At The Interface
Cutting-Edge Research

There Be Dragons Out There
Confronting Fear, Horror & Terror

Edited by

Shona Hill & Shilinka Smith

Inter-Disciplinary Press

There Be Dragons Out There:
Confronting Fear, Horror and Terror

At the Interface

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The Evil Hub
'Fear, Horror and Terror'

There Be Dragons Out There:
Confronting Fear, Horror and Terror

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Inter-Disciplinary Press

Oxford, United Kingdom

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Introduction

Shona Hill and Shilinka Smith

Are we more fearful than ever before? If so, is it because our world is inherently more dangerous? Or is it because competing discourses of danger leave us feeling uncertain and powerless? Or is it because there is a political cultivation of fear? Over time and across cultures, fear, once considered in relation to personal experience is, to a large extent, also considered in relation to an ever-expanding list of powerful and destructive forces. Examples include global warming, AIDS, drug cartels, weapons of mass destruction, rising crime rates, bird and swine flu and new technologies. These fears have been reinforced by the horrifying global effects of terrorism, the Iraqi War and the Bush Administration's ultimatum of being 'for them or against them'. This has culminated in many commentators suggesting that the current era encourages and maintains a 'politics of fear' as a form of social control.[1] Others have suggested that it is time for a deeper, more critical and insightful analysis of fear, horror and terror.[2]

It is timely then that the 'At The Interface' project has held its second *Fear, Horror and Terror Conference*. This conference took place in the stimulating environment of Mansfield College, Oxford University in September 2009 where the conference delegates from all over the world presented papers and engaged in lively debates that traversed the different forms that this topic can take. In order to take the delegates 'beyond the horizons of what they usually encounter' the number of delegates selected for participation were kept to a level where there was only one stream of papers being given at any time. Similarly, to ensure an interactive process of dialogue between presentations as well as during and after the conference an expectation was that the delegates would attend all sessions throughout the conference. This eBook is a compilation of the papers presented by those delegates who spent the conference engaging with the different perspectives that came alive in the inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary exploration of the subject matter.

To this end, the interesting and varied subjects in this collection are testimony to the diverse human experiences that manifest in fear, horror or terror. Several papers deal with the diverse aspects of terrorism and the rest range from topics that are as fascinating as they are fearful. They include representations of ghosts in Naples and genies in Turkey, psychic vampires in literature to zombie walks in Brazil, political speeches in New Zealand, and fear of fate, wilderness, gender, stereotypes, animalistic natures and the body, as well as laughter and the positivity of monsters.

So, there be dragons out there, and this collection addresses many of them head on. It does not shy away from those things that scare and horrify

us, and its diverse perspectives range from strident and powerfully argued advocates for their positions to measured and distanced analysis. Whether taking macro-topics or focused on specific issues, this collection canvasses just how big 'the abyss' is when we open up discussions of fear, horror and terror.

The final intrepid adventure inherent in this collection and one of the underpinning purposes of the 'At The Interface' projects is its inter-disciplinary and cross-cultural nature. The boundaries around disciplines and the implicit values and methodologies of each discipline can be a barrier to interdisciplinary discovery. However, this forum provides an opportunity to explore these perspectives. For example, comparing the papers in this collection reveals what some delegates understood as given and what others considered needed further elaboration. Furthermore, in any cross-cultural exchange in English, there is also always the question of 'whose English?' After much debate, as editors, we chose our area of expertise, New Zealand English. Choosing something unfamiliar to some may cause a degree of anxiety that stems from traversing unfamiliar terrain. We hope this is seen as productive and positive, rather than fearful and frightening. Interdisciplinary study and discussion of fear, horror and terror can help us slay the dragons, or befriend them as need be. As discussed in the papers in this collection, fear can blinker, stifle and control not only the characters threatened by alien stalkers but also citizens marginalised in terrorism or crime debates. This on-going research project on fear, horror and terror tries to overcome this fear, or at the very least ensure our blinkers are 'eyes wide shut', so that we consciously chose active or passive participation. In this way interdisciplinary projects offer hope. We hope you enjoy this collection with all the fear and fascination the subject matter deserves.

We would like to thank the 'At the Interface' organisers, publishers and our fellow contributors for all their patience and perseverance in bringing together this collection and we look forward to continuing the debates with both familiar and new faces in the conferences to come.

<div align="right">
Shona Hill and Shilinka Smith
Wellington, New Zealand
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Notes

[1] For examples, see F Furedi, *Culture of Fear: Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectations,* Continuum, NY, [1997], 2002, and B Glassner, *The*

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Culture of Fear: Why Americans are Afraid of the Wrong Things, Basic Books, NY, 1999.
[2] A Tudor, 'A (Macro) Sociology of Fear?' in *The Sociological Review*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2003.

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Day 1:

**Fear, Horror and Terror (FHT) at the
Movies 1**

and

the Religious Dimensions of FHT

Carnographic Culture:
America and the Rise of the Torture Porn Film

Beth A. Kattelman

Abstract: This paper examines how a recent spate of mainstream, graphically-violent horror films reflects societal stresses circulating in the United States as a result of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center, and posits that the popularity of these films has been fueled by the American public's increased awareness of the threat of terrorism and a fear of random violence. These films have been variously labelled "carnography," "gorenography," or "torture porn" by critics due to their emphasis upon extreme violence presented in lingering close-ups and the prurient element that may be involved in their viewing, thus aligning them with pornography. The paper looks specifically at James Wan's *Saw* (2004) and Eli Roth's *Hostel* (2005), two of the films credited with starting the current carnographic trend and shows how they satisfy an audience through narratives of contained violence and retribution. It also notes that there is a strong element of American masochism circulating within the diegetic world that these films present.

       The paper also draws a parallel between the current trend of graphic films and a similar one that took place during the early 1970s at the height of America's involvement in the Vietnam War. Films such as Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), Sam Peckinpah's *Straw Dogs* (1971), Wes Craven's *The Last House on the Left* (1972), and Tobe Hooper's *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* (1974) were notorious for their intense violence and have also been recognised by some critics as thinly-veiled metaphors for an American society trying to come to grips with a disastrous and stressful time.

Key Words: Horror, film, torture, graphic, violence, carnography, trauma, terrorism, *Hostel*, *Saw*.

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1.   Societal Stress and the Horror Film

There is no doubt that the collective consciousness of the United States has fundamentally changed since the events of September 11, 2001 when terrorists flew airplanes into the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, killing over 3000 people. Xenophobia has risen. Our tolerance for using questionable methods of interrogation has risen. Many Americans have come to accept a curtailing of civil rights and a larger dose of governmental interference in the name of "homeland security." Our news is now dominated by stories begotten by the war in Iraq that feature incidents of human rights violations and torturous practices by players on all sides. We have seen

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torture and beheadings of kidnapped Americans carried out by radical Islamic
groups, and we have also seen inhumane treatment perpetrated against others
by the American military. In May of 2005, for example, Tim Golden of the
New York Times, broke the story that two Afghan inmates had died as a result
of inhumane treatment at the Bagram Air Force Base, a secret detention
centre near Kabul run by the United States military,[1] and the detention camp
at Guatanamo Bay, in operation since 2002, was also at the centre of
numerous reports of improper treatment and human rights violations. Perhaps
the most notorious incidents took place at Abu Ghraib a detention camp in
Iraq in which inmates were subjected to ridicule, humiliation and torture as
part of the daily routine. As David Edelstein notes:

> Post-9/11 we've engaged in a national debate about the morality of
> torture, fueled by horrifying pictures of manifestly decent men and
> women (some of them, anyway) enacting brutal scenarios of
> domination at Abu Ghraib.[2]

Since the events of September 11, a group of films featuring intense
onscreen violence has revitalized the horror genre in America. Films such as
the remake of *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (2003), *Saw* (2004), *Hostel*
(2005), *The Devil's Rejects* (2005), the remake of *The Hills Have Eyes*
(2006), *Turistas* (2006), and *Captivity* (2007) all feature extremely graphic
gore, complete with close-ups of bodies being eviscerated, impaled, dissected
or slowly torn asunder, and lingering shots of victims writhing in agony as
they endure these horrific punishments. In addition to the physical pain, these
films also focus upon the victim's mental anguish. For example, in *Saw III*
(2006), we watch as a young man's limbs are slowly twisted in a torture
machine, accompanied by the sounds of his bones breaking and shots of them
popping through the skin, intercut with shots of his agonized face. And in Eli
Roth's *Hostel* we see a young man chained to a chair and tortured by having
his Achilles tendons sliced and then made to crawl in order to try and escape.
Due to their emphasis upon extreme, graphic violence and the prurient
element involved in watching these films, they have been variously labelled
"gorenography," "carnography," or most commonly, "torture porn," a term
first coined by David Edelstein in a 2006 article for *New York Magazine*.[3]
This wave of horror films has once again ignited a discussion surrounding the
effects of viewing violence, and a debate about whether these films are
helping to purge negative impulses or are actually helping to fuel them.
While critics may argue about the relative harm or benefit of these films, one
thing that they cannot argue about is their popularity. Upon its opening,
Hostel spent a week as America's top money-maker,[4] and within its first year
and a half the *Saw* franchise had already earned US$250 million dollars
worldwide.[5]

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In the early 1970s, during the height of America's involvement in the Vietnam War, another spate of films raised an uproar due to their graphic content. Films such as Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), Sam Peckinpah's *Straw Dogs* (1971), Wes Craven's *The Last House on the Left* (1972), and Tobe Hooper's *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* (1974) all became notorious for their levels of blood and brutality, even though some of these films actually have very little on-screen gore. Critics also took note of how social traumas were being subtly played out in these films and how they were thinly-veiled metaphors for an American society trying to come to grips with a disastrous and stressful time.

We are once again in a period of great societal stress. There is a strong parallel between the mood of the United States during the Vietnam War and the mood today. The country is deeply divided regarding support for the Iraq war, and the conflict is taking its toll on America's families, civil liberties and economy. As they did in the late 1960s and early 70s, many Americans currently feel helpless and confused and are looking for a way to make sense of a world that seems out-of-control. The American public's awareness of torture and terror throughout the world has fueled the torture porn genre, as it is a place in which societal stresses can be reflected, so, it's not surprising that we are again experiencing a renaissance of graphic films. As Adam Lowenstein has noted, "[T]he modern horror film may well be the genre of our time that registers most brutally the legacies of historical trauma."[6] In order to explore the forces at work in the success of the current torture porn films, I will take a look at two of the films that are credited with starting the current trend of carnography: James Wan's *Saw* (2004) and Eli Roth's *Hostel* (2005).

2.   *Saw*

Saw centres upon two main characters, Dr. Gordon, a physician, and Adam, a freelance photographer, who wake up to find themselves chained to pipes in a filthy bathroom. They have each been provided a hacksaw, a small audiocassette, and a few other items that provide a series of cryptic clues as to why they now find themselves in this predicament. Pieces of the puzzle are slowly revealed through flashbacks and we come to find out that they have been put here by John Kramer, a former patient of Dr. Gordon's who is dying of terminal brain cancer. Kramer is on a mission to teach people to truly appreciate life by subjecting them to torturous games in which they must choose to live or die. Choosing to live, however, usually involves subjecting oneself to an intense amount of physical and/or psychological pain. For example, in order for Dr. Gordon or Adam to live one must kill the other and then cut off his own foot with a hacksaw in order to escape before the door of the bathroom locks and permanently entombs them. By the time the narrative of *Saw* begins, John Kramer has already killed several other people with his

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diabolical traps, so he is now considered a serial killer by the police, who have given him the moniker "Jigsaw." Throughout the film, we are introduced to Jigsaw's other victims through a series of gory flashbacks in which we see each victim in his or her trap and also the aftermath.

Saw provides pleasure through a strong narrative of containment and surveillance. Although Jigsaw's traps are bloody and horrifying, we are told, specifically, how each one functions, and in many cases we also know exactly how long the victim has to escape. All of the threats within *Saw* are delimited, and the episodic structure of the film effectively provides a tension/release effect for the viewer. In the flashbacks, audiences are introduced to a catalogue of victims and a pattern is quickly established. The film introduces one elaborate and horrific trap after another, allowing moviegoers to quickly grasp the structure and to understand that the gory sequences will be presented as small, self-contained vignettes. An audience feels control over the mise-en-scene because they easily recognise the repetitive pattern the narrative employs. The violence in *Saw* is not random violence against innocent bystanders, but is very measured and calculated and, although twisted, each violent episode has a purpose that is targeted toward a specific person. This is directly conveyed to the audience via the explanations that Jigsaw provides on audio and videotapes left for the victims. An audience member's experience of *Saw's* contained violence provides a reassurance that he or she can't get from the violence of random suicide bombers and terrorist attacks outside. The audience keeps the violence of *Saw* under surveillance. They know where it is coming from, and why - a much different scenario than they face in the outside world.

3.   *Hostel*

Hostel is also one of the earliest and most notorious of the torture porn films. It plays upon America's current fears in a slightly different way than *Saw* does, however. *Hostel* tells the story of Josh and Paxton, two young men from America who are backpacking through Europe. They and their Icelandic friend, Oli, head to an unmapped hostel in Slovakia after they hear that it is filled with beautiful girls who are eager to fulfil their every sexual desire. This hostel, however, turns out to be a trap as it is actually a front for an organisation called Elite Hunting which offers wealthy patrons an opportunity to torture and kill a tourist of their choice for a hefty fee—and American tourists are the most sought-after. Soon after arrival, the three young travellers find themselves victims of the horrible scheme. After enduring protracted sessions of torture, Oli and Josh are killed and dismembered. Paxton is eventually able to escape, but not before suffering torture and some severe injuries of his own. At the end of the film, Paxton exacts a bloody revenge upon Josh's murderer during a chance meeting at a train station and then heads for home.

Hostel plays heavily upon the xenophobia that is currently rampant in the United States and it fosters a misanthropic view of the world. Almost all human beings come off badly in this film. The people who are working for Elite Hunting and the foreign businessmen who are using the services are presented as pure evil, for example; they don't seem to have an ounce of conscience and have no empathy for anyone. Josh and Paxton move through the European landscape as if they are conquering heroes and their arrogance and sense of entitlement is so strong it almost bursts through the screen. While _Hostel_ isn't a direct commentary upon America's political situation, the film certainly can be read in terms of current American foreign policy. There's no question that recent events have led many to view America as an arrogant bully who has no true understanding of the consequence of his actions. America's actions can be read metaphorically in the story of Josh and Paxton banging blithely through Europe reinforcing the stereotype of the "ugly American." Many critics, in fact, have recognised the relation this narrative has with the United States' current foreign policy. As director, Eli Roth is proud of reporting, "_Art Forum_ magazine said that _Hostel_ was the smartest film in terms of being a metaphor for the Iraq war and America's attitude overseas."[7]

Saw, _Hostel_, and the other films of the torture porn genre provide pleasure in several ways. For starters, the gory spectacle they feature offers an adrenaline rush and a pleasurable tension-release sensation for audience members. This visceral experience engages audiences and gives them a heightened sense of feeling that is often missing in today's repressive society. The appeal of these films comes from more than just the promise of an adrenaline rush, however. Audience members also enjoy the torture porn genre because it loosely references the extreme violence that is present in today's society and offers a sense of control over it. Unlike the rampant violence in the real world, these films offer contained violence in a space where it can be kept under surveillance. This containment allows an audience member an opportunity to safely confront their fears and to escape into an alternative world. As Cristena Pineda notes:

> A film is not only a time-bound experience, it is also an imaginary one. The screen constitutes the spatial frame on which a film is projected. It marks off a bounded reality, one that need not conform strictly to lived experience. The borders of the screen establish parameters that free the viewer to engage in fantasy.[8]

In addition to the sadism of the torture porn genre, there is also a large dose of American masochism contained therein. In most of these films, the victims are not punished intermittently, but end up in a terrible situation due to some kind of usurpation or trespass, so there is a sense that the ones who

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must endure these horrors deserve it. In this regard, these films again hearken back to the films of the Vietnam War era such as *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* and *The Hills Have Eyes*.

