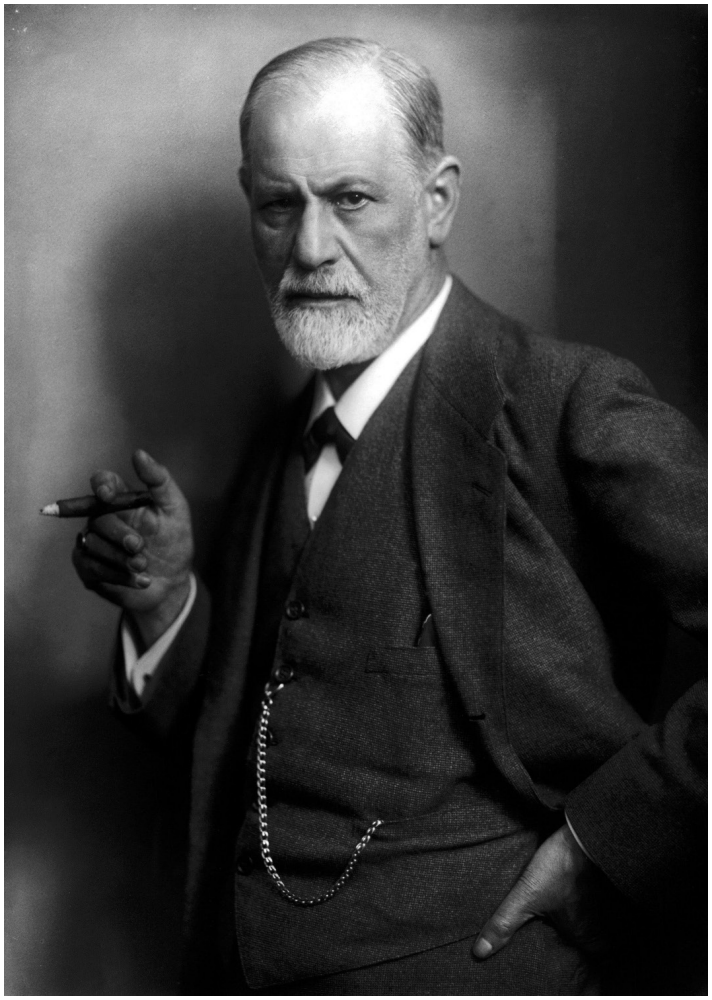
The icon-work strategies are closely related to some well-known aspects of literary and cultural theory, which will become evident as we go along, and which encompass, from cultural studies, Guy Debord's notion of *détournement*[4] and Jonathan Culler's of *recuperation*[5]; and from literary studies, Linda Hutcheon's notion of *satire* and its double in postmodern theory as the blank form of parody, or *pastiche*. In sum, icon-work should be regarded as an often oppositional, always user-driven way of altering, re-framing or re-mixing, and re-purposing existing images and texts in order to make them politically or aesthetically pertinent for the icon-worker's own identity project(s).

Icon-work in the case of Freudian images is indeed exceptionally common, and the aim of the present article is therefore not to present an exhaustive study of all such material (as tens of thousand manipulated Freudian images can easily be located through a simple Internet search), nor even to be representative in a statistical sense. Rather the icons are selected with a view to containing and displaying the main forms of icon-work strategies stipulated in the definition of the concept itself above, and the selection is further deliberately designed to show the trans-medial nature of iconicity in the post-modern world, as well as ways in which icon-work exactly contributes to the hybridity of the cultural texts in contemporary circulation.

The article will first take a look at some of the humorous images we find of Freud in popular culture, where he has long had iconic status, both in terms of his own physical likeness and in terms of stereotyped versions of his main ideas. To complement this analysis we shall contrast the popular image of Freud with the use of him in recent fiction by E.L. Doctorow and John Irving, showing how historiographic metafiction, and postmodern pastiche, both defined by critic Linda Hutcheon as subversive literary and cultural strategies[6], have put Freud to work both as a clown and a stern cultural critic, relying on the use and abuse of biographical facts of Freud's real life to still create comical effects.

