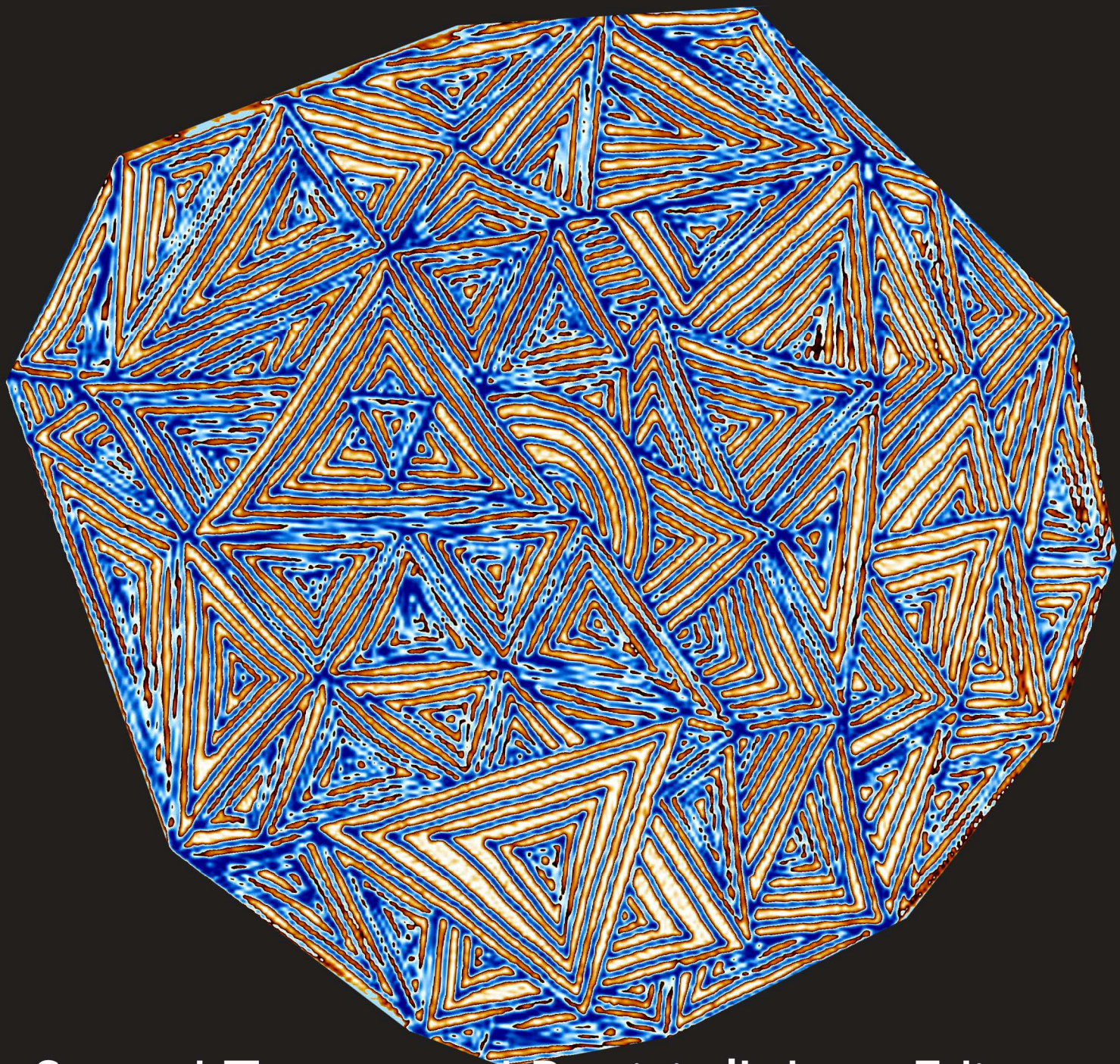
Communicating Change: Representing Self and Community in a Technological world



Samuel Tongue and Patricia 'Iolana, Editors

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esharp@gla.ac.uk

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About the Contributors

Laura Ferguson is a final year Film Studies PhD student at the University of Glasgow, Crichton Campus. She holds a first class honours degree in Media from the University of Paisley and an upper-second class honours degree in Humanities with Philosophy and Literature from the Open University. Laura's main research area is American war films but she has also been developing a research interest in Chinese and Hong Kong cinema, the subject of this paper.

Patricia E' Iolana (Co-Editor) is a PhD candidate at the University of Glasgow's Centre for the Study of Literature, Theology and the Arts. She is examining the dynamic relationship between contemporary literature, theology and analytical psychology through her analysis of modern women's experiences of the Divine and the significance of literature as a tool for paradigmatic change. She holds a Master's Degree in Humanities from California State University-Dominguez Hills (2008). Her latest academic contributions include *Literature of the Sacred Feminine: Great Mother Archetypes and the Re-emergence of the Goddess in Western Traditions* (VDM Verlag, 2009), and 'Tutu Pele: The Living Goddess of Hawai'i's Volcanoes' (*Sacred History Magazine*, 2006). She is currently co-editor and contributing author to *Testing the Boundaries: Self, Faith, Interpretation, and Changing Trends in Religious Studies* (Cambridge Scholars Press, forthcoming 2010). Other areas of interest include Thealogy, Archetypal Theory, Post-Jungian Theory, Religious Pluralism, and Inter-faith Relations.

Wentao Jiang is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Comparative Studies at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. His intellectual interests are textural culture and media studies, modernity and technology, as both aesthetic and socioeconomic phenomena. The areas in which he works are the British long eighteenth century, and late nineteenth century China. He takes historical study on transculturation as a way to investigate the aesthetics and ethics of globalization in their emergent form(s). The working title of his dissertation is "Radicalizing Textual Culture in the Formation of the Modern Subject."

Gillian Kelly is a PhD research student in the Department of Theatre, Film and Television Studies at the University of Glasgow. The working title of her thesis is *A Taylor Made Star: Robert Taylor, MGM and the Hollywood Studio System*. She holds an MLitt from the University of Glasgow and a BA (Hons) from the University of Paisley. Her areas of research include Star Studies, Gender and Masculinity, US History and Culture, Semiotics, Textual Analysis and Critical Reading.

Chung-yan Kong was born and grew up in Hong Kong. She attended the City University of Hong Kong, where she received a B.A. degree in Translation and Interpretation. Later, she attended the University of Warwick for her Masters degree in Translation Studies. She was then employed as a part-time tutor of translation by the Open University of Hong Kong. In 2004, she started her Ph.D at the University of Edinburgh, and is working as a freelance translator for a translation agency in Taiwan. Her thesis is titled "The self-representation of multiple identities: translating destination images in China and Hong Kong tourism websites".

Elena Marcevska is an interdisciplinary artist and educator from Macedonia. She holds a BFA in Theatre Directing and MFA degree in Performance and New Media from The School of The Art Institute of Chicago. Currently she is obtaining her Practice based PhD degree in Arts from the University of Northampton UK. Marcevska is researching the phenomenological dimension of the interaction between the human body and the digital interfaces. She currently lives and works in the UK.

Andrew Rayment graduated in 1993 from Leeds University (Joints Honours English/History) and then worked in Greece and Japan for 10 years as an EFL teacher. He completed a Master's in Applied Linguistics at Cardiff University in 2003/4 then returned to Japan where he worked in Waseda and Hosei Universities as an English for Academic Purposes Lecturer. In Japan, he had two study books published, *Academic Writing Skills and Strategies* and *Understanding Lectures*. He is currently doing a PhD in the English and Creative Writing Department at Aberystwyth University on the topic of Fantasy Literature and Ideology.

Julia Sallabank is Research Fellow in Language Support and Revitalisation in the Endangered Languages Academic Programme at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. She has been conducting sociolinguistic research and language documentation on Dgernesiais, the indigenous language of Guernsey, since 2000, and

gained her doctorate at Lancaster University in 2007. She was previously commissioning editor for applied linguistics and language teaching methodology at Oxford University Press.

Sam Tongue (Co-Editor) is a PhD candidate working in the Centre for Literature, Theology and the Arts at the University of Glasgow. His key research interests include the relationships between literary theory and biblical interpretation, poetics, and reception history. His thesis explores the tensions inherent in contemporary poets' uses of biblical texts and juxtaposes this with more 'traditional' historical-critical methods of biblical interpretation in order to refresh the thinking behind current issues in reader- and writer-centred theories of meaning production in biblical studies. He is currently co-editor and contributing author to *Testing the Boundaries: Self, Faith, Interpretation, and Changing Trends in Religious Studies* (Cambridge Scholars Press, forthcoming 2010).

WangYaZhuo (AJ Wang) is a design student in his third year of Graphic Design at Glasgow School of Art. Although a talented illustrator, WangYaZhuo's preferred medium is film or animation, and he is currently planning to do a serious film in 2010. For more information you can contact him directly at ajrocku@sina.com.

Communicating Change: Representing Self and Community in a Technological World: Introduction

Samuel Tongue (University of Glasgow)

> 'It is change, continuing change, inevitable change that is the dominant factor in society today. No sensible decision can be made any longer without taking into account not only the world as it is, but the world as it will be.'
>
> Isaac Asimov

Introduction

The articles that are presented here arose from the 7th Annual Conference of the Graduate School of Arts and Humanities, held at the University of Glasgow in June 2009, and entitled '*Communicating Change: Weaving the Web into the Future'*. The organising committee wanted to find a title that would offer scope for a broad range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary practices, whilst also ensuring that the conference would provide an opportunity for the next generation of scholars and practitioners to express the notion of change within their own fields.

The following seven articles are excellent representatives of these motivating factors. As the editors organized them into themes and subjects, it was noted how these pieces circled the notions of selfhood, often reflecting the broader concerns of how this was imagined within certain communities, and how modern technologies were a driving force in both problematising and extending the representations of these ideas in our contemporary context. As human subjects we are eternally interested in ourselves. However, and what a collection such as this amply demonstrates, we can only

imagine ourselves in relation to others and that this is a process that always takes place through means of communication that in themselves also provide spaces for conflict or opportunities for productive, 'knowing', change.

The technological world as a 'theatre of selves'

Wentao Jiang's essay, 'Institution of Feelings: Theatricality, Moral Sentiments and Empire Building in Adam Smith', sets up many of the issues that later articles also focus upon. Jiang compares and contrasts the moral philosopher Adam Smith's seemingly divergent understandings of human relations; one that seems based on sympathetic emotions, posited in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (first published in 1759); the other built on an idea of relations organized around systems of economic and materialist interest and exchange (as demonstrated in *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776). For Jiang, the important point of access across these two texts is Smith's figuration of the 'impartial spectator' whose function is to govern interactions by granting or withholding fellow feeling. This 'sympathetic sentiment' (a key concept in eighteenth century moral philosophy) is then extended into the 'theatricality' of print-media, effectively operating as a site for an increasingly technological eighteenth century to disseminate a perceptual model of wealth and acquisition. The private individual may present themselves to be 'seen' through a new 'public-ness' in print; as Jiang has it, 'each person wanting to be materially rich or visibly individual has to work to become a dramatist.' Smith correlates sympathetic sentiment with a visual economy which necessarily excludes the marginalized; moral depravity is thus linked with the inability to be 'seen' and to interact in systems of commodity and exchange. For Smith, the result of a rising market economy is a more comfortable and prosperous society,

freeing more people to act sympathetically to others. For those of us who situated in 'First-Nation' countries, it is up to us to judge how far we may believe this to be true in an age of hyper-capitalism, mass consumerism, and economic instability. Jiang leaves us with an image of a 'Janus-faced Adam Smith' who links a turning inward of the moral sentimental mode with the social transition 'from the local to the global in the formation of the British Empire'. A major outcome of just this Empire-building can be seen in the following two articles.

Laura Ferguson's article, 'Hong Kong: Communicating 1997 and beyond through Film', explores how Hong Kong's colonial past (after being made a British colony in 1842) resulted in a territory set apart from mainland China in its unusual East-West hybridity, something that would prove its cultural significance in the handover to Chinese rule on 1st July 1997. In keeping with the theme of communicating selfhood within a 'theatre of selves', Ferguson reads Hong Kong cinema as displaying the so-called 'China Syndrome'; films of this transitional period exhibited strong themes of searching for a stable identity, a nostalgia for an imagined past, and a preoccupation with time. Before the handover itself, Ferguson notes the rise in horror films and 'crisis cinema'—films with survival as their core narrative. Others enact a search for 'Hong Kong-ness', particularly with a keen eye on western culture, as films attempt to fix place and home, often as a reaction to other groups' embracing of Confucianism, Buddhism or other Chinese customs. The film *Chungking Express* (Dir. Wong Kar-wai, 1994) even has a countdown as its central plot device as, in the political world, the deadline for handover approaches. A series of films delve back into the 1930s, 1950s or 1960s, not simply as a means of avoiding the present but also as a way of exploring present concerns below the radar of increasing censorship. Post-handover films begin to display very stark

contradictions between the places and people of Hong Kong and mainland China. Identity becomes linked with what Ferguson identifies as 'forgetting' or 'not-forgetting' films; 'forgetting' films often centred on drifters or loners who have no clear vision or narrative and 'not-forgetting' films as foregrounding the realities of life in post-handover Hong Kong. Overshadowing these post-handover films is Hong Kong's 2046 integration into mainland China; as Ferguson emphasizes, 'it appears Hong Kong cinema will continue to be a cinema communicating change' for many decades yet.

At this point, Dr. Julia Sallabank's extensive and detailed work on language endangerment provides a bridge between two articles centred on Hong Kong/Chinese relations; the fears of identity loss and reduction in cultural diversity portrayed by Hong Kong cinema (and the website translations in the following essay) are mirrored in Sallabank's analysis of the increasing loss of minority languages. As she highlights, 'it is estimated that at least 50% of the world's languages will disappear by 2100.' Some of the causes of this are negative attitudes towards minority languages, economic factors and widespread lack of awareness about the problem. Political and cultural identities are also seen as extremely significant in language use; for example, the paradox of the 'mutual incomprehensibility of Chinese 'dialects' compared to the mutual comprehensibility of Scandinavian languages' demonstrates that language use is never a neutral factor in creating and communicating 'selves'. After laying the groundwork for the crucial study of language endangerment, Sallabank then moves on to discuss her own research on the indigenous language of Guernsey, known as Dgernesiais. Her analysis proves significant, especially her conclusions that, with an understanding that identities display an inherent non-fixity, even in

language use, Dgernesiais is now seen as a distinct cultural and commercial asset, often amongst non-Dgernesiais speakers who have moved into the Channel Island community. Although it is likely that the current older generation will be the last fluent speakers, Sallabank sees signs of hope in the interest shown by the Education Department to accept Dgernesiais into the school system as people become more aware of the distinctiveness of what is to be lost if nothing is done.

With Chung-yan Kong's intriguing essay, 'The Self-Representation of Regional and National Identities–Comparing the Translation Patterns between China and Hong Kong Tourism Websites' we are returned to the theme of Chinese-Hong Kong relations and an examination of how cultural identities are represented through the medium of Hong Kong tourist websites. Language use is a significant political and cultural theme as, again, it is the performed selves, 'the theatre of selves', that is at stake here as images are imposed upon different cultural groups and chosen for Chinese-English translational contexts. Comparing tourism websites produced on the Chinese mainland and websites issued from Hong Kong itself, Kong finds that among the key features of the Chinese versions are translated expressions that emphasize the superiority of China's imperial past. Of course, the Chinese Communist Party deploy a strict monitoring of all internet activities on the mainland, particularly encouraging self-censorship and Kong detects such political will being imposed upon these nationalistic self-representations. In comparison, the websites originating in Hong Kong tend to focus on the province's hybridity and embrace seemingly contradictory yet co-existing cultural constituents, often emphatically linking themselves with a westernized colonial past. These visual and textual representations strongly echo the themes of

Laura Ferguson's work as Hong Kong struggles to come to terms with its ongoing transition to Chinese administration. However, what is of particular importance in Kong's work are the political implications of the use of the medium itself; who controls the communicative technologies when attempting to represent 'selves'? One groups' attempt at representation may, in fact, operate as an oppressive apparatus that orders knowledge and meaning production, effectively sealing it from any, seemingly inevitable, change. Are there perhaps media that may offer some escape from this control?

Andrew Rayment's essay, 'A Bloodless Coup, Metaphorically: Representations Of 'Progress' in Terry Pratchett's *Carpe Jugulum*', suggests that such an exploratory space might be found in fantasy literature. What this space allows for is a fictional structure that is able to mirror some aspects of our social and political 'realities' in a similar way to Laura Ferguson's analysis of the filmic space in pre- and post-handover Hong Kong. For Rayment, Pratchett's novel presents three configurations of that most modern of ideas, 'progress', in sharp and satirical ways. *Carpe Jugulum* presents progress as an ideal devoid of any meaning other than the ideological frameworks that are read into it, be they the forward-looking Verence, King of Lancre, who wants to instigate a period of social reform and tolerance of vampyres, or Count Magpyr who wants to escape the cultural conditioning of the old vampirism. Reading the motifs of the 'New-Vampirism' versus 'Liberal-Absolutism' through Michel Foucault and Slavoj Žižek, Rayment sees fantasy as an ideal theatre in which to analyze these fictional renderings of 'pure' ideologies. In this sense, fantasy writing enacts a technology, a making (*têchne*) of space, where such issues may be addressed in a more potent way than in some forms of realist fiction.

The creativity that is allowed for when using cinematic technologies is the subject of Gillian Kelly's article, 'Gene Kelly: The Performing Auteur – Manifestations of the Kelly Persona'. Gene Kelly is presented as more than an auteur in the traditional understanding of this term; he moves from performing in front of the camera as actor, dancer and singer, to directing and choreographing the film off-screen. Extending auteur theory, Kelly labels Gene Kelly as a 'performing auteur', who works hard to become visibly individual, a dramatist of the 'self', but also to generate a sense of authenticity between his on-screen, off-screen, and 'private' roles. He is an Everyman, the blue-collared guy on the street, but also a creative individual separated by his performative talents. In order to explore this fusing of the 'same but different', Kelly analyzes his on-screen and off-screen personae under the headings 'control', 'authenticity', and 'mise-en-scène'. The result is a fascinating portrayal of an individual able to communicate through both the technology of the cinema studio, utilising many innovative cinematic techniques in his theatrical creations, and through his dancing ability. As Kelly highlights, Gene Kelly's auteur status meant that he was able to create 'a sense of himself woven into the fabric of his films from both sides of the camera.' The medium carried not only the message but also sustained and extended his artistic 'self'.

This notion of technology as providing and extending the means of communication for human subjects animates Elena Marcevska's work, 'Technologies of Change: Body Coded in Motion'. Where Andrew Rayment positions fantasy literature as a possible site for exploring our social and political ideals, Marcevska offers the electronic art of the visual screen. Technology has advanced to such a stage that it is impacting upon our sense of identity which, on Martin Heidegger's terms, may not be a negative

result but may actually instigate a process of bringing forth and revealing truths not yet present. The screen operates as a contested space on which social relations may be played out. Marcevska's research is focused on how the body's motion can be used as a signal that displays this movement on the screen. This artificiality articulates some of the ways in which the body is imagined in western and globalized cultures, particularly since the technologies of lens and camera. This is not to posit a hierarchy between 'live' and 'mediated' performances; for Marcevska, 'although they are commonly placed in opposition to one another, both performance and technology explore the interaction between the body (the person) and the environment by challenging parameters of what the body can do and experience (human potential).'

Communicating Change

A major theme running through all of these papers is the use of technology as a means of representing 'selves', sometimes emphasising the creative and utopian possibilities of this representation, as Marcevska and Kelly explore; at others, demonstrating that social and economic power and control are always at work in deploying representative media, as Jiang, Ferguson, Sallabank, Kong and Rayment attest. What the authors all agree on is that ongoing communication is necessary if we and others are to be made aware of the regimes of signification that operate when we step onto the changing stage in the 'theatre of selves'. As Walter J. Ong put it, in his book *Orality and Literacy*; 'Once the word is technologized, there is no effective way to criticize what technology has done with it without the aid of the highest technology available. Moreover, the new technology is not merely used to convey the critique: in fact, it brought the critique into existence' (1982, p.80).

It is one of our tasks, as readers, writers and performers, to maintain such a critique of what words are able to do in our own technologies of change.

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Institution of Feelings: Theatricality, Moral Sentiments and Empire Building in Adam Smith

Wentao Jiang (State University of New York at Stony Brook)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments was first published in 1759. From then on, it was consistently revised, with its sixth edition coming out in 1790, a few weeks before Adam Smith's death. So different and opposed do *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations* appear at first glance that for some years scholars referred to the task of their reconciliation as the 'Adam Smith problem' (D. D. Raphael & A. L. Macfie 1982, p.20). The latter was published in 1776, two years after the former's fourth edition. For these scholars, the moral philosopher who made sympathy the basis of social behavior in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* did an about-turn from altruistic to egoistic theory in *The Wealth of Nations* owing to the influence of the French Physiocrat thinkers whom he met (D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie 1982, pp.21-2).

From the very first page of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, in a section titled 'Of the Sense of Propriety' and subtitled 'Of Sympathy,' Smith seems determined to single out the social affections and compassionate instincts of universal mankind. 'How selfish soever man may be supposed,' the opening paragraph begins,

> there are evidently some principles in nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. (Smith 1982, p.9)

Even the 'greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society,' Smith argued, 'was not altogether without this pity or compassion (1982, p.9). The opening pages of *The Wealth of Nations*

presents another natural, universal, that is, interest in the welfare of humanity:

> It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest, we address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages. (Smith 2000, p.16)

How shall we deal with these two *universal* but *seemingly different* economies of humanity, one based on sympathetic emotions, another on *economic* if not *materialistic* interest? I will try to address this question from a preliminary reading of his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* as an interpretation of the emergent forms of abstraction and exchangeability in the history of capitalism. My argument sees this Janus-faced Adam Smith in his moral philosophy and political economy as a figure strategically corresponding to a social transition from the local to the global in the formation of the British Empire.

Indeed, the eighteenth century, especially during its middle years, witnessed radical ruptures of constellations between sympathy, sentiment and society. On the one hand, we have David Hume saying:

> I am first affrighted and confounded with that forelorn solitude, in which I am plac'd in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expell'd all human commerce, and left utterly abandon'd and disconsolate. (Hume 1978, p.264)

Besides the regular skepticism of Hume, here we see a philosopher phobic of a self consumed by contemplation and writing, who yearns for sense of politeness and normality in mingling with 'society' and 'human commerce.' The presumption goes that there already exists a prominent sense of the division between an atomistic self and a larger scale of the public, whether 'society' or 'exchange between men of

the products of nature or art' that 'human commerce' meant in the eighteenth century (*OED* Online, under *commerce*). On the other hand, feelings are not lodged within the private, inner lives of individual persons. As Adela Pinch writes in her critical investigation upon this period's epistemologies of emotions, from Hume to Austen

> [T]hey [emotions] rather circulate among persons as somewhat autonomous substances. They frequently seem as impersonal, and contagious, as viruses, visiting the breasts of men and women the way diseases visit the body. (Pinch 1996, p.1)

In other words, emotions, feelings, and sentiments have a rather exterior and more interchangeable existence in the eighteenth century, not yet to be internalized as inward psychological activities. As a matter of fact, Hume whose influence upon Smith's development of moral sympathy is observable (D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie 1982, p.17), declares that 'the passions are so contagious, that they pass with the greatest facility from one person to another, and produce correspondent movements in all human breasts' (1978, p.605). In another passage, he once again stresses the necessity for individuals to expose themselves for visits of feelings from without: 'Hatred, resentment, esteem, love, courage, mirth and melancholy; all these passions I feel more from communication than from my own natural temper and disposition' (1978, p.317). Individuals are not supposed to look and fathom from within to fashion a self-identity. Rather, one should, as becoming a necessity, embrace a disembedding mechanism which pries the production of feelings free from the hold of individual 'natural temper and disposition,' recombining them across inter-personal relations, if not across wide time-space distances.

Adam Smith takes a similar stance. For him, the fellow-feeling of sympathy is a function that can be deployed as a 'contact zone'

(Pratt 1992, pp.6-7) for *psychological* communications, if we use a phrase from Mary Louis Pratt with a slightly different twist, for the expanding distances between individual minds moving along with this situation:

> As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation. (Smith 1982, p.9)

Thus, sympathy acts as an imaginative act, as an agreement between sentiments, one possible way out of man's affective solipsism. At the same time, paradoxically, this is out of the realization of mutual inaccessibility between autonomous individual minds. It is almost impossible not to connect this with 'an increasing interconnection between the two "extremes" of extensionality and intentionality: globalizing influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other' that Anthony Giddens (1991, p.1) identifies as one of the distinctive features of modernity.

Indeed, one can take the popular trope of sympathy of the eighteenth century among writers in moral philosophy, aesthetics, medicine, and literature as what builds affective affinities between the circulating commercial markets, credit, public opinions acting at great distances. As Amit S. Rai (2002, p.17) points out, this preoccupation with sympathy took hold at a moment when Britain's imperial fortunes were on the rise. In the aftermath of the 1688 revolution, Britain, with the inauguration of its key economic institutions (for example, the stock exchange, the Bank of England), emerged in the eighteenth century as the world's leading commercial power. By the mid century, London had become the largest center of international trade, the premier port and warehouse of the world, and witnessed the forging of some spectacular fortunes. This was a century with increasing social mobility and the formation of the

British Empire. Along with this rise to global preeminence if not dominance yet, one also witness transformations in the conceptualization, scope, and practice of state power, the elaboration of complex institutions of civil society, and the emergence of a vibrant public sphere as Terry Eagleton investigates in his book on the ideology of aesthetics (1990, pp. 30-31).

In the first volume of his sentimental novel *Tristram Shandy*, published during 1759-67, the same period when Adam Smith wrote *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and was speculating upon *The Wealth of Nations*, Laurence Sterne describes a village midwife, who, as

> she had all along trusted little to her own efforts, and a great deal to those of dame nature, —had acquired, in her way, no small degree of reputation in the world;—by which word world, need I in this place inform your worship, that I would be understood to mean no more of it, than a small circle described upon the circle of the great world, of four English miles diameter, or thereabouts, of which the cottage where the good old woman lived, is supposed to be the center. (Sterne 2004, p.7)

The additional proclamation of a provincial English parameter of four miles indicates a world beyond the local midwife's reputation, whose existence Sterne's readership was obliged to imagine and anticipate. The world was so obviously global for Sterne's readers that his message of irony of the provinciality of the midwife's reputation could be easily missed. This, indeed, was the world in which Adam Smith was writing. Sympathy offers us a window into the trans-subjective condition of affective 'mediality' at this period of proliferating mobility between the 'four *English* miles' and the '*world*' Sterne's readers must have taken for granted.

This increasing mobility is part of what Marshall McLuhan calls the 'new model[s] of perception' (1962, p.23) brought forth by crucial periods of adaptation during the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries when 'the initial shock gradually dissipates as the entire community absorbs the new habit of perception into all of its areas of work and association' (p.23). And this, for McLuhan, came '[w]ith the advent of the printed word' by which, 'the visual modalities of Western life increased beyond anything experienced in any previous society' (1962 p.23). The printed word, as a new technology, produces more information and can be disseminated over greater distances. Indeed, it is clear that the eighteenth century was what Susan Crawford aptly calls an 'information-conscious society' (cited in Ellison 2005, p.17) with its changes of reading habits, the construction of new systems and offices of information management. The words, images and representations of feelings that are carried is obviously instrumental to this process of popular consciousness adapting, to use Pocock's phrase, 'to a world of moving objects' (1985, p.221) and to an increasingly detached and mobile population.

With this in mind, I take sympathetic sentiment as Smith (1982) defines it as critical in an evolution of eighteenth-century management of information or 'information overload,' to use a phrase from Katherine Ellison's (2005) recent study on reading and information overload in early eighteenth-century literature. For Smith, sympathy is rather corporeal and physiological:

> Persons of delicate fibres and a weak constitution of body complain, that in looking on the sores and ulcers which are exposed by beggars in the streets, they are apt to feel an itching or uneasy sensation in the correspondent part of their own bodies. (Smith 1982, p.10)

Here the exterior appearance is easily–owing to a weaker constitution and *thereby* a strong sensibility–projected into the interior of another and thereby puts in danger the latter's physical health. The pleasures of seeing and feeling become, in effect, a

physiognomic metaphor for the mobile and polymorphous features of the society. 'Persons of delicate fibres and a weak constitution of body' (Smith 1982, p.10) have more chances of being exposed to specters of destitution and dearth, and being exposed to changes within from without, socially and economically.

Adam Smith's sympathetic figure (1982) is detached and casual, unbound by ritual, communal, or tribal loyalties. He is quite certain, in fact, that sympathy withers in primitive and 'barbarous' communities and thrives in 'civilized' society because it is only with man's release from the immediate exigencies of survival that he becomes free to extend and expect sympathy:

> Before we can feel much for others, we must in some measure be at ease ourselves. If our own misery pinches us very severely, we have no leisure to attend to that of our neighbour: and all savages are too much occupied with their own wants and necessities, to give much attention to those of another person. (Smith 1982, p.198)

The sentiment of sympathy becomes a factor of economy, which is interchangeable only in the moments of its *excess*. Furthermore, Smith writes in a more explicit tone: 'Our imagination which in pain and sorrow seems to be confined and cooped up within our own persons, in times of ease and prosperity expands itself to every thing around us' (Smith 1982, p.183). The terminology here resonates very well with that of a rising market economy and consumerism during the middle of the eighteenth century (Brewer 1990). By virtue of its opulence and its division of labor, a commodity economy would boost the supply of sympathy.

Indeed, for an eighteenth century reader, propriety and property were not easily distinguished. The long-standing association of honor and decorum with ancient and prescriptive rights in the land was being replaced by its much less aristocratic more bourgeoisie-like capitalistic counterpart. As historian Jean-Christophe

Agnew (1986, p.175) points out: 'In drama as in life, honor was increasingly understood to be a particularly stable and solid form of credit, whereas land was coming to be seen as an especially illiquid form of capital.' Sympathy, in some sense, joins in the first of this pair, as 'a particularly stable and solid form of credit' (Agnew 1986, p.175). Access to the agreement of sentiments was still hinging to *economic* matters, through physiological management as well as access to social capital such as honor or land.