Torture porn films are an excellent example of how "traces of traumatic events leave their mark on cultures"[9] to use E. Ann Kaplan's phrase. These marks are recombined and re-circulated through a society's arts which then provide a new window into the original trauma. The current spate of extreme films has become popular because they reflect and refract America's fears. From films such as *Hostel*, which validate the fear of foreigners and offer a mise-en-scene in which retribution is enacted, to films like *Saw* which provide a safe escape into a bloody-yet-contained world; the torture porn genre has connected with the current American zeitgeist. As Kendall R. Phillips notes "the most "successful" and "influential" horror films in American history and . . . their level of success and influence can be correlated to broader cultural anxieties into which they somehow tapped.[10]

When asked if he has any theories about why sadism is currently in vogue, Wes Craven, director of *The Last House on the Left* responds:

> Because we're living in a horror show. The post-9/11 period, all politics aside, has been extremely difficult for the average American. We all know what's floating around out there. That's big stuff and it comes out in a million ways, from people drinking a bit more to kids going to hard-core movies.[11]

The heightened sense of personal danger in the post-9/11 culture and the ongoing discussions surrounding the use of torture, have certainly contributed to the revitalization of the horror genre and to the direction that this revitalization has taken. The themes of torture and graphic violence in today's most popular horror films reflect the concerns of current American culture. While the American public had long been able to shield itself from a day-to-day fear of terrorist threats, the attacks of September 11th brought that fear screaming into our consciousness. And the fear, in turn, has found itself screaming onto movie screens across the country.

Notes

[1] T Golden, 'In U.S. Report, Brutal Details of 2 Afghan Inmates' Deaths,' *New York Times*, May 20, 2005, viewed on 8/2/2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/05/20/international/asia/20abuse.html?scp=2 &sq=tim%20golden&st=cse.

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[2] D Edelstein, 'Now Playing at Your Local Multiplex: Torture Porn,' *New York Magazine*, 28 January 2006, viewed on 7 January 2009, http://nymag.com/movies/features/15622/.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid.
[5] D Gordon, 'Horror Show,' *Newsweek*, 3 April 2006, viewed on 9 July 2008, http://www.newsweek.com/id/45907?tid=relatedcl.
[6] A Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation: Historical Trauma, National Cinema, and the Modern Horror Film*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, p. 10.
[7] P McClintock, 'Blood Brothers,' *Variety*, December 25-31, 2006, p. 34.
[8] I C Pinedo, 'Postmodern Elements of the Contemporary Horror Film,' in *The Horror Film*, (ed). Stephen Prince, Rutgers UP, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2004, p. 108.
[9] E A Kaplan and B Wang, 'Introduction: From Traumatic Paralysis to the Force Field of Modernity' in *Trauma and Cinema: Cross-Cultural Explorations*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 2004, p. 16.
[10] K Philips, *Projected Fears: Horror Films and American Culture*, Prager, Westport, Connecticut, 2005, p. 3.
[11] D Gordon, op.cit.

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Getting Medieval: Re-presentations of Embodied Fear in the Film *Se7en*

Shona Hill

Abstract: Fear can be understood as a perspective for viewing social experience. To explore this perspective, this paper will use an example of serial killing displayed through the wounded body in Fincher's 1995 film *Se7en*. Instead of asking why serial killers are so popular in the entertainment media, I examine how they are presented. I argue that what is interesting about the way *Se7en* interacts with its audience is that it presents a resurrection of a medieval worldview. Telling a story of death through the Christian wounded body was a mundane event in the public spaces of the medieval execution. Yet from a contemporary perspective the presentation of public death in this film is understood in terms of information and images pertaining to fear, horror and terror. This presentation affected audiences to the point where they were both horrified and mesmerised, as much for what they thought they saw, as for the actual presentation of wounded bodies in this film.

Key Words: The body, religion, fear, carnal knowing, social production of violence, and responsibility.

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Representing serial killers has been seen as a way of creating, managing and controlling the fear and horror they inspire. Of these various representations, this paper focuses on the serial killer as represented in David Fincher's 1995 film *Se7en*. My purpose is to use a sociological approach to compare the way *Se7en* and medieval execution narratives use the body to tell a story. My aim is to discuss how the sight of the pained and punished body was once a mundane and sacred event, but is now a site of fear and horror. To do this, I compare dominant portrayals of media-ted productions of the serial killer and medieval paintings, morality plays and executions. I establish these two worldviews, not as polar opposites, but as continuing and discontinuing traces of different views toward the 'thinking body' and its role in epistemology. I then analyse how *Se7en* invoked fear, horror and outrage at images that are in some ways similar to medieval executions that were processed as mundane sources of knowledge 600 or so years ago.

1. Re-presenting Serial Killers and the Absent Wounded Body

The spectacle of the wounded body has always had an attraction. As Geertz reminds us every culture "loves its own form of violence",[1] and Seltzer

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claims it 'fascinates us'.[2]   However this fascination gives way to a sociality of fear intensified by the media. People, rather than confronting their terror directly, tend to mythicise it so that it is dealt with in an informative and non-threatening manner. This process of mythicising serial killers comes in many forms. In this paper, I will summarise only what many scholars believe is the dominant serial killer portrayal. These scholars claim the sign of the serial killer is mutable, but it stabilises when the serial killer is portrayed as a moral alien, monstrous or the ultimate evil.

Grixti argues this mythicising or 'fictionalising process', which makes serial killers inhuman monsters, is one way of dealing with the dislocations that they generate and allow us to preserve our preferred identity.[3] Tithecott concurs noting that the repetitive use of words like "motiveless" separates the civilised labeller from the 'decivilising effects' of an alien consciousness.[4] This makes the serial killer's crime essentially unknowable. Grixti claims that through popular fiction audiences can explore this fearful subject matter through a reassuring frame. The reassuring frame serves to distance the serial killer from the comfortable everyday world and place them in the realm of Vampires and Devils that are both temptingly fascinating, and fearful.[5] These dominant ways of constructing the serial killer conceal what scare us. For example, the focus on the mental alien and 'criminal mind' makes invisible the pained mutilated bodies of victims and the role of society in the production of physical violence.

Se7en is not like this. It portrays its serial killer, John Doe, as teaching a moral lesson through graphic bodily wounding, pain and death. He is also attributed with the virtues of patience and rational calculation. *Se7en* was rated R16 for its graphic bodily images, but much of this story is told through implication, rather than physical violence. For example, David Fincher was approached by a viewer who berated him by claiming that there was no reason to show the severed head of Mill's wife. She went on to state that it was an unconscionable act and questioned how he was raised and the moral character of his parents. When Fincher replied he did not know what she meant – the head is never seen, she answered that she had seen the movie - implying that she saw the head-in-the box.[6] While this film may provoke this kind of horror and outrage in modern times, this way of telling a story was common place in medieval executions (where the bodies were real) and in medieval crucifixion paintings that displayed Christ's body wounded, punished, pained, and bleeding.

2.   Re-presenting the Wounded Body and Embodied Medieval Pain Narratives

To get medieval then, I cut-away to re-presentations of the wounded body and embodied medieval pain narratives. Reactions to these narratives in contemporary times often take the form asserted by Dury:

we, a 'modern' people, can only be distressed, even appalled by the central body … hanging from the cross: an atrocious form of public death by ignominious torture which any body can see only with feelings of horror.[7]

Dury's perspective suggests that the role of the body in medieval piety is profoundly alien to contemporary sensibilities. Instead I contend this very graphic display of, and mediation on, the "palatable unbearable" body was a pedagogical form of communication and contributes to the historical traces of fear and fascination at the sight of the wounded body. To explore this argument further, I will outline some of these historical traces using Mellor and Shilling's ideal type, the Volatile Catholic Body.[8]

An ideal type is an amalgamation of a number of factors to make a 'type', which can make visible social constructions of fear and horror around the pained and wounded body. I use an ideal type because as Umberto Eco claims, when speaking of the Middle Ages, it is necessary to specify "which one".[9] Rather than choose a particular historical period, Mellor and Shilling's (1997) ideal type looks for dominant themes or traces in the sacred and profane cosmologies of the different periods. This is done not to understand the period better but to make visible contemporary social constitutions. From within this ideal type, I develop three traces. They are *figura* and carnal knowing; everyday participation in ritual; and valued and embodied pain. I then show how these traces manifest in the serial killer, John Doe, in *Se7en*.

According to Mellor and Shilling, the medieval habitus was a place where violence was normative if not commonplace and was based on *figural* and carnal knowing.[10] *Figural* is a Latin word that denotes that interpretation of events and practices should be simultaneously allegorical, symbolic, literal and marks of forewarning.[11] This perspective stems from a belief that God dwelled within this world and intervened to make His will clear. Therefore literal and figurative marks could appear on and through the body. This is a *figural* approach. As a result everything could be a source of knowledge and the body played a significant role in communicating meaning and action. Consider, for example, how strange it feels to read the following judgement recorded against Gilbert de Middleton's body in 1326:

> because the heart and other entrails of Gilbert have furnished him with the presumptuousness to think out such horrible felonies…. to be practiced against God and Holy Church and the King, his liege-lord, let his heart and entrails be [burned] together under the gallows.[12]

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From the medieval perspective, Gilbert de Middleton's heart and entrails were believed to be just as culpable for his actions as his mind and consequently needed painful punishment for evil-doing. Hence this type of medieval "thinking body" is contrasted with contemporary modes of being that prioritise cognitive powers of the mind. Mellor and Shilling capture this concept in their term "carnal knowing".[13] Linked to carnal knowing was the need for active participation in ritual to live the faith. While the Protestant Reformation tended to privatise religious reflection, prior to this, faith was a more communal activity and participation in public ritual acts of sacraments and penitence were required for salvation. This worldview permeates the explanatory frame that makes John Doe's actions in *Se7en* strangely knowable.

3.   Applicability to the film *Se7en*

In *Se7en*, Summerset, who is the lead detective in this serial killer case, is confronted with the deliberate and patient murder of an obese man. He chooses a frame of reference that sees the murder as a beginning (by implication, a *figura*). Summerset is similar to the Volatile Catholic ideal type body because he sees the literal act as well as its symbolism. He also sees the body as a source of knowledge. As more bodily evidence comes to light he soon realises that the serial killer is preaching a sermon. This sermon's allegorical treatise is on the sin of Sloth.

John Doe's literal victim of Sloth, Victor, is tied to a bed for one year in order to personify this sin through motionlessness, or idleness. John Doe's carnal message is communicated through pain, memory is cut into the body through graphic depictions of suffering. Therefore when the SWAT team locate Victor and pull back his bedcovers believing him to be idle, their bodies are instead marked with the living sight of an immobile Sloth. Yet, this forced inactivity is only one element of Sloth. Victor, a violent criminal, was not idle before what Summerset describes as his "forced contrition". Sloth is derived from the Latin *acedia* meaning 'without care,' it is the enemy of all good works.[14] Therefore this sin allows Victor "without care" to commit horrific acts for which he was punished by John Doe. Moreover, John Doe's sermon is about more than just Victor's literal sin. There is another branch of Sloth, which is apathy. As Lyman notes "emotionally and cognitively, the evil of Sloth finds [its] expression in a lack of feeling for the world, for the people in it, or for the self".[15] This results not only in the ability to do evil but also to allow evil acts to happen.

This lack of social intervention is the key reason John Doe is able to 'get away' with his crimes. As Summerset states, people have made "minding their own business, a science". In the final sequence of the movie John Doe is even more explicit about his motivation against Sloth. He states, "there is a deadly sin on every street corner, and we tolerate it. Not anymore,

I'm setting an example". John Doe is inflicting a *figural* pedagogical technique. It is a carnal approach to the volatile body that relies on literal events and bodies in order to communicate. John Doe's bodily performance is not only a discursive treatise against sloth but also a literal inscription on bodies as a forewarning in memory. As with the medieval ritual of Mass, John Doe does not simply commemorate the crime/sin of his victims through their punishment, he re-performs it through the body and the bodies of spectators (including the film's viewers). This is also what medieval executioners did. For example, the State demanded David of Wales die four times, for his four crimes and this was done in full sight of the public.[16] In this way medieval executions and *Se7en* involve the whole community in knowing the crime through the treatment of the body. As a result, it can be seen that John Doe and the film *Se7en* utilise the medieval lens of *figura* and carnal knowing. John Doe's acts are pedagogical techniques that encompass inquisitorial methods, execution narratives/sermon, and the trial by ordeal that marks the body in a ritualised performance.

John Doe's performance would not be complete without the visibility of embodied pain. The Volatile Body ideal type is one where pain and torn bodies were pedagogical techniques. In this worldview, pain does not simply "unmake" and then remake the world once pain subsides, as Elaine Scarry suggests.[17] Instead it unmakes the world so that people will re-member the pain and suffering of Christ for our sins. It has a dual purpose. It was inflicted in order to save souls currently committing evil and to save future souls through deterrence (of course, as well as achieving short term political goals). Consequently the habitus of the Volatile Body views the pain and death of each sinner as a painful reminder of each participants place in the ritual transformation of people and society. As Tertullian wrote, "this *figura,* of bodily healing, told of a spiritual healing according to the rule by which carnal things come first, as a *figuram* of spiritual things".[18]

Thus John Doe's execution narrative is understood as both physical, and painful, because he believes he must cure the science of "minding your own business". In this worldview, this can only be done through carnal knowing that incites bodily connection and empathy. Images of bodily pain, as Cicero predicted, adhere most to memory and Fincher sees an enactment of this when people remember the head that is not there.

Whether or not the film is interpreted in such an explicitly medieval Catholic way, and whether or not John Doe can be called religious, - the morality of *Se7en's* serial killer is clear. Meaning and morality in John Doe's world is apprehended through an interaction with the close-contact senses of the body (both his and others) in which pain has a valued role as cure, deterrent or punishment. Therefore John Doe enacts a moral system centred on the seven deadly sins. Unlike the dominant representations of serial killers, John Doe is not isolated from Western morality systems and human

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or sensory understanding, he is not a moral alien. Indeed Summerset accredits him with a deep understanding of contemporary social problems. While John Doe's solution may be too "extreme" as his lawyer puts it, the historical basis of his logic is irrefutable. Consequently, *Se7en* does not contain or manage the audience's fear of serial killers. Instead it is a medieval forewarning of society's role in the social production of violence.