The first main claim here is that the dissemination of knowledge of Freud is to a large extent image-driven, as most contemporary icon-work is. Freud is rendered into a visual gestalt so as to travel more effortlessly between media – thereby gaining greater cultural currency than he could through mere words and text. The first five examples are clear manifestations of this trend, being images in every aspect of the meaning of that word. The two literary examples may at first sight seem to run counter to this claim, but the two novels in question were international bestsellers and have in fact also both gained even greater cultural currency through having been adapted into relatively successful, high budget films[7].

The second main claim must be that the dissemination of Freud in the iconosphere relies on curiously Freudian categories: jokes, slips and misnomers, dream matter, repression and doubles. In other words, the aim is to illustrate that an image of Freud also tends to be a Freudian image – a fact which may at first glance seem trivial, but which is not universally true of the images of other, similarly famous icons, such as Hitler or Jesus Christ. This Freudian particularity is explained as a form of second-order *détournement* and recuperation of Freud, through the unconscious of the icon-workers. This naturally does not mean that the icon-workers in question are unconscious of their project when producing a joke-image of Freud – icon-work is by and large a conscious act of labour and production, as established in the above paragraphs. However, the icon-work examined below shows that the process of manipulating Freud is never fully and purely conscious, but has a latent element of unconscious influence, or transfer, from Freudian ideas embedded in it.



Wikimedia Commons;
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASigmund_Freud_LIFE.jpg

As our first example of the dissemination of Freud as icon we shall discuss Nick Dewar's drawing of Sigmund and his cigar (found on Dewar's website at this URL: http://www.nickdewar.com/pictures/painted/image13.jpg). This image relies on a certain amount of cultural knowledge of Freudian ideas and of the physical likeness of the psychologist, even to the extent of recognition of Max Halberstam's famous 1921 photo which the drawing is based on Max Halberstadt. All icon-work relies on the twin strategies of reduction of complexity, which we can conveniently term stylization, as well as a certain element of transgression (of conventions or normality)[8]. In the case of Dewar's image we note the simplification of Freud's body: very large head, hand holding cigar (more on that anon) and suited body. We will in fact soon discover that Freud rarely travels in the iconosphere without wearing a full three-piece suit, and wielding a large cigar. In terms of facial features, we see a pensive, somewhat sad look, and the important features of his full beard and rather less than full head of hair. He is every bit the early 20th C., European (specifically Jewish) intellectual. In terms of the cigar, we note that the more important signification of the cigar lies in the image formed by its smoke. Evidently, the cartoon here makes reference to the possibly apocryphal but nevertheless widely known aphorism attributed to Freud: "Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar", but aims to 'derail' (as an act of *détournement*) the message: A cigar may be just a cigar, but even a cigar has a subconscious desire. Of course, the cigar is 'really' just a metonymy for Freud himself, a stand-in as it were for a minor part of Freud's body. When Freud thinks with his 'cigar' the result is the stereotypical, nude woman, her back partially turned towards the viewer, winking at him (and us) with a

come-hither look, inviting us to follow her wherever she is going (to the boudoir, no doubt). The intellectual head is thus *détournée* by the presence of the female form and the temptation to follow the sex drive, illustrating the conflict of the superego and the id, resulting from repression[9]. The icon-work done here is mildly adversarial, second-guessing and postulating Freud's own repressed sexual fantasies.