If we turn to another passage from *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*:

> … it is chiefly from [the] regard to the sentiments of mankind that we pursue riches and avoid poverty. For to what purpose is all the toil and bustle of this world? What is the end of avarice and ambition, of the pursuit of wealth, of power and preeminence? From whence…arises the emulation which runs through all the different ranks of men and what are the advantages which we propose by that great purpose of human life which we call better our condition? To be observed, to be attended to, to be taken notice of with sympathy, complacency, and appreciation, are all the advantages which we can propose to derive from it. It is the vanity, not the ease or the pleasure, which interests us. But vanity is always founded upon the belief of our being the object of attention and approbation. (Smith 1982, p.50)

To be seen, to be sympathized with becomes a kind of competitive economy. Attention and sympathy are turned into 'a limited commodity for which isolated individuals competed' (Agnew 1986, p.181). Individuals are portrayed as driven by the fear of possible indifference and mortification. Attention and attentiveness become part of the visual economy of sympathy. 'Nothing is so mortifying as to be obliged to expose our distress to the view of the public, and to feel, that though our situation is open to the eyes of all mankind, no mortal conceives for us the half of what we suffer' as Smith (1982, p.60) writes a few pages later. Sympathy here joins honor, virtue,

and decorum to be part of a bottomless line of credit. It functions in an economy of scarcity rather than a natural distribution. Those blessed with 'ease and prosperity' (Smith 1982, p.183) are more sympathetically regarded by others. Their words, gestures, and actions are 'observed by all the world' (Smith 1982, p.51), in stark contrast to the poor, who come and go unnoticed. In the midst of a crowd, the pauper finds himself 'in the same obscurity as if shut up in his own hovel,' as Smith further suggests:

> The poor man … is ashamed of his poverty. He feels that it either places him out of the sight of mankind, or, that if they take notice of him, they have, however, scarce any fellow-feeling with the misery and distress which he suffers. He is mortified upon both accounts. (1982, p.51)

This shame economy of affective dearth (no attention, no fellow-feeling), this overriding compulsion to become or to remain 'the object of attention and approbation' (Smith 1982, p.50), serves as a goad to industry to that kind of 'human commerce' David Hume (1978, p.264) yearns for in order to be out of his solitude, which, for many others, means less philosophical contemplation than social obscurity or exile from an *honorable* class. It is exactly analogous to the 'propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another,' the abstract entity driving the competing individuals 'the butcher, the brewer, or the baker' (Smith 2000, p.14) in Smith's theory of an *economic* man and society in *The Wealth of Nations*. Both take as their goals to deal with the interconnections between 'globalizing influences on the one hand and personal [local] dispositions on the other' in the development of western modernity, to use Giddens (1991, p.1) again.

For Smith, sympathetic sentiment's correlation with an attentional and visual economy is set to exclude some individuals from the 'moralizing gaze of others' (Poovey 1995, p.33), those 'sunk

in obscurity and darkness,' as Smith (1982, p.51) says. 'His conduct is observed and attended to by nobody, and he is therefore very likely to neglect it himself, and to abandon himself to every sort of low prodigality and vice' (Smith 1982, p.134). Such 'low prodigality and vice' are definitely not among either aristocratic or bourgeois-like virtues or morality, as David Hume–one of Smith's mentors on sympathy–is so 'affrighted and confounded' (Hume 1978, p.264). The *natural* impulse to keep oneself from moral and visual oblivion, and mankind's 'dull insensibility to the afflictions of others' (Smith 1982, p.22) compels the sufferer to take the part of his spectators toward himself, since it was only by such measures that the sufferer could discover at what level he needs to cast the expression of his own feelings to win their sympathy. A mechanism of an internalized gaze is developed for the sake of an outward representation of self. Sympathy thereby obtained offers him 'his sole consolation,' and the sufferer could 'only hope to obtain [sympathy] by lowering his passion to that pitch' (Smith 1982, p.22) which his spectators find tolerable. Strategies of representing oneself should be tailored for those representations to be emotionally communicable and affectively decent. He has to 'flatten,' in Smith's words, 'the sharpness of its natural tone, in order to reduce it to harmony and concord with the emotions of those who are about him' (Smith 1982, p.22). Only certain kinds/degrees of emotions can be counted as evidence, as testimony, and the person in question is to be addressed with these enunciative/expressive/signifying rules in mind while representing an affective or emotional self. In order to reach that momentary imaginary inter-changeable transaction of situations, upon which sympathy is founded, the sufferer turns instead to a more deeply theatrical and collusive set of relations with his audience:

> As they [the audience / spectators] are continually placing themselves in his situation, thence conceiving

> emotions similar to what he feels; so he is as constantly placing himself in theirs, and thence conceiving some degree of that coolness about his own fortune, with which he is sensible that they will view it. (Smith 1982, p.19)

In this mechanism of interchangeability and communication, what needs be reducible so as to be observable and thereby sympathized is that kind of 'strange fits of passion' to draw half a line from William Wordsworth's 'Lucy Pomes' for our purpose (Wordsworth 2008, p. 476), contagious and virus-like in the eighteenth century (as we mentioned above). Emotions should be tailored so as to enter an equilibrium, so as to be exchangeable, or to put it explicitly, to be marketable. In this realm of emotional production and communication, what is first at stake is not what is *in the true* or *in the private* (what the person in question really *feels*.), but what is *in the evidentiary* or what could be made *in the circulatory* for the sake of those spectators, from whose courtesy one obtains the benefit of a moral existence.

Writing on structural transformation of the public sphere as a category of bourgeois society, Jürgen Habermas (1989, p.30) explains rather cryptically that '[i]ncluded in the private realm was the authentic "public sphere," for it was a public sphere constituted by private people.' This dialectical dynamics between the public and the private is further elucidated by Clifford Siskin in his analysis of the social role of writing regarding the division between the public and the private. Siskin quotes Anne Dutton's defense of 'PRINTING any Thing written by a Woman' in 1743, more than a decade before the first publication of Smith's *Moral Sentiments*:

> […] communicating one's Mind in *Print*, is as *private*, with respect to particular *Persons*, as if one did it particularly unto every one by *himself* in ones *own House*. There is only this *Difference*: The one is communicating ones Mind by *Speech*, in ones *own* private House: The other is doing

> it by *Writing*, in the private house of *another* Person. Both are still *private*. (quoted in Siskin 1998, p.164)

For Siskin, it is print in Dutton's writing that 'overwrites the category of public-as-state, by instituting, within the private realm of society, a new kind of publicness–one that is accessed and thus produced in private terms.' (1998, p.164) In other words, print, as a technology and an art of transmission, enhances a world of moving objects, images and other means of representations, if we adapt Pocock's phrase (as quoted above). It would be technologically determinist to claim print as the incubator of social mobility. What is interesting, however, is the social increase of this 'new kind of publicness' that 'is accessed and thus produced in private terms' around the middle of the eighteenth century. Anne Dutton's functionalist acknowledgement of the difference between the oral (*speech*) and the tactile (*writing*), without substantiating the consequences brought by this difference, suggests her ignorance of the modality of impersonality, transparency, and mediated exchangeability created by the *social* and *public* properties of writing. Spontaneous communal speech and its audile mechanism begin to co-exist with an emergent mode of print communication and its visual mechanism. In Dutton's writing, one can even detect a syndrome of the technological transition from orality to literacy, to use a simplified model of the communication theory by Walter J. Ong (1982). The sense of immediacy ('as if one did it particularly unto every one by *himself* in ones *own House*') from which Anne Dutton tries to salvage a sense of security ('in ones *own* House,' thereby safe.) turns out to be exactly what writers must find ways to achieve as a memorable quality of writing owing to words' separation from their 'living present' (Ong 1982, p.81).

The world is becoming larger than that of the village midwife of Laurence Sterne. Habermas, in his influential study on this point,

describes the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century of commerce of communication and the way in which the press was a major factor in the emergence of the public sphere:

> The great trade cities became at the same time centers for the traffic in news; the organization of this traffic on a *continuous* basis became imperative to the degree to which the exchange of commodities and of securities became continuous. (Habermas 1989, p.16)

This sense of imperative traffic and commerce displays itself not only materially in the forms of actual commodities, flows of capital or securities, but also *immaterially*, the way the neutralizing strategy of *excessive* emotions works, for instance. This throws a significant historical light upon the theatrical and collusive set of relations between the sufferer and his spectators in Adam Smith's moral philosophy. The way Adam Smith, as a would-be political economist, designates emotions to be regulated, disciplined and transferred as evidences and testimonies for communicative sympathy correlates with these crucial periods of adaptation to an increasing commerce and mobility. This is also why David Hume, the skeptical philosopher of human understanding and nature, fixes on conversation as an antipode to 'that forelorn solitude' as mentioned above. For Hume, as Graham Burchell points out, conversation, a crucial term in the eighteenth century for illustrating 'the flow *across* those newly reconstituted fields' of the private individual exchanges and the public ones generated out of their multiplicity, is 'to describe the form ideally taken by the "commerce" of [the political culture] of opinion, the appropriate cultural form of exchanges between individuals of the "middling rank" immersed in "common life"' (Burchell 1991, p.129). This necessity of interchangeability (a necessity portrayed as a bourgeois-like virtue) between things, perceptions, feelings, spaces and words requires all parts involved to develop neutralized and well-

disciplined platforms for one another, whether in the forms of commodities, the visually demanding literacy (ability to read and write), or sympathy (ability to represent an emotional self to one's spectators).

Of course, labor is involved in translating different positionalities and making them *in the evidentiary* to the collective editorial 'we' that Adam Smith uses throughout his moral philosophy. More labor for some, less for others. This ability to liquidate suffering and pain to make emotions *transparent* and *translatable* enough to be exchangeable, analogous to the making of money as embodiment of exchange values of different commodities from different worlds, is rather theatrical and self-reflexive in the theatre of Smith's sympathy. Furthermore, it seems unevenly distributed and much less accessible, in Smith's system, to the poor in the midst of the crowd, the street beggar with sores and ulcers, and the 'fair sex':

> The reserve which the laws of society impose upon the fair sex, with regard to this weakness [i.e., passionate love], renders it more particularly distressful in them, and, upon that very account, more deeply interesting. We are charmed with the love of Phaedra, as it is expressed in the French tragedy of that name, notwithstanding all the extravagance and guilt which attend it. That very extravagance and guilt may be said, in some measure, to recommend it to us. Her fear, her shame, her remorse, her horror, her despair, become thereby more natural and interesting. (Smith 1982, p.33)

'Natural and interesting' here applies not to a set of proper emotions already tailored to circumstances, but to extravagant emotions such as Phaedra's fear, shame, remorse, horror, and despair 'rendered (and thereby appropriated) by the art of the dramatist', as Daniel M. Gross (2006, p.174) observes. Each person wanting to be materially rich or visibly individual has to work to become. a dramatist.

Here we can even detect a touch of what Michel de Certeau (1992, p.78) calls 'the ethnographic operation,' that epistemological-technical process through which the emotions of 'primitive' others become visually archivable, are brought into representations and translations, and are transcribed by social researchers or political economist of emotions. It is a hermeneutics of the emotionally other inscribed by and through certain forms of intelligibility, visuality and civility. What we have in Adam Smith's moral philosophy is not ethnographic writing *per se* as in the original de Certeau scheme. Nevertheless, the strategy remains the same. The editorial 'we' that Smith uses throughout *Moral Sentiments* is to 'invoke the presumptive authority of common experience, thereby denying or, again, dissembling the emotional isolation that lay at the heart of his system' (Agnew 1986, pp.185-86). The common experience offers as the site of exchange, nodal point of transference and translation. The imperative to become the common for the sake of visibility and interchangeability in a rising western modernity predicts what a Frankfurt school critic Herbert Marcuse captures aptly as 'one dimensional man' in his 1964 book as a critique of high capitalism. It remains categorically analogous to some other peculiar forms of modern abstractions variously designated as the *commodity*, *reification*, and the *fetish*. The increasing problems of the production and administration of this sort of abstract space, as I try to argue throughout, closely dovetail with the rise and dissemination of western modernity in the eighteenth century. In this light, one can see an Adam Smith trying to weave all social relations into versions of measurable exchange, and individuals as instantiations of the same abstract entity, either sympathy, the moralizing impartial spectator or the 'propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another' (Smith 2000, p.16). This Smith designates as a system corresponding

to 'to a world of moving objects,' to use Pocock's (1985, p.21) phrase again, as a strategy to deal with the informational mobility in an increasingly globalized world.

Information, in the centuries following the Middle Ages, largely between the 17th and 18th centuries, became an entity to be regarded objectively as 'something to be stored and processed' as Rafael Capurro (cited. in Ellison 2005, p.8), suggests in an etymological study. Katherine Ellison contextualizes Capurro's definition of information as 'a kind of abstract stuff present in the world, disconnected from the situations that it is *about*,' as 'physically and spatially associated with surface, depth, and meaninglessness' (Ellison 2005, p.9). In Smith's *Moral Sentiments*, the impartiality of the sympathetic spectator and how individuals are coordinated to opt for the moralizing gaze of virtue in a transitional period between agricultural and commercial remains historically coincident with and logically analogous to the overloading information age of the 18th century. The establishment of public post offices, the publication of books (the word 'publish' appears in Samuel Johnson's famous dictionary of 1755: 'To put forth a book into the world'–suggestive of the expansive nature of book publishing, which is at once an act of production and dissemination), the 'moving objects' (Pocock 1985, p.21), and the moving people, all allude to this overloading. It even 'began to flow out along the arteries of European commerce in search of its victims' as Peter Hulme (1992, p.229) writes. Antonio Damasio, a neuroscientist of emotion, muses that the history of civilization is, to some extent, 'the history of a persuasive effort to extend the best of "moral sentiments" to wider and wider circles of humanity' (cited in Gross 1992, p.170). It is no surprise that Adam Smith could be cited as an intellectual antecedent. For Smith, the man of middling rank can afford to cultivate those bourgeois

sensibilities–compassion first among them–that constitutes a civilized nation. Living in such a flux of mobility, one has to 'flatten' (to use Smith's word as quoted above), one has to manage to remain connected, to be wired into medial possibilities. Otherwise, one would be 'sunk in obscurity and darkness,' as Smith highlights (1982, p.51). Through this *flattening* or *abstracting* theatrically alternating embodiment and disembodiment, Smith's sympathetic subject creates an example of what Robert Mitchell and Phillip Thurtle examine as a creative process of information upon a theatrical body (Ellison 2005, p.7-9). And such a story of information flow concerning emotions is class and gender based, as I have demonstrated above above.

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Hong Kong: Communicating 1997 and beyond through Film

Laura E. Ferguson (University of Glasgow)

This paper intends to examine how cinema in Hong Kong depicted the 1997 Handover and post-Handover Hong Kong in the hope of being able to identify collective attitudes, beliefs and fears displayed during these periods to support the central argument that Hong Kong cinema is a key cultural vehicle for communicating change.

The period from the Sino British Joint Declaration of 1984 onwards was an era of great change for the region which was strongly reflected in films produced throughout that time. There was particularly a sense of anxiety evident in many movies in the years leading up to the handover, involving what Julian Stringer described as 'narratives of loss, alienation and doubt' (Stringer 1997, p.25). This paper shall examine Hong Kong films in the years between the Sino British Joint Declaration and the Handover, through the immediate effect of the event itself in 1997 and looking towards the long-term future of Hong Kong as a part of China, arguing that they depict a society in crisis over its identity and permanent uncertainty over its future.

First, it is relevant to briefly look at Hong Kong, its cinema and the historical significance of 1997. Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842, a situation that 'gave Hong Kong a degree of freedom un-known on the mainland' (Bordwell 2000, p.29). This resulted in it having cultural links to both China and Britain, however this hybridity also made it markedly different to both the rest of the East and to the West. Stephen Teo describes Hong Kong as East from a Western perspective and West from a Chinese

perspective (1997), while Tony Williams views it as 'a contradictory entity' being 'both Chinese and capitalist' (Williams 2000, p.144). Such a distinctive nationality led to the theme of identity being driven strong in Hong Kong films characteristically – a theme only strengthened by the imminent change to the national situation again.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 stated that Hong Kong would revert to Chinese rule on 1 July 1997 but retain a degree of freedom and its own local government, with China only responsible for foreign and defence matters. The period 1984-1997, or the 'transitional period' (Ching-kiu Chan 2001, p.488), was clearly a time of uncertainty. The nation was compelled to reconsider its relationship with China:

> As the 1980s rolled by and the issue of Hong Kong's return to mainland China in 1997 became the bugbear in every household, Hong Kong was forced to face the historical reality of a China that had become a stranger over the years. (Cheuk-to 1994, p.165)

Ackbar Abbas supports this when he argues that Hong Kong's history prior to British colonisation was irrelevant to the modern population who were 'now culturally and politically quite distinct from mainlanders; two peoples separated by a common ethnicity' (Abbas 1997, p.2):

> It is not true, as some might wish to believe, that if you scratch the surface of a Hong Kong person you will find a Chinese identity waiting to be reborn. (Abbas 1997, p.2)

Bordwell echoes Abbas' remark about a distinction:

> Certainly most accepted Confucian values, took the family as the model for social organization, and recognised "face" as a sign of mutual respect. But over the decades, Hong Kong's roots in Cantonese society, the influences from Shanghai and from Britain, and a

> business-driven openness to the West had shaped a unique version of Chinese culture. (Bordwell 2000, p.31)

Hong Kong's cinema had also developed along quite a distinct line from that of the mainland. Bordwell argues that the Hong Kong cinema produced from the late 1980s is the fourth phase of the country's cinema (2000); the first being the classical period that was based on a studio system and ran from 1946 to 1970, the second a transitional stage between 1971 and 1978 where Kung Fu films were popular, and the third which arrived in 1979 with the start of the New Wave (Bordwell 2000, p.72). This fourth phase strongly represented attitudes towards the Handover, often with little disguise.

Some general issues and themes began to appear in films. Of these, one of the most outstanding and often discussed is the fear or anxiety of the reversion to Chinese rule. Helen Hok-se Leung writes that 1997 'became a cultural symbol of fear and apprehension' (Hok-se Leung 2004, p.459). Esther Yau plausibly argues that this was triggered by Margaret Thatcher's visit in 1982 which 'brought back memories of a refugee past and created collective anxieties regarding Hong Kong's unknown political future' (Yau 1994, p.181). However, Teo argues that the Tiananmen Square incident was the pivotal moment when the outlook changed from 'hope and optimism' to 'despair and frustration' (Teo 1997 p.245) as it made the people of Hong Kong worry about living under the Chinese regime and 'the prospect of a future over which it will have little or no say' (Teo 1997, p.243). Williams supports this in analysing some of John Woo's films as exhibiting 'dark apocalyptic overtones in which both historical past and immediate present become overwhelmed by visions of a dark spectacular ontological future'

(Williams 2000, p.150), citing *Bullet in the Head* (1989, Dir. John Woo) as particularly dark.

Regardless of the exact trigger for this cultural wave of fear, it remains obvious that the main force behind it was the impending Handover to China. Esther Cheung has written of a sharp increase in horror films produced since 1983, depicting danger and fear of 1997 (2004). *The Wicked City* (1992, Dir. Mak Tai-wai) particularly expresses the fear and anxiety over China. Set in 1997, it is about half-human Rapters which descend upon Hong Kong and try to take over, controlling the people with happiness drugs from the Bank of China building. Leung Ping-kwan describes producer Tsui Hark as 'skilful in channelling the general anxiety of the people' (Ping-kwan 2000, p.242). The metaphor of the half-human Rapters is easily read as referring to Communist China taking over. Such a direct reference suggests the strength of the anxiety within the population and the overriding importance of the Handover event in their lives.

Survival is also displayed in the kind of crisis[1] cinema being discussed, with Woo's films typically depicting a struggle to survive (Williams 2000, p.150), as well as the cinema of Ann Hui regularly promoting the concept (Erens 2000, p.192). Stringer views gangster films as particularly allegorical 'about the need for Hong Kong people to possess survival skills' (Stringer 1997, p.35). Films about gangs and triads, such as the *Young and Dangerous* series (1997, Dir. Andrew Lau), which Berenice Reynaud neatly describes as 'the fad of the day' (Reynaud 1997, p.22), were major box office hits and highly lucrative. These films also promote the values of family and friendship that Bordwell identifies as another reaction to the instability of 1997 (2000). This is seen, for example, in the *Young and*

[1] Stokes and Hoover describe a 'crisis cinema', at once paralleling, producing, and reflecting the identity, legitimacy, and sovereignty predicament of the people themselves' (Stokes & Hoover 1999, p.304).

Dangerous films where Nam's brothers, in particular Chicken, are always framed as standing by him, being there when he needs help and deeply respecting the hierarchy of the family.

As was indicated in the opening of this paper, another prominent feature of this pre-Handover era is a concern with identity:

> Now faced with the uncomfortable possibility of an alien identity about to be imposed on it from China, Hong Kong is experiencing a kind of last-minute collective search for a more definite identity. (Abbas 1997, p.4)

This appears to have first pushed Hong Kong towards China, and then away from it. Reynaud identifies one of the first effects of the 1984 agreement as 'to encourage "Hongkies" to dig into their cultural roots – from studying Confucianism or returning to Buddhism, to opening traditional "tea houses" everywhere' (Reynaud 1997, p.20). In the post-Tiananmen climate, however, concern surrounding the integration into China grew. David Desser discusses Hong Kong's desire to distinguish itself from China, asserting its Western links and 'cultural liberation from the mainland' (Desser 2000, p.32), something reflected in the films of the time as they began to promote a separate Hong Kong. As the Handover in July 1997 drew closer, worries over the loss of a distinct local identity increased to fever pitch: 'it is anybody's guess how long after 1997 'Hong Kong' will continue to survive, not merely as an entity, but as an idea' (Teo 1997, p.251). Kai-Fai Yau (2001) and Achbar Abbas (1997) identify a 'threat of disappearance' (Yau 2001, p.452) in Hong Kong's culture in the run up to 1997:

> The change in status of culture in Hong Kong can be described as follows: from reverse hallucination[2], which

[2] 'Reverse hallucination' is a Freudian term which Abbas uses to describe the cultural situation in pre-1982 Hong Kong – 'if hallucination is seeing what is not there, then reverse hallucination is not seeing what is there' (Abbas 1997, p.25).

> sees only desert, to a culture of disappearance, whose appearance is posited on the immanence of its disappearance. (Abbas 1997, p.7)

Abbas discusses the concern over disappearance and assertion of cultural identity across not only cinema but other cultural and artistic disciplines, such as photographs emphasizing 'Hong Kong-ness' (Abbas 1997, p.98), literature concerned with the theme of identity, such as the poetry of Leung[3], and a desire to preserve architecture which emphasises the importance of a sense of place. Such architecture included the Kowloon Walled City, which was demolished despite public disagreement, and Flagstaff House, the British Military Headquarters, which was interestingly preserved as a museum of Chinese teaware. The impending reversion to Chinese rule had permeated many areas of Hong Kong culture, life and identity.

Keith Negus and Patricia Roman-Velazquez claim 'identities are continuously understood in relation to places; people and things are continually being tied down and are not simply detached and free-floating postmodern signifiers without a referent' (Negus & Roman-Velazquez 2000, p.332). Place certainly is an issue which appears in some films of the period, including *Happy Together* (1997, Dir. Wong Kar-wai) which tells the story of two gay men, Fai and Ho, who travel from Hong Kong to South America, Taipai and the end of the world. They stay in Argentina but Fai saves money to return to Hong Kong and there is the recurring sentiment of a new beginning. The film is about a search for a homeland, something which Chu Yiu Wai claims is difficult for the people of Hong Kong

[3] In *In Fabric Alley* Leung uses clothing as a metaphor for the political system. The fabric has 'so much of our lives interwoven in it' that it cannot just be thrown away. The poem asks 'how to go about tailoring something new/ to make it so it wears the body well', questioning how to find a new identity which fits (lines from poem cited in Abbas 1997, p.136).

as their country has always been 'seen as a transient shelter but not a true home' (Wai 2005, p.317).

This notion of migration is another key feature of the cinema of a Hong Kong 'between colonizers' (Erni 2001, p.395). Many people, in particular the educated and wealthy, emigrated, fearing Chinese rule[4]. Sheldon Lu is just one film theorist who uses the word diaspora to describe this dislocation and 'reterritorialization outside the homeland' (Lu 2005, p.301), evident in such films as *Happy Together*.

Ann Hui's films often deal with the themes of 'exile, diaspora and refugees' (Erens 2004, p.179), as well as the issue of 1997. *The Boat People* (1982, Dir. Ann Hui), set in Vietnam shortly after the war with America, is 'seen as the first Hong Kong picture to address the phobia and anxiety of Hong Kong people about 1997'[5] (Teo 1997, p.214). Her film *Song of the Exile* has a particularly strong theme of the exile, diaspora, and the search for identity triggered by the impending date in 1997. The film involves setting the main character, Hueyin, in a number of different locations. It begins with her in London at university where she is 'an exile in a foreign land' (Erens 2004, p.182); she then returns to Hong Kong, goes to Japan with her mother[6] and visits her grandparents in China. The film is about the search for home and a sense of belonging, which can be read in light of contemplations over Hong Kong as simultaneously part of and distinct from both the East and the West. *Song of the Exile* offers its audience a conclusion that suggests the continuation of

[4] Especially post-Tiananmen Square.
[5] Although Hui did not intend it to be read as an allegory of the situation of Hong Kong being taken over by Communist China – she always claimed she was not political – the Hong Kong audience viewed it in this light, as did China where the film was banned.
[6] Japan was her mother's birthplace.

Hong Kong, despite the fate of the country, but in the altered frame of the modern era of globalization:

> Hueyin and Aiko reach a realization that home is a mental state. Although they both ultimately make a commitment to Hong Kong, the film reflects the changing sense of home as something global and mobile. (Erens 2004, p.187).

As well as identity and migration or a sense of place, another common feature of Hong Kong culture's concern with 1997 was a preoccupation with time. As Audrey Yue writes:

> Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 is situated around the time-space nexus mapped by a movement forward in time and backwards in space. (Yue 2004, p.226)

Han Suyin describes Hong Kong as living 'on borrowed time and in a borrowed place' (Suyin cited in Abbas 1997, p.142), and films often conveyed a sense of time running out. *Chungking Express* focuses intensely on time[7], particularly in the first of its two parts[8] 'with all its expiration dates and ominous digital clocks' (Bordwell 2000, p.286)[9]. It concerns a deadline of May 1, a date falling thirty days after Policeman 223 (Wu) is left by his girlfriend, as well as marking his twenty-fifth birthday, and the day on which he has decided his relationship with May will expire if she has not returned to him. To prepare for the event, he buys a tin of pineapples (May's favourite food) every day, beginning the day after she leaves him. Each one bears an expiry date of May 1. He then eats them all on the day they expire. This expiration date can easily be read as a

[7] Migration also features in this film, as in those already discussed. In the second story Faye dreams of emigrating to California and she becomes an air hostess in order to travel.

[8] Yau has claimed that the fact that there are two stories displays 'a space-time in which Hong Kong appears in many versions' (Yau 2004, p.29).

[9] Clocks are a recurring motif also found in other Wong Kar-wai films, for example *Days of Being Wild* (1990, Dir. Wong Kar-wai).

metaphor for the handover to China. 223 says 'the date on the can told me I don't have much time left' (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai) and he wonders if there is anything that does not have an expiration date.

The preoccupation with time is developed further in the scene when 223 goes jogging:

> I was born at 6.00am. Two more minutes and I'll be 25. In other words, I've lived a quarter of a century. To celebrate this historic moment, I go jogging to get rid of the excess water in my body. (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai)

The use of the phrase 'historic moment' has particular connotations of the 1997 handover. This story seems to promote a negative view of the 1997 deadline. 223 does not like expiration dates; he is looking for something with more permanence:

> If memory can be canned I hope it will never expire. If an expiry date must be added to it, I hope it will be a million years. (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai)

The second part of the film features the song 'What a Difference a Day Makes' and is centred around Policeman 633. There is a similar concern with time, although it is less precise and strict than in the first part. There is temporal distortion as 633 drinks coffee and the background moves at an increased pace, showing 'life as a literal "blur" […] a vertiginous feeling of spatial/temporal disorientation' (Marchetti 2000, p.293), and once again there is a deadline as Faye leaves a boarding pass for 633 dated for exactly one year later.

Some films chose to depict the past rather than confront the present. Cheung sees this nostalgia as being triggered by an 'inability to imagine the future' (Cheung 2004, p.264) and the desire to seek stability in the past, as with such films as *Eighteen Springs* (1997, Dir.

Ann Hui). Through nostalgic films one could 'stick one's head in the sand and efface the history that looms on the horizon by effacing the 'real' history of the past' (Teo 1997, p.250). Some of these films portrayed ancient times, such as the *Once Upon a Time in China* films (1991-1997, Dir. Tsui Hark), but others, such as *Days of Being Wild* (1990, Dir. Wong Kar-wai), looked to the 1950s/1960s for inspiration:

> The 1950s and 1960s, in an allegorical way, are represented as the beginning of the history of Hong Kong and, simultaneously, as the golden age of the colonial time. (Hung 2000, p.265)

The 1930s were also popular, with films such as *Rouge* (1987, Dir. Stanley Kwan), *Center Stage* (1992, Dir. Stanley Kwan) and *Shanghai Blues* (1984, Dir. Tsui Hark).

Nostalgic films were not only motivated by a desire to relive the past or escape the future. Many would make use of what Blanche Wing-ki describes as an 'indirect parallel of social anxieties in past periods' (Chu 2004, p.341) to 'express contemporary sentiments… without presenting the 1997 question on a realistic plane' (Yau 1994, p.181) because censorship in Hong Kong 'discouraged direct representation' (Yau 1994, p.181) of the subject.

As the appointed date in 1997 grew closer, Howard Hampton (1997) describes a mood of acceptance emerging; Teo goes further to identify a 'new optimism' (Teo 1997, p.245) overriding the 'general sense of malaise' (Teo 1997, p.254). Hong Kong seemed to be preparing itself for its 'quasi-colonial relationship' (Chiaudhuri 2005, p.132) with China. This is evident in the ending to *Happy Together* where the pair speed off in the train towards brightness.

The Handover itself came and went. Emerging from the other side, filmmakers found the apocalyptic ending they had feared had

not occurred in quite the way they expected. As Yingjin Zhang wrote:

> The post-1997 adjustment to the fundamentally changed political and economic situation has been agonizing to filmmakers, who nonetheless have managed to beat the odds and have sustained a high level of artistic achievement. (Yingjin 2004, p.260)

Hong Kong's position as a Special Administrative Region of China sheltered it from the full force of communist control. However, the 'narratives of loss, alienation and doubt' (Stringer 1997, p.25) were not overridden entirely and Hong Kong cinema continued to convey a concerned nation.

The reversion to China opened up the opportunity for Mainlanders to travel south to work and so, to many Mainlanders, the Handover was viewed as a great opportunity. Hong Kong filmmakers began featuring migrant workers in social dramas. The migratory theme, present in so many pre-1997 films, such as *Happy Together*, *The Boat People* and *Song of the Exile*, continued – only this time people were not migrating from Hong Kong but to it. No longer portrayed as Rapters taking control, the Mainland Chinese were now aliens in a culture far removed from their own, struggling to survive.