4.   Consequences for the Body, Fear and Horror

In conclusion, "Getting Medieval", is a phrase attributed to Courtney Love, *Pulp Fiction* and *Law and Order*, which has come to mean "things that can't be eradicated, despite efforts to construct something free of them".[19] According to Dinshaw, 'medieval' means the impurity of modern concepts and stands in for Kristeva's concept of abjectness.[20] In this sense, Fincher can be said to draw on the idea of medieval, momentarily and casually, without concern for historicity. This means Fincher's film probably inspires horror because of this abject display of bodies. In addition, I argue it is fearful, because it is so much more medieval than mere abject bodies. It is fascinating because it opens the wounded bodies of serial killers and victims for debate. Furthermore, it contextualizes those bodies within the complicity of the community – a contemporary community that does not usually see the bodies or their own role in social production. That is, *Se7en* opens for discussion the body of the community and its role in ritual performance as well as the social production of violence.

If more representations, in fiction and non-fiction, were seeking to explore the notion of the serial killer, rather than to contain it in stories of alien monstrosity, we would have a pathway for making visible the open body and its manipulation by the serial killer (or the State for that matter) to create or manage fear. When the dominant accounts of serial killers close the body to scrutiny as part of Elias' civilising processes of restraint, we lose the opportunity to acknowledge our ability to change the social production of our world or at least the way we have transformed it through narrative representations. According to Fincher, *Se7en,* through its graphic and carnal ways of knowing, forces you to deal with what it is that made John Doe - John Doe,[21] and that, is what I am claiming is truly terrifying.

Notes

[1] C Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays,* London, Fontana, 1973, p. 153
[2] M Setlzer, *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture*, Routledge, New York, 1978, p. 1.

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[3]J Grixti, 'Consuming Cannibals: Sociopathic Killers as Archetypes and Cultural Icons', *Jounral of American Culture*, **18**:1, 1995, p.90.
[4] R Tithecott, *Of Men and Monsters: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Construction of the Serial Killer*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1997, p. 3.
[5] J Grixti, p. 90.
[6] *Se7en*. D Fincher (dir), New Line Productions, DVD recording, 1995
[7] J Dury, *Painting the Word: Christian Pictures and their Meanings*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990, p. ix.
[8] P Mellor and C Shilling, *Re-Forming the Body: Religion, Community and Modernity*, Sage Publications, London, 1997, p.1footnote.
[9] U Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego, 1986 (trans), p. 72.
[10] Mellor and Shilling, p. 48.
[11] Auerbach uses the Latin term that amalgamates allegorical, symbolic, literal and marks of forewarning, to distinguish it from the contemporary English meaning that separates literal and figurative. E Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, R Manheim (trans), University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, ([1959] 1984), p.54.
[12] Jean Le Bon Chronicle quoted in D Westerhof, 'Deconstructing Identities on the Scaffold: The Execution of Hugh Despenser the Younger, 1326'. *Journal of Medieval History*, **33**, 2007, p. 105.
[13] Mellor and Shilling, op.cit. p. 48.
[14] S Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil Revised and Expanded*, Roman and Littlefield, New York, 1989, p.5.
[15] Lyman, p. 5.
[16] H Maxwell, *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272 -1346*. Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1913 (trans), p.35.
[17] E Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World,* New York, Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 1.
[18] Auerbach, op.cit p. 33.
[19] C Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern*, Duke University Press, USA, 1999.
[20] Dinshaw, op.cit. p. 37.
[21] D Fincher, *Se7en*.

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23 Days of Cannibalistic Joy:
How *Jeepers Creepers* Sets Itself Apart from the Conventional Slasher Film

Daniel Carr

Abstract: One of the most popular genres of film in this day and age is horror. The thrill of seeing one's own ideas of fear, horror, and terror represented on screen has made this genre a staple of the cinema industry since the 1920s. One subgenre of horror, the slasher film, has been particularly successful since the 1970s, thanks in large part to its formulaic villains, Final Girls, and phallic-symbolised violence, as noted by Carol Clover and other scholars. The killer is normally a masculine figure, the lone survivor is typically female, and the victims are usually females in their late teens that have already fallen prey to the vices of alcohol, drugs, and sex. For decades, these elements were standard in nearly every slasher film.

The 2001 film *Jeepers Creepers* broke from this tradition by being a film whose terror came in the defiance of these norms. Whereas most other horror villains are guided by gendered or structural constructs that determine its behaviour, the Creeper is only concerned with its own sustenance. In order to live, the Creeper must eat compatible body parts found in the human body. The horror contained within *Jeepers Creepers* is centred on a monster that kills not out of a need for revenge or pleasure, but instead to ensure its continued survival. This type of terror is immune to the conventions discussed theoretically by Clover or popularised by self-aware horror films like *Scream*. Abstaining from sex or alcohol no longer means one will escape the killer. Being a man or a woman does not determine whether one will survive or suffer a most painful death. This paper examines the differences between *Jeepers Creepers* and the traditional slasher film, and offers theoretical insight into how the film successfully breaks convention to offer a uniquely terrifying experience.

Key Words: gender, horror, film, villain, fear

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Since the rise of the slasher subgenre of horror films, a number of theorists have found that gender plays a profound role in the way audiences experience and enjoy such cinematic adventures. There are a number of gender stereotypes

that emerge in the normal slasher film, and evidence of these conventions goes way back to Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* in the 1960s. Many slasher films follow a certain formula, with the gender of the killer determining the type of violence used, and the gender of the victim determining how quickly and painfully they will experience death. As slasher films have risen in popularity, the number of them released each year has gradually increased. The 2001 film *Jeepers Creepers* is one slasher film that has emerged in the recent era. Although not a bloodbath like many of its modern counterparts, the movie features a villain that stalks and slashes open its victims while indifferent to their suffering. Unlike its predecessors, however, *Jeepers Creepers* subverts the normal conventions of slasher horror by telling a tale in which gender is largely irrelevant. The majority of the film's action is centred on an asexual monster and a pair of siblings who seem to reject traditional gendered roles.

Jeepers Creepers is a horror film that was written and directed by Victor Salva and was distributed by United Artists. The film opened in America on August 31, 2001, and took in $13,106,108 over the course of its opening weekend. The film was a modest success, grossing nearly $38 million domestically and almost $60 million worldwide. The film was successful enough to launch a sequel in 2003, and it was recently confirmed that Salva is in the process of writing a third film for the series.[1]

The film follows siblings Trish (Gina Philips) and Darry (Justin Long) Jenner as they travel home together during their Spring break from college. While driving on a long, lonely highway, the two are almost involved in an accident with a large old truck. Neither Trish nor Darry think much of the incident until they pass the driver later on and witness him dumping what appears to be a body in a sack down a pipe near an abandoned church. Darry's conscience gets the best of him, and he convinces Trish that they have to go to back to the church to see if the person in the bag is still alive.[2]

Upon arriving at the church, Darry falls though the pipe and discovers an underground cavern filled with preserved dead bodies. Nearly all of them have been slashed open and then sewn back together, and they are hung on the walls of the cave forming a grotesque parody of the famous Sistine Chapel ceiling. The person in the bag does turn out to be alive, although the teenage lad is breathing his last breath by the time Darry finds him. The dying boy also has had his stomach slashed open and sewn back together. Darry climbs out of the catacomb back to the car, and he and Trish travel to a nearby diner to call the police.

While at the diner, Trish and Darry receive a phone call from a lady who claims to know what will happen to them in the near future. She warns them to be wary of the song "Jeepers Creepers," saying that one of the siblings will hear it

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while dying. The Jenners do get a hold of the cops, but while Darry tries to convince the officers that what he saw was real, the strange truck driver comes to the diner and rummages through the car the siblings are driving. This prompts the two officers to escort the Jenners for the rest of their trip. At this point the true horror of the film begins in full force.

As Trish and Darry resume their trip home they hear a variation of "Jeepers Creepers" on their car radio. While listening to the song, the stalking truck driver, hereon referred to as The Creeper (played by Jonathan Breck), leaps on top of the trailing police car and kills the two officers escorting the Jenners. The kids turn and watch in horror as The Creeper decapitates one of the officers and tears out the victim's tongue with its teeth. The Creeper then turns its attentions to Trish and Darry, and what ensues is a violent chase across the highway as the two kids attempt to escape their relentless evil pursuer.

The film reaches its climax as the Jenners arrive at a county police station. It is here that they finally meet their mystery caller from the diner, a woman named Jezelle who claims to have psychic dreams. She explains that the monstrous creature stalking the kids is some kind of beast that gets 23 days every 23rd spring to sustain its existence by feeding on human beings. The Creeper induces fear in its prey to produce a certain pheromone that tells it if the potential victim has a compatible body part. Once it gets a smell it likes into its system, it follows that prey unceasingly until it has eaten that body part. The Creeper cannot be killed through conventional means, and it has the ability to regenerate lost body parts by feasting on new ones. Jezelle says that either Trish or Darry has a body part that The Creeper wants, and it will not stop pursuing them until it has obtained its prize.

Sure enough, The Creeper sneaks into the police station, wreaking havoc as it tries to find Trish and Darry. It finally corners them in an interrogation room, determines that Darry is the person it needs, and then holds him hostage as the police close in on the beast. Trish pleads with The Creeper to take her instead, but The Creeper lets out a warning shriek and flies off with Darry. The film ends in an abandoned factory, where Darry's screams of agony are nearly drowned out by the song "Jeeper Creepers" as it plays on an old record player. As the song reaches its conclusion, asking, "Where did you get those eyes?" it is revealed that it was indeed Darry's "peepers" on which The Creeper dined.

Although the film pays homage to several old 'creature feature' films (most notably, according to Salva, *The Creature From the Black Lagoon*), *Jeepers Creepers* is unmistakably a slasher film. The villain may not be human, it is humanlike in appearance, but it is in a similar category to such slasher villains as the undead Jason Voorhees (the *Friday the 13th* films) and the dream monster

Freddy Kruger (the *Nightmare on Elm Street* series). The Creeper kills all of its victims by some means of slashing, and his relentless pursuit of a specific prey is typical of most slasher villains. In addition to the actions of the killer, *Jeepers Creepers* contains many of the elements consistent among films of the slasher genre.

One of the most prominent definers of this genre is Carol J. Clover, who has written extensively about the nature of slasher films. Early in her article "Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film," Clover explains what exactly makes a horror film a slasher by discussing the commonalities of *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) and *Halloween* (1978), two of the earliest recognised slasher films. Among the necessary elements of a slasher as noted by Clover are: a location that is far from home, typically considered a Terrible Place; a killer that seems human but is monstrous in nature; attacks that come from the victim's point of view and that are sudden in nature; violence in some form other than a gun or, for that matter, any other long distance weapon; and the final survivor is inevitably female. The killer is rarely ever clearly seen before the film's climax, as he, she, or it normally sticks to the shadows and wears some form of costume. The killer often has some sort of superhuman characteristic, most notably indestructibility. Finally, the victims are almost always in their teens or early twenties. Clover cites these elements as being among the most prominent in films of the slasher genre. [3]

Jeepers Creepers meets all of these requirements. Although The Creeper is a creature and, as discovered near the end of the film, appears very biologically different from the humans it feasts upon, it still bears more in common with modern slasher villains than previous movie monsters. The Creeper disguises itself as a human, and indeed most of the people who see it in its costume mistake it for a man. The Creeper kills by means of either its own brute strength or through the use of medieval weaponry. It beheads one of the cops with a battle axe, and uses its claws to rip through the bodies of several other victims. Many of the bodies strewn across its lair underneath the church have obviously been slashed open by some sharp weapon, and it was that violence that ultimately led to their demise.

Like nearly every slasher killer that has appeared on screen before it, The Creeper is seemingly indestructible. The film suggests that it can die. If it was immortal, after all, it would not need to keep eating during those 23-day stretches. Furthermore, Jezelle says that it needs to eat "lungs so it can breathe, eyes so it can see," etc., meaning that if it does not eat these required body parts, it would most likely stop living. Despite this apparent mortality, there is no human means to destroy this beast. Through the course of the film The Creeper is shot and run

over with a car repeatedly, and while these acts of violence do slow the creature down, it is evident that the monster cannot be killed.

At one point near the end of the film, Jezelle refers to The Creeper's indestructibility while warning Trish and Darry that they are up against something that will never quit. "I don't know if it's a demon, or a devil, or just some hungry thing from some dark place in time," she says. "I just know it's not going to stop coming after you or anyone else it wants to… 'Cause once it has the scent of something it likes, it can't… it can't stop." What she in essence describes is the prototypical slasher killer. The Creeper is a villain that will keep coming, and will not stop coming, until the intended victim is dead. While The Creeper does not necessarily kill everyone in its path, there are plenty of films, most notably one of Clover's picks, *Halloween*, in which the viewer can see several instances of the killer coming in contact with people that he or she chooses not to kill. The very nature of The Creeper, a being that chooses a victim and refuses to stop until said victim is dead, is essentially the definition of the usual slasher killer.

The Creeper stalks its prey similarly to its slasher film predecessors in that is lurks in the shadows and does most of its work either in the night or in dark places. While The Creeper is seen in costumed form a couple of times in the daylight, it does not engage in on-screen violence until after nightfall. All of the deaths occur either outside or in dimly lit areas. As if to further emphasize that it follows the pattern of the slasher killer, The Creeper, despite being indestructible and obviously capable of seeing in the light, makes a point of cutting the power in the police station before entering and looking for victims. Similarly, all of the acts of violence occur suddenly and are shot from the victims' point of view. With the exception of one lone scene depicting The Creeper placing a corpse in the back of its truck, the only time it is on screen is when it is either trying to induce fear or looking to kill one of its victims. The rest of the action is largely from the point of view of the film's two main protagonists, although the film occasionally cuts to supporting characters right before they fall prey to The Creeper.

Jeepers Creepers also has several locations that can be considered the Terrible Place. The Creeper's lair, a cavern underneath an old abandoned church, is one such site. The sewn bodies adorning the tunnel's walls serve as both an archive of The Creeper's violence and as a demonstration of the beast's crude idea of decoration. This location even has a terrifying name, as it is revealed through the course of the film that The Creeper calls it its House of Pain. Following in Clover's depiction of slasher killers as largely detached and unemotional, The Creeper immediately burns down this home after realizing it

has been found. It presumably takes up residence in the old factory seen at the end of the film, a large industrial locale devoid of any organic life. There is also a third Terrible Place in *Jeepers Creepers*, and that is the highway which serves as the site of much of the film's action. It is far away from Trish and Darry's home, has a history of terrible events (as noted by the siblings near the film's beginning), and offers no real aspect of escape from the killer despite having the illusion of open safety.

Incidentally, the only real identifier of The Creeper as anything other than a killer is found in these Terrible Places. In addition to displaying the bodies in the House of Pain, The Creeper has also carved a self-portrait of itself on the chamber's lone table, denoting that The Creeper has an interest in art. The Creeper also apparently has an interest in music, or at least in the song "Jeepers Creepers." It whistles the tune before eating the police officer's tongue on the highway, and has the song playing in the background while killing Darry in the abandoned factory.

Clover's observation that the victims are usually young adults is also a factor in this film. Trish and Darry are both college-aged, and the first body we see is that of a teenage boy. Given that Darry meets his end at the film's conclusion, Trish is left as the Final Girl.