The next image is an example of a joke (as the first also was, of course), but this time with a twist, which can be analyzed as an example of catachresis (broadly speaking the rhetoric figure of misprision, but here more specifically in the sense of the literal understanding of something that is intended to be metaphorical). The image in question is the curious case of the Freudian slip. This product was advertised on eBay, and it is literally what the name says it is: a slip, as in an undergarment, tastefully presented on its hanger in a garden environment. To further demonstrate that this is indeed the authentic Freudian slip, a close-up image, printed on the fabric, is presented below, showing Freud in a transfer of a well-known image of the psychologist (taken in The Hague by Henry Verby in 1920, available at http://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c17978) – again in public costume, including three-piece suit, hat and cigar. In terms of icon-work one would have to place this image/object among the collaborative kind – the joke is mild and not at the psychologist's expense in any way – only the vague association with the slip as lingerie or night garment with some sexual invitation might tarnish the reputation of Freud ever so slightly. The more interesting aspect of the slip in question is that as a joke it actually performs a slip of meaning from the metaphor of the slip of the tongue[10] to the concrete, literal presence of a slip with Freud's picture on it. This is a deliberately performed, slippery catachresis, and the laugh it produces is of a collaborative nature: we laugh with and not at Freud.

Two more products merit brief mention. The watermelon flavored *Sigmund Freud Head Pops* (viewable here: http://www.popgadget.net/2007/07/suck_on_this_si_1.php), which come with the caption: "Sometimes a lollipop is just a lollipop," are an ambiguous example in terms of icon-work, posing the somewhat risqué question of what a lollipop might be when it is NOT just a lollipop. If indeed it is ever a phallic symbol, as the caption seems to indicate by

saying that it is not[11], we are thus invited to give Freud head, not once, but eighteen times when we purchase this product. If not, then one might also wonder what the economy of drives is in the case of us sucking the flavor out of Freud's watermelony head. The product's icon-work cannot in all conscience be termed collaborative, but is not a case of complete *détournement* either, as nothing of the essence of Freud or his public image is at stake here. The stylization of Freud to pure head, here, is an extreme example of the reduction/stylization of a figure which icon-work can sometimes produce.

The next pop-culture example is the action figure version of Freud depicted here (http://nerdapproved.com/bizarre-gadgets/sky-diving-sigmund-freud-with-brain-chute/), "Sky-Diving Freud." Freud here comes accessorized, much as we have come to expect it from the previous example: three-piece suit, cigar (somewhat oversized, and wielded in an oddly weapon-like manner) – however he also comes complete with a brain-themed parachute, which is certainly a novel twist. Freud, the impeccable Victorian commando soldier, is ready to use his brain to parachute into any trouble area, quell any hysteria, trauma or other disorder with his combat cigar, after which one of his flying vehicles (whether balloon, blimp or propeller) will take him back to base to regroup (this figure being but one of a whole troop of psychologist action men, also including Jung). We clearly have a collaborative example here, in fact an example of a recuperation of Freud for a different culture, one that, conditioned by Hollywood and its worship of Schwarzeneggers, Stallones and Dolph Lundgrens, prefers a quick masculine fix to any crisis. However, the misappropriation of the intellectual Freud into the realm of the brain-dead action hero carries with it a cultural critique, not so much of Freud, but of the reductive Hollywood culture and its attendant merchandizing and the effect thereof on impressionable young minds. Freud as a fantasy warrior still does not escape the entanglement of wish fulfillment that Freud himself explained as one of the important functions of daydreaming[12].

Finally, we have the strangely labeled "Pictures of your mother" pin-hole camera (available here: http://www.corbis.readymech.com/en/camera/?camera=2) that one can buy and assemble, and then use to – presumably – take all sorts of pictures, not just ones of maternal figures. The camera purportedly actually works, but also makes a nice display of a conversation piece in itself. The decora-