Durian Durian (2000, Dir. Fruit Chan) depicts this even more effectively by setting part of the film in Hong Kong and part in the far north-east of Mainland China. Chan explores the 'one country, two systems' idea through his 'one film, two stories' and 'one person, two characters' narrative devices. The two main characters, whose stories have only occasional crossover throughout the film, both have idealised views of Hong Kong and relocate there to pursue those dreams. Fan is a young girl who moves with her mother and sister to be with her father who works in Hong Kong. Yan is a young

woman who came to Hong Kong for three months to work and ended up working as a prostitute. The alienation and hardships both experience in Hong Kong are emphasised through the contrasting cinematic styles. Hong Kong has short frenetic takes and bright lighting. The Mainland China scenes are duller with much longer takes and Yan's identity shifts from streetwise prostitute to quiet daughter. Wendy Gan (2005) views the disparities between the two as forcing the reconsideration of the 'one country' notion. Neither character is shown to form any bonds with Hong Kong or anything in it, the differences being too large. In Hong Kong nothing is fixed. People move and Yan's identity moves, not just in the major shift back to the mainland, but also in the way she uses a different name and hometown with all the clients she is seen with. In contrast, Yan is shown to have a strong network of friends, family and acquaintances at home in the Mainland with whom she has very close relationships.

The strong assertions of a distinct identity promoted through these films could be a cinematic display of Abbas's argument that there was 'the growing conviction in the wake of Tiananmen Square, that some sense of "cultural identity" is a kind of first-line defence against total political absorption' (Abbas 1997, p.142). A fear of being absorbed into China appears to have pushed Hong Kong filmmakers towards depicting very stark contradictions between Hong Kong and Mainland China as places, and between Hong Kongers and Chinese as people.

Even the first post-Handover addition to the *Young and Dangerous* series, *Young and Dangerous Part V* (1998, Dir. Andrew Lau), is 'deliberately loaded with the issue of identity' (Chu 2004, p.50) as Chan Ho-nam is told by his boss he must leave his street-

fighting to pursue legitimate business, a complete revolution in identity at a pivotal time in Hong Kong's identity.

Yingjin describes two schools of Hong Kong films in the immediate post-1997 years, 'forgetting' and 'not forgetting' (Yingjin 2004, p.269). Of the 'forgetting' films, *Who Am I?* (1998, Dir. Jackie Chan, Benny Chan) and *Purple Storm* (1999, Dir. Teddy Chan) are cited as particularly strong. Crucial to these films, Yingjin claims, is 'the figure of the lone wanderer or drifter, who has no identity, no country, no family, no friends and no clear vision of the future' (Yingjin 2004, p.269). As 'not forgetting' films he uses Fruit Chan's films *Made in Hong Kong* (1997), *Little Cheung* (1999) and *Durian Durian* (2000) as examples of confronting the reality of Hong Kong. However, *Durian Durian* arguably follows the 'forgetting' school also through Yan's character[10] and as such is an amalgamation, or even confusion, of the two.

Cheung argues that Hong Kong cinema is naturally a 'crisis cinema' (Cheung 2004, p.248) because of this continued issue of identity:

> The city is generally understood to be in a perpetual state of crisis. The never-ending process of destruction and construction poses threat and insecurity to dwellers in the city. (Cheung 2004, p.248)

The next menace looming over Hong Kong is depicted in *2046* (2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai) with the destruction of its Special Administrative Region Stratus and full integration into Mainland China. Featuring Wong Kar Wai's continuing preoccupation with time, *2046* jumps repeatedly between the past, present, and imagined future through Chow Mo Wan's memories, his (and the film's)

[10] She is alone in Hong Kong, uses several identities, has trouble trying to decide upon her future and is newly divorced (although, certainly, she does have her family and friends in her home town – even if her friends and cousin do at the end leave her to pursue their own fortunes in Hong Kong).

present and scenes from his futuristic novel semi-biographical novel 2046, respectively. Captions showing the date or informing the viewer it is now one hour later, ten hours later, or a hundred hours later are frequent. The migratory theme prevalent in pre-1997 films when Hong Kongers looked outward for clues to their identity also returns with scenes or character connections in Singapore, Phnom Penh, Japan and Hong Kong. Neither place nor time is fixed and the film is therefore very disjointed. The nostalgic theme also returns, through the inclusion of the 1960s scenes as well as with the core purpose of travellers going to 2046 – for old memories:

> In the year 2046, a vast rail network spans the globe. A mysterious train leaves for 2046 every once in a while. Every passenger going to 2046 has the same intention. They want to recapture lost memories. Because nothing ever changes in 2046. Nobody really knows if that's true because nobody's ever come back. Except me.
> (*2046*, 2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai)

2046 appears to be a static period in time, at a point when Hong Kong is on the brink of another massive upheaval.

Chow Mo Wan is inspired to write a second story called 2047 for his landlord's daughter, Jing Wen. She did not like the ending as it was too sad and asks for it to be changed but Chow Mo wan had difficulty in providing a more optimistic close to the story: 'I also wanted the story to have a happy ending, but I didn't know how to write it' (*2046*, 2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai). This could be read as providing the contradiction to 2046, where everyone wants to be. The desire to stay in 2046 suggesting it is infinitely better than to move on to 2047. Set in the 1960s, the film itself is another nostalgic portrayal of a past Hong Kong before 'China … became the bugbear in every household' (Cheuk-to 1994, p.165).

The film exhibits a distinct unwillingness to tell secrets, and particularly to tell of 2046 and why so many want to go there and

the main character is the only one who wants to leave it. This could be related to a feeling of uncertainty over Hong Kong in the year 2047 and Wong Kar Wai's film *2046* could only be the first of many to reflect on the significance of that date.

As the analysis in this paper has shown, the films leading to the Handover, following the Handover and looking to the next major change for Hong Kong demonstrate a continued sense of uncertainty for a place that always seems to be in a transitional state. With four more decades to contemplate Hong Kong's full integration to Mainland China, it appears Hong Kong cinema will continue to be a cinema communicating change.

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Language Endangerment: Problems and Solutions

Dr. Julia Sallabank (Endangered Languages Academic Programme,
School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

How do we count languages?

Overviews of the study of language endangerment usually start with a list of statistics about the number of languages in the world, the proportion considered endangered, etc. The usual source of statistics concerning the number of languages and their users is *Ethnologue*, subtitled 'An encyclopaedic reference work cataloguing all of the world's 6,909 known living languages' (Lewis 2009). Many people are surprised to hear that there are so many languages in the world.

However, this headline figure masks inherent problems in the counting of languages, as the Introduction to *Ethnologue* itself recognises. Many linguists use the criterion of mutual comprehensibility to distinguish languages: if users of two language varieties cannot understand each other, the varieties are considered to be different languages. If they can understand each other, the varieties are considered mutually comprehensible dialects of the same language. However, mutual intelligibility is to a certain extent a function of attitudes and politics – whether or not people *want* to understand each other. Such attitudes are, in part, linked to whether a community considers itself to have a distinct ethno-linguistic identity, but members of a community may not agree about this. Because of such issues, some linguists (especially sociolinguists and anthropological linguists influenced by postmodern theories) now question whether language boundaries can be identified at all.

Politics also plays an important part in language differentiation. Following the nineteenth-century philosophers such as Herder, language has been considered a crucial element of national identity, with 'one state, one language' being seen as the ideal. But languages do not necessarily follow political boundaries. For example, Quechua is often thought of as one language, the 'language of the Incas', but in fact this is an overarching name which denotes a group of related language varieties. Linguists distinguish between 27 Quechuan indigenous languages in Peru, but the Peruvian government only recognises six of these as languages (the official national language is the colonial language, Spanish). Minority groups may claim full 'language' status for their variety, especially if it has been disregarded as a 'substandard' dialect in the past (e.g. Aragonese in Spain). Separatist groups may highlight linguistic differences to support their cause, while national governments may play these down. Paradoxes such as the mutual incomprehensibility of Chinese 'dialects' compared to the mutual comprehensibility of Scandinavian languages are clearly motivated by political and nationalistic considerations rather than linguistic ones.

In addition, complete information on all of the world's languages is not available: the majority have not been recorded or analysed by linguists, have no dictionaries or even written form, and are not recognised officially in the countries in which they are spoken. What information there is, is often out of date: for example, for Dgernesiais, the language variety I will discuss later in this paper, the information in *Ethnologue* is based on a 1976 estimate and ignores more recent data such as the 2001 census.

The Introduction to *Ethnologue* admits that 'Because languages are dynamic and variable and undergo constant change, the total number of living languages in the world cannot be known precisely'

(Lewis 2009). Nevertheless, the traditional approach to counting languages is still followed by most field linguists, and also by the UNESCO *Atlas of Languages in Danger of Disappearing* (Moseley 2009). Despite their shortcomings however, at the very least these compendia provide a useful guide to relative levels of linguistic diversity around the world. Figure 1 shows the proportion of languages in each continent. It can be seen that Europe is by far the least linguistically diverse continent, which is worrying if other parts of the world continue to follow European trends.

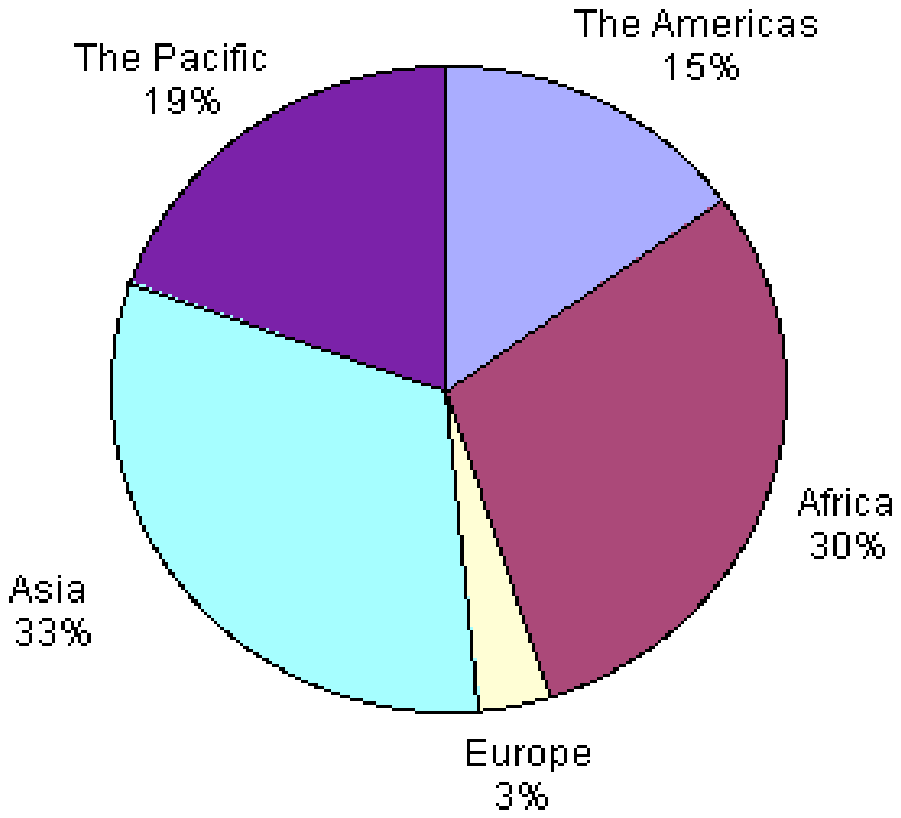

Figure 1 The proportion of languages in each continent of the world

Language endangerment

What this chart does not show is the relative number of users of each language. As only about 80 of the 6000+ languages in the world have more than 10 million users, it is clear that the vast majority of

languages are used by relatively small numbers of people. It is thought that 95% of the world's languages have less than 1 million native speakers/signers, with an average of approximately 6000 users per language. Again, this is only an estimate based on the pattern found in documented languages, but the number of speakers of major languages is relatively easy to ascertain, and any undiscovered languages are likely to only have a relatively small number of speakers.

Linguists are becoming increasingly alarmed at the rate at which languages are going out of use. A special issue of the journal *Language* (Hale et al. 1992), based on a colloquium held at an annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, drew attention to the scale of language endangerment, and called for a concerted effort by linguists to record the remaining speakers and to create linguistic archives for future reference (this is referred to as *language documentation*). In this issue, Krauss (1992) estimated that 90% of the world's languages would be severely endangered by 2100. According to more optimistic estimates such as Nettle & Romaine (2000) and Crystal (2000), 'only' 50% will be lost. A number of initiatives have been launched, including:

- the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project,[1] which funds documentation projects, maintains an archive of recordings, transcriptions and metadata, and runs an academic programme to train linguists and researchers;[2]
- the Volkswagen Foundation's sponsorship of the DoBeS (Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen)[3] project;

[1] www.hrelp.org/ This and all subsequent URLs cited in this article were accessed between 1 and 10 October 2009.
[2] This is the programme I work for.
[3] = 'Documentation of endangered languages', www.mpi.nl/DOBES/

- the US National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and National Science Foundation (NSF) Documenting Endangered Languages initiative (DEL), 'a new, multi-year effort to preserve records of key languages before they become extinct';[4]
- the European Science Foundation Better Analyses Based on Endangered Languages programme (EuroBABEL) whose main purpose is 'to promote empirical research on underdescribed endangered languages, both spoken and signed';[5]
- The Chirac Foundation for Sustainable Development and Cultural Dialogue Sorosoro programme 'so the languages of the world may prosper';[6]
- The World Oral Literature Project based at Cambridge University, 'to record the voices of vanishing worlds';[7]
- smaller non-profit initiatives, notably the Foundation for Endangered Languages[8] and the Endangered Languages Fund[9].

Intergovernmental agencies have taken on board the problem of the loss of linguistic diversity. The United Nations has a number of policy papers and guidelines for governmental action plans on the UNESCO website under the heading of safeguarding 'intangible cultural heritage' (UNESCO 2003a; 2003b). One of the tasks that UNESCO has tried to tackle is how to categorise levels of endangerment. Assessing levels of language knowledge and use is an

[4] http://www.neh.gov/manage/fellowshipsgi_DEL_09_10.html
[5] http://www.esf.org/activities/eurocores/programmes/eurobabel.html
[6] http://www.fondationchirac.eu/en/sorosoro-program/
[7] http://www.oralliterature.org/, accessed 10 October 2009
[8] http://www.ogmios.org/
[9] http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/

important element of language documentation and planning because 'a language spoken by several thousand people on a daily basis presents a much different set of options for revitalization than a language that has a dozen native speakers who rarely use it' (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, p.3). Although numerous schemes have been proposed, the most comprehensive is UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework[10], which is shown in Table 1. It establishes six degrees of vitality/endangerment based on nine factors. Of these factors, the most salient is that of intergenerational transmission: whether or not a language is used in the family. This factor is generally accepted as the 'gold standard' of language vitality (Fishman 1991).

Degree of endangerment	**Intergenerational Language Transmission**
safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
extinct	there are no speakers left

Table 1 UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework

[10] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00139

Causes of language endangerment

The causes of language endangerment can be divided into four main categories:

1. Natural catastrophes, famine, disease: for example, Malol, Papua New Guinea (earthquake); Andaman Islands (tsunami)
2. War and genocide, for example, Tasmania (genocide by colonists); Brazilian indigenous peoples (disputes over land and resource); El Salvador (civil war)
3. Overt repression, e.g. for 'national unity' (including forcible resettlement): for example, Kurdish, Welsh, Native American languages
4. Cultural/political/economic dominance, for example, Ainu, Manx, Sorbian, Quechua and many others.

(synthesised from Nettle & Romaine 2000; Crystal, 2000)

Factors often overlap or occur together. The dividing lines can be difficult to distinguish, for example, in the Americas disease and suppression of Native cultures spread after colonization, and in Ireland many Irish speakers died or emigrated due to government inaction which compounded the effects of the potato blight famine in the nineteenth century.

The fourth category, which is the most common, can be further subdivided into five common factors:

- Economic: for example, rural poverty leads to migration to cities and further afield. If the local economy improves, tourism may bring speakers of majority languages
- Cultural dominance by the majority community, for example, education and literature through the majority or

state language only; indigenous language and culture may become 'folklorised'

- Political: for example, education policies which ignore or exclude local languages, lack of recognition or political representation, bans on the use of minority languages in public life
- Historical: for example, colonization, boundary disputes, the rise of one group and their language variety to political and cultural dominance
- Attitudinal: for example, minority languages become associated with poverty, illiteracy and hardship, while the dominant language is associated with progress/escape. More recently, there have been many community initiatives to revive or revitalise endangered languages (for examples see Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Hinton & Hale 2002).

Why worry about language endangerment?

Value to linguistic science

Throughout history languages have died out and been replaced by others through language contact, or through divergence due to lack of communication over distances (Dalby 2002). Until recently this was seen as a natural cycle. But the growing number of linguistic varieties no longer being learnt by children, coupled with a tendency for speakers to shift to languages of wider communication (especially varieties of English), means that unless the myriad inventive ways in which humans express themselves are documented now, future generations may not be aware of them: for example, Ubykh, a Caucasian language whose last fully competent speaker died in 1992, has 84 distinct consonants and according to some analyses, only two phonological vowels. This is the smallest proportion of vowels to

consonants known, and the possibility of such a language would have been unheard of if linguists such as Georges Dumézil, Hans Vogt & George Hewitt had not recorded the last fluent speaker (Tevfik Esenç) before he died and analysed the language. Krauss (1992, p.10) called for 'some rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that has presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated'.

Several of the languages currently being documented are sign languages, some of which are still in the process of development and can thus shed valuable light on linguistic evolution. Ahmad (2008) points out that most overviews of language endangerment omit mention of sign languages (an exception is Harrison 2007). As well as facing similar problems to other minority languages, sign languages have to counter prejudice from those who do not recognise them as full languages.

Cultural heritage

UNESCO's website states that 'Cultural diversity is a driving force of development, not only in respect of economic growth, but also as a means of leading a more fulfilling intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual life.'[11] Linguistic diversity is cited as a 'pillar of Cultural Diversity': 'Languages, with their complex implications for identity, communication, social integration, education and development, are of strategic importance for people and the planet. […] When languages fade, so does the world's rich tapestry of cultural diversity. Opportunities, traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking and expression – valuable resources for ensuring a better future are also

[11] http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34321&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

lost'.[12] This is also the theme of David Harrison's book *When Languages Die* (2007).

Language and ecology

A number of authors identify parallels, and even correlations, between cultural and linguistic diversity and biological diversity. Biological scientists, especially Sutherland (2003), have found that places such as Indonesia and Papua New Guinea which have a high number of different biological species also have a large number of different languages, compared to Europe, which has the fewest of both. This theme has been taken up enthusiastically by the organisation Terralingua[13] and some researchers and campaigners (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002). It has also received considerable public attention, e.g. in a series of programmes on BBC Radio 4 entitled *Lost for Words* and the TV chat show Richard and Judy.

Does this mean, however, that there is a causative link? Are the causes of language death and species decline the same? Sutherland (2003) concludes that although there is a clear correlation between cultural and biological diversity, the reasons for decline are likely to be different. However, a number of 'ecolinguists' employ the tools of critical discourse analysis to claim that the endangerment of the natural environment is in part caused by language, pointing out linguistic practices which reveal an exploitative attitude towards the natural environment (e.g. papers in Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001). A more political interpretation might argue that the decline in both linguistic and biological diversity are by-products of globalisation and/or international capitalism.

[12] http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35097&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
[13] http://www.terralingua.org/

'Ecolinguistics' has a tendency to treat language as a living organism, which as Mackey (2001) reminds us is a fallacy: languages are human artefacts not species, and do not have a life of their own outside human communities. Human communities therefore need to be sustainable in order to maintain their languages.

Language and identity

Languages are often seen as symbols of ethnic and national identity. Many endangered language campaigners claim that when a language dies out, a unique way of looking at the world also disappears (for example, Fishman 1989; Nettle & Romaine 2000; Dalby 2002). This can be seen as a weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which claims that our way of thinking, and thus our cultural identity, are determined by the lexicon and syntax of our language (Carroll 1956, Mandelbaum 1949). Discourse on endangered languages has therefore been criticised for being 'essentialist' and 'deterministic', especially by Duchêne & Heller (2007).

Many recent writers, influenced by postmodernism, see identities not as fixed, formal realities, but rather as fluid, constructed while people position themselves within and between the various social settings of their everyday lives (for example, Castells 2000; Omoniyi & White 2006): e.g. we may think of ourselves primarily as students at one point in the day, and as members of a sports team at another. This may help to account for the paradox whereby many endangered language speakers claim a strong identification with their language, yet do not transmit it to their children. As Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985, pp.239-40) note, feelings of ethnic identity can survive total language loss. Dorian (1999, p.31) comments, 'Because it is only one of an almost infinite variety of potential identity markers, [a language] is easily replaced by others that are just

as effective. In this respect the ancestral language is functionally expendable.'

Nevertheless, maintaining regional identity is seen as increasingly important in the era of globalisation. Language is one of the ways in which people construct their identities, and thus may be highlighted when it seems salient. As Lanza & Svendsen (2007, p.293) suggest, 'language might become important for identity when a group feels it is losing its identity due to political or social reasons'. Language planners and activists may promote symbolic ethnicity and 'localness' as means to encourage language revitalisation.

Linguistic Human Rights

The right to use one's own language, in public or even in private, is not universal. For example, in Turkey until recently, the existence of Kurdish was officially denied: Kurds were known as 'Mountain Turks', Kurdish names were not allowed, and there were no media or other services in the Kurdish language. In the last few years there have been some improvements in minority rights due to Turkey's application to join the European Union. The EU has declared overt support for linguistic diversity and minority rights, which has led to significant improvements in prospective member states (Commission of the European Communities 2004).

Even in the UK members of ethnic minorities may be encouraged to speak English with their children 'so as not to confuse them', thereby breaking the chain of intergenerational transmission. Although six indigenous regional minority languages are officially recognised (Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Cornish, Irish, Scots, Ulster Scots) as well as British Sign Language, there are few facilities for speakers of community or immigrant languages, of which there are approximately 300 in London alone. The Chair of the UK Equality

Commission, Trevor Phillips, stated in a discussion panel on multilingualism at the British Museum in December 2008 that minority language speakers were free to use their languages in the home, but that public support for these languages was impractical and might be divisive. Nevertheless, people who are not fluent in national or official languages need access to services such as education, the media and the justice system, and inadequate translation might deny them access to justice. In many countries (e.g. Uganda, Haiti, the Seychelles) the vast majority of the population do not speak or read/write the official (usually ex-colonial) languages, and are thus denied the opportunity to participate in public life.

Romaine (2008) combines several of the above points by arguing that preserving linguistic ecology will ultimately benefit both human social justice and the natural world:

> The preservation of a language in its fullest sense ultimately entails the maintenance of the community who speaks it, and therefore the arguments in favor of doing something to reverse language shift are ultimately about sustaining cultures and habitats […] Maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity is a matter of social justice because distinctiveness in culture and language has formed the basis for defining human identities (Romaine 2008, p.19).

Education policy

Research has consistently found that education through the 'mother tongue' provides the best start for children (e.g. Baker 2006; Cummins & Swain 1986; Cummins 1979, 1991). Additive bilingualism correlates with higher general educational achievement, including in other languages. However, the full advantages are only reaped if both linguistic varieties are afforded equal (or at least respected) status, and full 'biliteracy' is developed (Kenner 2003; Hornberger 2003). Children from minority-language backgrounds

face disadvantages in 'submersion' situations in mainstream, majority-language classes where little linguistic support is provided (Edelsky et al. 1983). Subtractive bilingualism, where one language is replaced by another, can lead to loss of self-confidence and lower achievement. If we really want children from minority backgrounds to fulfil their full educational and economic potential, their home languages should be supported; the majority population would also benefit from multilingual and cross-cultural education.

It is often assumed that shifting language will bring economic benefits. But linguistic intolerance can mask other discrimination, especially racism. Blommaert (2001), Sealey & Carter (2004) and Williams (1992) see language minoritisation as a symptom of wider hegemonic ideologies and social and political inequalities. This point is echoed by Nettle & Romaine (2000), who note that linguistic minorities do not always benefit from shifting to a new language.

Wouldn't it be better if we all spoke one language?

Another common assumption is that using a single language would bring peace, either in a particular country or worldwide. Linguistic diversity is assumed to contribute to inter-ethnic conflict (Brewer 2001) and is seen as a problem rather than a resource (Ruíz 1988). But as noted above, language conflicts are very rarely about language alone. Some of the worst violence occurs where language is not a factor at the start of the conflict, e.g. Rwanda or former Yugoslavia. In the latter case, linguistic divergence was a consequence rather than a cause of conflict (Greenberg 2004): what was formerly known as Serbo-Croat is now split into Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin, etc., with different writing systems and loan words which emphasise desired ethnic and religious affiliations. On the other hand, an increasing number of studies see recognition of linguistic rights and

ethnic identity factors as necessary for conflict resolution (e.g. Ashmore et al. 2001; Daftary 2000).

Language usefulness

Several people I have interviewed suggest that it would be "more useful" to teach a major international language than a "useless" endangered language:

> 'I think it would be more useful to teach a modern European language such as French or German.' (Dentist, 40s)

> 'If children are going to learn another language at school they should learn proper French or German or Spanish, or even an Eastern language – a language that's widely used.' (Retired teacher, 70s)

It is, however, a fallacy to assume that speakers have to give up one language in order to learn another. In fact, people who are bilingual find it easier to learn other languages.

Moreover, it is not only major foreign languages (even if less commonly taught) which may prove useful. Even indigenous languages with no apparent relevance to the outside or modern world can prove useful, for example the use of Navajo by 'code-talkers' in the Second World War. Moreover, a major international language does not necessarily fulfil the desire of many in endangered-language communities to get back to their perceived roots:

> Chaque village a son propre parler picard; en apprenant le patois d'un autre village, on ne retrouvera pas ses racines. (Pooley 1998, p.48)
> [Each village has its own variety of Picard; if you learn the dialect of another village, you won't find your roots.]

It can also be useful sometimes to have the option of saying things in a language that not everyone understands. Some teenagers that I interviewed expressed interest in having 'A secret language of your

own – cool'. This indicates the possibility of a different type of identity expression to the traditional "essentialist" type.

Researching an endangered language

I have been conducting research into my own 'heritage' language, Dgernesiais, since 2000. Apart from the very important tasks of recording and analysing the language as discussed above, it is important to discover the reasons for language shift and possible measures to reverse it. Research questions that I have addressed include:

- To what extent is the language currently being used and passed on?
- What are the attitudes of speakers and non-speakers towards it?
- What are the processes of language shift?
- What are the linguistic effects of language contact and shift?
- Can anything be done to stop it declining, or to revive it?
- Can measures undertaken elsewhere be applied here?

Language attitudes and endangerment

As noted earlier under the causes of language endangerment, attitudes are key to whether languages are maintained or abandoned. Negative attitudes are often internalised by speakers, and use of a minority language comes to be stigmatised, so that speakers feel ashamed of it. Speakers are then less likely to transmit the language to their children, leading to a self-perpetuating downward spiral. 'When the children object to speaking a language, gradually forget it or pretend to have forgotten it because they are ashamed of it, its future is much less assured' (Calvet 1998, p.75). However, ideologies are not inescapable, and attitudes and practice can be changed

through human individuality/agency: e.g. the move from using generic 'he' to 'he or she'. Kroskrity (2000) suggests that that the more aware group members are of ideologies, the more these can be challenged and contested.

As Garrett, Coupland & Williams (2003) note, common-sense and advertising commonly assume that influencing attitudes can alter behaviour. This is indeed the aim of much language planning and efforts to revive and revitalise languages. Nevertheless, there has been little research into "attitude shift": how attitudes towards many endangered languages have become steadily more positive over the last few decades, and the motivations of those involved. This therefore became the focus of my own research into the indigenous language of Guernsey.

Guernsey

Guernsey is an island in the English Channel, about 80 miles/130 km from Weymouth, the nearest British port, but only approximately 20 miles/32 km from Carteret, the nearest French port. At approximately 25 sq. miles (62 km^2) it is the second largest of the Channel Islands, which are semi-autonomous dependencies of the British Crown. The Bailiwick of Guernsey comprises Guernsey itself plus Alderney, Sark, and several smaller islands. Guernsey has a population of approximately 62,000.

Historically, the Channel Islands belonged to Normandy at the time of the Norman invasion of England in 1066, so some islanders claim that they won the Battle of Hastings and that England is their oldest colony. Guernsey is well-known for its cows, sweaters, and the German occupation in the Second World War (the Channel Islands were the only part of the British Isles to be occupied). Until recently the main industry was horticulture (especially tomatoes), but

this was overtaken in the 20th century by tourism and then by the finance industry (due to the islands' low taxation). The islands are not part of the United Kingdom and are associate members of the European Union. They therefore do not benefit from EU support for regional/minority languages, which have brought recognition and support to many indigenous minority languages in Europe.

The main language used nowadays is English. Each Channel Island has, or had, its own variety of Norman French, although only those of Jersey, Guernsey, and Sark are still spoken. These vernaculars have been (dis)regarded for much of their history as low-status, degraded or corrupted *patois* or dialects of French, although the degree of comprehension by French speakers is low. They do not have official status or names, but this paper will refer to Guernsey's indigenous language variety as Dgernesiais,[14] the name which the majority of native speakers interviewed claimed to prefer.

As noted earlier, Dgernesiais is categorised as 'highly endangered' by UNESCO. In the 2001 census 1,327 people reported speaking it fluently, i.e. 2.22% of the population. However, considerably more (1 in 7) have some understanding, a common situation in language endangerment. At the time of the last census in 2001, 70.4% of the fluent speakers were aged over 64, and only 31 fluent speakers were reported under age 20. However, language campaigners say they do not know these children, and the fact that only 19 children were reported to understand Dgernesiais fully casts doubt on the reliability of these reports, given the tendency for more people to understand an endangered language than to speak it. What can be said definitely is that there are very few children learning Dgernesiais in the home.

[14] Dgernesiais has no standard spelling and the name is also spelt "Dgernesiais" or "Guernésiais". Each of these is usually mispronounced in various ways by non-speakers. Its correct pronunciation is /ˌʤɛrnezˈjei/

Since 2001 the number of fluent speakers appears to have fallen sharply. The Guernsey Language Officer estimates the number of fully fluent speakers at just a few hundred, several of whom are very old and frail; deaths are reported each week. Loss of fluency due to loss of interlocutors is an increasing problem; there may also have been over-reporting of active fluency in the census. Dgernesiais is therefore much more endangered than previously realised. Table 2 relates the common factors in language endangerment discussed earlier to Dgernesiais.