While Laura Wyrick does not offer a tangible definition of the slasher film in "Horror at Century's End: Where Have All the Slashers Gone," she does offer a few more commonalities among modern slashers that seem applicable to *Jeepers Creepers*. She argues that while slasher films used to rely on a creepy villain and a strong sense of suspense, the advancements in technology have led to more special effect created scenes of shock. Wyrick also notes that the protagonists and victims of slashers are now more aware of the evil they face and the rules that guide these forces, as seen in films like the *Scream* trilogy, *Wes Craven's New Nightmare*, and *I Know What You Did Last Summer*.[4]

These conventions remain intact in *Jeepers Creepers*. Trish makes several references to the fact that she knows how slasher villains behave, setting up a number of self-referential scenes in the film. In the commentary, Victor Salva even admits that, "My kids, Trish and Darry, have seen all the *Scream* movies, they do live in the horror universe." *Jeepers Creepers* also seems to spread across Wyrick's spectrum. The film starts out suspenseful, as two kids are terrorized on a desolate highway. As the movie progresses, the violence becomes more and more graphic, to the climax and conclusion in which we see bodies with holes that go all the way through the flesh. Like many other slasher films of the modern era, Salva's movie relies heavily on a horror-savvy audience and a mastery of special effects to create a frightening experience.

Now that it has been established that *Jeepers Creepers* fits the definition of a slasher film, the ways in which subverts the conventions of that genre can now be discussed. As far as normative gender conventions are concerned, Clover is once again the authority to which to turn.

Clover suggests a number of important ideas concerning the role of women, men, and gender in general in the horror film. Clover states that the killer is normally male, and the final survivor is usually female. While there are exceptions to these rules, they are usually rare and are anomalies. Clover writes that the killer is normally either gender confused or sexually disturbed, and this psychological disruption is often what causes the killer's rampage of terror. The survivor, or Final Girl, is also somewhat a distortion of gender. The female who lives often has stereotypically masculine traits. She is unafraid to look the killer in the face, she is willing to combat violence with violence, is intelligent enough to understand how to survive such evil, and unlike many of her unfortunate friends, her more pure approach to vices like alcohol or sex give her the freedom of perspective to see the oncoming terror before the normal victim. [3]

Clover also discusses several other constructs important to the slasher film. Besides the method of violence or the Terrible Place, another characteristic that seems interchangeable among slasher movies is the victim. While the killer normally targets females, Clover admits that males are now an accepted entity to be destroyed. With either gender, the victim is usually some transgressor of a moral code, with sex and the consumption of alcohol being the two major deeds to be avoided. While this is a common reason for destruction among any young adult, Clover argues that other victims exist who die just for being female. Even in the rare instance when a male is killed despite not giving in to moral temptation, his death is swift, whereas a female's demise will linger for the camera. In this case, a male's death will also happen in an obscured view or off screen, while a female's death will be in full frame. [3]

While Clover is perhaps the most prominent examiner of gender and the horror film, she is by no means the only one. In "When the Woman Looks," Linda Williams also touches upon ideas of gender in the slasher genre. Williams suggests that it is often difficult for the female spectator to gaze upon monstrosity. Oftentimes if a female character does look upon evil, she is punished for doing so, while men are both able and encouraged to look upon the villain with little fear. Williams does not go so far as to suggest that women are incapable of looking, nor that they should be encouraged to avert their gaze. In considering what could be termed Final Girls of certain films, Williams offers that their ability to look upon evil without averting their eyes was paramount to

their survival. Indeed, she suggests that the Final Girl who can look upon the monster has a certain power with which she can overcome the terror. [5]

Aviva Briefel also examines the ideas of gender and horror in "Monster Pains: Masochism, Menstruation, and Identification in the Horror Film." One of Briefel's main points is that the monster who is male is more likely to engage in masochistic pleasure for the sheer sake of inviting terror and pain on another body, whereas the female monster will normally need some provocative cause for the destruction. Male beings like Fred Kruger or the hitchhiker from *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* will continue to attempt to inflict pain upon others because they lack the capacity to feel or empathize with pain while having a need to experience the pleasure of causing pain to others. Female villains, most notably Mrs. Voorhees from the original *Friday the 13th* (1980) or Regan from *The Exorcist* (1973) will commit acts of violence to exterminate what they perceive as monstrosity, even if that means going so far as to cause self-mutilation. The important distinction is that the female slasher killer acts with misguided purpose, while the male slasher killer has no real method to his madness. [6]

One final, but important, outlook on gender in the slasher film comes from Klaus Reiser in "Masculinity and Monstrosity," who sees the Final Girl as not a female with masculine tendencies, but as an asexual being, perhaps a tomboy, that is more akin to a castrated male than a gender-bending female. Although much of his argument counters Clover's reading of certain texts, including *Halloween*, in which he points out that Laurie's survival was largely the result of masculine interference in the form of the psychologist, Reiser suggests that his interpretation is not necessarily exclusive from Clover's, and that, especially in the slasher film, conflicting interpretations are both possible and useful to the examination of the text. In other words, while Clover's explanation of the Final Girl may be questionable, the fact that there is a female who almost always survives the destruction remains an important concept to the slasher genre. In short, Reiser believes that slasher films are largely misogynistic, and that normative Final Girl may outwit and even vanquish her pursuer, but will be left with no real power in the world she inhabits. [7]

What is significant about *Jeepers Creepers* is that it rejects many of the conventions noted by the previously mentioned scholars regarding slasher films. The two main characters and the villain are very different from the stereotypes put forth by Clover and other examiners of the genre. The way that Darry and Trish are portrayed, and the fact that The Creeper is completely dehumanized by the characters in the film, leaves *Jeepers Creepers* as an atypical slasher film in a genre filled with copycats.

This is not to suggest that *Jeepers Creepers* is completely impervious to such gender stereotypes. Indeed, many of the lesser important supporting characters fall into traditional gender roles. The majority of the police officers and convicts in the final climactic scene are male, and their ability to look upon The Creeper and attempt to combat the beast is negated by their inability to actually effectively stop the terror. One of the most prominent scenes in the film involves an elderly woman who lives by herself, with the exception of her 30 pet cats. This lady is seen as a lunatic, and therefore a lesser being, by the governing authorities of the county in which she lives, and her refusal to abide by their laws is evident in that she is quicker to resort to violence than anyone else in the film. Even in the short amount of screen time she receives it is evident that this cat lady is not taken seriously by anyone, and even the film's two protagonists seem unwilling to fully trust her because of her solitude, her refusal to accept social norms, and her choice of non-human companionship, all of which mark her as an Other. It is no surprise then that as the token immoral female, the cat lady is given the most prolonged on-screen death, as The Creeper tortures her to evict fear from Darry and Trish. One last important supporting character is the psychic, another female character who is not taken seriously for most of the film. While Jezelle does have an advantage in that she can see what The Creeper will do before it occurs, she is completely powerless to stop the creature's actions. All of her attempts to save Darry are quickly thwarted, and even at the end of the film she is left doubting her power in society, with her last words being, "I'm just a crazy old lady. You ask anyone around, they'll tell you. That that's all I am, just a crazy old woman." Jezelle is also too frightened to look at The Creeper in the one scene they have together, and while she survives the encounter, there is almost a sense that it, too, considers her an unworthy denizen of this fictional world.

What should be noted, however, is that most of the action revolves around Trish and Darry and their encounters with The Creeper. The most prominent supporting character is the psychic, and she is only present on screen for about fifteen minutes of the entire film. Considering that *Jeepers Creepers* is 90 minutes long, with almost all of that time focused on Trish and Darry, it becomes clear that their actions are what is most important to the text, and therefore the fact that they, as well as The Creeper, are atypical of most slasher conventions is of utmost importance to the film.

From early on in the film it is clear that Trish and Darry are unlike the vast majority of their slasher protagonist predecessors. For example, if Clover's assertion that the Final Girl's mixture of masculine and feminine attributes is paramount to survival, then both of the Jenner kids would still be alive at the

film's conclusion. Trish and Darry both display traits that are conventionally masculine or feminine at different points of the film.

Darry, for example, is the rare masculine protagonist who is both unafraid to look at horror and yet is still immensely traumatized by what he sees. Darry is unafraid to return to the church and view The Creeper's misdeeds. He never averts his gaze from the monster, and his boldness in the face of obvious evil is characteristic of most slasher film male victims. On the other hand, Darry is much more in tune with his emotions than the typical male horror persona. Upon seeing the violence The Creeper has wrought upon his victims, Darry is at first speechless and unable to convey his thoughts. When he finally does tell his sister what he has seen, he stutters, loses any semblance of coolness, and struggles to even convey a coherent thought. Darry is whiny throughout the film, uttering his feelings in a high pitched wail whenever he is terrorized. Even his name is somewhat effeminate, sounding more like a pet name than an actual adult moniker. Perhaps the defining moment of the film is when Darry attempts to convince Trish to return to the church. He finally wins the argument when he says, "What if it was you back there," calling on empathy, a traditionally feminine attribute compared to the more typical masculine objectivity, to win the debate.

On the other hand, there are a number of scenes where Darry's masculinity are equally prominent. When Jezelle first calls with her warning, Darry attempts to mask his fear with anger and contempt. He swears at her as he hangs up, refusing to listen to her warning. Earlier in the film, immediately upon finding the first body, Darry tries to take control of the situation, ordering Trish to try and flag down a car to get help or to contact the police. Later, when the two kids are staring The Creeper down while in the car, it is Darry's suggestion to use violence to combat the beast. He encourages his sister to run over The Creeper, hoping that their attack will ultimately thwart their tormentor's.

Trish also shares masculine and feminine traits. Her dress, a tanktop and jeans, depicts this personality. While her nipples are visible through the shirt, no doubt a tactic by the filmmaker to win over a male audience, the apparel is more gender neutral, and outside of a brief shot at her undergarments after discharging urine, there is little in her demeanour to suggest any sexuality. Trish screams quite often throughout the film, and her first instincts are common to those of the Final Girl: escape at all costs. While Trish begins the film afraid to look upon The Creeper or his wake of destruction, she gradually becomes bolder in her gaze to the point where she has no problem with looking the beast straight in the eye. She maintains a demeanour of objectivity throughout the film, and while she initially responds to most of the action with fear, she later dons a personality of anger and

control. At one point she screams in terror at the sight of a mouse. At another, she is willing to trade places with her brother and be The Creeper's victim. In essence, the two kids switch roles as the film progresses. While Darry starts out trying to maintain control while combating the evil Creeper, it is Trish who eventually has the mental strength to do whatever it takes to survive.

This does not mean that Trish is Final Girl material. What sets her apart from most of her film counterparts is that while they used their masculine qualities to survive, Trish gains nothing from her own masculine traits. After some slight prodding from Darry, she is willing to run over The Creeper with the car so many times that at one point Darry even says he's had enough of the violence. She has no problem with holding The Creeper's gaze, telling it that she is stronger and therefore a better victim than Darry. She maintains a sense of super-perception throughout the film, and by the end she is still trying to figure out a means to a happy ending instead of merely giving up and accepting her bad fate. Unlike nearly every female slasher film protagonist before her, however, none of these traits ultimately help her win over the evil. *Jeepers Creepers* is in the minority in the slasher genre because it features an evil that does not get stopped. The Creeper wins. It gets the prize it wants, and all of the Final Girl's actions end in futility. Compared to Clover's depiction of the Final Girl, Trish is in a category all her own. She does not survive the evil. Instead, the killer chooses not to take her life.

This is what distinguishes The Creeper from nearly every horror villain. Its decisions on who to kill are not based on past experience, sexual misconduct, gender bias, or desire to feel pleasure by causing pain. The Creeper's kills are not even a random happenstance by a being that is purely evil. The Creeper kills out of a need for survival. Unlike Jason Voorhees, Michael Myers, Fred Kruger, or any other slasher antagonist, The Creeper kills because its existence depends on the eating of certain compatible body parts. The victims are selected unfortunately merely because their DNA is compatible with The Creeper's. There is really nothing that can be done to avoid the demise. Either the potential victim has what The Creeper needs or is free to continue living. While Trish and Darry have similar DNA, in an obvious change of pace, it is the male that must suffer because his body is more alluring to the villain.

There is no doubt that Salva intentionally made this film subversive to common horror conventions. In the audio commentary on the DVD release of the film, Salva points out that making Darry the final victim was his response to films that glamorize violence against women. "Most horror films are predicated on girls or women dying," Salva said. "I thought it was about time we showed a film where, when a guy sees something traumatic, it really takes an emotional toll

on him." *Jeepers Creepers* is therefore an overt response to slasher tradition. The Final Girl doesn't survive or overcome the evil, she is merely deemed unnecessary to kill by the antagonist. The film even advertises its own subversion with the kids' self-referential dialogue. Trish on several occasions remarks on the similarities between their own actions and those of horror film victims, suggesting that she and Darry have the *Scream* films' awareness of how to survive a slasher killer. This knowledge is ultimately meaningless, as the killer does not obey the conventional rules of the slasher genre.

Likewise, it is important to note that Salva's killer is an anomaly among slasher villains. It's choice on who to kill is based solely on a need for self-preservation. There is no distinction between gender, and it only kills based on need. An examination of the murders in the film reveals that the only victims are those who have body parts The Creeper notices are compatible with its own. All of the victims in it's House of Pain have been slashed open, with the implication that body parts have been removed. There is not one body in the entire locale that does not appear to have had some vital body part forcibly removed by The Creeper. As the film progresses, The Creeper does not kill anyone it does not need to kill. The only possible exception is that of the female cop halfway through the film that is tossed out of the police car by The Creeper so that it can get to more valuable male cop's tongue. The fate of the female cop is never shown, so it cannot be assumed that she died. In any event, following every on-screen death at The Creeper's hands is either a visual or a sound effect depicting The Creeper eating a body part. Every other human The Creeper encounters, it ignores or tries to scare away. In a police station full of hostile humans, The Creeper only kills two officers, both of which has something it wants to eat. The Creeper avoids the rest, and once it has its hands on Darry, the beast altogether stops fighting its attackers.

One could argue that The Creeper does not even care about killing its victims. After getting the body part it needs, The Creeper never finishes off any of its victims. The dying boy in the bag that gets thrown down the pipe is the perfect example. He is still alive, because The Creeper never saw a need to finish the job. It ate what it needed and then carried on with it's work, oblivious to the fact that the human was still breathing. This violence is intended only for survival. The lone example of The Creeper taking any pleasure in this work is when it smiles upon seeing Trish and Darry's reaction to the death of the cat lady, and the creature's back story is enough to suggest the pleasure only comes from smelling pheromones produced by the fear, not from the act of violence itself.

This leads into another interesting distinction between *Jeepers Creepers* and nearly every other slasher film. The victims of this movie are atypical of the

genre. If one accepts the fact that the female cop does not die because the death is never shown, then the cat lady is the only feminine casualty, and she is much older than the normal female victim. Every other on-screen death is that of a masculine character. Furthermore, every on-screen death at the hands of The Creeper is that of a character who is noticeably older than 20. The cat lady, the policemen, and the inmate that The Creeper kills are all older than what Clover and others typify as the normative age of slasher film victims. Darry dies at the end of the film, but the violence that causes his demise occurs off-screen. The boy in the bag is also a young adult, but The Creeper's physical damage to his body happened well before Darry finds him in the House of Pain. There are bodies of 20-somethings in the cavern, but again, they died well before the film's action started. Every act of violence shown on screen is against someone who does not fit the slasher film stereotype, making *Jeepers Creepers* a novelty of the genre.