tion of the camera uses Halberstam's photo (as did "Sky Diving Freud"), but only parts of it: the head, severed entirely, and the hand holding the cigar (no castration anxiety here!). Further, the head is doubled and folded back on itself, producing an odd three-eyed, two-nosed and two-mouthed Freud gazing out on us like a deity from the Hindu pantheon – an image which is then redoubled and projected also upside-down at the bottom end of the camera. This monstrous, twisted Freud, which seems to promise to see and tell all (unless, of course, his mouth double-talks) in the revealing images the camera can take, is wilder than any Freud image we have encountered so far. It seems to recuperate Freud's ability to see below the surface of phenomena (something which a camera is also supposed to do, but only in the hands of a very accomplished photographer – the 'artist as analyst/analyst as artist'-myth is evoked here), but the danger of the photo saying too much is also palpable here, as the too numerous orifices of Freud threaten to produce too many penetrating slips – perhaps especially if we attempt to produce those images of Mother (harking back to Freud's essay "Negation" (Freud, 1925), which starts with the patient anecdote of a dream image about which the analysand then quickly adds, "It's not my Mother" (p. 325)), only to deny what they really reveal of our voyeuristic desires vis-à-vis her.

These relatively lighthearted examples of popular, image-driven cultural texts have illustrated the range of icon-work possible in the case of Freud, from collaborative work that hardly performs *détournement* at all to critical satirical or parodic work. For darker aspects of the Freudian legacy in European thought, we need to turn to literary representations of him, and it is also here we find the best example of what Culler terms "recuperation" of his image.

We now shift focus to two literary examples, one which uses Freud for the purpose of a satirical, cultural critique of America in the early part of the 20th C. (in other words a collaborative *détournement*), and another which uses Freud (or actually his distorted double in a typically postmodern form of parody[13]) as a recuperative lens to compare America with Europe's legacy of anti-Semitism. E.L. Doctorow's tour de force of a historiographic novel, *Ragtime* from 1975, uses numerous historical figures in the margins of its story of a bourgeois American family in the first decade of the 20th C., encountering in unexpected ways characters representing other races and

cultures, which forces its members to change their perceptions and behavior as America also begins to change into a more multicultural society. Among the very diverse historical figures used, are Harry Houdini and J.P. Morgan (who are both important commentators via the omniscient narrator's access to their thoughts and opinions), but also many old-world Europeans, including Emma Goldmann, Sigmund Freud and an unnamed Jewish immigrant known only by his child's name for him, Tateh (i.e., Daddy). Freud and Tateh become each other's negative double in the narrative, contrasted by their attitudes to America and their strategies vis-à-vis the new world's noisy, teeming streets and parlors.

Freud is only present in the novel in a short interlude describing his visit in 1909 to lecture in New York. Most of this episode is based on historically and biographically accurate facts about this visit which in fact did take place. First, Freud is cushioned by his hosts and co-travelers, who take him to environments selected to remind him as much as possible of old Vienna, but gradually he cannot escape exposure to the popular entertainments and street life of New York, represented by the movies, an entertainment park and several restaurants. Of these Freud only likes the movie (thinking: "At least … it is silent" (p. 35)), but throughout he is plagued by the need to urinate and the inability to find appropriate public facilities to relieve himself in. Things come to a head during a visit to Niagara Falls where a guide patronizingly says to the company: "Let the old fellow go first." (p. 36) "The great doctor, age fifty-three, decided at this moment that he had had enough of America. With his disciples he sailed back to Germany on the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*. […] He said to Ernest Jones, America is a mistake, a gigantic mistake." (p. 36) Freud uses his privileged status to opt out of the American madness of youth worship; retreating to the old Empire, which ironically will turn virulently anti-Semitic a few years later and forcibly eject Freud out of his safe study, casting aspersions on his intellectual legacy. However, it is, paradoxically, in the gigantic American mistake that Freud's ideas will truly take root and grow. In contrast, Tateh has no way back because of his poverty and previous experience of persecution. Mandated to remain in New York, he must rely on his own resources, including the invention of a primitive form of animation, based on the old craft of silhouette cutting – a particularly

Jewish tradition. Later Tateh is able to make his fortune by selling this idea to the animated film studios of all places, thus securing the fulfillment of his American dream. The Jew who allows himself to be integrated thus has Doctorow's sympathy, unlike the un-assimilable Freud who goes back to the past and tradition that will reject him and attempt to kill him and all he stands for. Freud is thus represented as a *détournée* figure of the past, whereas his ideas take on a life of their own which help shape the future of the so-called American century.