Economic	**Cultural**	**Political**	**Historical**	**Attitudinal**
Dependence on UK for imports and exports Tax haven, banking industry Tourist trade	Almost completely anglicised Language not a symbol of identity Indigenous language and culture folklorised Religion: Methodism strong	Self-governing since 12th century Not full member of EU British system of education No official support or recognition, no use in education	Formerly a high-status inter-national language Emigration and immigration 1940s: German occupation, evacuation of children	Low status, peasant language, poverty English = progress/ escape Recent revitalisation initiatives

Table 2 Common endangerment factors related to Dgernesiais

As with many other minority vernaculars, until the late 20th century Dgernesiais was perceived as an impediment to social advancement, a low-status non-language (*patois*). In Guernsey the cycle of low prestige, which both reinforced and was reinforced by negative attitudes and lack of official support, has led to an ideology of deficit

and to shift to English. The old language and culture were associated with backwardness and poverty; English was seen as the route to economic advantage.

Studies of attitudes towards language minority typically focus on the attitudes of speakers and the relationship of these attitudes to ethnolinguistic vitality and language maintenance (e.g. Schlieben-Lange 1977; Dorian 1981; Priestly 1989, Williamson 1991; House 2002). But given that they are a minority, speakers' attitudes do not necessarily carry weight with decision-makers. For language maintenance and revitalisation measures to gain the support of gate-keeping and funding authorities, they need to be accepted by the majority community, who by definition do not speak the language. I therefore circulated a questionnaire aimed specifically at eliciting the attitudes of Anglophones, the majority community in Guernsey. This survey investigated whether anecdotal reports of increasingly positive attitudes towards Dgernesiais were accurate, and whether non-speakers view the indigenous language as important for Guernsey identity.

The questionnaire consisted of attitude statements with a five-point scale of responses from 'agree strongly' to 'disagree strongly', plus open questions. Surveys based on self-reports have been criticised because respondents do not necessarily reveal private attitudes when directly questioned, but may try to project attitudes they feel are more socially acceptable or which they presume the researcher is looking for (Potter & Wetherell 1987; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998). However, quantitative studies are more highly respected by officialdom than ethnographic or qualitative research. The questionnaires were supplemented by interviews with respondents who indicated their willingness to provide more background. The questionnaire was circulated via contacts' social and

work networks to improve response rates, and 209 responses were received. The respondents' demographic profile matched the census in that only 2.26% reported speaking Dgernesiais fluently compared to 2.22% in the 2001 census and one third were non-Guernsey-born. I was concerned that the sample should be as representative as possible due to the "observer's paradox" difficulty of eliciting responses from those with no interest in language issues, so primary contacts were instructed to find respondents who were not committed language revitalisation enthusiasts but preferably people who had not thought much about language issues. However, these concerns were allayed by analysis of the profile of the respondents: statistical analysis revealed that in most cases demographic variables such as age, gender, origin, occupation, and education level did not have a statistically significant effect on attitudinal responses.

The strength of support for Dgernesiais maintenance in the questionnaire results was surprising, even given the previous anecdotal reports. Overall, 56.2% of respondents agreed strongly that 'Guernsey Norman French[15] is an important part of our heritage', with a further 27.9% agreeing mildly. Only 2% disagreed strongly. Responses to this statement were not distinguished significantly by educational level, occupation, sex or origin, although those born outside Guernsey were slightly less likely to disagree strongly. Ability to speak or understand Dgernesiais also made no difference: 75 out of 152 respondents who spoke no Dgernesiais agreed strongly, and 53 of the 115 who reported not understanding any. Some examples are given in Figures 2–9.

It can be seen in Figure 2 that the distribution of responses to the statement 'Guernsey Norman French is irrelevant to the modern world' (front row) was more even than to 'It doesn't matter if

[15] The survey used the term "Guernsey Norman French" following the example of the Census, to avoid ambiguity.

Guernsey Norman French dies out'(back row), to which the vast majority of all respondents disagreed (50.5% disagreeing strongly and 25.3% mildly).

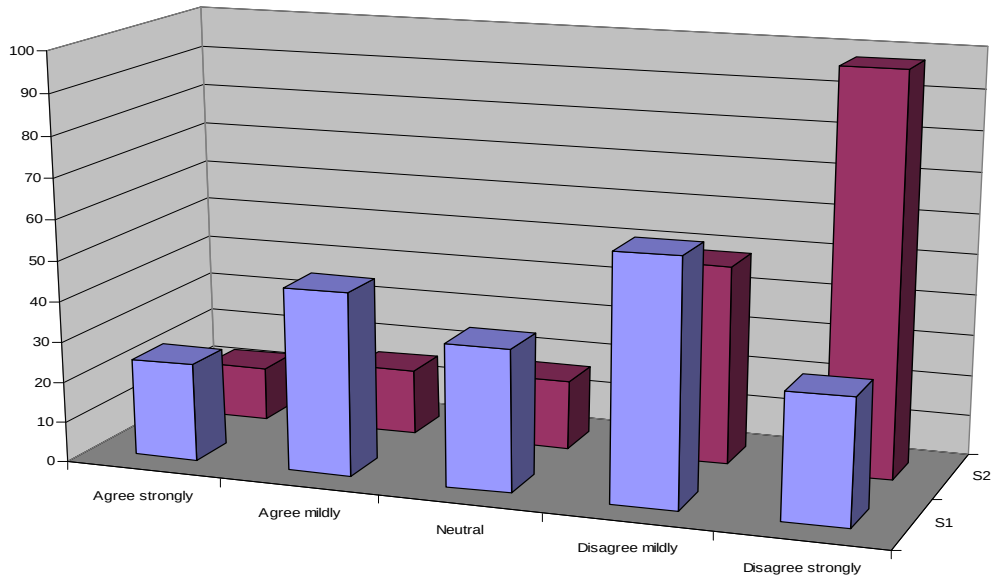

Figure 2 Responses to 'Guernsey Norman French is irrelevant to the modern world' (front row) compared to 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out' (back row).

The vast majority of all respondents disagreed with the statements 'Guernsey Norman-French is just corrupt French' and 'You can't speak English properly if you speak Guernsey Norman-French', which were included because such attitudes had been cited by earlier interviewees as reasons for language shift. The responses to these questionnaire items are compared in Figure 3. Such views are clearly no longer seen as rational: only four respondents agreed strongly and 6 mildly with the former statement and just one strongly and two mildly with the latter. Interviewee GF39 commented:

> That was the perception that if you learnt this language you were going to be stupid – you know you wouldn't be able to manage in English and you wouldn't be able to learn at school and so on. I mean nowadays being bilingual is something to be proud of but in those days…

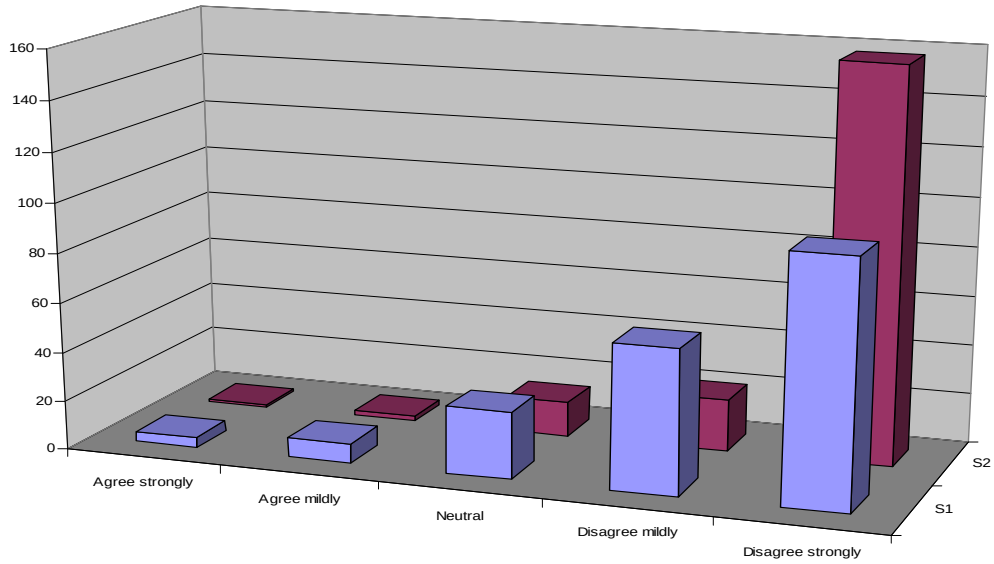

Figure 3 Responses to 'Guernsey Norman French is just corrupt French' compared to 'You can't speak English properly if you speak Guernsey Norman French'.

As shown in Figure 4, backing for general government support for Dgernesiais was higher than the more specific statement 'Guernsey Norman French should be taught in schools', indicating that campaigners might benefit from focusing on other areas of language planning. Support was strong across factors such as gender (with 62.2% of men and 67.2% of women agreeing either strongly or mildly) and origin (58.2% of non-Guernsey-born and 69.7% of Guernsey-born respectively). Once again, proficiency in Dgernesiais seems to have no bearing on the generally positive attitudes.

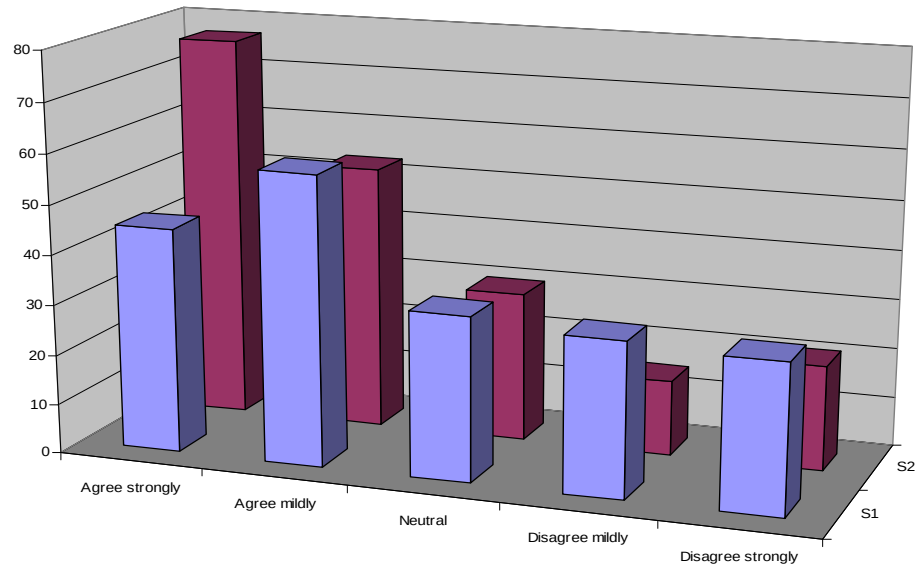

Figure 4 Responses to 'Guernsey Norman French should be taught in schools' compared to 'The States should support Dgernesiais'

Analysis of the questionnaire indicated that for most statements age was not a statistically significant factor, although under-18s showed a slight tendency not to respond as positively as others to some statements, which might prove worrying for future revitalisation efforts. As shown in Figure 5, respondents under 18 were the least likely to agree with the statement 'Speaking Guernsey Norman French is an important part of Guernsey identity' and those over 60 most likely: for once, this difference is statistically significant, with a Pearson regression analysis score of 0.03. The change in responses once respondents reach 18 is notable. However, the under-18 age group was the most likely to want to know Dgernesiais, with 42.9% agreeing strongly; next came the over-60s, 37.5% of whom agreed strongly and 29.2% mildly (see Figure 6); this is however not statistically significant.

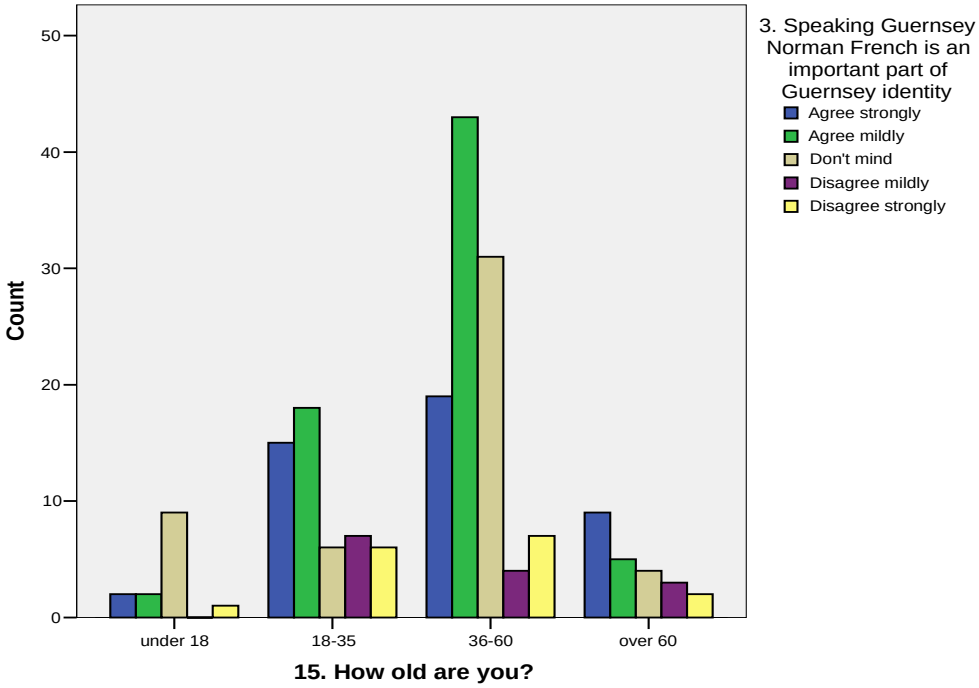

Figure 5 'Speaking Guernsey Norman French is an important part of Guernsey identity' analysed by age group

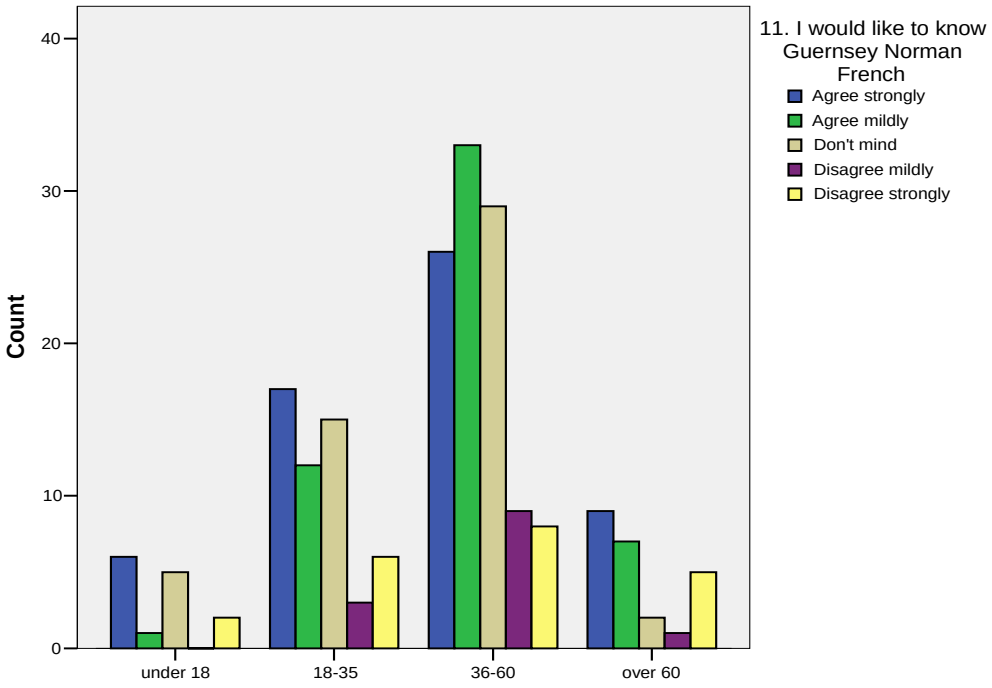

Figure 6 'I would like to know Guernsey Norman French' analysed by age group

With regard to occupation, profession, people working in education and IT were the most likely to support the proposition 'Guernsey Norman French should be taught in schools', while students were the least in favour; once again however, the difference is not statistically significant (Pearson $r = 0.782$). What is more, educationalists are the profession most likely to come from outside the island, yet they also tend to be pro-Dgernesiais, whereas the students questioned were all Guernsey-born.

In the 2001 census, 36% of the population reported being born outside the island. Of the remaining 64%, a considerable proportion must have (mainly British) immigrant backgrounds: there has been a continuous and substantial influx of outsiders since the mid-18th century (Crossan 2007). This proportion was reflected in the questionnaire respondents, and it is noteworthy that incomers from the UK are included in the general trend towards positive attitudes, as their presence is often cited as an influence in language shift. A common-sense generalization is that descendants of immigrants are less likely to speak Dgernesiais, and a number of respondents felt that people not born in Guernsey were less likely to be interested in revitalising Dgernesiais. However, as illustrated in Figure 7, the overall attitude questionnaire statistics show no significant difference in responses between natives and non-natives. Incomers are often keen to protect Guernsey's distinctiveness, which in many cases first attracted them to Guernsey (the other main 'pull' factor being pay in the finance sector). Indeed, there is anecdotal evidence that incomers send their children to Dgernesiais classes, and sometimes attend themselves, in order to get in touch with local culture and traditions. One respondent added a comment that teaching Dgernesiais could be a positive way of creating an 'inclusive' Guernsey identity.

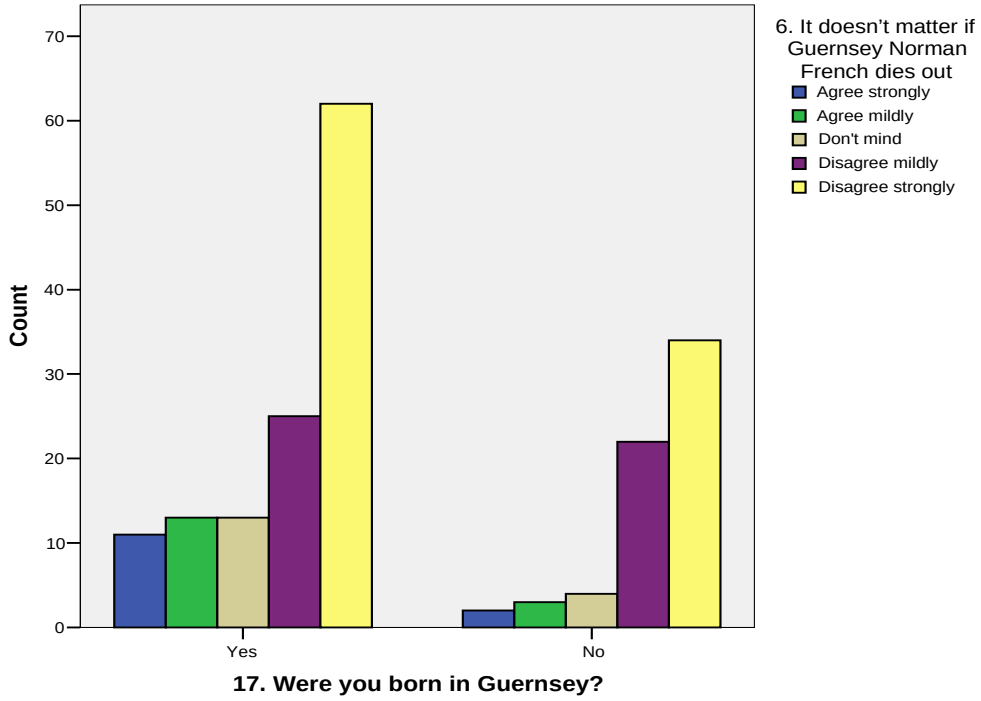

Figure 7 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out' analysed by origin

The responses to the question 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out' demonstrated the generally positive tendencies most strongly, and also indicated a strong emotional attachment to the idea of the language. The same distribution is seen across the variables of gender, job sector and geographical origin, as well as proficiency in Dgernesiais (see Figures 8 and 9).

Some authors, such as Freeland & Patrick (2004, p.8), seem to assume that 'folk ideologies', non-specialists' perceptions of language varieties (Nieldzielski & Preston 2003), will challenge essentialist/Whorfian views of language and identity. Yet many of my survey respondents took for granted the view of language as intimately linked to culture and identity. Even those who embrace a postmodern-style, fluid identity on a personal level do not necessarily reject traditional culture. One informant had had a sex change operation ('when you live in a small place it's not so easy to come

through') but was very proud of Guernsey heritage and in favour of Dgernesiais revitalisation, despite not speaking it. Research participants' own ideologies and perceptions of their identity are fundamental to an understanding of language endangerment and revitalisation processes, even if they do not agree with currently fashionable theories.

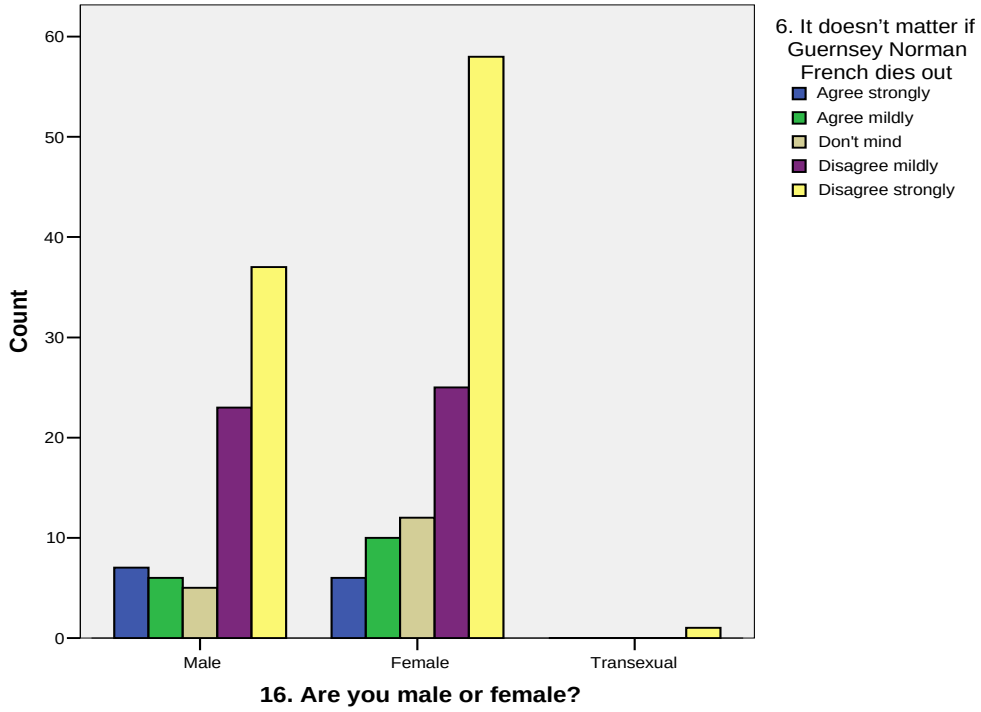

Figure 8 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out' analysed by gender

As shown in Figure 9, proficiency in Dgernesiais likewise seems to have no bearing on the generally positive attitudes. The questionnaire and interview data substantiate increasingly positive attitudes towards Dgernesiais among the majority community (Anglophones). Although no comparative surveys were carried out 20/30 years ago, respondents consistently report that attitudes then were much more negative:

> I think that was the thing – that's how we started to lose it after the war…er…it wasn't the in thing – to speak

> Guernsey French and that is right that in certain company you didn't speak it – because it made you feel a bit inferior but now it's the other way round – you don't feel at all inferior if you know it, it's completely the opposite you know?'
>
> 'I'd like all the family to speak it because I was embarrassed when I was young – but I'm not now, I'm proud'

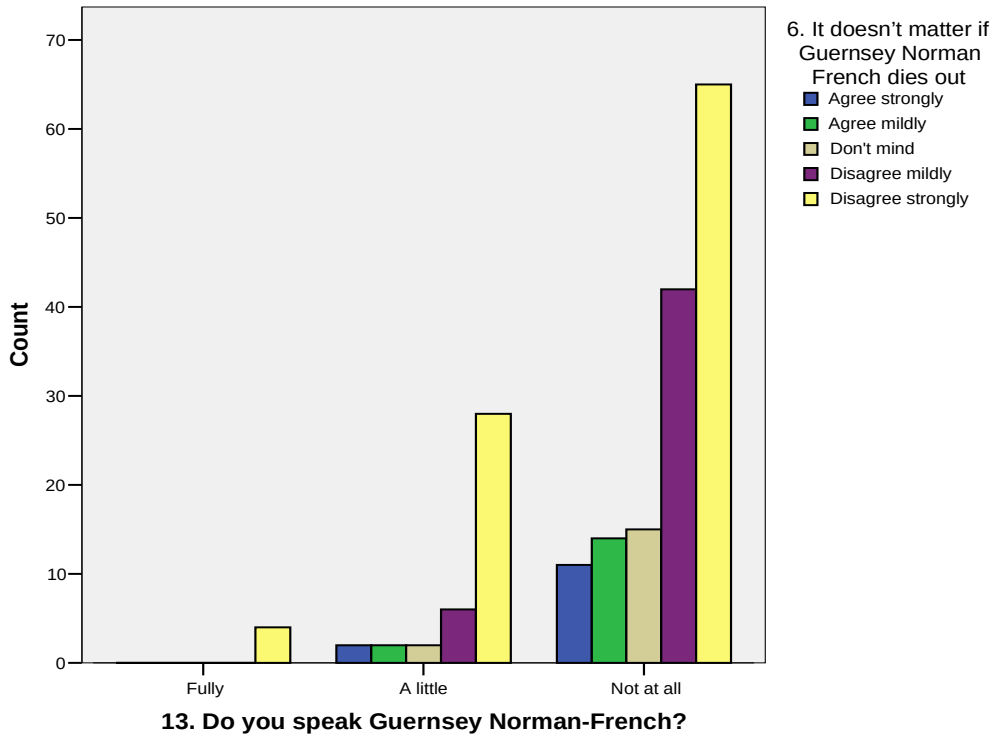

Figure 9 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out' compared to ability to speak Dgernesiais

I term this phenomenon *attitude shift* to echo *language shift*, although the direction of attitude shift tends to support a reversal of language shift. It could also be referred to as *ideology shift* because it seems to be happening on a society-wide basis. It has been identified as common in other endangered language contexts among the generation whose parents shifted language for economic reasons (Crystal 2000, p.106). My research, however, has found that this attitude shift has affected all generations: even those who taught their

children English for economic reasons now regret not having preserved bilingual competence and a link to their heritage for their children. Positive attitudes towards Dgernesiais have even reached the stage of being perceived as the majority view, with the result that few people, especially public figures, are now prepared to make on-the-record statements against indigenous language revitalisation.

This shift in attitudes has been achieved largely due to the efforts of voluntary activist groups, which have raised awareness with public relations-type activities such as festivals and performances, which are termed 'prestige planning' by language policy theorists (Haarmann 1990; Kaplan & Baldauf 1997), although most grass-roots campaigners are not aware of language planning terminology. Other awareness-raising activities have included a series of articles written by members of a language revitalisation group in a local weekly free newspaper (with English translations). The subject-matter of the articles provided a showcase for demonstrating that non-traditional topics could be addressed in Dgernesiais: for example, the bombing of Afghanistan, traffic congestion, holiday homes in France, my own research, and ways to replenish stocks of the ormer (a shellfish unique to Guernsey). A more recent newspaper initiative took a different approach: regular cartoons giving dialogues in Dgernesiais with pictures, English translations and 'phonetic' pronunciation. These were seen by the initiators as less challenging than longer articles. The stated aim was to raise the profile of Dgernesiais and attract people not originally interested in language issues.

Cooper (1989, p.161) raises the issue of grass-roots versus government involvement when contrasting the levels of success of language planning for the revitalisation of Māori and Irish. He comments that in New Zealand 'the initiative for the revitalisation program has come from the Māoris themselves', whereas in Ireland

at first 'the government promoters of maintenance made no serious attempt to promote the enthusiasm of people of the Gaeltacht themselves. The initiative came from outside'. Nevertheless, Spolsky (2004, p.198 and p.c.), also commenting on Māori revitalisation, sees eventual government recognition and support as essential for success; it undoubtedly provides more time, funds and resources than private groups and individuals have at their disposal. Until recently most language campaigning efforts in Guernsey were bottom-up, by groups and individuals with little knowledge of linguistics, sociolinguistics or language planning theory.

Attitudes are not actions, and prestige planning is not enough on its own to increase a language's vitality. Some speakers whose performance in festivals is high in terms of accent and accuracy, or who teach Dgernesiais in voluntary lessons, lack the confidence to speak it in their everyday life or to transmit it to their own children. But it can be argued that awareness-raising is a prerequisite for the acceptance and success of more concrete measures, as publicly funded measures require the support of the Anglophone majority. The island government has responded to the shift in public opinion demonstrated in my research with the appointment of a Language Officer for Dgernesiais in January 2008. A Language Strategy has been written, which it is hoped will provide a focus for voluntary groups. Awareness-raising activities continue, with weekly phrases on local radio stations and in the main newspaper. An interesting recent development has been a desire on the part of local companies to brand their wares using Dgernesiais, e.g. a coffee company which markets 'L'Espresso Guernesiais' served in 'La Coupaïe' ('the cupful')[16] or texts on beer bottles and beermats from a local brewery. Clearly stressing local identity thorough being associated with the

[16] See http://lacoupaie.com/

language is now seen as a commercial asset. There is also increased interest from the Education Department, indicating that acceptance in the school system, seen by many as key for both status and transmission of the language, is within sight. To date Dgernesiais lessons in schools have been extra-curricular and run on a voluntary basis, and demand is outstripping the supply of teachers.

Language revitalisation in Guernsey still has a long way to go before it can claim the success of Welsh or Māori, and it is likely that the current older generation will be the last fluent native speakers. But people are coming to recognise what is being lost, with the Anglophone majority also seeing Dgernesiais as an important part of local distinctiveness.

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The Self-representation of Regional and National Identities: Comparing the Translation Patterns between China and Hong Kong Tourism Websites

Chung-yan Kong (University of Edinburgh)

Introduction

Website translations are often considered as non-controversial texts both linguistically and culturally tailored to target audience (TA). Yet, within a promotional tourism context and from a self-representation perspective, website translations can be seen as a unilateral means to represent the self-identities[1] of a source culture (SC). When the identities are represented by some members within the SC to the TA supposed to be 'outsiders', this act of self-representation by domestic people who attempt to tell 'others' from their own perspective about themselves may give rise to three major questions. First of all, are the self-identities represented by these 'in-group members' necessarily coherent? If not, to what extent the incoherent assumptions of 'in-group members' are a consequence of the different assumptions between 'self' and 'others'? Third, what kind of dominant contextual factors may govern the translation patterns that manifest such differences?