These characteristics are perhaps a sign of The Creeper's gender, or lack thereof. As a creature, the being is constantly dehumanized by the people who witness it in its true form. The psychic suggests that it's either a demon or a devil. Trish and Darry call it an 'it' after seeing The Creeper eat the first officer's tongue. The cat lady asks what the kids have brought into her house, refusing to consider the beast in human terms. The Creeper is completely gender neutral, automatically eliminating any of the normative gender stereotypes that arise in Clover, Reiser, or most other scholars' examinations of the slasher genre. At one point, Jezelle says that The Creeper "dresses as a man, but only to hide that it's not." Like every other slasher killer, The Creeper disguises itself to mask its identity. Unlike most of its brethren, however, The Creeper tries to convey masculinity, if only to evict a certain reaction from its prey. It is almost as if The Creeper has also seen the *Scream* movies, and has certain gender-biased ideas of its own how to elicit fear amongst its victims.

If the theoretical works of Clover and others define the initial generation of slasher films, then Salva's movie is pushing the genre into a new age. While *Jeepers Creepers* actively subverts many of Clover's observations of gender and slasher horror, it does not completely deny these conventions. Following along a similar line of thought as the one posited by Reiser, Clover's ideas are both simultaneously supported and rejected by this film. Many of her observations regarding the nature of gender are in play among the supporting characters. The film takes on a different and all-too-familiar feeling when the primary focus of the action is on the cat lady's painful, lingering death or Jezelle being too afraid to so much as look upon The Creeper, in comparison to the rest of the movie, when Trish, Darry, and the actions of The Creeper take centre stage.

The most likely reason for this is that the two protagonists and their stalker all seem to be gender neutral. The Creeper, as an animalistic being, obviously does not identify to one side or the other of the gender spectrum. It dresses as a man, but its behaviour does not change after it has been forced to abandon its costume. Trish and Darry, on the other hand, are respectfully female and male, but their behaviour flows fluidly between normative gendered conventions. Both display equal amounts of bravado and terror when facing The Creeper. Neither seems to have any real power, either over each other or within their family structure, and both seem accepting of this position. Trish and Darry have similar responses to the violence they both witness and partake in, and neither really has a clear intellectual advantage over the other. The two consistently switch between reacting to others and their situation with anger and terror, and they are alternately foolish enough to stick around and smart enough to flee depending on the film's situation. What this all means is that, because neither display clear enough attributes that would culturally identify them as male or female, gender is unimportant to their status as slasher film protagonists. They are therefore outside of the conventions posited by Clover, specifically because their gender is more or less an afterthought. Victor Salva is attempting to push the genre into a new age with this film, one in which gender equality has reached a point where gender is no longer important.

The Creeper is the perfect example of this theory. Gender seems completely unimportant to The Creeper, which, if its race is truly asexual, makes perfect sense – it would have no concept of gender. The victims in its House of Pain are equally male and female. It takes the body parts of both genders. Indeed, it is the body parts themselves that rule who The Creeper will kill. It has no psychological reason to cause pain, its violence is born out of a need for survival rather than a desire for sadistic pleasure, and it murders in an objective and unemotional manner. Fear is nothing more than a tool for the creature, and it more or less ignores anyone it encounters that has nothing it needs to eat. This is especially evident during the climactic scene at the police station, where The Creeper disregards nearly all of the policemen who shoot at it, as they apparently have nothing it needs to eat. It also makes a clear choice not to harm Trish, even though she did repeatedly drive over its body earlier in the film.

The Creeper is therefore a new take on the familiar slasher killer. It kills in the same way as its predecessors, but there is nothing particularly gendered in the way it commits its violence. Similarly, Trish and Darry are the new kind of horror protagonists. Their behaviour is not guided by traditional gender stereotypes. In fact, gender is so unimportant to their actions and reactions that they could be portrayed by two female actors or two male actors and absolutely nothing about

the film would change. In essence, the moral of *Jeepers Creepers* seems to be that America is moving towards a genderless society, but that will not stop slasher killers from going after their victims.

Jeepers Creepers probably will not single-handedly prevent future fictional teenage girls from dying lingering deaths after engaging in sexual intercourse with their boyfriends. What it does do, however, is provide a template for a new kind of slasher film, one in which the gender of the killer or the victim is irrelevant to the film's overall plot.

Notes

[1] Box Office Mojo, 'Jeepers Creepers', Box Office Mojo, LLC, 2008, 2 April 2008, <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=jeeperscreepers.htm>.
[2] All references to *Jeepers Creepers* in this article refer to *Jeepers Creepers*, V. Salva (dir), United Artists, USA, 2001.
[3] C J Clover, 'Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film' in *The Dread of Difference*, B K Grant (ed), University of Texas Press, Texas, 1996, pp. 66-113.
[4] L Wyrick, 'Horror at Century's End: Where Have All the Slashers Gone?' *Pacific Coast Philology*, volume 33, issue 2, 1998, pp. 122-126.
[5] L Williams, 'When the Woman Looks', in *The Dread of Difference*, B K Grant (ed), University of Texas Press, Texas, 1996, pp. 15-34.
[6] A Briefel, 'Monster Pains: Masochism, Menstruation, and Identification in the Horror Film'. *Film Quarterly*, volume 58, issue 3, 2005, pp. 16-27.
[7] K. Reiser, 'Masculinity and Monstrosity: Characterization and Identification in the Slasher Film'. *Men and Masculinities*, volume 3, issue 4, 2001, pp. 370-392.

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Fear, Horror and Terror: Contextual Usage in the Qur'an

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Abstract: The incident of 9/11 has revived the rhetoric that Islam is the religion of extremism. It has been argued that the majority of terrorists are Muslims and the Qur'an dictates fanaticism. A number of writings by western and Muslim scholars like Walter Laqeur, Kelton Cobb and Yousuf al-Qardhawi have surfaced to identify verses of the Qur'an asking Muslims to adopt terrorism as a strategy of war. [1]

The Qur'an has used at least five phrases *Khawf, Raw', Faza', Ru'b* and *Rahb* to mean fear, horror and terror. These terms depict a variety of meanings in situational contexts and one cannot demarcate clear-cut boundaries of the usage of terms, without reference to the circumstances. This paper is an effort to understand the application of the terms in their proper context. The main theme of the paper is the study of *ayah al-Irhab* 8:60 of the Qur'an. The meaning of the ayah is analysed in relation to the holistic nature of the religion of Islam, that is, its historical context, its cultural limitations, its unique temperament, and its theological and ethical perceptive. The study establishes that only one meaning of any particular ayah or phrase of the Qur'an is not sufficient to claim that this is the only purpose of the commandment of Allah. A comprehensive approach nullifies the misconception that the ayah teaches terrorism. In this regard classical exegetes of the Qur'an, that is Tabarī (310 H.), Zamakhsharī (535 H.), Suyūtī (911 H.) and Shawkānī (1250 H.) along with the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad have been consulted.

Key Words:

Raw' The term *ar-Raw'* is used only once in the Qur'an. It has been translated as 'fear' 'awe' and 'dismay'.

Ru'b The word *Ru'b* appears in the Qur'an in five places. 'Fear', 'panic' and 'awe' are the common meanings of the word.

Khawf *Khawf* has been depicted in at least 32 derivations of its root word in 124 verses. The phrase has a number of shades in its meanings.

Faza' *Faza'* is used with five constructions in the Qur'an in six verses. It stands for 'horror' 'panic' and 'terror'.

Rahb There are eleven places in the Qur'an where at least ten forms of *Rahb* are used and is translated as 'fear', and 'terror'.

Khizyun The Qur'an adopted 12 phrases in different grammatical forms in 26 verses.

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1.   Fear, Horror and Terror in the Qur'an

Fear, horror and terror are human phenomena. Its dimensions are physical as well as metaphysical. Corporeal reasons of fear had never been a problem and man could overcome it, whenever encountered. But the spiritual element is an ordeal to experience. Believers are comparatively safe and are in ease. They do revert to divine authority for guidance and solace. Muslims claim to have the authentic version of guidance from the Almighty. Incidentally, fear with its all related magnitudes concerning human life is a frequently discussed subject of the Qur'an. It invites us to ponder upon its multicoloured and multidimensional depictions on the subject in its body text. On the one hand it speaks about metaphysical phenomenon like fear of Allah, fear of angels and the fear of the day of judgement; on the other hand, it paints scenic fear and fear of the future. Sometimes it elaborates the concept of suspicion and intimidation. Sometimes it juxtaposes hope and fear of the Almighty in human beings.

2.   Fear in the Qur'an

A.   *Khawf*

Literal meanings of the word *Khawf* are to speculate, to consider, to anticipate and to fear. The meaning of fear not only of Allah but of others is mostly repeated in it. However, the word *Khawf* carries a number of literal shades in its meaning. Some of them are, fear of enemy[2]; fear of punishment[3]; suspicion[4]; consternation[5]; vanishing and diminishing[6]; positive expectation[7] not considered important[8]; negative expectations[9] and fear of the future.[10] There are about ninety-four sayings of the Prophet that include the word of *Khawf* in about eight forms.[11] Some of the representative traditions give the meaning of not fearing human beings, and anxiety due to fright[12] and possibility.[13]

B.   *Ru'b*

The Qur'an used the term of *ar-Ru'b* particularly in the meaning of fear instilled in the hearts and minds of non-believers[14] while *ru'ban* depicts the scenic fear.[15] Prophet Muhammad used four forms of the word *ru'b* in at least nine traditions.[16] One mentions fear caused by *al-Masih ad-Dajjāl*[17], a second mention is the feeling of fear that prevailed on the Prophet at the sight of the angel Gabriel[18] and third is the victory of the Prophet over fear.[19]

C.   *Raw'*

The only verse of the Qur'an using this phrase reflects the state of fear over the mind and heart of the Prophet Abraham. There are only three traditions that carry the word of *raw'*[20] with a meaning of fear. One tradition mentions Prophets seeking peace from Allah on fear[21], the second is the fearful state of the Prophet on receiving the first revelation[22] and the third explains the hesitation of Ibn Umar.[23]

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3.   Horror in the Qur'an
A.   *Faza'*

Five forms of the word *Faza'* are used in four chapters of the Qur'an. In one place[24] only the state of human fear and horror in this life is referred to when some people entered the home of Prophet David and he was terrified. In all other places, the horror of the Day of Judgment is explained. The Qur'an has used the phrase of *al-Faza'al-Akbār* to explain the horrible scenario of the Day of Judgment. The Prophet used *faza'* in about six forms with one hundred and three sayings.[25] One is the reflection on the time of eclipse[26] and the other is the human reaction on hearing a horrifying voice.[27]

4.   Terror in the Qur'an
A.   *Rahb*

There are eleven places in the Qur'an where at least ten forms composed from the root word *rahb* have been administered. The citations reveal the meanings of the fear of Allah[28], refer to the Christian institution of monasticism[29], the frightened state of the Prophet Moses[30], and particularly *ayah al-irhāb* seems to be connoting the meaning of terror as translated

> And make ready against them all you can of power, including steeds of war -tanks, planes, missiles, artillery - to threaten the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and besides whom, you may not know but whom Allah does know. And whatever you shall spend in the cause of Allah shall be repaid unto you, and you shall not be treated unjustly.[31]

Prophet Muhammad adopted this word in about twenty sayings with six forms of this word.[32] He used this phrase somewhere to denote love and fear of Allah in supplications[33] and sometimes for the realisation of the importance of official responsibility to his companions.[34]

B.   *Khizyun*

There are two places in the Qur'an where the very word of *Takhzūna* is mentioned.[35] The exegetes Tabarī (923 AD), Zamakhsharī (1144 AD), Suy'utī (1505 AD) and Shawkanī (1844 AD) used the phrase *Takhzūna*, in the meaning of *Turhibūna.* Both of the citations narrate the statement of the Prophet Lūt. It is the occasion of the visit of angels in the form of beautiful boys to the Prophet. Gays of the time rushed to his place on hearing the news of the advent of handsome young men. The Prophet Lūt asked these people, 'Fear God, and cover me not with shame about my guests' or 'But fear God and shame me not'. Four sayings of the Prophet also give the same meanings.

5.   Does Rahb Synchronize with Terror?

In the explanation of the possible meaning of the phrase *turhibūna,* it became explicit that there is only one verse out of eleven, where the expression of creating an atmosphere of terror among the enemies can be derived. Keen study of the verse discloses that it does not command Muslims to terrorize enemies but to equip themselves so that if their enemy intends to attack anytime, they should be able to defend themselves**.** Your enemy should have an estimation of your retaliatory power, 'the standing army in a state of preparedness'[36] so that the apprehensions of the expected punishment should bar him to assault you. In short, this verse does not excite Muslims to harbour an atmosphere of terror and dread, among their enemies and enemies of Allah rather Muslims are asked to keep potential deterrence to successfully respond to unfriendly offence.

Now the question arises, does terrorism synchronise to the Qur'anic phrase *turhibūna*? Is it applicable to all the dimensions and perceptions of terrorism? How close is it and how far is the possibility of its being different from terrorism?

Terrorism as understood is a complex phenomenon.[37] It is a structured, organised network of performance and action. It is like a system, which can be operative in certain situations. It needs a plan and a mechanism. It is an action not reaction. It has a rationale, it needs actors to accomplish it, it has goals to achieve, it creates an atmosphere for its realisation, it kills innocent people and destroys their property. It is pretentious and ostentatious.

In contract, *Rahb* is fear and terror. It is a state, a condition. It is a feeling, a psychological make up of human beings. The Qur'anic injunction of the use of this phenomenon is different in the sense that it is pre-action not post-action. It does not damage and destroy. It creates apprehensions. It paints the sufferings. It projects the results. It does not need any special people to undertake it. There is no question of random or selected symbolic targets. It is not a secretive or confined strategy. It is an open policy.

6.   Cultural Context of the *Ayah al-Irhab*

The commandment can properly be understood in the context, the time, the addressees and the society. Below I outline five dimensions that will hopefully help to differentiate between the contemporary term of terrorism and the Qur'anic usage of the phrase *turhibūna.*

1.   The very significant point to elaborate is that usage of this term is contextual not general. Referring to the context of the verse if one goes back to the earlier verses in the chapter, it becomes crystal clear that the revelation has a special circumstance. The reason behind this injunction of Allah can be realised by the study of four verses before this particular verse number sixty. The meanings of the verses are:

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They are those, with whom you made a covenant, but they break their covenant every time and they do not fear Allah. So if you gain mastery over them in war, punish them severely in order to disperse those who are behind them, that they may learn a lesson. If you (O Muhammad) fear treachery from any people throw back (their covenant) to them (so as to be) on equal terms (that there will be no covenant between you and them). Certainly Allah likes not the treacherous. And let not those who disbelieve think that they can outstrip (escape from the punishment) Verily, they will never be able to save themselves from Allah's punishment.