Another historical novel, which picks up where Doctorow left off, is John Irving's second bestseller (following *The World According to Garp* (1978)), *The Hotel New Hampshire* from 1981. Not only is this a more recent novel, but its historical scope also begins three decades later than *Ragtime*, namely in the particularly charged year of 1939. Set first on American soil, the turmoil of the impending WW II is still far off; yet uncomfortably near for the young protagonists, Win Berry and his wife to be, Mary. Much as in *Ragtime* it is a visit from old-world Europe which serves as an unpleasant reminder that all is not well with the world. Again the visitor comes in the shape of a Freud-figure, albeit one that is "not *that* Freud, of course; it was the year when *that* Freud died. This Freud was a Viennese Jew with a limp and an unpronounceable name, who in the summers since he had been working at the Arbuthnot […] had earned the name Freud for his abilities to soothe the distress of the staff and guests alike; he was an entertainer, and since he came from Vienna and was a Jew, "Freud" seemed only natural to some of the odd foreign wits at the Arbuthnot-by-the Sea." (12-13) Applying the real Freud's essay "Negation" to the narrator's discourse, it seems clear that this entertainer who is NOT that Freud, but certainly A Freud, is very much in reality THAT Freud after all, or at least a strangely uncanny Freudian double of THAT Freud – and, it is worth noting, one who has returned as a jester figure, siding not with privilege and power, but with the common man (this is brought home in a slapstick scene where Freud dresses up as a doctor and operates on a visiting German anti-Semitic bourgeois).

As the *Ragtime* Freud did, Irving's Freud also returns to his native land – only this time it is in the middle of the Holocaust that the entertainer and bear-trainer Freud dares to return to reclaim his heritage, leaving his Indian motorcycle and motley old bear

behind as a gift and a livelihood for the young couple he meets that last summer in America. After the War he miraculously returns to the novel and offers them another gift, a genuine Viennese hotel – which in 1957 saves the by now numerous Berry family from bankruptcy. Going to Vienna, however, is not free from costing the family dearly. In a strangely Freudian economy, the unlikely survival of Freud himself is 'paid for' by the death of Mary Berry and one of her children in a plane crash. This misfortune is but one of many which befall the family, but throughout their ordeals they persevere, not least inspired by the example of Freud, who, while blinded by medical experiments in the KZ camp he was interred in during the War, never seems to despair or shirk away from any challenge – up to and including sacrificing his own life to foil a terrorist bomb attack. The Freud of *The Hotel New Hampshire* is thus a role model for the American protagonists who learn from him to cope with rape, grief and loss (and, incidentally, to enjoy happy, trauma-free sibling incest). This figure is therefore a recuperation of the real Freud as a healer, and a figure perhaps not too far removed from the action hero version of Sigmund we encountered earlier. The satire in Irving is certainly collaborative vis-à-vis Freud, unlike the adversarial satire of Doctorow.

Briefly, by way of conclusion: the dissemination of Freud in the iconosphere attests to the cultural need for a figure such as him. In lieu of the traditional function of icons and the religious saints they conventionally represent, we have a new pantheon of cultural saints, which we allow ourselves to occasionally poke fun of, and which we prefer should embody an element of transgression, as saints have always done, but which we nevertheless surround by – especially in the context of Freud – a strangely apt aura of totemic value and cultural taboos. Whether *détournée* or recuperated, the Freuds of the images analyzed above show the continuous need, especially in an American context, of a figure such as him. In sum, the images analyzed show the range of icon-work possible on a pervasive corpus of cultural texts such as Freud's two bodies (his physical likeness and his works). Jokingly named candy alert us to aspects of our own oral needs, whereas Dewar's caricature alludes to a darker subtext of Freud's own addiction to orally induced stimulus through cigars and their attendant smoke. The pin-hole camera contains a meta-comment on the ubiquitous drive to produce images and the po-

tential voyeurism every photographer should consider his or her part in. The literary examples contain the most radical manipulations of Freud's image, but attest to how even intertextuality can be explained as a form of icon-work in cases such as these. The recuperation of Freud performed by Irving and his readers is satirical, but collaborative in reminding us of Freud's intellectual heroism in the face of adversity from totalitarian thinking and the desire of complete mind control. Freud may well be dead, but through icon-work he lives on as a cultural text under constant development.