To answer these questions, this paper studies the Chinese-to-English translations of four tourism websites. Based on Gideon Toury (1995)'s descriptive framework and the approach of Critical Discourse

[1] The dictionary meaning of a 'self-image' usually refers to a set of ideas one has about one's own qualities and abilities (Collins Cobuild 2003, under *self-image*). By this definition, the self-image may describe how members hypothesized as being in the same cultural community as the website owners' generally perceive about themselves, or even refer to what the website owners perceive about themselves in reality. In this paper, however, a 'self-identity' constituted by a set of self-images formed in the Chinese-to-English translations refers to a set of socio-cultural characteristics or values the website owners prefer to ascribe to themselves as their own brand images represented to the TA.

Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) [2], the translation patterns will be studied to understand how they may manifest that multiple self-identities are represented through translation. As Widdowson points out, the CDA may arouse skepticism about the conventional readings of those seemingly unequivocal messages in text, and explore it further (2004, p.173). In other words, using the CDA provides an alternative perspective to study the apparently non-controversial translations of the tourism websites and sheds light on the potential schemes, which may involve imposition of excessive political power through translation (Hammersley 1997, p.239). Within a self-representation context, this alternative perspective concerns a way to infer contextual meanings of the translation patterns from the writers' point of view, that is, a China-centered point of view. In other words, these two approaches are drawn on to understand how the translation patterns may come to manifest how the website owners prefer to present themselves to the international community.

The discussion will be divided into two main sections. Section One will provide some background information of the websites, and explain in detail the analytical framework. Section Two will demonstrate how the translation patterns of the websites form the cultural identities of the website owners within a self-representation context. Basic website information of the examples given in this section will be listed in the bibliography whereas the URL and other details of the quoted source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) will be provided in an appendix.

[2] As Widdowson notes, the CDA does not purport to reveal all discourses underlying a piece of text because different pretextual purposes of the real audience may lead them to have different interpretations of the discourse features and their SPs (2004, p.87). Given this limitation, this paper observes from a third-person analyst's perspective the translation of the relevant discourse features, and interprets their discursive meanings informed by some pre-existing scholarly studies on views of domestic people in China and HK.

Section One – Data Sets and Analytical Methods

Data

The data sets being analysed were collected from the source-language and target-language versions of the websites between March and July 2006. Of these four case studies, two are China-based (China websites) whereas the other two are Hong Kong-based (HK websites), both official and corporate websites respectively. For the two HK websites, the official website *DiscoverHongKong* (http://www.discoverhongkong.com) is launched by the government-funded Hong Kong Tourism Board (HKTB) and the corporate website *China Travel Services* (*CTS*) (http://www.ctshk.com/home.htm) is launched by a travel agency China Travel Service (CTS). As for the two China websites, the government site *China.Travel: China Tourism* (*CNTA*) (http://www.cnta.gov.cn/) is launched by the China's National Tourism Administration (CNTA) and the corporate site *Ctrip.com* (http://English/ctrip.com) by an online travel agency Ctrip.com.

Rather than studying all website components, this paper focuses on the STs and TTs of the destination sections. Such sections constitute an integral part of a tourism website and are less subject to frequent updates compared with sections carrying information about seasonal events and tour packages. In other words, stable contents within the destination sections may help understand how the website owners perform effective destination marketing, as well as image communication and positioning (Choi *et al*. 2007, p.120). Besides, the textual contents also carry substantial socio-cultural references and discourse features responsible for construing images and values the website producers intend to represent to the TA.

One may argue that since website translations are generally conceptualized as part of localization, the discussion should include audio-visual components of the websites rather than only focusing on the textual contents. With reference to some previous research such as the study by Minako O'Hagan and David Ashworth on the relationship between website translation and website localization, the

latter tends to put equal weight on content and package[3] as they often interact to formulate an entire message (2002, p.5, p.68). Yet, an initial ST-TT comparison of the verbal and non-verbal contents of the websites shows that these two general types of website components are not necessarily adapted or localized alongside each other. The lack of consistency in adapting certain audio-visual contents in the STs to the TTs leads to a decision to exclude them from the data. For instance, some photos in the STs display some Asian faces, with the accompanying text denoting them as travellers. These photos are sometimes replaced with some other photos framing non-Asian faces in the TT counterparts. Yet, such adaptation of non-verbal components is not applied to all similar cases within the same website. For instance, some other photos that also show Asian faces in the STs of *DiscoverHongKong* remain unchanged in their TTs. The other websites also display inconsistent ways of adapting their non-verbal components. Following this observation, repeated attempts have been made to examine the production procedures of the translations in order to investigate the reasons why there exists the lack of consistency in adapting the content and package of the websites, but no clear findings have been given. To fill in this gap, this paper adopts a product-oriented study, which focuses on observing the translation patterns of the textual contents and investigates from the perspective of a third-person analyst within the conceptual framework of website translation rather than localization how the website owners represent their self-identities.

Methodology

To understand if different self-images are represented between the websites, a method of two-stage comparison (see Figure 1) is adopted. This comparative method aims to understand what the translation patterns may mean to the website owners, what contextual factors

[3] On website localization, O'Hagan defines content as words and linguistic structures of a message whereas package as non-textual elements and medium of delivering contents including layouts, fonts, colour scheme, icon design, etc. (2002, p.67).

may have given rise to the translation patterns and to what extent such factors can be associated with any political or economic objectives.

The first stage is to compare the STs with the TTs of each website. Instead of studying all represented textual expressions, it only compares features that may constitute the narratives of China's or HK's domestic discourse with their style shifted after translation. Focusing on the features of domestic discourse aims to understand how the website owners present who they are by constructing a set of self-images or cultural characteristics. Such images may eventually come to constitute a cultural identity that the website owners intend to present to their TT audience.

As shown in Figure 1, since the intended audience between the STs and TTs are different, some features of domestic discourse in the STs may be reshaped or have their style shifted in the TTs. This act of self-representation may take various forms of translation strategies, including addition, deletion, replacement, etc. The shift patterns (SPs) of those features can be observed by mapping a represented feature in the TT onto its ST counterpart (Toury 1995, p.36). This mapping procedure aims to find out what self-images in the STs are reshaped or replaced, and what are newly created in the TTs. Also, styles may be shifted by features due to reasons beyond the website owners' socio-cultural preferences such as the linguistic differences between Chinese and English and those features are outside the remit of the comparison (Hermans 1999, p.75). Given the above considerations, the subsequent sections will use 'SPs' rather than 'translation patterns' to refer to the different ways in which the STs and TTs present this group of specifically discursive contents.

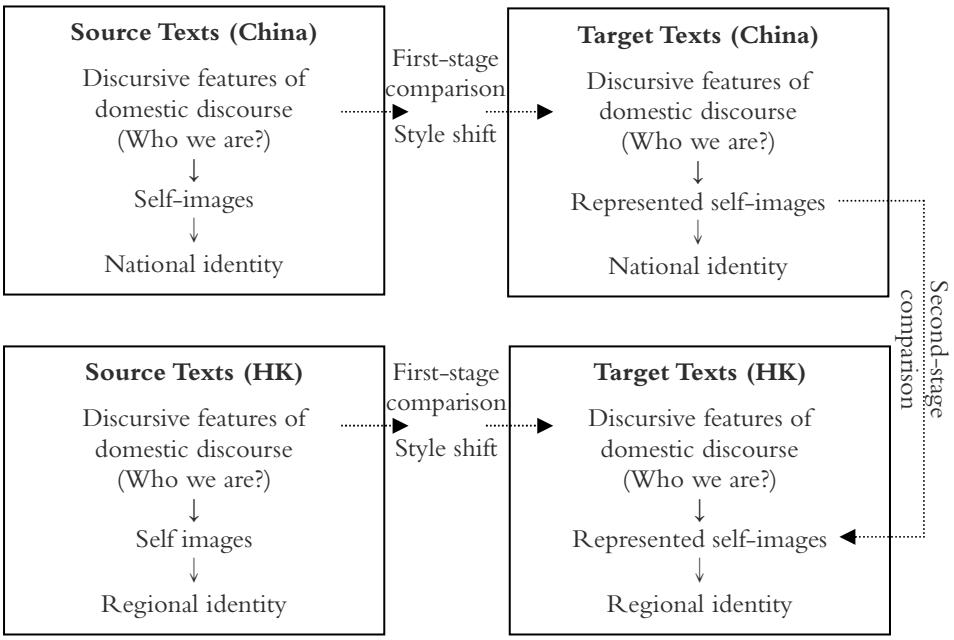

Figure 1

After observing how the set of self-images or the socio-cultural values emphasized or undermined by the SPs, the second stage is to compare them across the websites in the following ways: the socio-cultural implications underlying the different and similar self-images or socio-cultural values will be inferred from the respective contexts of the websites using the CDA. This second stage of comparison aims to understand whether the diverse SPs can be attributed to any specific contextual factors underlying the translational context of a particular website.

Section Two – Findings

Part One – Shift Patterns of the China Websites

One reason to compare between the China and HK websites in terms of the self-images represented by their Chinese-to-English translations is to understand if they manifest any differences between HK's domestic culture expressed to outsiders during its postcolonial era and China's national culture presented in its foreign context. Although HK is now physically, geographically and politically a part of China, it was a British colony for more than 150 years and has

only been ceded back to China since June 30, 1997 (McIntyre 2002, p.74). To understand if this historical separation has any impact on the ways for the domestic people of HK and of mainland China to present themselves by means of translation, the national images foregrounded by these represented discursive features and the contextual significance will be compared in Part Two with HK's regional images and their socio-cultural significance inferred from the SPs of the HK websites.

This part will firstly demonstrate [4] the self-images of China reinforced by the China websites. It shows that these distinctive images are mainly construed by three sets of references: (i) references to the past, (ii) references to Confucius and (iii) those associated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

(i) References to the past

Among those represented features that may constitute domestic discourse of China, many are shown to emphasize both imagery of the past and China's imperial context. They include expressions such as 'various emperors', 'the royal steles', 'court ministers and eunuchs', which are found to be later added to the translations (see Text 1 to Text 4). Similar imperial imagery can also be found construed by the SPs of Chinese regnal years. They may take the form of the reign title or the dynasty name of a Chinese emperor, and were designated as the name of each year in the imperial China. To facilitate the understanding of TA who are unfamiliar with the Chinese calendar, these Chinese references in the STs are sometimes converted into or supplemented by a corresponding period in the western calendar in the TTs. The following example may demonstrate why the SPs of these Chinese temporal markers in the China websites can be considered to reinforce an imperial image:

> **ST1:** In Qin and Han Dynasties, the place was named Yufu County (emphasis added; see Text 5 in the appendix).

[4] All examples shown in the STs are my own back-translations. The original expressions in the source language are given in the appendix.

> **TT1:** In Qin (221207 B.C.)(sic) and Han (206 B.C. A.D. 220)(sic) Dynasties, the place was named Yufu County (additions underlined; see Text 6 in the appendix).

This example shows that the dynasty names 'Qin' and 'Han' in ST1 are preserved in TT1 even when they are supplemented with a corresponding Western temporal reference. There exist many possible reasons for retaining the Chinese time references. Yet, from a China-centred self-representation perspective, the dynasty names may indicate an attempt to impress upon non-Chinese audience an imperial image of China. Besides, inserting the corresponding western time references to the TTs may indicate an attempt to make their audience understand more about China's history, particular its imperial past.

An example found in another China website, the *Ctrip.com*, also shows a similar attempt. As demonstrated in ST-TT2, the Chinese temporal reference ('the Northern Song Dynasty') found in ST2 is preserved in TT2. Yet, the western temporal marker ('some 900 years ago') in ST2 is later replaced in the translation by a piece of information, which specifies the historical period concerned and supplements information as to how the touristic feature acquires its significance from the imperial past.

> **ST2:** The pagoda was built in the Northern Song Dynasty, which is some 900 years ago (emphasis added; see Text 7 in the appendix).

> **TT2:** The pagoda was built in the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127 AD) at a time when Kaifeng was crowned as the capital of the country, and as such the pagoda was one of the most impressive of its time (substitute and addition underlined; see Text 8 in the appendix).

A ST-TT comparison indicates that the style shift shown in TT2 does not involve the deletion of the imperial reference ('the Northern Song Dynasty') from ST2 but a specification of the historical period in the western calendar in TT4. From the TT audience's perspective, retaining the Chinese temporal reference can be considered an act to facilitate understanding of Chinese history. From a China-centred

self-representation perspective, however, the Chinese temporal marker preserved in and the keyword 'crowned' embedded in the historical background added later to TT2 may show an attempt to add a hint of China's imperial past.

In fact, a similar attempt can also be evident in various SPs of these Chinese references. For instance, when Chinese and western temporal references appear side by side in a ST segment, only the latter is deleted from its Chinese-to-English translation. The emphasis of China's imperial image in the China website translations is even more noticeable when the SPs of similar temporal references in the China websites are compared with the HK websites. The following examples show that although both western and Chinese references stated in the STs of the HK websites, only the western references are either preserved or modified in the TTs. As shown in both examples, the Chinese references are not retained:

> **ST3:** Built in the 48th year (1832 AD) of Emperor Qianlong's reign of the Qing Dynasty, the temple is … (emphasis added; see Text 9 in the appendix).
>
> **TT3:** Built more than two centuries ago, the temple is … (substitute underlined; see Text 10 in the appendix).
>
> **ST4:** The temple's historical relics include a bronze bell dated cast during the reign of Daoguang (1847) of the Qing Dynasty and official sedan chairs made in 1862 (emphasis added; see Text 11 in the appendix).
>
> **TT4:** The temple's historical relics include a bronze bell dated 1847 and imperial sedan chairs made in 1862 (substitute underlined; see Text 12 in the appendix).

The above examples show that their STs carry both Chinese regnal years and their supplementary western temporal references ('1832 AD' in ST3 and '1847' in ST4) to denote a particular year in the imperial China. The former include the emperor titles 'Qianlong' in ST3 and 'Daoguang' in ST4, and the dynasty name 'the Qing Dynasty' in ST3 and ST4. Yet, these Chinese references become generalized ('more than two centuries ago') in TT3 and only the western reference ('dated 1847') in TT4 is preserved. Both instances

show that the Chinese temporal markers are not retained in the TTs of the HK websites.

From a China-centred self-representation perspective, the act of retaining the Chinese temporal markers in the TTs of the China website translations may reinforce an imperial image for two major reasons. First of all, while both Chinese and western temporal references equally denote a particular historical period, the former may symbolically construe an image of the imperial China. Secondly, one may argue that the western temporal references are preserved to facilitate non-Chinese audience to comprehend Chinese history better. Yet, from a translational perspective, the transliterated Chinese regnal years may indicate an attempt to preserve a flavour of the ST. As Hermans emphasizes, these types of culture-specific items[5] can be transliterated and supplemented by extratextual gloss whenever translators find it necessary to offer explanations of their meanings or implications (Hermans 1988, cited in Aixelá 1996, pp.59-60, 62), as demonstrated in TT1, TT2, ST3 and ST5.

Apart from references associated with the imperial context, some other expressions foregrounded in the China websites may also connote the past. Moreover, many of them are accompanied by noble expressions such as 'splendour', 'majestic', 'grandeur'. Consider the following examples:

> **ST5:** In 1985, it was restored (see Text 13 in the appendix).
>
> **TT5:** In 1985, it was restored to the former grandeur (addition underlined; see Text 14 in the appendix).
>
> **ST6:** Mount Taishan is one of China's most famous scenic spots and regarded as the first of the five highest mountains of China (see Text 15 in the appendix).
>
> **TT6:** Mount Taishan is oneof(sic) China's most famous scenic spots and regarded asthe(sic) first of thefive(sic) sacred mountains in ancientChina(sic) for its majesty and beauty (addition underlined; see Text 16 in the appendix).

[5] In Aixelá's terms, such transliterated expressions can be considered 'unmotivated' conventional culture-specific items, which can be realised in either proper or common nouns (1996, p.58-60).

The above examples indicate that noble expressions ('grandeur' in TT5 and 'majestic' in TT6), together with references that may also refer to the past ('former' in TT5 and 'ancient' in TT6), are added to the translations.

Whereas these references to the past inserted by means of various SPs into the TTs may indicate an attempt to reinforce an image of historical China, those noble expressions concurrently emphasized within the translational context may attach this historical image with a sense of national superiority. Their SPs may altogether indicate an attempt to represent China as a long-lived powerful nation in the TTs. This attempt is even more explicit if one investigates whether those expressions reflect all aspects of China's history. The SPs show that some negative aspects are also relevant to China's past. For instance, the fact that the historical relic needs to be restored as mentioned in ST5 may suggest that the relic is ageing and damaged. Also in TT6, the religious importance of the mountain to the locals can be inferred as superstitious. Yet, these undesirable connotations that may counteract the sense of superiority are suppressed by those positive images construed by those noble expressions inserted later into the translations.

In fact, this represented image is similar to a diplomatic image of China observed by Wang Hongying in her study of the English edition of two major governmental publications, *the Beijing Review* and *the Government Work Reports* (2003, p.52). Aiming to understand how China represents itself in foreign affairs, the study shows an attempt for the government to portray China, among other diplomatic images such as a peace-loving and socialist country, international co-operator and anti-hegemonic force, as a major power in the world (2003, p.52).[6]

The sense of national superiority conveyed in both of the above self-representation contexts may suggest that political power behind

[6] In the article, Wang does not state the exact expressions from which these projected images are derived. In one of the footnotes, she mentions that a high inter-coder agreement has been achieved by her research team, and details of their methodology and coding scheme were available from Wang (2003, p.51).

the formulation of the diplomatic image of China in the governmental publication may also be imposed on the translational context of the websites. One political constraint for the China websites is Internet censorship. Within the socio-political context of the China websites, it can be considered an official measure that contributes to building a 'powerful' image. Regulating all Internet activities in the mainland China, this political measure includes content filtering, monitoring and deterrence, as well as an encouragement of self-censorship (Kalathil 2003, p.9). According to the CCP's measures adopted in January 2000 to regulate activities of all China-based domestic Internet content providers, it is an offence to transmit 'state secrets' and contents that may subvert state power, 'disturb social order', undermine reunification efforts with Taiwan, spread rumours, 'preach the teachings of evil cults,' distribute 'salacious materials,' dispense pornography, slander others, or harm the 'honor' of China (Hachigian 2001, pp.123-4). It seems that such sensitive agendas may not have a bearing on an attempt to construct powerful national images in the translations. Yet, the extensive influence of this legal restraint implies that a certain degree of political power is likely to exist within the translational context. The political power implicated in both of the self-representation contexts may also explain the coherence between the superior image emphasized by the above SPs and the diplomatic image portrayed in the government publications.

(ii) References to Confucius

Besides the expressions connoting the past, those referring to Confucius found as later added to the translations may also indicate a unilateral attempt for the government to exercise its power over the translational context. For example:

> **ST7:** Since then, it has undergone renovation and expansion, the emperors of successive dynasties kept conferring titles upon Confucius (emphasis added; see Text 17 in the appendix).

> **TT7:** Since then, it has undergone renovation and expansion, the emperors of successive dynasties all competing in their veneration of the great sage (substitute underlined; see Text 18 in the appendix).

The expression emphasized in ST7 may suggest that the emperors enjoy a status superior to Confucius in the sense that the emperors were in an authoritative position to confer titles upon Confucius. This expression is later substituted by anther expression in TT7, in which their positions become the other way round. While Confucius is represented as 'the great sage' superior to the emperors, the emperors become someone who need to show great respect for Confucius. Some other examples even show that Confucianism is labelled as the philosophy of China in the TTs. Consider the following example:

> **ST8:** It was first built in the year following Confucius's death. With the increasing status of Confucius, the scale of the Confucius Forest is also growing. Since the Han Dynasty, the forest had been renovated by the Chinese emperors for more than 13 times until it becomes what is visible nowadays (emphasis added; see Text 19 in the appendix).

> **TT8:** It was first built in the year following Confucius's death (479 BC) and has been renovated many times since Confucianism was installed as a country wide philosophy (substitute underlined; see Text 20 in the appendix).

The above example shows that the detailed account of the Confucius Forest in ST8 is replaced with an expression emphasizing Confucianism as China's philosophy in TT8. At a superficial level, regarding the significance of Confucianism in contemporary China, one may say that these expressions are inserted to serve as a form of government propaganda. The reason is that although the communist revolution discredited the traditional form of Confucianism, it incorporates the Confucian ideal of ruling people by wisdom into the CPP's idea of spiritual control (Shaw 1996, p.42). Among such beliefs are hierarchical relationship; citizens' responsibilities and obligations; and the importance of respecting leaderships (Scollon & Scollon 1995, pp.129-30). By upholding the status of Confucianism

in the translational context, such additional references may therefore indicate an attempt to justify and remind domestic Chinese why they have to be obedient to the ruling party. Yet, this claim can be substantiated only if these expressions were inserted into the STs to target the Chinese citizens, and also into the *CNTA* ('China National Tourism Administration'), which is supposed to be a direct promotion channel for the government.

(iii) References to the Chinese Communist Party

A similar SP, in fact, is also evident in the references to the CCP. They are often accompanied with positive expressions describing the CCP's founder and former leader, Mao Zedong, as well as other party members. This SP is usually found in the translation of textual contents featuring touristic sites commemorating the Communist leaders and their revolutionary history. Consider the following examples:

> **TT9:** Tian'amen Square is…largely Mao's concoction...Mao inspected his troops here during the Cultural revolution and in 1976, one million people gathered in the square to pay tribute to the Chairman...For Chinese visitors, the site is of utmost importance. Today, it's filled with tourists visiting Chairman Mao's tomb, or paying their respects at the monument to the heroes of the Revolution (TT only; emphasis added; see Text 21 in the appendix).

> **TT10:** There are various religious relics and calligraphic exhibits on display and the hotel at the back of the complex was once a retirement home for Communist party members (TT only; emphasis added; see Text 22 in the appendix).

The expressions noted in TT9 may describe Mao as a prestigious national icon popular among local Chinese. Also, the expression highlighted in TT10 suggests that the previous residence of CCP members at a hotel is now presented in the translation as if the hotel has been visited by someone prestigious so that visitors may aspire to follow suit. Similar to the SPs of the references to Confucianism, one may say that these SPs indicate the existence of the government's

'spiritual control'. This political measure may emphasize to Chinese people the importance to worship China's communist leaders and revere the revolutionary history (Shaw 1996, pp.42-43).

One may argue that the SPs of the above references may not justify the existence of any political power imposed onto the translational context. This is because the inferred political propaganda is supposed to be meaningful only to the ST audience. The fact that such references are found inserted to the translations contradicts this argument.

One contextual factor that may reconcile this paradox is the practice of self-censorship. The fact that the above references are emphasized in the translations of the non-governmental website of *Ctrip.com* rather than those of the *CNTA* indicates that an indirect form of Internet censorship is taking effect in this self-representation context. Under the impact of self-censorship, the website owner may feel obliged to draw on such references to 'demonstrate' to outsiders in the translation their obedience to the CCP. This claimed gesture is, in fact, in line with the practice of some private-run businesses in China. They see self-censorship as a way to seek government partnership or other forms of support to provide political cover and pry capital from state-owned banks (Hachigian 2001, p.121). Given the prevalence of this practice in China's business sector, the SPs of the references to Confucius and those to the CCP displayed in *Ctrip.com* can be considered linguistic manifestations of this practice and hence a certain degree of political control over this particular translational context. Such SPs may suggest an attempt for the website owners to highlight in the translational context that it is obligatory as a Chinese to be obedient to the ruling party and that the CCP is a respectful authority. It can be inferred from China's Internet environment that the Ctrip.com in the private sector would not have 'volunteered' to propagandize for the CCP unless it is practising self-censorship. Under this scheme, adding such expressions to the translations can be a strategic attempt to show the CCP the willingness for the company to create a positive image for the

government in a foreign context by showing their receptiveness to its rule. This act may, in turn, help the company gain support from the government in future.

Part Two – Shift Patterns of the HK Websites

Unlike the above national images foregrounded by the SPs of the China websites, regional images foregrounded by the SPs of the HK websites display marked differences. Such differences are: (i) a distinctive characteristic of HK formulated by only the HK website translations, (ii) different self-images construed by similar references present in both HK and China website translations, (iii) as well as cultural images emphasized by the SPs of the China websites but absent from the HK website translations.

(i) Distinctive Hybrid Culture of Hong Kong

The 'Westernized' Influence

The most distinctive cultural characteristic emphasized only in the HK website translations is perhaps HK's hybrid culture. It represents a postcolonial self-writing for HK's complex cultural identity through domestic people's awareness of their impure historical origins described as somewhere between East and West, and between British colonialism and Chinese authoritarianism (Chow 1992, p.158). One example is the lyrics of a Canto pop song composed by Luo Dayou. It draws on idiomatic expressions alluding to wordings of classical Chinese prose to represent the twentieth century's city life of HK to, to enact the impure postcolonial culture of HK (Chow 1992, pp.159-62). This hybrid culture is narrated in HK's domestic discourse as constitutive to a newly emerging identity of HK, and embracing seemingly contradictory and yet co-existing cultural constituents.

One constituent that can be found as reinforced in the HK website translations is a taste of Westernness. This cultural characteristic can be manifested in some keywords that may reproduce HK's historically colonial context. For example:

> **ST11:** …the former official residence of governors in Hong Kong (emphasis added; see Text 23 in the appendix).
>
> **TT11:** …the former official residence of British governor in Hong Kong (substitute underlined; see Text 24 in the appendix).
>
> **ST12:** …home of 25 governors of Hong Kong set in a picturesque garden of rhododendrons and azaleas (emphasis added; see Text 25 in the appendix).
>
> **TT12:** …home of 25 former British governors set in a picturesque garden of rhododendrons and azaleas (substitute underlined; see Text 26 in the appendix).
>
> **TT13:** The 34,200 square metre Museum of Coastal Defence features a Reception Area, Redoubt and Historical Trail that paint a vivid picture of Britain's readiness to defend Hong Kong against any aggressors (TT only; emphasis added; see Text 27 in the appendix).

TT11 and TT12 indicate that the keyword 'British' is inserted into the translations. This SP may suggest an attempt to emphasize that it was 'British' who once administered HK. Also, the expression 'defend' as noted in TT13 may even assign an in-group status to Britain by addressing this former colonizer as a defender rather than an invader of HK.

It seems obvious that the above examples demonstrate a discursive effort to highlight rather than undermine HK's colonial history. Narrating HK as having received British culture as part of its domestic culture, the above key expressions can be considered to project HK as a westernized region. This claim seems to reaffirm the criticisms of some China's culturalists who have criticized HK for being so deeply rooted in its colonial past that it has now become too 'westernized' and 'inauthentic' or even a 'traitor' (Chow 1992, p.156).

Yet, further contextual evidence tells another side of the story. First of all, almost all gloomy aspects of HK's colonial history in the STs are removed from the translations. Those undesirable aspects, including the experiences of subalternity, dependency and poverty, are suppressed (Chow 1992, pp.156-7). These negative aspects are also

part of the colonization reality. Yet, their absence from the TTs may indicate an intention to play down the legacies of colonialism in this self-representation context. Consider the following example:

> **ST14: Did You Know?** — The Peak was developed as the residential area of Westerns in early colonial era. When the Peak Tram came into service in 1888, most passengers were Westerners. The limited space to the rear of the Tram was designed for third-class passengers to stand. They were Chinese people working for the Westerns at The Peak. Between 1908 and 1949, the two seats at the front of the Tram were reserved for the Hong Kong governors (emphasis added; see Text 28 in the appendix).
>
> **TT14: Did You Know?** — The Peak Tram, a cable-hauled funicular railway, transports about 9,000 passengers a day on its 1.4 km line. Gradients are as steep as one in two (see Text 29 in the appendix).

The expression highlighted in ST14 may convey a sense of inferiority of Hongkongese to British. In TT14, however, this expression is replaced by a pure description of the featured transport ('The Peak Tram'). With reference to HK's domestic discourse, this represented form of Westernized image seems to have a closer affinity with 'modernity' and 'internationality' than receptiveness to British colonialism. For example:

> **ST15:** This is where the colonial history of over a century started… (emphasis added; see Text 30 in the appendix).
>
> **TT15:** This is where modern Hong Kong started… (substitute underlined; see Text 31 in the appendix).
>
> **ST16:** It is home to a variety of chic restaurants offering a huge range of cuisine from all over the world, plenty of shopping malls… (emphasis added; see Text 32 in the appendix).
>
> **TT16:** It is home to a variety of chic restaurants offering a huge range of international cuisine, plenty of large modern shopping malls… (substitute and addition underlined; see Text 33 in the appendix).

The cultural characteristic 'modern' in TT15 replaces the expression 'colonial history' that may connote British colonialism in ST15. This

SP suggests that the characteristic of being 'modern' seems to outweigh that of once being 'colonial' in the translation. Also, expressions such as 'modern' and 'international' are inserted into TT16. Both examples suggest that the characteristics of 'modernity' and 'internationality' may be concurrently emphasized along with other constituents of the hybrid culture in the translations to constitute part of HK's identity.

The Influence from the Role as Partially 'Chinese'

What is even more intriguing about this represented form of Westernized image of HK is the role of a 'Chineseness' sense in the hybrid culture. The SPs of the HK websites show that a sentiment of the role as Chinese is also brought to light in the TTs. Consider the following examples:

> **TT17:** But the British seized on a minor skirmish between the two sides to demand the garrison's withdrawal on pain of a naval bombardment. Having already suffered enough from British guns, the Chinese had the good sense to abandon the fort although, by Treaty, the site remained theirs (TT only; emphases added; see Text 34 in the appendix).
>
> **ST18:** This was the site of the handover ceremony of Hong Kong in 1997 (see Text 35 in the appendix).
>
> **TT18:** This was the site of the handover of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 (addition underlined; see Text 36 in the appendix).

With reference to TT17, the expressions 'seized on a minor skirmish between the two sides' and 'a naval bombardment' in the first sentence and 'guns' in the second sentence may articulate the British scheme and seizure of HK. Also, looking back to the history from a Chinese perspective, the word 'pain' in the first sentence and the phrase 'suffered enough' in the following sentence may portray China as an innocent victim at the expense of British repression. Again in the same sentence, the phrase 'had the good sense to abandon the fort' may even provide an excuse for China's failure to defend HK against British invasion. A similar sense of influence from a Chinese

perspective may also be found emphasized in TT18, in which the inserted expression 'Chinese sovereignty' may indicate an attempt to articulate China's present sovereignty over HK.

Within the translational context of the HK websites, however, the discursive meaning of this sense of being Chinese seems slightly different from the sense of national superiority conveyed by the SPs of the China websites. For instance, 'artificial jewels' is rendered as 'Chinese costume jewellery' (emphases added; see Text 37 and Text 38 in the appendix). This SP indicates that a sense of 'Chineseness' is ascribed to the recommended souvenir 'jewels' in the translation. The following example also shows that a similar Chinese quality is attributed to the temple Fung Ying Seen Koon in TT19:

> **ST19:** …numerous pavilions and towers, altogether present an enchanting picture (emphasis added; see Text 39 in the appendix).
>
> **TT19:** …numerous pavilions and towers, all combining to present an enchanting postcard scene from the China of yesteryear (substitute underlined; see Text 40 in the appendix).