These verses narrate the deceitful and untrustworthy attitude of the Jews of Medinah. In spite of this injunction to penalise the Jews, Allah is commanding the Muslims of Madinah to adopt a peaceful and friendly attitude provided that they (Jews) incline to friendship and peace. As narrated in the very next verse of the same revelation, "But if they incline to peace, you also incline to it, and put your trust in Allah. Verily, He is All-hearer, the All-knower." [38]

2.   Arab was a Bedouin tribal society and had a nomadic pattern of life.[39] Belief in fate, respect of honour, tribal solidarity, raiding and revenge were its main cultural features.[40] Loyalty to the tribe and confederates was one of its significant characteristics. The Prophet of Islam after migration from Makkah to Madinah, while establishing an Islamic society and state, included Jews of the city in the *Mithāq al-Madinah* (Treaty of Madinah). According to the agreement all the tribes of Madinah were obliged to defend each other and not to be disloyal to this emerging socio-political set-up. Montgomery Watt writes that the Jews agreed that they were not to support an enemy against Muhammad or they were to be neither for him nor against him.[41] These tribes were not only the confederate of the Muslims but had been the confederates of the Madinian tribes *Aus* and *Khazraj* in the past. Is the Qur'anic injunction, to intimidate, humiliate and subjugate after breaking the covenant not an appropriate action for the Muslims to take in the historical and cultural milieu of the Arabian society?

3.   The independent states today or sovereign kingdoms in the past used to keep their defensive power intact to encounter any internal or external threat. Israel is a nuclear power. It is justified by the Western and American statesmen and intellectuals on the plea that as she is surrounded by non-friendly Arab states and needs deterrence for her existence. Pakistan went nuclear after India's explosion for the defence of her sovereignty and solidarity. Is this commandment of the Qur'an anything but in line to the universal law of strategic defence of states and communities?

4.   The Prophet of Islam, entering Madinah, thought himself closer to the Jews and attempted to reconcile with them.[42] The *Mithaq al-Madinah* was the expression of the Prophet's urge. Later on the Jews did not prove loyal to the covenant. Gordon Darnell Newby writes that the combination of Jewish public rhetoric against Muhammad and secret dealings with his enemies demanded that Muhammad respond in a decisive manner.[43] Regarding *Bani Qurayzah's* attitude on the day the *Ghazwa al-Ahzāb*, he wrote that they also negotiated with the besieging Makkans and would have probably joined them if they had been able to trust that they would not be left isolated when Muhammad attacked them.[44] Apart from all these brazen violations of the agreement Muslims were not allowed to attack the Jews, but they were asked to denounce the covenant first. Verse 58 dictates an ethical and moral line of action on such occasions. It is not lawful for Muslims to decide unilaterally that their treaty with an ally is annulled. On the contrary, whenever the Muslims are forced into such a situation they are ethically and religiously required to inform the termination[45] of treaty to the other party, before embarking on any hostile action.

5.   Islam is a religion of action and like all other missionary religions entails the potentials to prevail over from one corner to the other corner of the world. It enforces the action-oriented temperament within its followers. It does not endorse pacifism. Rather the proactive nature of its teachings has earned the title 'the religion of the sword' for Islam. How can it be expected that the Muslim community should always remain in defensive position. So if the enemies of Islam are not on friendly terms then it will be a religious duty of the Muslim community to have an offensive strength similar to Milhemet Mitzvah in Judaism. Allah commands that even after knowing the declared capabilities of your defence, if your enemy attacks you, then you should not confine only to defence but you will have to put them down and subjugate them. It is the non-pacifist nature of Islam.

7.   Conclusion

It is evident that verses of the Qur'an cannot be understood out of their own context. Similarly one will have to look at the holistic nature of the religion of Islam to properly comprehend the rationale of Qur'anic injunction. That is, they will need to consider its historical context, its cultural limitations, its unique temperament, and its theological and ethical perspectives. In addition, using the meaning of any particular verse or phrase in the Qur'an is not sufficient to claim that this is the only purpose of the directive of the Almighty.

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Notes

[1] W Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1999; K Cobb, Violent Faith, in *11 September: Religious Perceptives on the Causes and Consequences*, Ian Markham and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi, (ed.), Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2002; and Yousuf al-Qardhawi, *al-Amliliyat al-Istishhadiyah fi Mizan al-Fiqhi*, Dar al-Fikr, Damascus, 1997.

[2] Al-Qur'an, *al-Baqarah*, 155.

[3] Al-Qur'an, *al-Baqarah*, 114.

[4] Al-Qur'an, *al-Baqarah*, 182.

[5] Al-Qur'an, *al-Nisā,*83.

[6] Al-Qur'an, *al-Nahl*, 40.

[7] Al-Qur'an, *al-A'rāf*, 56.

[8] Al-Qur'an, *al-Mā'idah,* 54.

[9] Al-Qur'an, *al-Nisā*, 28.

[10] Al-Qur'an, *al-Zukhruf*, 68.

[11] A Wensinck, and E Mansenj, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufāhris li-alfāz al-Hadith al-Nabawī,* Brill, Leiden, vol. **2**, 1965, pp. 88-90.

[12] Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, (trans), S*ahih Muslim,* Kitab Bhavan, New Delhi, vol. **2**, 2000, p. 483 and p. 521.

[13] Muhammad Mohsin Khan, (trans), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhāri,* Witer Prayer, Book 16, No105, Kitab Bhavan, New Delhi, 1984.

[14] Al-Qur'an, *Al-i-'Imrān*,151, *al-Anfāl*,12, *al-Ahzāb*, 26, *al-Hashr*, 2.

[15] Al-Qur'an, *al-Kahf*, 18.

[16] A Wensinck, and E Mansenj, p. 271.

[17] Muhammad Mohsin Khan, (trans), *The Virtues of Medinah*, Book 1, No 30.

[18] Khan, op.cit. Book 1-The Book of Revelation, vol. 1, p. 5

[19] Khan, op.cit. Book 7- The Book of *Tayammum*, vol, p.199.

[20] A Wensinck, and E Mansenj, op.cit. p. 420.

[21] *Ibn Majah, Kitab al-Du'ā*, vol, 2, p. 1274.

[22] Muhammad Mohsin Khan, (trans), vol.1, p.3 and Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, (trans), vol.**1**, p.117.

[23] ibid, vol.**4**, p. 1271-1272.

[24] Al-Qur'an, *Sad* 38: 22.

[25] A Wensinck, and E Mansenj, op.cit. vol. **5**, p. 139-142.

[26] Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, op.cit. vol.**2**, p.519.

[27] Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, op.cit. vol. **3**, p. 1262.

[28] Al-Qur'an *, al-Baqarah* 02: 40; *al-A'rāf* 7: 154; *al-Nahl* 16: 51 *al-Hashr* 59: 13 and *al-Anbiyā* 21: 90.

[29] Al-Qur'an, *al-Mā'idah* 5: 82, *al-Taubah* 9:31and *al-Hadid* 57: 27

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[30] Al-Qur'an, *al-A'rāf 7*: 116 and *al-Qasas* 28 : 32.

[31] Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilaly and Muhammad Mohsin Khan, *The Noble Qur'an: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, King Fahd Complex, Madinah , (1404 H)

[32] A.E. Wensinck, and E.P. Mansenj, op.cit. vol. 2, pp: 411-412.

[33] Ibn al-Athīr al-Jawzi, *Jām' al-Usūl fī Ahādith al-Rasūl*, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, Beruit, 1998, vol. 4, p. 210-211 and Muhammad Mohsin Khan, Book 4- The Book of Wudū (trans.), vol. **1**, p.155.

[34] Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, op.cit. vol. **3**, p. 1219-1220.

[35] Al-Qur'an, *Hud* 11:78 and *al-Hajar* 15:69.

[36] Zafar Ishaq Ansari, (tr. and ed.), *Towards Understanding the Qu'ran, English version of Tafhīm al Qura'n, Abū al A'la Mawdūdī*, The Islamic Foundation, Leicester, vol. **3**, 1990, p. 164.

[37] A Schmid, The Problem of Defining Terrorism, in *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, Sharpe, Inc., New York, 1997, p. 12-22.

[38] Al-Qur'an, *al-Anfal* : 61.

[39] Philip K.Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2002, p. 23-29.

[40] R Firestone, *Jihād: The Origin of Holy War in Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, p. 19-41.

[41] ibid.

[42] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medinah,* Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1981, p. 198-204.

[43] G Newby, *A History of Jews of Arabia: From Ancient Times to their Eclipse under Islam*, University of South Carolina, South Carolina, 1988, p. 87.

[44] Newby, op.cit. p. 91.

[45] Newby, op.cit. vol. **3**, p. 162.

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Day 2:

The Political Nexus

and

FHT and the Philosopher's Stone

Clash of Nihilisms

Ali Riza Taskale

Abstract: In this paper, I discuss a contemporary problem, the 'antagonism' between the war against terror and terror, as a *biopolitical* version of the disjunctive synthesis between passive nihilism and radical nihilism. In so doing, I turn to the contemporary society and ask how *nihilism* operates in it. I want to deal with this in three steps: first, by discussing nihilism in relation to today's dominant form of politics, post-politics, and, finally, by focusing on the disjunctive synthesis between post-politics and contemporary terrorism, linking this to a discussion of sovereignty, or, biopolitics. Finally, I contend that, for all its violence, the antagonism between terror and post-politics is a false one; what is suspended here is the real antagonism between nihilist and anti-nihilist politics, between the nihilism of sovereign exception, of *biopolitics*, and life. *This* antagonism cannot be politicized by post-politics precisely because post-politics is itself grounded in the de-politicization of this antagonism.

Key Words: Terror, War on Terror, nihilism, disjunctive synthesis, post-politics

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1.   Terror

What renders Terror 'radical' is, Baudrillard argues, its underlying rejection of all the cardinal principles of strategic action. [1] Strategy is traditionally understood as the calculation of means to ends. Action, however, "only has a strategic value if it can be calculated in subordination to some political end that is being achieved in its execution."[2] Terror, in contrast, Baudrillard argues, is devoid of futility. This is what Baudrillard believes defines the intuitive genius of the strategy of Terror; its refusal of the limits through and within which life has traditionally been strategized.

Terror breaches the boundaries between civility and its other, and therefore helps foment a control society in which the state, too, becomes *affective* and so immanent. Terror undoes the distinction between inside and outside. Here everybody is threatened with destruction. In this sense, Terror is destructive of the social bond. And in terror, we approach the condition of bare life: "we suddenly find ourselves abandoned in emptiness."[3] Consequently, Terror reverberates through contemporary society now more than ever:

> Since 9/11 many have pointed out that terror has social origins
> in globalization, in injustice, that global society itself produces

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terror. Equally significantly, however, today terror produces
society. Terror has become a dispositif, a technique of
governance which imposes a particular conduct, a new model
of truth and normality, on contemporary sociality by redefining
power relations and by unmaking previous realities. In other
words, it is no longer an exceptional terror from the outside; it
is terror within, a terror that disrupts the dialectic of exception
and the rule.[4]

Terror kills but who is killed is not necessarily sacrificed. Sacrifice
necessitates form and value, but the hostage, the subjectivity that pertains to
terror, is a naked, formless body without a value.[5] Anybody and everybody
can be a hostage. Killing a hostage sends no messages; it does not have any
political efficacy or meaning. Terror in this sense is "an event without
consequences (and always leads to a dead end)."[6]

And herein lies the difference between the 'classical' and the new,
'complex' forms of terror. The 'classic' war is 'original' in that it redefined
who the enemy was and where the borders should be. With contemporary
terror, though, we confront the opposite situation: in which the mimetic
desire does not establish but rather destroys the 'society'. Thus the basic
desire is "the desire of the subject for its own death, or suicide."[7] The new
terror also exerts an irresistible attraction on the 'radical losers', which allows
them to combine "destruction and self-destruction at the same time as acting
out both their megalomaniac fantasies and their self-hate."[8] With the new
terror, the enemy is potentially unclear, and the battlefield is without
demarcations; terror is a "formless war."[9]

Whereas the classical terror targeted political adversaries and aimed at
a realisation of a political program (e.g. RAF's, ETA's and IRA's terror), and
in most cases, was linked to carefully measured strategic or political goals,
the new terror is blind and diffuse.[10] We will never know, for example, the
exact political goals that motivated the attacks to the WTC and Pentagon.
Such events or the bombs in Madrid and London subways "did not come
from the usual suspects of a modern, disciplinary order, from the other(ed)
occupying the margins without 'touching' the rest of the society."[11] In
contrast with a traditional terrorist (a RAF or an IRA member) who has to
remain camouflaged within a territory under enemy control, the 'new'
terrorist does not need to try too much to remain unnoticed because s/he is a
'normal' (not mad and bad) person, s/he could be your neighbour.[12] The
classical terror was highly symbolic and was pre-occupied with arranging
spectacular scenes that had everybody as its potential audience.[13] In this
sense, it could be seen, in Foucauldian terms, as an act of resistance, as a
form of counter-power. In contrast, the new terror is highly invisible, off-
scene/obscene, which means that we cannot identify terrorist networks in

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terms of systems, categories, structures or territories; they are mutable and viral.[14]

However, what is truly frightening about this new terror is its potential for lethality and radicality. Its 'personal end' is *despair*; its 'theoretical end' a 'philosophy of destruction'. To put it bluntly, it is the will to negation, a *radical nihilism*. This 'negation' or 'annihilation' can be turned against oneself, but can also be turned against others, perhaps against a whole world. Sacrificing the most sacred of the sacred, human life, the 9/11, 7/7 suicides articulate a new, post-modern fear: the fear of the excessive, nihilistic quality of the violence; the intense spirituality of suicide and martyrdom; and the symbolic sacrifice of life, which contains a radically heterogeneous and excessive dimension that is no longer intelligible within the framework of power relations. That the terrorists were prepared to sacrifice their own lives and the lives of others in a highly symbolic and violent fashion, is deeply shocking to a modernity governed by the principle of the preservation of life and the careful, methodical and administrative functioning of power. It would seem that in an age where the spectacle of sovereign power has vanished from the register of politics, that it has returned as the power of the spectacle itself - the spectacle of excessive violence that, Medusa-like, paralyses our gaze: However, now the spectacle of violence, that characterised sovereign power, has become "the *violence of the pure spectacle itself*."[15]

Perhaps what was truly shocking about the September 11 attacks, as well as other suicide bombings that are taking place around the world, is that we are witnessing a religious fervour - "a spiritual *jouissance*"[16] - that is entirely alien to us. After all, here are people who are prepared to die for their cause, to immolate themselves in the most ferocious explosions, to use their bodies as guided missiles, to sacrifice themselves in the absolute conviction that it is God's will. Suicide and martyrdom are essential to the symbolic force of these attacks. We see in this form of violence the "operation of the power of the sacred, beyond all ideologies and direct political concerns."[17] As Baudrillard says about this new form of terrorist violence, "Its goal is no longer to transform the world; rather, as with all, it seeks to radicalise the world through sacrifice ..."[18] Revolutionary struggles have become, in the case of this new paradigm of terrorism, heterogeneous spiritual struggles characterised by a martyrdom, a will to destruction, for its own sake. It is a *radical nihilism* at whose heart there is nothing but emptiness, the terror of pure form, and the death-drive that approaches the edges of the abyss. The excessive dimension of this violence refers precisely to this nihilistic void.