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Endnotes

1 See Veeser, 1993:3

2 For dream-work, see the chapter entitled "The Dream-Work" in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1913b), where he further identifies two types of labor performed by the dreamer: "the work of condensation" and "the work of displacement", the latter connected to the work of wish-fulfillment. For Freud on the work of mourning, see his essay "Mourning and Melancholia" (Freud, 1917)

3 A term casually introduced by Polish architecture critic Jan Bialostocki in an unpublished series of lectures, the best explanation of the term's potential use in the discipline of imagology and by extension in cultural text studies pertaining to icon-work and the decoding of cultural iconology is found in Johnson, 2005: "[T]he iconosphere connotes […] a mapped world of possibilities from a particular period which has been realized in material form: whether it be in paper, parchment, wood, silk, canvas, clay, stone, plastic, film, or even digitized and encrypted in binary code. Shored up against the irrecoverable horizons of knowledge which were available to past minds, the iconosphere of a period consists of the traces that have survived, in whatever form, from individuals of that passing world." (Johnson, 2005: 52-53) In the optics of the present article, we are examining the textual traces of Sigmund Freud from the 1980s to our contemporary world of 2014.

4 Often defined as "turning expressions of the capitalist system and its media culture against itself", cf. Holt 2010:252. This practice is thus aligned with the signification practices involved in postmodern parody (see note v), as well as in (predominantly adversarial) icon-work. The article uses the notion of *détournement* as a critique of Freud in an ideological sense.

5 Culler defines recuperation as a form of 'salvage' work performed by the reader of (primarily difficult) texts, cf. Culler, 1975. Recuperation is therefore best seen as a sub-type of collaborative icon-work in cultural iconology usages.

6 Hutcheon summarizes the salient features of postmodern fiction in the following capsule definition: "Parody—often called ironic quotation, pastiche, appropriation, or intertextuality — is usually considered central to postmodernism,

both by its detractors and its defenders." (Hutcheon 1989b:93). This aligns the phenomenon of parody closely with both of the types of icon-work we are operating with: parody can be both mildly adversarial and collaborative at the same time in a postmodern text. Elsewhere Hutcheon singles out a literary work's participation in the genre of historiographic metafiction as a necessary precondition for it to be properly labeled 'postmodern': "The term postmodernism, when used in fiction, should, by analogy, best be reserved to describe fiction that is at once metafictional and historical in its echoes of the texts and contexts of the past. In order to distinguish this paradoxical beast from traditional historical fiction, I would like to label it 'historiographic metafiction.'" (Hutcheon, 1989a:3)

7 *Ragtime* was filmed under the direction of Miloš Forman in 1981, and *The Hotel New Hampshire* in 1984 under the direction of Tony Richardson. The former film (nominated for 8 Academy Awards) grossed 11 million USD, and the latter grossed in excess of 5 million USD at the US box office, having been shot at a budget of 7,5 million USD.

8 See the theorization of these terms in the CFA provided for this volume.

9 A dynamic frequently discussed by Freud, but very clearly formulated in his 1933 essay, "The Dissection of the Psychical Personality", from *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XXII* (1932-1936).

10 Freud himself argues that the tongue doesn't in fact 'slip' when the brain produces the mispronunciation of a word ('parapraxis'), or makes it say more than the conscious mind intended to. See Freud, 1901, 69-113.

11 Cf. Freud, 1925 ("Negation").

12 Cf. Freud, 1913a

13 Cf. Hutcheon, 1989b: "[T]hrough a double process of installing and ironizing, parody signals how present representations come from past ones and what ideological consequences derive from both continuity and difference." (93)