Yet, both of the above examples indicate that the ascribed Chineseness seems to be taken only in its literal sense. There is no sign that the inserted keywords 'Chinese' and 'China' also convey such strong sense of national superiority foregrounded by the imperial references inserted into the China website translations.

Hybrid Culture Inferred from HK's Socio-historical Context

The co-existing cultural characteristics of 'Westernness' and 'Chineseness' demonstrated as above indicate that they conform to neither the reality of British colonialism nor the CCP-formulated 'Chineseness'. Formulated within the translational context of the HK websites, these dual cultural elements are more akin to the constituents of HK's hybrid culture as noted by Gordon Mathews (1997), Rey Chow (1992) and Allen Chun (1996), who have been studying HK's socio-cultural status and its relationship with China.

Chow even terms this decolonizing hybrid culture as 'in-betweenness', which is used by some HK culturalists to describe their historical experience as unique (1992, p.157). Within HK's narrative of domestic discourse, this hybrid identity may be formulated to address an awareness of regionalism. Mathews remarks that HK's identity expressed in this hybrid culture may function discursively as 'a matter of salvation' by setting Hongkongese apart from mainland Chinese (1997, p.9). Chow has even observed that many Hongkongese believe this hybrid culture as facilitating HK's integration into the power of global capitalism (1992, p.157).

(ii) Different Images Conveyed by the Shared Imagery of the Past

Whereas the above SPs show to formulate a distinctive self-image of HK, imagery of the past equally emphasized by the SPs of the China and HK websites seems to suggest that it is something they have in common. Yet, a closer inspection indicates that those references added to the HK website translations to recount HK's pre-colonial culture are slightly different from those references to the past inferred from the translational context of the China websites in that the former shows no attempt to identify HK's past with China's imperial tradition. Besides, no alternative expressions are inserted into the translations to convey the sense of national superiority that is emphasized in the China website translations. Consider the following examples:

> **TT20:** After passing the Po Lin Monastery boundary, there is a clearing with a large Country Park traditional 'gate' (addition underlined; see Text 41 in the appendix).
>
> **ST21:** Man Mo Temple's magnificent external architecture that makes people register profound respect (emphasis added; see Text 42 in the appendix).
>
> **TT21:** Man Mo Temple's magnificent external architecture reflects its historical roots (substitute underlined; see Text 43 in the appendix).

At the overt level, the expression 'traditional' added to TT20 and 'historical roots' in TT21 substituting the noble quality of the temple in ST21 can be taken as discursive attempts to draw on a sense of historicity as a selling point to potential tourists in the sense that presenting a feature as historical and authentic is a common technique in tourism promotion. By emphasizing some 'blatantly staged' attractions as 'historical' and 'real', they can be presented as if they are truly authentic (Cohen 1985a cited in Dann 1996, p.175). Yet, these expressions added to the translations seem to be emphasized in only their literal sense as they show no associations with China's imperial history and its superior status. These inserted references, compared with those added to the China website translations, may not connote a strong sense of national pride or any desirable aspects of Chinese culture.

(iii) Absence of References to the CCP and Confucius

Lastly, references to Confucius and the CCP inserted into the China website translations as demonstrated in Part One are also absent from the HK websites, both in the STs and TTs of their destination sections. One may argue that the absence of such references is related to either a lack of this type of touristic features in HK or the absence of this category of touristic sites featured in the HK websites. Yet, this study examines why certain discursive features have their style shifted rather than how the features are presented in the TTs. Whether a particular discursive meaning is highlighted or suppressed depends on whether the corresponding references are emphasized or marginalized through the act of representation in the TTs. In this sense, the mere presence of the CCP or Confucianism-related features in both STs and TTs do not bear any significance unless their SPs show that their associated values are foregrounded or undermined in the translational context. In this light, whether such features exist does not have any direct connection with whether a particular image can be attached to a touristic feature.

Given the above considerations, the absence of the above references and their associated values in the HK website translations can be explained by the divergent approaches of the HK Government and the Chinese Central Government towards monitoring Internet activities in HK and the mainland China respectively. Under the 'one country, two systems' agreement, the HK Government's self-regulatory scheme for HK's Internet community is bound to remain unchanged for at least the next fifty years following the handover of HK in 1 July 1997 (Bryre 1998; cited in Hou 2004, p.10). Under this scheme, the Internet community in HK is expected to be outside the remit of the Internet censorship in China. In this sense, references analogous to those exalting Confucius and the CCP in the China website translations, which may imply the prevalence of self-censorship, are likely to be absent from the HK website translations.

Concluding Remarks

In short, the above evidence highlights some major differences as to the self-images represented by the SPs of the China and HK websites. First, the SPs of the China websites reproduce the past time of China to construe a sense of superiority and national pride. References equally connoting the past in the HK website translations, however, may be inserted from a regional perspective and so do not convey a strong sense of pride on a national level. Although a sense of being Chinese is emphasized in certain instances, more evidence shows that the sense of pride formulated by the SPs of the HK websites is likely to accentuate HK's hybrid culture.

Second, certain SPs of the China websites suggest that the practice of Internet censorship can be a principal factor accountable for the formulation of certain national images within the self-representation context of the websites. The SPs of the HK websites, however, show no concrete evidence as to the influence of this political measure. This is probably due to the different legal and political approaches between the HK Government and the Chinese

Central Government toward the Internet communities in HK and China respectively.

As for the conception of 'self', the SPs of the China websites display no explicit distinctions between domestic Hongkongese and non-Hongkongese Chinese. What can be inferred from the SPs is that the 'self' assumed in the China website translations includes all Chinese nationals whereas that in the HK websites translations includes only Hongkongese. The hybrid cultural elements and other images projected by the SPs of the HK websites indicate that they are likely to be devised to set a boundary between Hongkongese and those outside this cultural group, including mainland Chinese.

Appendix

Text 1 '有殿、堂、坛、阁 460 多间，门坊 54 座，御碑亭 13 座，建筑规模宏大。' (*Yǒu diàn, tán, gé 460 duō jiān. Ménfáng 54 zuò. Yùbēitíng 13 zuò. Jiànzhú guīmó hóngdà.)*
Back-translation: … the temple … containing over 460 halls, altars, towers and pavilions, 54 archways and 13 steles is magnificent.
(Source: *Ctrip.com*;'孔庙'
http://destinations.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4989; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 2 '… the temple … containing over 460 halls, altars, towers and pavilions, 54 archways and 13 steles bearing calligraphy by various emperors. Apart from the royal steles, the temple also boasts a variety of others,especially(sic) those made in the Han Dynasty.'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'The Confucius Temple' http://english.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4989; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 3 '在北京崇文区，故宫东南方数公里处，有一座巨大的祭天神庙，这就是天坛。' (*Zài Běijīng Chóngwén Qū. Gùgōng dōngnán fāng shù gōnglǐ chǔ. Yǒu yízuò jùdàde jìtiān shénmiào. Zhè jìushì Tiāntán*.)
Back-translation: Located in the Chongwen District of Beijing and several kilometres to the southeast of the Forbidden City is a huge temple where rituals of the worship of heaven were performed. This is the Temple of Heaven (Tiantan).'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*;'天坛'
http://destinations.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=233&; accessed on 12 March, 2006)

Text 4 'On leaving the Forbidden City, follow in the footsteps of emperors, court ministers and eunuchs and head south to the magnificent and colorful Temple of Heaven (Tiantan).'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'The Temple of Heaven (Chongwen District)' http://english.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=233; accessed on 12 March, 2006)

Text 5 '秦、汉时置鱼腹县。' (*Qín, Hàn shí zhìYúfú Xuàn*.)
(Source: *CNTA*;'白帝城'
http://www.cnta.gov.cn/szfc/jxlx.asp?id=A2006623104463628639; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 6 'In Qin (221207 B.C.)(sic) and Han (206 B.C. A.D. 220)(sic) Dynasties, the place was named Yufu County.'
(Source: *CNTA*; 'Baidicheng (White King City)' http://old.cnta.gov.cn/lyen/landscape/excellent%20line/three%20gorges%20tour/baidicheng.htm; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 7 '铁塔建于北宋年间，距今已有 900 多年历史。' (*Tiětǎ jiànyú Běisòng niánjiān. Jùjīn yǐyǒu 900 duō nián lìshǐ.*)
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; '铁塔' http://destinations.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=9456; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 8 'The pagoda was built in the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127 AD) at a time when Kaifeng was crowned as the capital of the country, and as such the pagoda was one of the most impressive of its time.'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'Iron Pagoda Park' http://english.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=9456; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 9 '北帝廟建於清朝乾隆 48 年（1783 年）' (*Běidì Miào jiànyú Qīngcháo Qiánlóng 48 nián (1783 nián)*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '北帝廟' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk5.jhtml; accessed on 7 March, 2006)

Text 10 'Built more than two centuries ago, the temple is …'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Pak Tai Temple' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk4.jhtml; accessed on 7 March, 2006)

Text 11 '廟內陳列的文物包括一個鑄於清朝道光年間 (1847 年)的銅鐘及一台造於 1862 年的官轎。' (*Miàonèi chénliè de wénwù bāokuò yígè zhùyú Qīngcháo Dàoguāng niánjiān (1847 nián) de tóngzhōng jí yītái zàoyú 1862 nián de guānqiáo.*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '文武廟' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk1.jhtml; accessed on 7 March, 2006)

Text 12 'The temple's historical relics include a bronze bell dated 1847 and imperial sedan chairs made in 1862.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Man Mo Temple' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 13 '1985 年重新修复了宁海城和澄海楼等景点。'
(*1985 nián chóngxīn xīufú le Nínghǎi Chéng hé Chénghǎi Lóu děng jǐndiǎn.*)
(Source: *CNTA*; '秦皇岛老龙头'
http://www.cnta.gov.cn/szfc/jxlx.asp?id=A2006623107443646498; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 14 'In 1985, it was restored to the former grandeur.'
(Source: *CNTA*: 'Laolongtou (Old Dragon's Head)'
http://old.cnta.gov.cn/lyen/landscape/excellent%20line/great%20wall/laolongtou.htm; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 15 '泰山…为'五岳之首'，为国家级风景名胜区。'
(*Tàishān … wéi 'Wǔyuè Zhīshǒu'. Wéi guójiā jí fēngjǐng míngshèng qū.*)
(Source: *CNTA*: '泰山'
http://www.cnta.gov.cn/szfc/jxlx.asp?id=A2006623951173547764; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 16 'Mount Taishan is oneof(sic) China's most famous scenic spots and regarded asthe(sic) first of thefive(sic) sacred mountains in ancientChina(sic) for its majesty and beauty.'
(Source: *CNTA*: 'Mount Taishan'
http://old.cnta.gov.cn/lyen/landscape/excellent%20line/yellow%20river%20tour/taishan.htm; accessed on 20 July, 2006)

Text 17 '此后历代帝王不断加封孔子，扩建庙宇，…'
(*Cǐhòu lìdài dìwáng búduàn jiāfēng Kǒngzǐ. Kuòjiàn miàoyǔ.*)
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; '孔庙'
http://destinations.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4989; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 18 'Since then, it has undergone renovation and expansion, the emperors of successive dynasties all competing in their veneration of the great sage.'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'The Confucius Temple'
http://english.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4989; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 19 '孔林始于孔子死后第二年，随着孔子地位的日益提高，孔林的规模越来越大。自汉代以后，历代统治者对孔林重修、增修过 13 次，以至开成现在规模，…' (*Kǒnglín shǐyú Kǒngzǐ sǐhòu dì'èr nián. Suízhe Kǒngzǐ dìwèi de rìyī tígāo, Kǒnglín de guīmó yuèlái yuèdà. Zì Hàndài yǐhòu, lìdài tǒngzhìzhě duì Kǒnglín chóngxīu, zēngxīu guò 13 cì. Yǐzhì kāichéng xiànzài guīmó.*)
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; '孔林'
http://destinations.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4995; accessed on , 13 March, 2006)

Text 20 'It was first built in the year following Confucius's death (479 BC) and has been renovated many times since Confucianism was installed as a country wide philosophy.'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'The Confucius Forest'
http://english.ctrip.com/Destinations/Sight.asp?Resource=4995; accessed on 13 March, 2006)

Text 21 'Tian'anmen Square is therefore, one of Beijing's most modern sites and largely Mao's concoction. The May 4th demonstrations in 1919 against the Treaty of Versailles took place here. So too did anti Japanese protests in 1935. Mao inspected his troops here during the Cultural revolution and in 1976, one million people gathered in the square to pay tribute to the Chairman. … This is not only the physical centre of China, but also the centre of power and politics. For Chinese visitors, the site is of utmost importance. Today, it's filled with tourists visiting Chairman Mao's tomb, or paying their respects at the monument to the heroes of the Revolution.'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'Tian'anmen Square (Dongcheng District)'
http://english.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=228; accessed on 12 March, 2006)

Text 22 'There are various religious relics and calligraphic exhibits on display and the hotel at the back of the complex was once a retirement home for Communist party members!'
(Source: *Ctrip.com*; 'Baoguo Temple'
http://english.ctrip.com/destinations/sight.asp?resource=4324; accessed on 12 March, 2006)

Text 23 '是以前香港總督的官邸。' (*shì yǐqián Xiānggǎng zǒngdū de guāndǐ*.)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '香港禮賓府'
'http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/attractions/ss_attr_hong.jhtml';
accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 24 '… the former official residence of British governor in Hong Kong.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Government House'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/attractions/ss_attr_hong.jhtml;
accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 25 '曾有 25 位香港總督居住於此，裡頭還有一座鳥語花香的杜鵑花園。' (*Céngyǒu 25 wèi Xiānggǎng zǒngdū jūzhù yúcǐ. Lǐtóu háiyǒu yízuò niǎoyǔ huāxiāng de dùjuān huāyuán*.)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '中環'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/district/ss_dist_hong.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 26 '… home of 25 former British governors set in a picturesque garden of rhododendrons and azaleas'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Central'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/district/index.jhtml; accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 27 'The 34,200 square metre Museum of Coastal Defence features a Reception Area, Redoubt and Historical Trail that paint a vivid picture of Britain's readiness to defend Hong Kong against any aggressors.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Museum of Coastal Defence'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkiidistricts/ta_dist_east1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006) '

Text 28 '您可知道… 殖民時代早期，山頂區闢爲西人住宅區。1888 年纜車通車，當時的乘客均爲西人，車後則有少量的三等企位，供前往山頂爲西人工作的華人而設。1908 至 1949 年，纜車車頭的兩個座位，更指定須預留予香港總督專用。' (*Nǐ kě zhīdào … Zhímín shídài zǎoqí. Shāndǐng Qū pìwéi xīrén zhùzhái qū. 1888 nián lǎnchē tōngchē. Dāngshí de chéngkè jūnwéi xīrén. Chēhòu zéyǒu shǎoliàng de sānděn qǐwèi. Gōng qiánwǎng Shāndǐng wèi xīrén gōngzuò de huárén ér'shè. 1908 nián zhì 1949 nián, lǎnchē chētóu de liǎnggè zuòwèi. Gèng zhǐdìng xū yùlíu yǔ Xiānggǎng zǒngdū zhuānyòng.*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '山頂 – 全方位賞景漫行' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk8.jhtml; accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 29 'Did You Know? — The Peak Tram, a cable-hauled funicular railway, transports about 9,000 passengers a day on its 1.4 km line. Gradients are as steep as one in two.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; ' The Peak – Picture-Perfect Views and Walks' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk8.jhtml; accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 30 '西環是百多年殖民歷史的起點；…' (*Xīhuán shì bǎiduō nián zhímín lìshǐ de qǐdiǎn.*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '香港島' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/district/ss_dist_hong.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 31 'This is where modern Hong Kong started, …'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Hong Kong Island' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/district/index.jhtml; accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 32 '在這裡，您仿如身處美食天堂，可盡嘗世界各地美饌；亦可走遍各購物商場，…' (*Zài zhèlǐ, nǐ fǎngrú shēnchǔ měishí tiāntóng. Kě jìnchǎng shìjiè měizhuàn; yìkě zǒubiàn gè gòuwù shāngchǎng …)*
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '尖沙咀 – 吃喝玩樂盡逍遙' http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk3.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 33 'It is home to a variety of chic restaurants offering a huge range of international cuisine, plenty of large modern shopping malls,'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Tsim Sha Tsui – Cornucopia of Delights'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk3.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 34 'But the British seized on a minor skirmish between the two sides to demand the garrison's withdrawal on pain of a naval bombardment. Having already suffered enough from British guns, the Chinese had the good sense to abandon the fort although, by Treaty, the site remained theirs.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Kowloon Walled City Park'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkiidistricts/ta_dist_kowl1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 35 '這裡亦爲 1997 年香港主權移交大典的場地。'
(*Zhèlǐ yìwéi 1997 nián Xiānggǎng zhǔquán yíjiāo dàdiǎn de chǎngdì.)*
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '香港會議展覽中心'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/landmarks/ss_land_inde.jhtml;
accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 36 'This was the site of the handover of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty in 1997.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Hong Kong Convention & Exhibition Centre (HKCEC)'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/landmarks/ta_land_inde.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 37 '人造珠寶' (*rénzào zhūbǎo*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*;'赤柱市場'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/sightseeing/popular/ss_popu_stan.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 38 'Chinese costume jewellery'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*;'Stanley Market'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/popular/ta_popu_stan.jhtml; accessed on 20 March, 2006)

Text 39 '… 花園周圍有小橋花圃，景致優雅。' (*Huāyuán zhōuwéi yǒu xiǎoqiáo huāpǔ. Jǐngzhì yōuyǎ.*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '北區 – 蓬瀛仙館'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/touring/hkiidistricts/ta_dist_nort1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 40 '… numerous pavilions and towers, all combining to present an enchanting picture postcard scene from the China of yesteryear.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Fung Ying Seen Koon'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkiidistricts/ta_dist_nort1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

Text 41 'After passing the Po Lin Monastery boundary, there is a clearing with a large Country Park traditional 'gate'.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Giant Buddha and Po Lin Monastery'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk7.jhtml; accessed on 7 March, 2006)

Text 42 '廟內陳列的文物包括一個鑄於清朝道光年間(1847年)的銅鐘及一台造於 1862 年的官轎。' (*Miàonèi chénliè de wénwù bāokuò yíge zhùyú Qīngcháo Dàoguāng niánjiān (1847 nián) de tóngzhōng jí yìtái zàoyú 1862 nián de guānqiáo.*)
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; '文武廟'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/taiwan/sightshow/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk1.jhtml; accessed on 7 March, 2006)

Text 43 'The temple's historical relics include a bronze bell dated 1847 and imperial sedan chairs made in 1862.'
(Source: *DiscoverHongKong*; 'Man Mo Temple'
http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/touring/hkwalks/ta_walk_walk1.jhtml; accessed on 6 March, 2006)

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A Bloodless Coup, Metaphorically: Representations of 'Progress' in Terry Pratchett's *Carpe Jugulum*

Andrew Rayment (University of Aberystwyth)

> The key question, of course, is what kind of description is intended here? Surely it is not a realistic description of the situation, but what Wallace Stevens called 'description without place', which is what is proper to art. This is not a description which locates its content in a historical space or time, but a description which creates, as the background of the phenomena it describes, an inexistent (virtual) space of its own, so that what appears in it is not an appearance sustained by the depth of reality behind it, but a de-contextualized appearance, an appearance which fully coincides with real being. To quote Stevens again: 'What it seems it is and in such seeming all things are.' (Žižek 2008, p.5)

Slavoj Žižek relies on that poet of 'fresh perception', Wallace Stevens (Serio 2007, p.3), to draw a distinction between 'realistic' and 'artistic' descriptions, but the short passage quoted above is certainly relevant to our topic here, Fantasy literature. A 'description without place […] which creates an inexistent space of its own' – there is something analogous here to how a Fantasy text is structured.

Fantasy literature is often dismissed as mere escapism, but what is usually missed is that its 'realist' formation (what I call the Fantasy *Pragmatikos*) allows it to mirror the structures of our social experience (our 'reality') and thus render it 'about us.' Of course, this being *Fantasy* literature, a Fantasy text must necessarily contain elements that are beyond or outside the social experience of our 'reality' (what I call the Fantasy *Allos*), but the presence of, for example, 'fantastical beasts,' should not lead us *automatically* to dismiss a text as somehow childish. The Fantasy *Allos* can certainly appeal to our wonder and

invite us to take a child-like sense of delight in the 'pure imagination' of the author (think maybe of the poison-spurred Gallivespians in Pullman's *His Dark Materials* or the brilliantly intricate Stiltspears in China Miéville's *Iron Council*), or appeal to daydreams of omnipotence (whether muscular, as in Howard's Conan, or magical, as in Le Guin's Ged), but the Fantasy *Allos* can also be a way not only to make us look again, but to make us look at the familiar *differently*.

In Fantasy, the outsider, the *other*, does not have to be from a different culture or social group but can actually be from a different *species* (as in the house-elves in Harry Potter or Miéville's insect-human *khepri*). The valences of subjectivity do not have be alluded to or demonstrated through the acts of characters, but can get up and talk, run, jump, fly or swim (as in Pullman's super-ego daemons). The abstract is not confined to the plane of thought, but can collapse into the 'real' of the Fantasy *Pragmatikos* so that it is rendered *palpable* (as in the use of 'belief' as a kind of rocket-fuel of the gods in Pratchett's *Small Gods* and *Hogfather*). In short, Fantasy can be a brilliant way, with its 'complex combination of the familiar and unfamiliar' (Armitt 2005, p.42), to approach the political and ideological because it allows a treatment that is not available to more 'realistic' texts.

I hope to demonstrate the 'freshness of view' that Fantasy literature can offer in the context of Terry Pratchett's wittily-titled 1998 vampire thriller, *Carpe Jugulum*, by showing not only how this most political of his novels foregrounds the notion of ideological 'quilting' (of the heavily loaded term, 'progress'), but also how this highly provocative treatment is entirely dependent on it being carried out in an 'inexistent space of its own' located outside 'historical space and time', in other words, in the (virtual) medium of the Fantasy genre. *Carpe Jugulum*, as we shall see, is able to approach the 'real

being' of 'progress' precisely *because* it makes a Žižekian 'de-contextualized appearance'.

Introduction: Vampires with a 'Y'

> 'You what?' said Nanny.
> 'You just …killed someone?' said Agnes.
> 'Of course. We *are* vampires', said Vlad. 'Or, we prefer, vampyres. With a "y". It's more modern. Now, do come and meet my father'. (*Carpe Jugulum*, p.90)

'Progress' is a leitmotif that runs throughout *Carpe Jugulum*, manifesting itself as an idea that is valued by three separate groups. First, we have the vampire-modernizers, the Magpyrs, determined to throw off the shackles of old-fashioned, 'traditional' vampiring and become vampires with a 'y'. Next, we have the forward-looking Verence, King of Lancre, desperate to finally bring his kingdom into the Century of the Fruitbat with social reform and a policy of tolerance and, lastly, we have the priest of the reformed Church of Om, Mightily Oats, the embodiment of the values of an up-to-date religion who is *most definitely not* interested in burning anyone who is an infidel. Each should, of course, be considered as having a relation and attitude to 'progress' that is essentially *comic*, yet Pratchett's treatment manoeuvres the reader into a position where it can be seen that for each group 'progress' is a notion that is heavy with ideological import. Unfortunately, the scope of this paper only allows for an analysis of the first two groups, the vampires and King Verence, twinned as they through language and theme, but Mightily Oats' relation to 'progress' will certainly be worthy of consideration at some later stage.

'New-Vampirism' versus 'Liberal-Absolutism': The Fantasy Staging of 'Pure' Ideology

In some ways, *Carpe Jugulum* can be seen as a staging of the Foucauldian notion that ideology manifests itself in its micro-practices, for what we have in this text are two groups, the vampires and Verence, for whom *personal* 'progress' is inextricably entwined with and naturally extended to *political* 'progress'.

Personal 'progress' for the vampire leader, Count Magpyr, means escape from 'traditional' vampiring. He believes that 'vampire[s] of the old school' (*CJ*, p.115), in other words, 'the stupid school' (*CJ*, p.115), have been inhibited and subjugated by entrenched behaviourisms and phobias that are mere 'cultural conditioning' (*CJ*, p.49). In order to counter-act what he sees as this pernicious influence, the Count has embarked on his own programme of (counter-) cultural conditioning for his family. A series of measures has been instigated to ensure that 'tradition [is] overturned' (*CJ*, p.175) and that his family are immunized from sunlight (*CJ*, p.135), garlic (*CJ*, p.88-9), running water (*CJ*, p.49), holy symbols and holy water (*CJ*, p.138). Count Magpyr is also keen to acclimatize his family to the civilizing delights of wine (*CJ*, p.135, 137), and it is clear that he will 'break with a stupid and superstitious past' (*CJ*, p.112) wherever possible, foregoing, for example, the 'customary' evening dress (except, of course, in the evening!) (*CJ*, p.85) and the use of bats or rats as spies (he prefers, as his name would suggest, magpies) (*CJ*, p.174-5). Here, then, is our first inkling that, while 'progress' in *Carpe Jugulum* may be the same Signifier as in the most *uber*-realist of texts, its re-contextualization into what constitutes personal 'progress' for *vampires* will force a different kind of appraisal.

Personal 'progress' for Verence also means an embrace of the modern and a rejection of the traditional (albeit within more familiar

parameters since he is human). Just as Count Magpyr applies his ideas in the form of (counter-) cultural conditioning for his family, so too Verence seeks to condition his new-born daughter. His modernity demands, for example, that Little Esme must have the newest crib 'all the way from Ankh-Morpork' (*CJ*, p.52) while her education and hand-eye co-ordination training have commenced at two weeks old (*CJ* p.170-1, p.173)! As he says, 'It's never too early to start' (*CJ*, p.171). The treatment of personal 'progress' for Verence is not as funny as that of the vampires, lacking as it does the comic effect of juxtaposing the monstrosity expected of vampires with their actual progressiveness, but it is nonetheless foregrounded in its very parallelism with the progressive tendencies of the vampires. Crucially, the echoes in how Verence and the Count treat their families are also echoed in their extension of their notions of 'progress' to the political arena.

For the Count, the idea that they are 'new' vampires, that they are 'up-to-date' (*CJ*, p.109) and 'advanced thinker[s]' (*CJ*, p.112) segues naturally into their taking a new position in the world. As his son, Vlad says:

> 'Things will be changing, Agnes Nitt,' he said. 'My father is right. Why lurk in dark castles? Why be ashamed? We're vampires. Or rather, vampyres. Father's a bit keen on the new spelling. He says it indicates a clean break with a stupid and superstitious past'. (*CJ*, p.112)

It is quickly clear that this 'change' will involve a takeover of Verence's kingdom of Lancre:

> 'And…you're taking the country?' [Agnes] said. 'Just like that?'
> Vlad gave her another smile, stood up, and walked towards her. 'Oh, yes. Bloodlessly. Well… metaphorically.' (*CJ*, p.113)

The overt aggression of the intention is somewhat tempered by the wish for the coup to be *bloodless* (metaphorically!), and this is typical of the vampires' framing of political annexation/control in terms of 'progress', 'modernity' and the dues of civilization. To take a more extended example, look at how Vlad describes the village of Escrow, where the vampires, already firmly in control, have what is described as a 'covenant' with the villagers:

> 'Do you see how prosperous the place is? People are safe in Escrow. They've seen reason. No shutters on the windows, do you see? They don't have to bar the windows or hide in the cellar […] They exchanged fear for security'. (*CJ*, p.336)

Escrow is also, according to the vampires, a 'model community […] [where] humans and vampires learn to live in peace' (*CJ*, p.310), where 'everyone is happy because the vampires visit […] because of co-operation, not enmity' and 'citizenship', where the 'mayor […] appreciates being kept informed' (*CJ*, p.336-8). In other words, it is an example of, in the Count's words, 'vampires and humans in harmony at last', where the lack of hostility is 'a model for the future' (*CJ*, p.118). *Pax vampira*, one might say, power justified by its 'civilizing' benefits, a situation in which, as the Count says, 'there is no *need* for [any] animosity' (*CJ*, p.181).

Yet, of course, Pratchett works hard to undermine the vampires' professed values of 'progress' at every turn. Aside from the obvious fact that the Count wishes to seize power in Lancre, the ideological coordinates of the vampires are shown to have a distinctly Fascist-authoritarian edge. Consider the following extract where the values of personal 'progress' are explicitly juxtaposed with a Fascistic interpretation of the survival of the fittest:

> The Countess walked over to the window and gingerly pulled aside the curtain…Grey light filtered in. The Countess shuddered and turned her face away.

> 'You see? Still harmless. Every day, in every way, we get better and better,' said Count Magpyr cheerfully. 'Self help. Positive thinking. Training. Familiarity. Garlic? A pleasant seasoning. Lemons? Merely and acquired taste […] There's a new world coming, and there won't be any room in it for those ghastly little gnomes or witches or centaurs […] Away with them! Let us progress! They are unfitted for survival!' (*CJ*, p.181-2)

The above are thoughts that echo Vlad's earlier Fascistic aside:

> 'The place is just full of…well, remnants. I mean…centaurs? Really! They've got no business surviving. They're out of place. And frankly all the lower races are just as bad. The trolls are stupid, the dwarves are devious, the pixies are evil and the gnomes stick in your teeth. Time they were gone. Driven out'. (*CJ*, p.113)

And then there are the *actual* conditions of power in the village of Escrow, seen as we witness the 'taxing' of the villagers through the eyes of Agnes. Taxes are 'not onerous', the Count assures them (*CJ*, 108), just 'a little drop of blood', 'it *used* to be so much worse' (*CJ*, p.338), yet the villagers lining up to be 'taxed' look like 'pigs queuing for Hogswatch'. Agnes cannot help noticing the face of the 'happily co-operative' mayor as she 'feels the terror rising around her' (*CJ*, p.338):

> As the mayor turned back, he met Agnes stare. She looked away, not wanting to see that expression. People were good at imagining hells, and some they occupied while they were alive. (*CJ*, p.339)

No wonder they do not have to place bars over their windows – does the 'freedom' offered by the Count not evoke the Foucauldian reading of penal systems where altruistic ideals of enlightenment are a mask for a brutal authoritarianism that ultimately turns *the whole of society into an extended prison* (White 1979, p.107)? It is clear that the Count is sincere. He genuinely seems to believe that his version of 'progress' both for vampires and those subject to the 'covenant' is an

improvement on the past. We can note, for example, that the Count provides self-justification *even when he does not need to* (as his addressees are already subject to his mind control) (*CJ*, p.108) and that he is genuinely astonished when he discovers that the villagers actually preferred being subject to 'traditional', *monstrous* vampiring as embodied by the old Count ('You can't possibly prefer *that*?! He's a *monster*!' (*CJ*, p.400-2)). But, for the villagers, this is hell on earth; they are just 'meat' to the vampires, albeit 'meat' that is nodded to and smiled at in accordance with Count Magpyr's enlightened values (*CJ*, p.338).