By actively consenting to be nothing, the new terror aims to become something of great price. In this context, what cannot be annihilated is the very will, a will to negation, which drives the radical terrorists to annihilate themselves. One may say that these terrorist pseudo-fundamentalists are deeply bothered, intrigued, fascinated, by the sinful life of the non-

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believers.[19] Thus, being indifferent to the choice of targets, they have an active desire for the spectacular act of destruction and they seek to maximise destruction and fear. In this sense, "nothing in their life becomes them like the leaving of it. Dying ceases to be useless expenditure."[20]

In short, then, the radical new terror is a supreme exercise of a will to destruction, which is part of what binds it to the civilisation it opposes. It glides through some invisible frontier at which its 'everything' collapses into nothing, a purely destructive negation. Yet even this is not an absolute limit. For it is also possible, for those languishing helplessly in the grip of nihilism, to will such nothingness, which is what we know as evil. As such, terror seems to have become the most important factor of sociality in today's post political society, in which it often appears in a disjunctive synthesis with cynicism. When the political is foreclosed, terror tends to be seen as the only 'political' (re)action by distilling a will to negation, a 'radical nihilism,' from the 'passive nihilism' of post-politics.

2.   War on Terror
The reterritorialising effects of global capitalism also have a paradoxical effect on the state itself. [21] The modern state is undergoing a kind of convulsion, whereby its sovereignty is, on the one hand, undermined - at least with respect to its control over economic life; and yet, on the other hand, an aggressive reassertion of state sovereignty and power with the so-called 'war on terrorism'. In the wake of September 11, and with the emergence of this permanent global state of war, we have seen hitherto unthinkable control and surveillance measures being implemented in the dubious name of 'security.'[22] While governments assure us that they are trying to "strike the right balance between liberty and security," they have been introducing legislation that undermines even the most basic civil liberties such as the right to due process. [23] The usual techniques and practices of control have been intensified and given new impetus and consistency in the 'war on terrorism.' The sophistication of technologies of control and surveillance find their strange counterpart in a rediscovery of torture and the practice of permanent detention; "the *mis en scene* of the control society is now to be found in the torture chambers of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo."[24]

In this sense, the two modalities of power - the offshore prison camps and extra-legal spaces of detention - have intersected and "control and sovereign exceptionalism become indistinguishable in the 'war on terrorism.'"[25] However, how are we to understand the political nexus that allows this intersection to take place?

Firstly, the discourse of 'security' itself must be rigorously analysed. 'Security' is the word on everyone lips today, from media outlets and politicians from across the political spectrum. The ability to provide security from terrorism is now the single stamp of legitimacy for any government, and

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is considered the overriding responsibility of the modern state. However, as Agamben shows - referring to Foucault's work on eighteenth century governmental discourses - 'security' consists not in the prevention of crises and catastrophes, but rather in their continual production, regulation and management. Therefore, by making security central to modern governance, there is the danger of producing a situation of clandestine complicity between terrorism and counter-terrorism, locked in a deathly embrace of mutual incitement[26]:

> Today we face extreme and most dangerous developments in the thought of security. In the course of a gradual neutralization of politics and the progressive surrender of traditional tasks of the state, security becomes the basic principle of state activity. What used to be one among several definitive measures of public administration until the first half of the twentieth century, now becomes the sole criterion of political legitimization.[27]

It is here also that the logic of the exception must be considered. For Agamben, as well as for other theorists of sovereignty like Hobbes and Carl Schmitt, sovereignty is conditioned by the exception - that is the ability of the sovereign to stand inside and outside the law at the same time. In other words, in order to guarantee the law, the sovereign is not bound by the law but stands outside it, having the power to suspend it through a unilateral decision. In the words of Schmitt, the sovereign is "he who decides on the state of exception."[28] The hidden secret of sovereignty, then, is this radical in-distinction between law and lawlessness, between politics and violence. However, what was once the secret of political philosophy has now become explicit: *The state of the exception has become the rule.*

In other words, the intensification of control and surveillance techniques, coupled with practices of extra-judicial detention and governments thumbing their nose at constitutional checks and human rights norms, suggests a normalisation of the state of exception. Governments in so-called liberal democracies are operating in an increasingly extra-judicial way; the state of exception is becoming the dominant paradigm of politics today.[29] When security becomes the dominant form of politics and law is replaced by a permanent state of exception, a state "can always be provoked by terrorism to become itself terroristic."[30]

Therefore, our understanding of the society of control should include not simply the subtle technologies, but also the whole panoply of control measures that we see today: everything from the permanent detention of terrorist suspects, to the heightened policing of national borders[31], form a new paradigm of power and a new logic of politics that must be critically analysed, which is called a *post political* politics. These developments in the

control society signify, one could suggest, a more fundamental transformation in contemporary politics today. What passes for democracy today in developed capitalist countries is nothing but a gaudy mediatised spectacle of spin-doctoring and endless opinion polls - a banal reality show which masks the almost total ideological convergence between the major parties and the lack of genuine political alternatives. Modern politics is characterised by a kind of stifling ideological consensus: the dominant political discourse today is that which announces the eclipse of ideological conflicts between left and right, claiming to be 'post-ideological' and to be about solving society's problems in a rational, 'common sense' way without the constraints of ideology.

The idea of the social-democratic 'Third Way,' which claims to seek a 'middle road' between socialism and capitalism, and which purports to represent the 'radical centre' of political opinion, would be paradigmatic of the 'post-ideological' consensus. Of course one should recognise that this so called era of 'post-ideological' consensus simply means that the ideology of neo-liberal markets has become so entrenched, so sedimented, so accepted as economic orthodoxy by both sides of politics, that we no longer recognise it as ideology as such. The 'post-ideological' consensus is simply a neo-liberal ideological consensus, and the so called 'Third Way' was never really a third way at all, but simply a way of disguising the formal Left's capitulation to neo-liberalism by providing it with some flimsy social democratic window dressing.[32]

So, far from this new consensus style of politics being a sign of the maturity of modern democratic politics, it is a sign of its degradation and immanent collapse. We are dealing here with a new mutation of politics, in which the triumph of 'democratic consensus' coincides with, and is symptomatic of, the complete eclipse of real politics. In a sense, therefore, there has been an erosion of a genuine public space for politics - democracy is no longer a collective activity engaged in by the people, but rather a media-driven process determined by endless surveys, opinion polls and 'specialists', from which the category of 'the people' is entirely absent.[33] That is, the democratic subject is made invisible. The politics of dispute and disagreement - upon which any notion of democracy rests - is replaced by consensus, by a 'reasonable' politics of negotiation. In this context, the dominant form of politics controlling terrorism becomes post-political in the sense that it disavows politics as such, which, however, takes place not by "repressing" politics but by "foreclosing" it.[34] This politics, however, is not a positive politics, actively pursuing a new social project, but a politics of fear, "a reactive politics, whose motivating force is defence against a perceived threat."[35]

Indeed, politics of fear is today in the aftermath of September 11 fast becoming the dominant form of politics, redefining what it means to be a

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political subject. [36] Hence the tendency today to 'terrorize' the political space by transforming democracy into a hostage while we are witnessing, once more, that forms of security (and fear) are related to forms of life; security is a formative, productive and dynamic aspect of social life.[37] So we are left with a politics, which "mobilizes the crowd by way of invoking the fear of the corrupt intruder,"[38] obfuscates antagonisms and instead, sublimates order as an absolute value and exclusively indexes politics to the politics of security.[39] Significantly, in this respect, politics of fear justifies itself with reference to and thus mirrors Terror. Thus it "can curb citizenship rights to save democracy, kill people to protect them from despots, and legalize torture to preserve human dignity."[40]

However, politics always involve antagonisms which require us to make a choice between conflicting alternatives. That is why post-politics, the politics of fear, far from standing for the political as such, always involves a de-politicization, 'naturalization' of the political, "trying to neutralize negativity by transforming politics into apolitical administration: individuals pursue their consumerists fantasies in the space regulated by expert social administration."[41] In this sense, it "is about finding apolitical solutions to political problems."[42] At its core: there is no proper content of politics; all political struggles and decisions concern other specific spheres of social life (taxation, the regulation of sexual mores and procreation, the health service, and so on and so forth) - "politics is merely a formal mode of dealing with these topics, insofar as they emerge as topics of public struggle and decision."[43] Thus what is at stake here is:

> Not primarily the way politicians are packaged and sold as merchandise at elections; a much deeper problem is that elections themselves are conceived along the lines of buying a commodity (power, in this case): they involve a competition between different merchandise-parties, and our votes are like money which buys the government we want. What gets lost in such a view of politics as just another service we buy is politics as a shared public debate of issues and decisions that concern us all.[44]

Seen from this angle, Terror highlights the dangers implied in the delusions of the Universalist globalist discourse, which postulates that human progress requires the establishment of world unity based on the implementation of the Western model. It shatters the illusions of the "Universalist humanitarians that antagonisms could be eliminated thanks to a unification of the world that would be achieved by transcending the political, conflict, and negativity."[45] In this model, in which one is continuously reminded of the need to be protected, political questions are solved by experts and decisions are made on the most efficient way of distributing social goods.

Thus, the democratic subject is transformed into a consumer of government services, and also a consumer on the democratic 'marketplace' who selects the party that most closely corresponds with his/her 'preferences.' This is an aseptic universe where nothing can happen, where genuine disputes and conflicts are translated into 'policy challenges', and where we - in our radical comfort, as Baudrillard puts it- must be protected against any foreseeable security risk. [46]

Consequently, the drive for security and conformity transformed the society in the post-politics wrapped in the culture of fear, which glorifies *passivity* rather than activism. That is, September 11 and its aftermaths reflect such a defect: "unable to dream, tired of life, takes no risks, weakened by our materialism and consumerism we, the Westerners, cannot imagine a political cause to fight and die for."[47] In such a situation, passivity is not the great-vote winner, but it is actually the best policy. Thus we are all ready to "'indulge' in utter scepticism, cynical distance", exploitation of others 'without any illusions,' "violations of all ethical constraints, extreme sexual practices, and so on and so forth - protected by the silent awareness that the big Other is ignorant about it."[48]

There remains a passive/hedonistic nihilist world, in which happiness is reduced to consumerism, politics to security/fear and conformism. In this, the politics is reactive, the category of people is entirely absent, meaning is eradicated and conflict is eliminated. Change is no longer desirable or possible. There is no alternative. Yet for all that it is a suffocatingly sterile world. It is in this very imbrication of brutal *cynicism* with wide-eyed belief that the objective irony of post-politics resides. The 'paradox' in this context is that:

> We in the West are the Nietzschean Last Men, immersed in stupid daily pleasures, while the Muslim radicals are ready to risk everything, engaged in the nihilist struggle up to the point of self-destruction. What is gradually disappearing in this opposition between those who are 'in', the Last Men who dwell in aseptic gated communities, and those who are 'out', are the good old middle classes. The middle class is a luxury capitalism can no longer afford.[49]

What is most disturbing here is the non-dialectical togetherness of two existential strategies ruthlessly pitted against each other, that is, the total coincidence of the cruel, senseless and radical hatred of the Other with the post-political, 'tolerant' logic of control society in which nobody, no difference is excluded in principle. Thus, what we see here is a disjunctive synthesis between passive nihilism - the dampening or sterilization of life, the

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reduction of desire to mechanical sensualism, - and radical nihilism - hatred spectacle of (self)destruction, a will to nothingness.

3.   Clash

The harsh consequence to be accepted here is that, we have two networks that stand against, mimic and justify each other: "We have two camps, each of which claims to be the good and to fight the evil."[50] And we have two strategies, which dissolves the democratic habitus in a post-political condition. Although they are opposed, both radical (Terror) and passive nihilism (post-politics/politics of fear) are Siamese twins of sorts, as "they both agree on the meaninglessness of reality, or rather its essential unreality, which inspires either passive withdrawal or violent destruction."[51] On the one hand, there is a "hedonist permissiveness plus new forms of social apartheid and control based on fear,"[52] that is, a reactive world without values, and, on the other hand, there is a purely destructive negation, that is, a will to negation. In this sense, both remain mired in what Alain Badiou describes as "the disjunctive synthesis of two nihilisms,"[53] which foster, on the one hand, a violent - even aesthetic - taste for the politics of imperial global hatred for nomadic multitudes and, on the other, the immense and awesome politics of insurrectionary desire, animating the very diversely enacted political hatred of the imperial, for example, by the diasporic Palestinian peoples, the Chechnyan 'rebels,' and, even more cruelly, the rather ineffable Al-Qaeda forces.

What distinguishes them is, however, "the site of the enjoyment demanded: our own in permissiveness, God's own in fundamentalism."[54] Accordingly, this distinction is sustained by a shared underlying feature: "they are both permeated by the negative passion of the resentment."[55] In this sense, both terror and the war on terror tend to transcend politics. And significantly what makes the disjunction between these two 'enemies' (Terror and the War on Terror) also a synthesis in that what terror and the post political war against terror share in common is nihilism:

> Terror against terror, there is no more ideology behind this. One is, from this point forward, far beyond ideology and politics. No ideology, no cause - not even the Islamic one - can explain the energy that feeds terror. It no longer aims at transforming the world. Like heresies in more ancient times, it aims at radicalising the world through sacrifice, while the system aims at realizing the world by force.[56]

The clash between Terror and the War on Terror is not, then, a clash between barbarism and civilisation, but a clash between passive nihilism and radical nihilism. However this passive nihilism neutralizes everything and

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provokes radical nihilism, in the sense that it "has the power to pour everything, including what denies it, into indifference."[57] Terror is, in this sense, as a 'fatal strategy,' a traumatic intervention of the 'real' into the virtual/simulacra, symbolic reality.[58] In such a space, the only form protest can take is 'meaningless' violence. The overall result of this clash then remains a register constituted by the "bloody and nihilistic games of power without purpose and without truth."[59] Perhaps, it is here that one of the main dangers of capitalism should be located:

> Although it is global and encompasses the whole world, it sustains a *stricto sensu* 'worldless' ideological constellation, depriving the large majority of people of any meaningful mapping. Capitalism is the first socio-economic order which *detotalises meaning*: it is not global at the level of meaning (there is no global 'capitalist worldview' no 'capitalist civilisation' proper - the fundamental lesson of globalisation is precisely that capitalism can accommodate itself to all civilisations, from Christian to Hindu or Buddhist, from West to East); its global dimension can only be formulated at the level of truth-without-meaning, as the 'Real' of the global market capitalism.[60]

Notes

[1] Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*. Verso, London, 2002.

[2] See J Reid, *The Biopolitics of the War on Terror: life struggles, liberal modernity, and the defence of logistical societies*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2006, p. 71.

[3] G Agamben, *The Open Man and Animal*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2004, p. 64.

[4] See B Diken, 'From Exception to Rule - From 9/11 to the Comedy of (T)errors', in Irish Journal of Sociology, vol. 15(1), 2006, p. 91.

[5] J Baudrillard, *Fatal Strategies. Semiotext(e)/Pluto*, Paris, 1990, p. 47.

[6] ibid., p. 40.

[7] Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism,* p. 7.

[8] See H M Enzensberger, 'The Radical Loser', *Der Spiegel*, November 7 (trans. Nicholas Grindell), access date: 05.08.2008, 2005, http://www.signandsight.com/features/493.html.

[9] S Lotringer, and P Virilio, *Pure War*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1997, p. 173.

[10] T Homer-Dixon, cited in Diken B. & Carsten Bagge Laustsen, '7/11, 9/11, and Post-Politics', published by the Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YL, access date: 10. 01.2009, UK at

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http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/diken-laustsen-7-11-9-11-post-politics.pdf

[11] ibid.