So, to recap, 'progress' for the vampires is not only a personal frame that they apply to their escape from 'tradition', but also the political, *ideological*, frame by which they justify their proposed takeover of Lancre, the extermination of 'lesser creatures' and their absolute exploitation of the villagers of Escrow. It is worth pausing here, before we continue to the crucial comparison with King Verence, to consider this version of 'progress' in the light of our thesis that the power of Fantasy literature's approach to the political and ideological lies in its allowing of a treatment that is unavailable to more 'realistic' texts.

Vampires escaping a superstitious past. Fascistic repression of centaurs. Taxing villagers with blood – the surface content of *Carpe Jugulum* is obviously unrealistic on a certain level. But can we say that re-contextualizing into the (virtual) space of Discworld somehow *subtracts* this surface content (we cannot take vampires seriously, after all), leaving as its residue a 'reality' on the level of conceptuality? Surely it is exactly the lack of one-to-one correspondences with 'real'-world individuals that allows us to gaze on the foregrounded political concepts (the Fascism that professed values of 'progress' may hide) in what can be likened to, to return to Wallace Stevens again, a

state of 'pure being'? In other words, the (usually hidden) ideological dimension to declarations of 'progress' is made visible and crystallized for our contemplation in the text through its very attachment to the inexistent vampires. It would, however, be a mistake to consider that *Carpe Jugulum's* capacity to treat the political in ways not open to a more 'realistic' text lies solely in its power to place familiar concepts in the mouths of unfamiliar, inexistent beings. As we shall see, although Verence is human (and not, therefore, an 'inexistent being'), the fact that he is delivered from any kind of 'real' social or historical space is crucial to Pratchett's radical treatment of 'progress' as a 'quilted' Signifier.

Verence, at first glance, apparently stands in contrast to the vampires because his ideological framework for 'progress' is bound with what we might see as 'doing good' for his kingdom. After all, by contrast to the Count, who wishes to establish a kind of (conceptually) fascist state, Verence wishes to institute a kind of 'forward-looking' [absolute-] liberalism, with democracy (*CJ*, p.40), sanitation (*CJ*, p.41), religious and racial toleration (*CJ*, p.58) and a Society for the Betterment of Mankind (*CJ*, p.57), and, of course, we have learnt over the course of the four novels in which he has previously appeared that his sincerity is not in doubt and that Verence too genuinely believes that his 'new world' is an improvement on the past (in other words, that it represents 'progress'). Yet, despite the fact that everything to this point suggests that Pratchett has brought Verence and vampires together for purposes of *contrast* (difference), there is ample reason to suspect that they have also been brought together for purposes of *comparison* (similarity). The treatment, as we shall see, certainly invites the question: just *what* exactly is the difference between the two?

What Pratchett does first is to bind Verence and the vampires together in language. The effect of this is to demonstrate that, whatever the ideological differences, the political desire of both Verence and the vampires is framed by the same references to 'progress' and 'modernity'. To take a few examples, the Count's talk of 'a new world order indeed' (*CJ*, p.27) becomes Verence's 'there's a new world order' (*CJ*, p.60) just thirty pages later, while Verence's 'the world is changing' (*CJ*, p.60) and 'the sunlight of the dawning millennium' (*CJ*, p.61) are echoed in 'things will be changing' (*CJ*, p.112) and 'the glow that marked the rising sun'[1] (*CJ*, p.134).

Next, Pratchett subtly manoeuvres the vampires and Verence so that there are exact (but inverted) parallels between how the two choose to rule. Take, for example, the situation of the Escrow villagers. Tied into a 'covenant' which suggests a bargain freely entered into, it is apparent from the way they line up in the middle of the night like prisoners in a punitive roll call (*CJ*, p.337) that this agreement is *coerced* and that they must, in effect, 'choose what is already given to them' (Žižek 1989, p.165).

Now compare the villagers' position to the situation of the Lancrastian subjects of Verence in this extraordinary comic reversal:

> Verence was technically an absolute ruler and would continue to be so provided he didn't make the mistake of repeatedly asking Lancrastians to do anything they didn't want to do. (*CJ*, p.306)

In Lancre, in short, it is not the *subjects* who are subject to the forced choice, but the king, the absolute ruler, who *must choose what is already given to him*!

1 The conceptual historian Quentin Skinner notes that, when applied to ideologies, time becomes an interactive factor not only in locating but in constituting ideas, and that the specifically fascist conception of time is as *renewable*, in other words, 'a new dawn is breaking' (see Freeden 74-5). It is reasonable, to say the least, to think that Pratchett's wording is not accidental.

And let us look for a moment at what is 'stipulated' in the 'contract' between King Verence and 'His Majesty, the Lancrastian subjects':

> The people of Lancre wouldn't dream of living in anything other than a monarchy. They'd done so for thousands of years and knew that it worked […] [The king's] job as they saw it was to mostly stay in the palace, practice the waving, have enough sense to face the right way on coins and let them get on with the ploughing, sowing, growing and harvesting. It was, as they saw it, *a social contract*. They did what they always did, and he let them. (*CJ*, p.58 my emphasis)

'They did what they always did, and he let them' – can we not also say that the obverse is equally valid? Could this not be reversed to say, 'He did what he always did, and they let him'? This is an anti-contract. A grotesque, hilarious parody of Rousseau – a contract that mutually binds the contractees to complete freedom from any binding!

At first glance, this comparison of freedoms may seem to be in Verence's favour – certainly the modern liberal reader will respond to the lack of exploitation in Verence's model. But Pratchett's radical treatment should give us pause for thought in two respects.

First, Verence's (comic/fantastic) lack of any power actually serves to illuminate the fact that value systems, however 'progressive', however 'enlightened', however 'humane' are always underpinned by force. This, in turn, suggests that the only difference between him and the vampires is, in fact, purely formal with the one being just the same as the other *in potentia*.

Second, the text manoeuvres so that the desirability of the different ideological stances on 'progress' offered by Verence and the vampires can be seen as *purely a(n) (arbitrary) matter of perspective*. Although, according to our liberal values, Verence's ideas of 'progress'

involving democracy and tolerance seem enlightened and benign, Pratchett is careful to show us that they are certainly not considered so by the Lancrastians, in other words, by those who would actually be subject to them:

> The people of Lancre could not be persuaded to accept a democracy at any price […] on the basis that governing was what the King ought to do and they'd be sure to tell him if he went wrong […] Lancrastians seldom changed anything […] [T]his was depressing King Verence […] His plans for better irrigation and agriculture were warmly applauded by the people of Lancre, who then did nothing about them. Nor did they take any notice of his scheme for sanitation, i.e., that there should *be* some […] They'd agreed to the idea of a Royal Society for the Betterment of Mankind, but since this largely consisted of as much time as Shawn Ogg had to spare on Thursday afternoons Mankind was safe from too much Betterment for a while. (*CJ*, p.40, p.41, p.57)

'A Royal Society for the Betterment of Mankind' – this is wrapped up as a joke, but do not these words conjure up some vague warning of threat, some intimation of punishment? If Verence were in a position to push through his ideas, it can only be concluded that this would be just as great an imposition, and thus just as reprehensible, as those actually imposed on the villagers of Escrow by the vampires.

We should note, to return to our original thesis once more, that Pratchett's radical treatment of 'progress' is facilitated by the Fantasy space, for it allows two conceptual points to be rendered visible. First, there is a revelation of the indissoluble link between (enlightened) 'progress' and the excesses of power whereby the imposition of the former can be seen to be utterly dependent on the latter (revealed in the fantastic reversal of the ruler-subject positions). Second, there is a staging of ideological fields (or Master Signifiers) 'quilting' a free-floating Signifier. 'Progress' in *Carpe Jugulum* is devoid of any meaning, it is unfixed, *empty*, beyond that which is imputed to it

through the frameworks of Verence's 'Liberal-Absolutism' or the vampires' 'New-Vampirism'. The concept of 'progress' is, in other words, the stake of the struggle between the two competing ideological frameworks. Verence seeks to wield bloodless power (literally), while the vampires seek to wield bloodless power (metaphorically), but both ultimately seek to wield power as a means to implement their own ideological 'quilt'.

Only in an inexistent space, a space unfettered by 'real' historical-political considerations, can we have rulers who must choose what is already given to them and contractees bound by freedom from binding. Only in an inexistent space can we have 'Liberal-Absolutism' and 'Enlightened-Vampirism' fighting for domination. Only in an inexistent space can we have surface content that must be subtracted because it cannot be taken seriously. But only in an inexistent space can we have a subtraction of surface content that renders visible 'pure' notions that must be taken very seriously indeed.

'What seems it is and in such seeming all things are' – we are back with Wallace Stevens one last time. Can we not say by way of conclusion that the *Carpe Jugulum Pragmatikos* is in some sense *more* 'real', at least on a conceptual level, than a 'realist' text? Can we not say that, paradoxically, 'real being' can only be staged in 'the nothing that is not there', the 'empty' arena of a Fantasy novel?

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Gene Kelly: The Performing Auteur – Manifestations of the Kelly Persona

Gillian Kelly (University of Glasgow)

This paper attempts to prove Gene Kelly, generally referred to as a movie star, as a cinematic auteur. I believe that Kelly's auteur status is created through control, authenticity and innovations in *mise-en-scène*, and I will apply this hypothesis to both his on-screen and behind-the-camera personas. I will firstly give a brief overview of the auteur theory and it's relevant in my discussion of Kelly's persona. I will then move on to my case study of Kelly, with the remainder of the paper being split into two section - the first half dealing with his on-screen persona and the second half dedicated to his behind-the-camera persona. These sections will discuss the key signs I have attributed to Kelly's auteur status and, because these occur both on-screen and off, these two sections will mirror each other.

The Auteur Theory

The critics who wrote for the *Cahiers du Cinema* revolutionized film criticism by launching the *politique des auteurs*, the controversial and programmatic idea that great film artists existed even within the confines of Hollywood and its rigid studio system. Peter Wollen (1996, p.1) notes that Howard Hawks and Alfred Hitchcock have been put forward as prime examples of auteur directors, ones who could 'be discussed in the same way that any other kind of artist could be discussed.' Wollen adds that 'previously the Hollywood director, whatever his talent, had been automatically demeaned as little more than a competent functionary of the studio system'. This could easily be applied to Gene Kelly since he was working as part of

MGM's Freed Unit, headed by producer Arthur Freed, and was primarily involved in musicals, which have been repeatedly been seen as a low form of entertainment and therefore not worthy of academic study. However, it is Kelly's complete involvement in cinema, both in front of and behind the camera, which makes him stand out from other performers.

Directors such as Hawks have been analysed using structuralist analysis, which provides a way of looking systematically at a director's career. This method firstly observes repeated motifs, and running counter to that framework of repetition, a set of differences and variations that are structured themselves. Wollen (1996, p.1) notes that Structuralism actually presents us with two structures: 'a structure of sameness and generality and a counter-structure of difference and singularity'. Wollen's argument on Hawks as auteur, in *Signs and Meanings*, discusses how Hawks' work was 'structured synchronically by a contrast between his adventure dramas and his comedies' but at the same time 'Hawks built up a diachronic structure over time by repetition and variation film by film'. By applying this to Kelly's body of work we can see how his dramas and his musicals were very different in theme and look, but at the same time the characters Kelly played had similar traits, such as being an entertainer or a serviceman; craving control; being the All-American male; and so on. Therefore, Kelly repeated *himself* in film after film, albeit giving each repetition a new twist and new flavour. No matter which genre Kelly worked in, he would find a way of making a quintessentially Kelly film, usually by using his own body on screen, whether he was directing the film or not. These two opposing themes of 'sameness' and 'difference and singularity' are also apparent in the Kelly persona as he tried to present his authenticity by portraying the Everyman, the 'blue-collar guy' on the street.

However, he was also different from these men he portrayed because he had a unique talent (displayed mainly through his dances on screen). In addition, if he is indeed an auteur, he is also an individual, a 'creative genius', therefore embodying both sameness and difference; this is part of where his auteurism lies.

While some see the auteur theory as an elitist and restrictive kind of criticism, because it allows the work of a select few 'creative geniuses' to be celebrated, I would argue that it is a worthwhile area of film studies because it means that those who have added something new and innovative to the field of cinema can be given credit for their achievement. I will now begin to engage with the arguments surrounding auteur theory, since it is such a contested theory, and explain why I think it is relevant for my discussion on Kelly, as a director and performer, in order to show where I think he differs from (or indeed is similar to) fellow auteurs. I will base my argument on developments and debates surrounding auteur theory and cite other filmmakers who have been labelled as auteurs in the past.

Andre Bazin (vol.1, 1967; vol.2, 1971) wrote a series of essays in the 1950s for the French film criticism magazine *Cahiers du Cinema* which are still highly influential today; this is arguably where auteur theory began. Many debates have surrounded the controversial theory with the likes of Andrew Sarris (1962) regarding it as a very significant development, and others such as Pauline Kael (1963) believing it is a highly flawed and unreliable theory. Indeed auteur theory has always been a greatly debated theory, with critics still disagreeing over its worth.

John Caughie (1981) edited a collection of articles documenting the stages of how auteur theory came about in *Theories of Authorship: A Reader*; and, where Caughie takes a traditional view

on authorship, Catherine Grant gives her work a modern take. Grant's article 'www.auteur.com?' published in *Screen*, argues that 'film authorship has rarely been considered a wholly legitimate object of contemplation' (2000, p.101) and she attempts to prove the value of authorship by appealing for 'the revival and amplification of a commercial take on auteurism.' (ibid)

Caughie (1981, p.67) cautiously points to the resistant qualities of both concept and practice and believes that the 'attempt to move beyond auteurism has to recognise also the fascination of the figure of the auteur, and the way that he uses the cinephile's pleasure'. Caughie's work registered a shift in the post-war period from a modernist conceptualization of authorship as a exertion of self-expressive artistic control towards what Grant refers to in her article as a 'postmodernist author-function' where the 'appropriate strategies, competences and pleasure of audience seem to appear, at the very least, equally important' (2000, p.101), but Grant also suggests that Caughie's work did not fully explore this idea.

Work on the growing importance of auteurism from the 1970s to the 1990s is evident in Timothy Corrigan's essay 'The Commerce of Auterism' (2003) and Peter Wollen's noteworthy article 'The Auteur Theory' (2003), where he discusses its origins in *Cahiers du Cinema*. Wollen clearly outlines the many problems the theory has faced over the years, noting that in its development period 'it could be interpreted and applied on rather broad lines; different critics developed somewhat different methods within a framework of common attitudes' (2003, p.9). Wollen is basically saying that nobody was quite sure how to define the term 'auteur' or how to go about judging if someone was an auteur or not. As already noted, the theory has been central to study for over five decades now and is one

of the most widely used academic terms in the field, and yet some critics find it the hardest term to define.

I believe the two main questions that authorship raise are 'who is an auteur?' and 'what is an auteur?'; in other words how do we define the term auteur and what makes one person an auteur and another person just a filmmaker? Patrick Colm Hogan (cited in Grant 2000, p.1) thinks that 'the theorization of auteurism has not been well served by dominant critical approaches', believing that instead of a clear and rigid definition being agreed on, it has actually become a somewhat unclear and vague term. However, I believe that a clear definition can be reached, one such as Wollen uses to describe Howard Hawks when he says Hawks follows a true auteurist path because 'in film after film Hawks repeated himself, albeit giving each repetition a new twist, a new flavour' (2000, p.101). I would argue this same point about Kelly since his characters were often similar but slightly different, while still retaining the 'All-American Kelly persona' I will discuss in the next section. He also used innovations in *mise-en-scène*, all of which were slightly different, giving his films a distinct edge. These innovations included on-location shooting; three-way split screen; double exposure; and combining real life and animation.

The Star Persona

Kelly had roles both in front of and behind the camera and, because of this, I have labelled him as a 'performing auteur' since he displayed manifestations of his auteur status both on the screen (as an actor, dancer and singer) and behind the camera (as a director and choreographer).

I will now turn my attention to complicating the star image of Kelly, since he was not just a performer like so many of his

contemporaries. On the one hand he is the textual protagonist of musicals such as *An American in Paris* (1951) and *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), in other words *he* is the American and *he* does the singing. However, when he stars in a non-musical genre he may lose some of this importance, since (although he is still acting) he is no longer 'performing' through song and dance, the way he does in musical films. The drama *Marjorie Morningstar* (1958) is a film named after Natalie Wood's character and therefore, because of this, the narrative would seem to place *her* in control. This film also creates further problems since he is not playing a typically 'Kelly' role; he is not quite the 'bad guy', but rather the 'heel' in direct opposition to Wood's innocent teen. Even in this film, far removed from his MGM musicals, he still plays a theatrical director who tries but cannot hold a 'normal' job.

Kelly as Auteur

This section sets out to provide an account of key perspectives on both authorship and star studies because I believe Gene Kelly to be a crossover of the two. Both auteurism and stardom theories propose different mechanisms for essentially the same process, namely the attribution of unity (be it thematic, stylistic or otherwise) to a group of films. It is not common for auteur theory to be discussed in relation to stars, particularly one who worked extensively behind the camera as well as in front of it, thus arguably creating two different personas.

Kelly may have worked with directors who have also been cited as auteurs, such as Vincente Minnelli, but I believe that auteurism can still exist in collaborative ventures and that Kelly continues to function as auteur in the films he starred in which were directed by Minnelli. The key question here is why authorship

theory is a valuable critical model to use and that is something I will probe in this section.

In its most basic form, auteurism means that one figure (the auteur) can impose his or her creative will on a project, and auteur theory assumed this figure was the director. In brief, it can be said that a number of people contribute to a film but they all contribute under the direction of the director. One of the key points that debates have revolved around is that if it can be argued that a director's contribution to the process of filmmaking is so complete as to overpower any input from his collaborators then he is an auteur.

A second issue to consider, and one key to my argument on Kelly, is about organisational control. A prime example is the way that the studio system might influence the input of a director (or performer) on their finished film. Since Kelly worked both under MGM bosses and as a part of The Freed Unit, headed by producer Arthur Freed, for most of his musicals, he makes an interesting case study. Parallels can also be drawn between Kelly's repressed talents at MGM and those of his character Don Lockwood in *Singin' in the Rain*, among other characters.

David Sharp suggests that there is a 'considerable European tradition that says that filmmakers develop recognisable styles, unfettered by a studio system (even if they work in one)' (2006) just as Kelly did at MGM's Freed Unit. Sharp adds that 'their own philosophy of life, thoughts, politics and worldview [are thought to be] distilled in their own creative output,'(2006) arguing that this view has a lot to do with the creation of films as works of art, much like paintings or sculptures. However, if this is the case then Sharp is giving all filmmakers the opportunity to be seen as auteurs and not just the select few who have outstanding careers in their field. I believe that these 'recognisable styles' that filmmakers develop have

to be extremely individual and apparent in order to promote them to the level of auteur and also believe that Kelly's body of work possesses these elements.

On-screen Persona

Control

Control is a key theme that runs through the majority of Kelly's work. No matter whether his characters feature in musicals, dramas or comedies, they crave control in a variety of ways.

To begin with, Kelly understood the body and therefore was able to control it. This becomes most apparent in his dance sequences when he tries to manipulate the camera and use it to film the musical numbers. It seems as though he occupies, indeed fills, both the pro-filmic and filmic space with his movements. This element of his persona can be traced throughout his body of work, particularly in his musical films. He quite literally takes control of the filmic space in *Singin' in the Rain* (or indeed his character Don does) by setting the scene for the musical number 'You Were Meant for Me' on an empty sound stage, thus becoming director, technician and performer. This number displays a sense of complete control since it combines both directorial and romantic control. By setting the scene with lights, fans, props, etc, Don is showing us that he not only knows about working in front of the camera (since he is an actor) but also what is involved, in even the slightest technical job, behind the camera. With Kelly portraying an actor with technical knowledge he is not only acting a part on-screen but manifesting his own knowledge in this character, from both sides of the camera. In *Summer Stock* (1950) he directs the show, arranges the props and creates the stage in a barn. When the leading man and lady abandon the show Joe Ross (Kelly) not only steps in to star in the show but

he also trains Jane (Judy Garland), a farmer, to become an actress, singer and dancer in order to replace the leading lady, therefore making it *his* show in all respects. In the barn, which has just been turned into a theatre, Joe tells Jane about life in show business, which is completely alien to her as a farmer, and how much it means to him.

> *Joe*: Wait till opening night when the people come in, even the air gets exciting, you can feel them out there. You can't see them but you can feel them. It's like electricity. Oh, boy!
> *Jane*: You really love this, don't you?
> *Joe*: Show business? There's nothing else in the world. If I couldn't be up here I'd be backstage or selling tickets.

When Joe tells Jane of his love for show business - and what it could mean to her if she chooses this life - he asks her to smell the grease paint that symbolises the theatre for him. Joe says 'I love the theatre and everything it stands for: the heartaches, the excitement, the applause, the hokum, everything'. This statement shows the important role that show business plays in Kelly films, and the same words could have been used by a number of Kelly's characters including Danny McGuire in *Cover Girl* (1944), Don Lockwood in *Singin' in the Rain*, Barry Nichols in *Les Girls* (1957), Noel Airman in *Marjorie Morningstar*, and Andy Miller in *The Young Girls of Rochefort* (1967). This speech leads to a very similar number to 'You Were Meant for Me' when Jane asks Joe about the importance of a musical show.

> *Joe*: We're trying to tell a story with music and song and dance and not just with words. For instance, if the boy tells the girl he loves her, he just doesn't say it, he sings it.
> *Jane*: Why doesn't he just say it?
> *Joe*: I don't know why, but it sounds kind of nice.

Joe then performs 'You Wonderful You' on the stage with Jane and, like Kathy in *Singin' in the Rain*, Jane falls in love with Joe and understands the power that a song and a perfectly set stage can have.

In more obvious examples of control, Jerry Mulligan of *An American in Paris* controls his relationship with Lisa (Leslie Caron) but is also controlled, to a certain extent, by Venus (Nina Foch) since she has the money to make his dreams of becoming a painter come true. Finally his overpowering love for Lisa allows him to be a man and take control of Venus, by telling her the truth about his relationship with Lisa. Undeniably Kelly's characters are dominant in all his on-screen relationships, rigorously pursuing his love interest until she finally admits she loves him too. This is manifested in Joe Brady from *Anchor's Aweigh* (1945), Serafin in *The Pirate* (1948), Eddie O'Brien in *Take Me Out to the Ballgame* (1949), Tommy Albright from *Brigadoon* (1954) and just about every other role Kelly played in his typical confident, cocky screen manner. He also acts as the domineering figure to his fellow comrades and colleagues, teaching Brooklyn (Frank Sinatra) how to get a girl in *Anchors Aweigh* and *On the Town* (1949); bossing his theatrical company around in *Cover Girl, Les Girls, Summer Stock* and so on; and generally never backing down to anyone else, even when paired with other major stars such as Sinatra.

Authenticity

From the start of his cinematic career, certain attributes of Kelly's persona were spelt out. John Russell Taylor and Arthur Jackson (1971, p.60) see the Kelly character as 'the open, confident, brash […] straight-forward American male, with a smile on his face for the whole human race'.

On-screen Kelly often wore casual, comfortable clothes - basically the outfit of the ordinary man on the street. In contrast to Astaire's top hat and tails and Sinatra's tailored suits, Kelly usually wore jeans, t-shirts and loafers. Not only did this outfit become a recurring theme in itself, with extreme connotations of 'everydayness', thus creating a recognisable image for Kelly, but it also meant that these tight-fitting clothes were ideal for energetic dancing, allowing him to dance freely and create a masculine silhouette. In *An American in Paris* where he plays a painter, *Singin' in the Rain* where he portrays an actor, or in the many films where he plays a nightclub owner, director, performer or a combination of all three, such as *Cover Girl, Summer Stock, Marjorie Morningstar, Les Girls* and *What a Way to Go!* (1964) he wears some version of this outfit.

Kelly is also seen wearing a take on this outfit in publicity stills; candid photographs taken backstage when he is directing or rehearsing; and even in photographs taken while he is at home. In *Let's Make Love* (1960) he appears briefly in a cameo role, where he is billed as 'himself' and referred to in the film as 'Mr. Kelly'. He again dons this outfit when he attempts to teach Yves Montard how to dance. If this role parodies his 'true' self then surely it can be argued that all of the aforementioned roles also reflect this 'true' self. Hence, 'Kelly the auteur' is doing what all auteurs do by creating a sense of himself in these films but doing it in such an obvious way - by using his own body - that it may be overlooked. Kelly simply created a recurring and recognisable outer persona to allow the audience to get to know him and relate to him on an earthly level, not as an immaculately dressed and preened movie star, but as an everyday Joe.

The other outfit that became a recurring theme for Kelly is the uniform, signifying wartime duty and patriotism and again suggesting

authenticity, since the majority of these films were made during the war and in the post-war years. Again, most of the audience could relate to this, no matter what their social background, and the uniform is used subtly to show his All-American persona in the form of patriotism and love for his country (as did *Take Me Out to the Ballgame,* with its theme of baseball, comradeship and the musical finale 'Strictly USA' where the actors are dressed in red, white and blue). Kelly's characters were in the army, the navy and the air force on more than a few occasions. His debut in *For Me and My Gal* (1942) saw him as a performer turned soldier; he also plays a soldier in *Thousands Cheer* (1943), *Living in a Big Way* (1947) and *It's Always Fair Weathe*r (1955). In *Pilot No.5* (1943) he joins the air force; and he sports a sailor suit in *On the Town, Anchors Aweigh* and *Invitation to the Dance* (1956) for the duration of each film. Again, these films intertwine real life and movies since Kelly was a lieutenant in the US Navy during World War II. The sailor suit has strong connotations of the All-American male, allowing the average man who had been drafted to have someone on screen to look up to and identify with. *On the Town* is an extremely patriotic film which follows three sailors (Kelly, Frank Sinatra and Jules Munchin) during a 24-hour leave in New York. Kelly seems to be the driving force behind the film as both star and co-director; and the revolutionary on-location shooting made it stand out from other films of the period, since it was the first Hollywood film to be shot on location.

Even when Kelly did not wear a uniform during a film, he was often referred to as having donned one before the start of film, such as in *An American in Paris* where he plays an "Ex-GI". *Living in a Big Way* also starts at the end of the war, with Kelly's character finding it hard to adjust back into society, symbolised by the removal of his 'comfortable' and familiar soldier's uniform which is replaced by an

ill-fitting suit and tie. It is only once he changes into jeans, a t-shirt and loafers that he feels 'himself' again, and subsequently performs a musical number.

In *Summer Stock,* an empty barn is used for several musical numbers including the squeaky floorboard number and 'You Wonderful You'. *Summer Stock* takes place on a farm, therefore presenting a very realistic and authentic setting where the actors are seen milking cows, picking eggs and so on, while dressed in jeans, loafers and gingham shirts. Therefore, even the staging of the musical numbers have a 'realness' about them. In addition to the performances in the barn, 'Dig for your Dinner' is set in an All-American farmhouse kitchen, with the large wooden table acting as a stage.

Kelly appears briefly in *What a Way to Go!* as one of Shirley MacLaine's many husbands, all of whom meet a grizzly end. Kelly plays Pinky Benson who establishes his own persona by constantly wearing pink. Pinky starts his career in a small nightclub where nobody pays attention to his act; he dresses in dirty clothes and his face is hidden behind clown makeup, so we do not know who the 'real' Pinky is. One night, when he is short of time, he goes on stage as 'himself' without the make-up, dressed in khakis and a t-shirt and becomes an instant hit: women whistle at him and men applaud him. Like Don Lockwood, Pinky becomes a star overnight and moves to Hollywood. In an obvious parody of *Singin' in the Rain,* he shows up for the film premiere in evening dress and with a huge smile on his face, waving at the crowd. Keeping with the *Singin' in the Rain* references, his fans stampede him, tearing his clothes as they did with Don, but this marks Pinky's demise; his fans (symbolised by elephants) trample him to death. Consequently he lived for show business and died for it too. Even after his death the nickname

'Pinky' lives on, in rather bad taste, as his coffin and the bouquet on top are both pink, displaying how his persona was indeed woven into his whole life. Thus becoming the 'real' Pinky both makes him a star and destroys him.

Innovations in *mise-en-scène*

Kelly was involved in a lot of technically innovative techniques in his many MGM musicals, both on and off screen. These are shown through the *mise-en-scène* in such ways as location shooting, double exposure, three-way split screen, and animation and real life combined.

Two significant uses of props are the squeaky floorboard and newspaper in *Summer Stock* and the dustpan lids from *It's Always Fair Weather.* With these examples, and many others, Kelly controlled the *mise-en-scène*, not only be choosing these items, but also by creating a sense of authenticity by using everyday items to create dance numbers with, combining all three signs of his auteurism, both in front of and behind the camera.

Kelly's on-screen persona and individual style was an innovation in its own right. For once the public had a star that had the personality and look of the everyday man on the street, only he had the added appeal of being able to express himself through dance. Kelly was involved in creating and executing many innovative techniques, and the way he performed these on-screen is extremely significant. One example is the combination of animation and real life in *Anchor's Aweigh* (when Kelly dances with Jerry the mouse), but it was only because of Kelly's ability to perform the number that made it a success, since he knew exactly what to do to make it appear as if he was dancing with a cartoon character. The same is true of the 'Alter Ego' number in *Cover Girl* since Kelly has to

convince the audience he is dancing with himself, and would therefore have to perform both roles suitably before they could be edited together to create the final number. Thus the 'Everyman' persona Kelly tried to present becomes one of an innovative individual deeply involved in the realms of filmmaking and, therefore, no longer an average American but rather a self-sufficient performer who does not even need a real life partner to dance with. Kelly also tap-danced on roller skates in *It's Always Fair Weather*; performed on scaffolding in *Living in a Big Way;* walked a tightrope in *The Pirate*; and swung across rooftops in *Anchors Aweigh*. Therefore, Kelly became both performer and stuntman on screen because he did all his own performing. Since the performance of a dancer cannot be faked on screen it seems that Kelly's performances themselves were innovative both in execution and in content, and therefore authentic.

Behind the Camera

Control

Kelly's control behind the camera (through directing and choreographing) often appeared on the screen in his own performances. One exception would be when he taught some of his co-stars how to dance, but even then they were performing alongside him. Both Sinatra and Debbie Reynolds had never danced before being put on screen with Kelly (in *Anchors Aweigh* and *Singin' in the Rain* respectively) and Kelly had the added task of teaching them how to dance. This again complicates the 'Everyman' persona somewhat, as this control (even over his co-stars) suggests that Kelly was an individual who not only used his skills but tried to teach them to others as well.

One behind the scenes photograph of Kelly on the set of *Brigadoon* shows him with director Vincente Minnelli but, as the image suggests, he seems to be taking over the directing process as well, with Minnelli looking on. All star images are constructed to a certain extent and, since MGM has set up this photograph, it is useful in discussing Kelly's constructed persona as a 'complete performer' both in front of and behind the camera and how the studio tried to market Kelly as an all-round performer.

Authenticity

Kelly tried to create authenticity behind the scenes, for on-screen shooting, with careful consideration going into sets and costumes, most apparent in *On the Town's* on-location shooting mentioned earlier. His authenticity is also embodied in his helping to pioneer the integrated musicals where numbers advanced, or at least referred to, the plot rather than being separate entities of the film, like Busby Berkley's extravagant numbers featuring countless comparable women. Kelly also created numbers that were on a far smaller scale than Berkley's. *On the Town's* 'Main Street' signifies the first encounter between Kelly and Vera-Ellen and takes place in a small rehearsal studio, and it is obvious that Kelly has chosen the wooden floors and mirrored walls to create the atmosphere.

In terms of not just his behind-the-camera persona, but his off-screen persona, Kelly had been a dance teacher with a theatrical background which helped him understand both dance and show business in general before he came to Hollywood and got involved in the cinema. He directed and choreographed shows on Broadway before moving to Hollywood, and this gave the impression that he knew his craft inside out, aspiring to create on screen what he saw in the theatre.

Off screen he also wore the two outfits he mostly favoured on-screen. Both the uniform (he joined the navy during World War II) and the casual, everyday ensemble of jeans, t-shirts and loafers were integral to his life, therefore creating a sense of unity between both his off-screen and on-screen personas. As a result of this, he could become an easily identifiable and accessible personality for audiences – who would no doubt be wearing similar 'everyday' clothes – and also established himself as an authentic talent, not just a 'movie star,' who was in it for money, fame, and designer clothes, but as someone who was genuinely interested in the craft of filmmaking. The paradox of ordinary/extraordinary discussed in the pioneering work of Richard Dyer in *Stars* (1998) would strongly apply to Kelly's star image since off-screen he was an extraordinary talent (presenting an ordinary image through publicity photos, magazine interviews, etc.) and presenting characters with ordinary lives (but with extraordinary talent) on-screen. This paradox overlaps both his public and private personas and would make a worthy topic for future study.

Innovations in *mise-en-scène*

Kelly used a number of innovative techniques in the films he directed, including the on-location shooting in *On the Town*, and the combining of animation and real life as previously mentioned. He also used three-way split screen in *It's Always Fair Weather* for the 'Once I Had a Dream' number and compressed time and space in *On the Town's* 'New York New York' number, to mention just a few of the major developments. Delamater notes that 'Kelly's experimentations were often more subtle, concentrated and basic, therefore mundane and less noticeable, aspects of putting steps together in a meaningful dance sequence and photographing the sequence'. (1981, pp.84-96)

If we look again at the 'Alter Ego' number from *Cover* Girl, Kelly not only performed the number but was also involved behind the scenes in the technical process of using the innovative technique of double exposure, producing Hollywood's first ever musical number to use this technique.

Kelly knew about the technical aspects of shooting a scene and he understood the camera. He used one camera for greater control, believing that the camera movement and the dancer's movement could work together to create a kinetic force on-screen, much like that of live performance in a theatre. He was also able to control the space his body moved in, using this space (rather than just performing within it) and he always used the full spatial resources of the set. The way he changed the camera angle revealed new (potential dance) space, a prime example of this being the way he uses the street in the roller skate number 'I Like Myself' from *It's Always Fair Weather,* or indeed *Singin' in the Rain's* title track, where he again uses a street to create a variety of dance spaces, editing with match cuts on the action in both numbers.

Kelly could also use the camera in innovative ways, especially in dance numbers, to create his dynamic exuberance on-screen; in other words, he used it to control the *mise-en-scène*, an important element of an auteur's filmmaking and used it to film his own performances. Therefore he would have to work out exactly where the camera was going to shoot before getting in front of it to perform. When a camera follows a dancer moving at the same speed there is hardly any movement so Kelly hardly used this kind of shot, instead opting to rectify the situation by putting props in the background of panning shots to allow him to shoot past them and create a sense of speed. No background is ever bare in a Kelly film and every item serves a purpose, which suggests that even

backgrounds and props seemed to need Kelly's approval from behind the camera before he was happy to perform in front of it.

It is through these innovations that I feel that Kelly managed to define himself as an auteur and not just a performer or 'movie star', despite the fact he was working for a Hollywood studio. I believe that he can be defined as an auteur since he used techniques that allowed him to transcend his routine assignments to create a body of work which is stamped with a distinctive style, therefore there is a sense of himself woven into the fabric of his films from both sides of the camera, allowing him to be worthy of the term 'performing auteur'.

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Technologies of Change: Body Coded in Motion

Elena Marcevska (University of Northampton)

Introduction

We live in an era where human motion becomes accelerated by technology and the points of stopping, looking and observing are rare commodities. Nowadays new technologies become extensions of the human body and as such influence its identity (Rokeby 1995, cited in Penny 1995, p.142). Human interaction with technology is an important area of study in the age of ubiquitous digital technology, for either new media studies and for performance studies. Interaction is crucial, although some perspectives diverge.

First of all, I want to explain how I arrived at this point and what motivated me to undertake this research. In 1999, I started to work as an educator in Macedonia, during the Kosovo crisis. The country was in economical and political crisis and the war in the region was deepening the already existing problems. Working in a team of educators which used different approaches on how to use art as a tool for social change, I was always questioning the existing methodologies. Especially, I was concerned with how technology was introduced as a transformation tool for children who are experiencing trauma. I was interested in the notion of the 'spect-actor' (Boal 2000), that draws upon Augusto Boal's politics as well as his knowledge of theatre and of what might now be called 'serious play'.

Boal's games for actors are developed from his brutal life experience. He develops his theory and method from his own experience and embodied knowledge. All of this is documented and

analysed in his work as a cultural activist as well as in his writings and professional practices demonstrated in the *Theatre of the Oppressed* (Boal 1979). But in *Games for Actors and Non-Actors* (2002), Boal went further to offer a way of seeing the spectator of a theatre performance as an engaged, embodied participant in a dynamic setting. This work has influenced the methods not only of theatre, but also of live art, and more recently, of media artist, whose work is deeply indebted to the role-play analyses of early theatre scholars (Goodman 2007, p.114). Technology must be engaged in artistic means if it is to help us realise new social-political configurations. Imagination and creativity are critical to social change. For my work on this project, in 2005, I received a Fellowship, to attend the IDEAS Institute at The MIT Media Lab, USA. The MIT Media Lab has initiated a new leadership program called the IDEAS (Innovative Design Experiences After-School) Institute. The Institute was for professionals working in after-school programs in low-income communities, who are dedicated to helping youth learn to express themselves creatively with new technology. The Institute aim was to nurture an international, collaborative network of after-school professionals, encourage community leadership, and inspire young people to learn new things in new ways. There, I was introduced to *Scratch*[1], which is a new programming environment that children can use to create their own animated stories, video games, and interactive art and share their creations with one another across the Internet. Also, I came across *Crickets*[2], devices that can help children create

[1] Scratch is a networked, media-rich programming environment designed at MIT Media Lab, by Lifelong kindergarten Group, to enhance the development of technological fluency at after-school centers in economically-disadvantaged communities. Scratch is based on a building-block metaphor, in which learners build scripts by snapping together graphical blocks much like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. http://scratch.mit.edu/

[2] Crickets are adding to the Scratch integration with the physical world. Building on previous research on LEGO/Logo and programmable bricks, inputs from

musical sculptures, interactive jewellery, dancing creatures, and other artistic inventions and learn important math, science, and engineering ideas during the process. This experience had made me aware, both as an educator and an artist, of the importance of the concept of participation in the Human Computer Interaction. To foster change, these projects were developed with the explicit goal of helping people develop themselves as creative thinkers or, as stated by Resnick:

> designed to support what I call the 'creative thinking spiral.' In this process, people *imagine* what they want to do, *create* a project based on their ideas, *play* with their creations, *share* their ideas and creations with others, and *reflect* on their experiences—all of which leads them to *imagine* new ideas and new projects. (2007, p.18)

On the other hand, W. J. T. Mitchell suggests:

> Perhaps this moment of accelerated stasis in history, when we feel caught between the utopian fantasy of biocybernetics and the dystopian realities of biopolitics, between the rhetoric of the post-human and the real urgency of universal human rights, is a moment given to us for rethinking just what our lives, and our arts, are for. (2003, p.498)

The advent of new technologies has sparked much discussion in fields concerned not only with technological production, but in the arts where the implications for artistic production, political action, and performance ontology are debated. As Mitchell suggests, this debate occurs in a condition of heightened stasis, thus providing those of us fascinated by technology in/on performance, as well as with identity performance, with a unique opportunity to take

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physical sensors (such as switches, sliders, distance sensors, motion detectors, sound sensors) can be used to control the behavior of Scratch creations. For example, a child could connect an accelerometer to her arm and program an animated character to change its behaviour based on how she moves her arm, in the process gaining new insights into the concepts of acceleration, sensing, and feedback.

advantage of an extended moment. Interactivity and performativity are crucial elements of experiencing new technologies. I am interested in art works that are interactive in a really deep and gripping sense, 'a sense much deeper than that of picking from a menu and clicking on something' (Szpakowski 2009, in Stern, p.10). IDEAS' experience had led me to my current research, which is focused on exploring integration of body-centred performance practices with motion tracking software. This paper explores the interdisciplinarity of technologically mediated motion engagement in the production of embodied being.

Screen as site of change

> I see display screens everywhere, and I wonder whether they are happy. Happy? Well, maybe "happy" is not the right word. Instead, "Do they live meaningful lives?" may be the question to ask (Maeda 2004, p.8).

If we contemplate the fluidity and multiplicity of the screen as a medium, our most powerful relationship with certain sites is more often mediated by the screen. There are various ways in which screen configure, affect, mediate and/or embody social relations. Martin Heidegger, in his pivotal essay 'The Question Concerning Technology', describes technology as *bringing forth* or letting 'what is not yet present arrive into presence' (Heidegger 1954, p.318). He equates the process of *bringing forth* with revealing truth. In this sense, screen technology is also a vehicle for praxis. Reflecting and drawing on the work of Alan Kay, Myron Krueger, John Maeda, Ben Fry & Casey Reas this paper will try to demonstrate how an anthropocentric conception of the world is increasingly shaping and influencing the outcomes of the HCI (Human Computer Interaction). Special attention will be drawn on interdisciplinary art works that are using social-constructionist approach that centres on

human beings, who, 'in conjunction with technology, form a dynamic system with diverse feedback options' (Friedewald 2005, cited in Buurman, p.26). Historically the relationship between the arts and the sciences has been a stormy one, sometimes close and sometimes distinctly separated, but the last century has seen increasing levels of formal intersection as discrete yet complementary disciplines. Ascott (1999, p.2) argues that: 'art, technology and science are converging in important ways to produce new strategies, new theories and new forms of creativity, increasingly relying for their advance on a kind of trans-disciplinary consultation and collaboration'.

Following from art, science and technology intersection, it is important to demonstrate that discussions of aesthetics are still rare in this context. Artists and critics are often more concerned with the technological currency of works of art than with examining what makes them work (Cubbit 1998, p.23). Festivals of digital art emphasize exploration of new technologies, excluding and implicitly announcing the obsolescence of older technological forms. Maria Fernández suggests that progressive art practice is indirectly linked with new generations of technology (1999, p. 59). The role of the artist is to explore the technology before it is commercialized. Electronic art concurs with commerce, where products are ranked on the use of the latest technology. In electronic media art, the artist's concentration on technology frequently makes content irrelevant. As suggested by Simon Penny, there is a need for 'a paradigm shift to embodied, performative perspective […] in order to adequately address theoretical and design challenges of technology' (Penny 2009, p.2). The crafting of embodied, sensorial experience is the fundamental expertise of the arts, an expertise which is as old as human culture itself. This paper will further discuss specifically art

works, where the focus is shifted on the embodiment process.

The pioneer in the field of embodied aesthetics of new media, Myron Krueger believes that the computer is always a vehicle for exploring and expanding embodied (human) interaction with the world and with other human beings. In his most acclaimed piece 'Video Place', he locates human embodiment in a position 'to constrain the referencelessness of digital code, thereby installing it as the agent whose action actualizes the (abstract) potential of code' (Hansen 2006, p.35). In this way Krueger is introducing new approaches in which 'the computer system's role as interaction partner fades into the background, and it now makes itself available as an instrument for the visitor to use' (Dinkla 1998, cited in Hansen 2006, p.36). Myron Krueger's 'Video Place' system (1970) was the first computer-mediated responsive interface of its kind – it contained both reflexive and performative aspects. An individual's silhouette was projected onto a large video screen, into a virtual world. Based on real-time video tracking, the performer could use body movement and gestures to actuate his silhouette within the virtual world, interacting with its critters and floating across its horizon. Krueger noted the reflexive quality of his piece, remarking that performers felt as equally self-consciousness and private about their projected silhouettes as about their bodies. Performers identified with their virtual likeness to such an extent that some were telepathically creeped out when critters crawled over their silhouette. More than a mirror however, 'Video Place' has a strong performative quality because the mirrored image could also constitute a highly expressive artwork – that is to say, it could be regarded not only as a mean, but also as an aesthetic end suitable for audience (Liu & Davenport 2005, p.205). Krueger tackled the important issue on how human motion can be used as a signal for the computer to

produce output and how this process is transcribed onto the computer screen through the use of programming languages.

Casey Reas and Ben Fry, the creators of Processing[3], take this idea further. They are working from the premises that 'a computer machine and a computer program can be whatever a programmer wants it to be' (Simon 2004, cited in Maeda 2004, p.48) and for that reason 'possibility exists to create new paradigm of computer programming that build on humankind's inherent visual and bodily perception skills.' (Reas 2004, cited in Maeda 2004, p.44). Processing is an open source software[4] and environment designed to bridge the gap between programming and art, empowering anyone to create digital work by using mathematical patterns. Processing is a contemporary of an early alternative programming language concept Logo, developed for children, by Seymour Papert in the late 1960s. Initially, it was developed to support Papert's version of the turtle robot, a simple robot controlled from the user's workstation that is designed to carry out the drawing functions assigned to it using a small retractable pen set into or attached to the robot's body. But, also Logo made it possible for the first time for children to program different media. Logo opened up possibilities for new generation of programming tools and activities to be developed (Processing, Scratch, Crickets, among many), which can help making computer programming more accessible to everyone. According to Fry and

[3] Processing is programming language and integrated development environment built for the electronic arts and visual design communities with the purpose of teaching the basics of computer programming in a visual context, and to serve as the foundation for electronic sketchbooks. More on Processing: http://processing.org/

[4] Open source software (OSS) is computer software for which the source code and certain other rights normally reserved for copyright holders are provided under a software license that meets the Open Source Definition or that is in the public domain. This permits users to use, change, and improve the software, and to redistribute it in modified or unmodified forms. It is very often developed in a public, collaborative manner.

Reas, 'Processing relates software concepts to principles of visual form, motion and interaction' (2007, p.1) and with that, opens up endless possibilities for creation of hybrid media projects that expand our corporeal approaches to computational systems and environments. In a historical sense, Alan Kay, a pioneer at Xerox PARC, explains how important software literacy is:

> The ability to 'read' a medium means you can access materials and tools created by others. The ability to 'write' in a medium means you can generate materials and tools for other. You must have both to be literate. In print writing, the tools you generate are rhetorical; they demonstrate and convince. In computer writing, the tools you generate are processes; they stimulate and decide. (Kay1990, cited in Laurel 1990, p.138)

In a different context, the Desperate Optimists (DO), a performance duo from UK, find that using media technology is a perfect way to include more performers and audiences in their work. They state, "perhaps by foregrounding the digital aspects of our work we've invariably found ourselves hanging out where the more interesting and current cultural and social debates are happening" (Slater 2005, p.3). The issues they historically have been interested in are poverty, urban space, survival strategies and coping mechanisms as they affect and are used by citizens of the UK. Their work, however, accessible via the Internet, is applicable to other Western societies. This accessibility is paramount in their desire to work with cameras and computers rather than through touring live performances. Marcyrose Chvasta argues that sharing your work online does not afford a good sense of the location of the viewer. However, viewers have the ability to respond to the work via email and engaged in dialogue with the artists over an extended period of time (2005, p.162).

In conclusion, the screen becomes a site for multiple interactive activities: programmable manipulation of different media

(images, animation, movies, etc. – a technological component), shareability (social component) and finally, integration with the physical world (performative component). The role of performance-based techniques and scenarios in participatory media (Muller 2002) and in design of interactive systems (Iacucci, Iacucci & Kuutti 2002) has been examined. Whilst endorsing these studies, I am looking for a deeper understanding of the value of creating change through performative utilization of technology. Focusing on motion, in the next section, I will try to tease out some of the complexities and the possibilities of how interdisciplinary research of screen technologies might create change.

Body, screen, motion

> The new interactive media, however, require acts of performance. We must physically interface with them in order to activate them, in order to get them to respond. (Guertin 2007, p.3)

The contemporary focus on motion in a range of technologies and applications has not increased the importance of sensory engagement so much as made it more apparent. The relationship between the performance and technology is often framed as oppositional; performance engages the body, while technology supersedes it, each being defined and positioned in relation to the human physical body. Although they are commonly placed in opposition to one another, both performance and technology explore the interaction between the body (the person) and the environment by challenging the parameters of what the body can do and experience (human potential). Moreover, both operate within constantly shifting contexts, which assume that embodied experience is itself constantly shifting and cannot be frozen. It is the task of scholars, as much as of artists, to understand the nature and significance (individual, cultural,

social, political) of this experience.

If we focus our attention toward interactivity, the only way the 'audiences might start caring for (new media) art […] is when they're given reason to. Seeing their own images, their own realities, lives and experiences is, perhaps, one key element in helping people care about art in the information age' (Wilson 2008, p.4). Immediate interplay between performer and culture-as-audience is body movement and physical gesture. Using real-time video tracking, the location and distance of the performer from the display can be sensed. Ingrid Richardson (2005) suggests that both tool and body are covalent participants – and coalesce as various technosoma – in the making of meaning and environment. The seamless integration that Richardson describes demonstrates a maturity that allows the performance to focus on aesthetic rather than functional aspects, hence the apparent transparency of the technology. As argued by Janez Strehovec:

> Today we come across new media art projects as post-industrial art services that occur at the intersection of contemporary art, new economy, post-political politics (activism, hacktivism), technosciences and techno lifestyles. The artwork is not a stable object anymore, it is a process, an artistic software, an experience, a service devoted to solving a particular (cultural and non-cultural) problem, a research, an interface which demands from its user also the ability for associative selection, algorithmic (logical) thinking and for procedures pertaining to DJ and VJ culture, such as mixing, cutting, sampling and recombination. (2009, p.233)

In the last couple of years there has been a flurry of new publications that address, from a range of perspectives, the interface between live performance and digital technologies. These publications, such as Broadhurst (2006), Popat (2006), and Dixon (2007) are timely and demonstrate the plethora of recent professional arts and academic research practice that investigates what has been variously termed

'digital performance', 'mediated performance' or 'performance and new technology'. On the other hand, in the wide terrain of multimedia performance work, which can be defined as performance that creatively utilises media technologies as an integral component, mixed-reality works that are incorporating the human body lie somewhere in between the domain of virtual theatre and post-dramatic theatre as identified by Hans Thies Lehmann. This includes performances where media technologies are brought into the theatrical frame as a feature of the mise-en-scène (Klich 2007, p.1).

In the piece *trajets*, Susan Kozel and Gretchen Schiller are looking at the physical bodies of the audience as they wander through a forest of screens as well as the bodies of dancers as these are dissolved and re-corporealised through video capture, editing, and projection techniques. Visitor location causes the video projections to respond, effectively creating visual-physical choreography across people, screens and images. The screens in *trajets* do not separate the subject of the visitor's movement experience from its representation, but instead, seek to develop a participatory dynamic which continuously maps and renders present movement perception between the participant and the given feedback experience. As described by Kozel:

> The locus of the performance in *trajets* is shifted from the specific bodies of the performer (dancer, actor, musician) to the distributed bodies of the screens, image-bodies and public (2008, p.178).

The piece *trajets* reduces the gap between action and representation. The screen is not only a projection surface, but also a dynamic participant in the performance. This notion expands the fact that 'new technologies call us out of ourselves and our moments of being in shared timespace with others, and beckon us through the screen to other places, sometimes but not always coincident with our social,

educational and cultural needs' (Goodman 2007, p.104). *trajets* strives to conceptually get at the interdisciplinarity that blends theory with practice, to link theory and practice, not as distinct and divergent domains, but as epistemologically interdependent in the emergent field of digital performance studies. Lizbeth Goodman describes this process of performing self beyond the body:

> Given the speed of technological change combined with the shifting relationships that we all have to the notion of 'present time' in the age of telematics, it seems less important to label and tie down any concept or mode of communication or performance, and more important to capture instead a sense of the multiple streams of embodiment, and connection, that develop between bodies and minds in performances, staged and screenic. (2007, p.104)

Digital media, now applied in the contexts of performance art, may be said to represent a break with the respective traditions, production practice and theoretical frameworks, e.g. liveness vs. mediatised performance. Within recent theoretical discourse on technology and performance, the meaning of the term 'presence', has been redefined to include ideas of telematic or online presence, relating to the concept of the agency of the participant rather than simply the efficacy of the spectatorial position. To adapt knowledge and methods of diverse fields such as, science, media studies and performing arts becomes a question of not only merged conceptual frameworks, but merged methods and aims, in this instance, of theoretical reflection. But, do the performing element always suffers in its relationships with science and/or new technologies? Support for this gloomy hypothesis can be found in Peter Hall's statement that 'advances in technology have allowed for greater scope, potential and excitement but have also created potential problems in the cohesiveness of making theatre' (Hall 1998, in Popat and Palmer, 2005, p.48). Technology is seen by some as anti-artistic, and those

who use it can appear more concerned with the mechanics than its creative contribution to performance. As a performing-arts academic engaged in collaborative research with digital technologists, the search for common ground was a key issue for my work *Display movement*.

Display movement: methodology and theoretical framework

Since 2005 I have been researching how motion can be used as a signal for the computer to produce output. In my early work on this topic, inspired by the Muybridge[5] research in capturing frame-by-frame human motion, I developed the project 'Display movement'. My aesthetic guidance was the photographical work of Edward Muybridge (particularly his motion studies of the 1880s) who believed in the special power of photographs to convince viewers of counterfeit motion. Muybridge used fast-shutter speeds to break action into moment-by-moment increments, rendering movement stationary. For animators and other artists, the images he captured in the numerous sessions remain a standard reference, a dictionary of movement. In *The Philosophy of Photography*, Vilem Flusser outlines how the technical images are products of machines that are themselves the product of texts, e.g. research, engineering and others (Flusser 2000, p.17). This indeed articulates how we understand the body in western and globalized cultures, as compelled and defined through the technology of the lens and the camera. While in performance studies, the dual subject seems to enforce a simple distinction between the live and mediated bodies, Steve Dixon, performance artist and academic, argues that the media enables his

[5] Edward J. Muybridge (1830-1904) was an English photographer, known primarily for his important pioneering work, with use of multiple cameras to capture motion.

performers to point toward a more complex perception of space and time, and hence, the body. For Dixon, there is no power differential between the live and the mediated body—both are equally forceful embodiments of human experience. Furthermore, he argues:

> In contemporary cultural and cybercultural theories, the body has been increasingly conceptualised as an object divorced from the mind, and emerging discourses on the virtual body and "disembodiment" reinforce and extend the Cartesian split. The bifurcatory division between body and mind has lead to an objectified redefinition of the human subject—the "person"—into an abstracted, depersonalised and increasingly dehumanised physical object. (Dixon, cited in Chvasta 2005, p.163)

The theoretical point of interest, was the divide between the live and the virtual in the performance discourse. This was a topic for a debate concerning live theatre and mediatised performance, initiated by the differing perspectives of Peggy Phelan (1993, cited in Klich 2007, p.1) and Phillip Auslander (1999, cited in Klich 2007, p.1). While Phelan asserts the authenticity of live performance, arguing that performance is non-reproducible, Auslander critiques the concept of liveness arguing that it exists as a result of mediation. This ongoing dialogue has established an assumed opposition of the live and virtual within performance studies (Klich 2007, p.3). In performance where 'liveness' and physicality are frequently focal elements, it is difficult to ignore technological influences. This rather condescending view devalues the digital, rather than appreciating it as another facet of performance possibilities. Chvasta explain that live and technologically mediated bodies tend to be perceived in opposition to each other within performance discourse (2005, p.156). In addition to this, Fenske makes a compelling argument that performance theorists need to move beyond the perceptual habit of placing corporeality and virtuality in a hierarchical binary and instead work from a Bakhtinian aesthetic that values 'the dialogic and

discontinuous connection between form and content, corporeality and virtuality' (2004, p.15). The focus of 'Display movement' is on the body as placed: the space it takes up in lived experience and within the alternative frame of screenic presence. The work revolves around the notion that each body and each body memory and gesture, deliberate and multiply framed staging of self in performance leads to another layering of communication as bodily inscription. 'Display movement' is not seeking a form of technology that can infiltrate performance invisibly, but instead searching for methods by which the technology can extend the possibilities of performance.

My experience of practice-based study of interdisciplinarity between digital media and performance derives from 'Display movement', a collaborative multimedia performance piece that I did with my students at The School of the Art Institute of Chicago. The project captures the speed and glimpses of the performers' movement in the era of fast communication and technology. For this work I took sequences of isolated moments and by unfreezing time I combine them in a single image. The methodology was bridging my practical and theoretical work and analyzing the link between technological performance and the performative embodiment in new media through the use of motion capture devices and the programming language 'Processing'. The performers are seeing representation of themselves on the screen. This representation follows the movements of the performer like a mirror image or shadow, transformed by the potentials of the space. These transformations were realized by software running on a computer. In this piece of work, 'the content is contained in this difference between the gesture and its transformed or recontextualized reflection' (Rokeby 1995, cited in Penny 1995, p.145). 'Display movement' explores the experimental, process oriented practice-

based inquiry into digital media involving performance contexts. While exploring the integrations of body-centred performance practices with motion tracking software, I was also exploring the features of digital media as performance. Motion tracking involves real-time sensing and analysis of location, speed, duration and various other characteristics of movement. The results of this analysis were fed to a computer system that generated video and audio in response to the movement. But the outputs are always incomplete and approximate, or as argued by del Val:

> When a motion analysis system is developed it is important to consider that what is being analyzed is not the moving body: it may be a threshold of light in case of the camera, and the parameters we extract have little to do with our own perception and understanding of moving and dancing bodies. It is thus important to know that we are dealing with discrete representations of the moving body, and not with moving bodies themselves, and that these representations carry along a large amount of assumptions about what the body is, of how we identify, understand and dissect movement and so on: in that respect any representation of a movement will always be arbitrary and discrete, embedded and contingent. (2006, p.197)

This is partially why the work developed beyond realism to explore notions of non-linear association, embodiment and reflexivity by creating motion graphic visualisation. This somehow resonates with Grotowsky and his idea of how to allow the body to be free, or as he described, to give body;

> […] freedom from the time-lapse between inner impulse and outer reaction in such a way that the impulse is already an outer reaction. Impulse and action are concurrent: the body vanishes, burns, and the spectator sees only a series of visible impulses. Ours then is a via negativa – not a collection of skills but an eradication of blocks. (Grotowsky 1968, in Schechner & Wolford 1997, p.57).

Or as argued by Goodman:

> Grotowski's principles of 'poor theatre' with no sets, no props, no make-up or stage lighting are typical of mass produced digital performances, but also quite distinct from the higher tech mediated performance technology showcases that still challenge a performance paradigm, and that Grotowski did not code in his juxtaposition of "poor", "rich" and "total" theatres. (2007, p.110)

New production designs and new theoretical frameworks are crucial to get at novel digital media forms. The interplay of, for instance, digital media and live performance may be fruitfully achieved only through interdisciplinary practice-based research. Technology, by complicating our experience of self might also encourage a similarly heightened, even somatic, awareness. Technologist Sherry Turkle calls for personal transformation:

> If we cultivate our awareness of what stands behind our screen personae, we are more likely to succeed in using virtual experience for personal transformation [...] Our need for a practical philosophy of self-knowledge has never been greater as we struggle to make meaning from our lives on the screen (1995, p.269).

Focusing on motion, 'Display movement' tried to tease out some of the complexities and the possibilities of sensory engagement, locating it in relation to the negotiation of embodied subjectivity, in which we are all, as embodied subjects, involved.

Conclusion

There is an urge to develop new guides to conduct and new ways to tackle interdisciplinary research in art, raised by breakthroughs in science and technology. Moreover, as argued by the Goat Island performer and writer Matthew Goulish:

> The human produces the transparent entity of the technology, and in return, the technology offers to retransparentize the human. Moreover, we must ask ourselves not only how we will USE technology, but

> also whether we will BECOME technology. (2000, p.38)

Kolcio takes this even further when she argues that:

> In reconfiguring basic parameters of perception, communication and expression, technology asks 'What can we become?' In doing so it asserts the potential for human transformation. Dance and technology share this implicit commitment to the possibility of human transformation. Both operate on the premise of putting theories and ideas into practice. Both ask 'What can we become?' through (embodied and disembodied) praxis (2005, p.107).

Practice as research is still an evolving form, and although many examinations of embodied experience of performing through the technology focus on interactivity within the framework of technology and technological innovation, there is a great deal more to do in researching performativity as a way to approach technology. Creativity in an arts project is centred on finding solutions to non-functional problems, problems associated with aesthetic outcomes. But these solutions are seed of change, or as Resnick, director of the Lifelong Media Group, explains:

> New technologies play a dual role in the Creative Society. On one hand, the proliferation of new technologies is quickening the pace of change, accentuating the need for creative thinking in all aspects of people's lives. On the other hand, new technologies have the potential, if properly designed and used, to help people develop as creative thinkers, so that they are better prepared for life in the Creative Society (2007, p.18).

The point of the practice based enquiry and research is surely about keeping this dialogue alive, keeping thoughts relevant. This paper is part of a process of re-engagement, re-interpretation and re-examination pf the process of interaction between new media and performance studies, body and technology. The only way these ideas

evolve is when others interact with them. Or as summarised by Goodman:

> What we do, how we choose to act and interact and "spect-act", perform and play and replay, will differ for each of us, at each moment, and for many political and personal reasons. One thing only is certain: we will be faced with such choices in real life and in any number of digital or virtual performative spaces as well – even in our own imaginations and dreams: in the spaces of our own desires. (2007, p.118)

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