[12] A recent MI5 research project, based on hundreds of case studies by the security service, shows that the "mad and bad" theory to explain why people turn to terrorism does not stand up, with no more evidence of mental illness or pathological personality traits found among British terrorists than is found in the general population. The research also concludes that the terrorist groups operating in Britain today are different in many important respects both from Islamist extremist activity in other parts of the world and from historical terrorist movements such as the IRA or the Red Army Faction (see *The Guardian*, August 21, 2008).

[13] M Jürgensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. University of California Press, California, 2000, pp. 119, 144.

[14] S Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*. Verso, London, 2002: 36-37.

[15] S Newman, 'Terror, Sovereignty and Law: On the Politics of Violence'. *German Law Journal*, vol. 5, 2004, pp. 569, 584.

[16] ibid., p. 583.

[17] ibid.

[18] Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, p. 10.

[19] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*. Verso, London, 2008b, p. 73.

[20] T Eagleton, *Holy Terror*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, p. 98.

[21] Deleuze and Guattari themselves see capitalism as a process of deterritorialization - in which identities and institutions are destabilised and integrated into global circuits of flux and becoming. And yet, as they point out, for every deterritorialization there is also a *reterritorialization*: while capitalism releases flows of desire, and economic and social flows, it simultaneously imposes a 'code' on them, seeking to regulate and control them. Control technology is the means by which this is achieved (see G. Deleuze & F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia II*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis & London, 1987, p. 129).

[22] We are in possession of biometric passports; we have our fingerprints scanned at US ports of entry; we produce our documentation on demand; and, we cannot, we forfeit ourselves as politically intelligible - as eligible - subjects. The War on Terror - with its colour-coded terror alerts, its secret trials and detention camps, its shadowy super-bureaucracies, and its vague reports of special forces operations in far-off places of the world, and of foiled terrorist plots, all the while with the assurances that another major 9/11 - style attack is 'only a matter of time' - seems increasingly like a phoney war that the public has no control over, and that hides a more sinister agenda, one of aggressively reasserting state sovereignty at home and abroad. The

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terrorist threat is 'real and immanent', we are told, but it is best that, at the same time, we know as little about it as possible. In such a situation, the talk about anticipation, precaution, and risk control tends to become meaningless, since we are dealing with what, in the terms of Rumsfeldian terminology, one should call the 'unknown unknowns': "we not only do not know where the tipping point is, we do not even know exactly *what* we do not know." (Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 456).

[23] It is significant to remember Rizwaan Sabir's case - a master's student - in the UK, who was arrested on May 14 after the document ('al Qaida Training Manual') was found by a university staff member on an administrator's computer. Despite his Nottingham University supervisors' insisting the materials were directly relevant to his research, Rizwaan Sabir was held for nearly a week under the Terrorism Act, accused of downloading the materials from US Justice Department website for illegal use (see *The Guardian*, May 24 2008, and see also http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7446886.stm).

[24] See S Newman, 'Control, Post-Politics and the Invisibility of the People,' a paper presented at the conference *Futures: Time, Control and Insecurity*, Lancaster University, 8-9 May 2008. It is a brutal allegory in which Guantánamo is not the exception but the rule. The camp has not hosted a single trial, and only 19 of the remaining 270 detainees have been charged. The people are being held without charge or trial, denied the right to legal counsel, and subject to degrading and cruel conditions such as solitary confinement and intensive interrogation without the presence of a lawyer. Not only have most men not been charged but the US refuses to clarify their legal status, referring to them as 'enemy combatants' in order to be able to hold them indefinitely without recourse to the courts (see E. Isin and K. Rygiel, 'Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps', in *The logics of biopower and the war on terror: living, dying, surviving*, Elizabeth D. And Cristina Masters (eds), Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p. 197). Agamben's contention that the concentration camp "is the space that is opened when the state of exception begins to become the rule" (G. Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1998, p. 168) is chillingly ironic when one thinks of the US-run detention camps for 'enemy non-combatants': legally dead (deprived of a legal determinate status) while biologically still alive - and the US authorities which treat them in this way are also of an in-between status which forms the counterpart to *homosacer*: "acting as a legal power, their acts are no longer covered and constrained by the law - they operate in an empty space that is sustained by the law, and yet not regulated by the rule of law" (Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 49).

[25] See Newman, op.cit.

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[26] See G. Agamben, 'Security and Terror', *Theory & Event* 5:4, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/, 2002.

[27] Agamben, cited in Diken, B. and Carsten B. Laustsen, *The Culture of Exception: Sociology Facing The Camp*. Routledge, New York, 2005, p. 71.

[28] Schmitt, cited in G. Agamben, *State of Exception*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005, p. 1.

[29] ibid., pp. 1, 31.

[30] See Agamben, 'Security and Terror', op.cit.

[31] According to a high-level confidential report on future security, Europe should consider sharing vast amounts of intelligence and information on its citizens with the US to establish a "Euro-Atlantic area of cooperation" to combat terrorism. It is also proposed that the 27 members of the EU should pool intelligence on terrorism; develop joint video-surveillance and unmanned drone aircraft, start networks of anti-terrorism centres, and boost the role and powers of an intelligence-coordinating body in Brussels (see *The Guardian*, August 7, 2008).

[32] C Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox.* Verso, London, 2000, p. 93.

[33] At the formal level, people in advanced Western societies are increasingly unlikely to participate in the political process. This effect is most striking among younger age groups. Electoral turnouts in many countries are at an all-time low and in the few instances where these are high, emotional attachment often appears to rule over reasoned argument. Few today are active, or even passive, members of political parties or trade unions as their forebears were (see Whiteley, P. F. and P. Seyd, *High-Intensity Participation: The Dynamics of Party Activism in Britain*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2002), and there is little evident desire in some quarters to engage in - or raise the standard of - debate. Accordingly, the categories of left and right have been expunged of their traditional associations and meanings (see F. Furedi, *The Politics of Fear: Beyond Left and Right*. Continuum, London, 2006, pp. 45-6). Thus voters are often unable to distinguish between the pronouncements of the various major parties.

[34] S Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject*. Verso, London, 1999b, p. 198.

[35] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 41.

[36] The sociologist Frank Furedi points to how certain words have exploded into popular consciousness in recent years, reflecting fundamental changes in society. For instance, references to the phrase 'at risk' in British broadsheet newspapers increased ten-fold over the course of the 1990s. Presumably this is not because we actually face ten times as many risks as previously. Rather, it reflects developments in our perception of the world. Furedi notes that even the way in which we use the word risk has been altered. In the past it was often used in an active sense as in "taking a risk" (see F Furedi, *Culture of*

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Fear: Risk-Taking and the Morality of Low Expectations. Continuum, London, 2002, p. 56). This suggested possible benefits, as much as inherent problems, and indicated an engaged relationship between individuals and society. Today, more often than not, the word is used passively, as in "being at risk," thereby also pointing to a more disconnected orientation towards change.

[37] See M Dillon, *Politics of Security*. Routledge, London, 1996.

[38] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 304.

[39] S Žižek, 'Carl Schmitt in the Age of Post-Politics', in *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* Chantal Mouffe (ed.), Verso, London, 1999a, p. 18.

[40] B Diken, 'From Exception to Rule - from 9/11 to the comedy of (t)errors', p. 88.

[41] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 325.

[42] B Diken, 'From Exception to Rule - from 9/11 to the comedy of (t)errors', p. 89.

[43] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 291.

[44] ibid., p. 284.

[45] C Mouffe, *On The Political*. Routledge, London and New York, 2005, p. 82.

[46] J Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, p. 15.

[47] S Žižek, *Did Somebody Say Totalitarianism? Five Interventions in the Mis(use) of a Notion*. Verso, London, 2001, pp. 1, 4.

[48] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, p. 300.

[49] S Žižek, *Violence*. Profile Books, London, 2008a, p. 25

[50] See Diken and Laustsen, '7/11, 9/11, and Post-Politics', op.cit.

[51] See S Critchley, *Infinitely Demanding: Ethics of Commitment, Politics of Resistance*. Verso, London, 2007, p. 6.

[52] S Žižek, *Violence*, p. 24.

[53] A Badiou, *Infinite Thought*. Continuum, London, 2005, p. 119.

[54] S Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes*, op.cit. p. 34.

[55] ibid., p. 333.

[56] J Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, p. 97.

[57] J Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1994, p. 163.

[58] S Zizek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, p. 36.

[59] A Badiou, *Infinite Thought*, p. 120.

[60] S Žižek, *Violence*, p. 68

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Long Term Terrorism in Turkey: The Government, Media and Public Opinion

Banu Baybars-Hawks

Abstract: Turkey has been subjected to terrorism for the past 24 years with the PKK's campaign of terror. Despite the rises and falls of their terrorist attacks through the years, PKK terror never ended and still continues with the recent attacks on our military targets as well as civilians.

In a world where information and communication play a key part, terrorists try to achieve the maximum possible media impact from violent acts. The media are the best way of getting a message across to the wider public. So when we define terrorism, we have to keep in mind that a three-way relationship exists between the main protagonists: terrorists want something from governments and work to get it through the agency of public opinion by seeking to terrorise the public at large in the most spectacular way possible. Public opinion is influenced by the media, which sometimes produce exaggerated accounts of terrorist events. There is therefore a contradiction between the duty to serve the public and give a truthful presentation of what is going on, and pressures in times of crisis where journalists are at something of a loss. Their integrity can be abused in such troubled times.

This paper will seek to examine how this three-way relationship works under the threat of terrorism in Turkey. It will investigate how the government responded to terrorist attacks, how public opinion has been formed in such an environment and how it influenced governments' policies and decisions in regard to terrorism. Also, it will explore how media reacted in this cycle, whether it served as the fourth power or prefers to reflect exaggerated accounts of violent acts.

Key Words: Terrorism, terrorist organisations, media, government, public, Turkey.

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The twenty-first century is witnessing the greatest change and transformation in the entire history of humankind. One of the major changes that we are facing is the escalation of terrorism. Terrorism is a problem of all the world today. With the 9/11 attacks, it became a prime issue in the global agenda. No government could afford to minimise the threat of terrorism, since it has the feature of striking at the heart of people's daily lives. The right to live, eventually, is paramount among all freedoms.

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Public opinion today is that one of the greatest threats to peaceful and safe existence of humankind comes from the international terrorist organisations. The new face of terrorism does not recognise any law of war, national borders, sovereignty or legal measures, instead it is considerably free at acting the way it desires.[1] The ever-increasing roles and power of non-state actors today has reached a point that challenges the authority of the nation-states. Turkey, with its long history of struggle against terrorism, poses one of the greatest examples for this context.

Before discussing the effects of terrorism in Turkey, it is necessary to illustrate a history of the PKK and its terrorist activities against Turkey. The Kurdish Worker's Party (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan or PKK) is an ethnic separatist terrorist organisation whose ideology is based on Marxism-Leninism. The organisation's "use of terror and violence as a means of achieving its ultimate goal, the destruction of the territorial integrity of Turkey, is recognised and classified as an international terrorist organisation by most western countries."[2] On November 27, 1978, the organisation was secretly but formally set-up in the Diyarbakir district. The PKK confined itself to attacks on tribal chiefs in Urfa province until 1980. Starting in 1984, the organisation intensified its violence against Turkish targets with the aim of establishing a Kurdish state. Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the organisation, was captured by Turkish authorities in Kenya in early 1999, and the Turkish State Security Court subsequently sentenced him to death, a sentence later commuted to life imprisonment following the abolition of the death penalty.[3] Following the capture of Öcalan, the PKK declared a cease-fire and began claiming that it had switched its strategy to peaceful methods and would pursue political struggle from then on. On May 29, 2004, the organisation renounced its so-called unilateral cease-fire of the past five years. In July 2006, PKK bombs and snipers killed twenty-three civilians. Over time, the PKK has moved into northern Iraq and almost 3,500 PKK members have established a safe haven in Qandil. According to 2007 estimates, there are a total of 5,000 PKK/KONGRA-GEL terrorists, situated in northern Iraq where the organisation's headquarters is located.[4]

The PKK has established significant criminal activities inside Europe, ranging from extortion, trafficking drugs and heroin to smuggling illegal immigrants into the EU. The group also generates other revenues by running media outlets (dailies, periodicals, TV and radio channels) to help carry out anti-Turkey propaganda activities in many parts of the world.[5]

1.   The Government's Response
Terrorism creates fear, and in modern democracies, it is not difficult to produce widespread fear "by demonstrating how easily state mechanisms can be circumvented and individuals attacked."[6] Most of the time, terrorists do not target a specific person, but wish to create fear and demoralization in a

society as a whole than among those targeted in an attack. Terror Management Theory argues that a fear of death leads the public to support aggressive policies and government in order to reduce anxiety.[7] In Turkey, a host of laws exist that can be employed when the state feels threatened. In this context, dozens of books and publications have been banned; many journalists arrested, sentenced or fined by government officials. This reaction was mainly toward those that supported the appeal of the autonomy of Kurds in the eastern region of Turkey.

On June 16, 1983, the State Security Courts were established in Turkey, and the law regarding the establishment and trying procedures of the Court was passed. The law authorized State Security Courts to deal with offences against the integrity of the state. A State of Emergency Act passed on October 25, 1983 and brought additional restrictions over the press. Article 11 of the Act stated that when a state of emergency exists; the printing, publication and distribution of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books can be stopped, seized, or require permission to publish. This is to protect the general order and peace of the nation and to prevent violent actions.[8] The Press Law No. 5680, which was passed on July 15, 1950, noted other limitations on press freedom. With the new amendments made on 10 November 1983, the punishments for press crimes were increased. The law also authorised a public prosecutor to stop distribution of any publication containing material that constitutes an offence against the state and that reveals government secrets. This can be done without securing a court order.[9]

In Turkey, where a civil-law tradition exists, the judiciary is not central in developing the law. Instead, a series of laws enacted by the Parliament, including the press laws, draw the boundaries for the commitment to freedom of the press. The current version of the Press Law still privileges the public prosecutor, without providing a court order, in stopping distribution of a newspaper, which contains material that constitutes "offence against the state" – a vague standard that includes political expression. One of the other regulations over the press, the laws issued during a state of emergency, also give authorised agencies of the government the power to put previous censorship upon publications mostly because of national security reasons.

On April 12, 1991, the government passed the Anti-Terror Law. Article 1 of the Anti-Terror Law described terror as "the actions of a person or group of persons which belonged to an organisation whose purpose is to change the political, legal, social, economic order and principles of the Republic, to destroy the indivisible integrity of the State, to endanger the presence of the State and the Republic, to attempt to weaken or destroy the stability of the Government, to destroy the basic rights and freedoms, to threaten the internal and external security of the State and general order of

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the nation." Article 2 of the Law makes it a crime to commit the actions stated above.

The government in Turkey started to ease its restrictions over the media after 1990. Following that, the press was gradually allowed to openly criticise the government and its policies. Today there is no prior restraint over books and newspapers, and no day-to-day censorship anymore, with the expansion of the areas in which free speech is permitted. However, some restrictions still remain. While there is no prior restraint, every writer and publisher is responsible for the consequences of his or her efforts to publish. And those consequences can be severe, ranging from heavy fines to occasional detentions by police.[10] Threats to the national security and order, publishing propaganda detrimental to national feelings, insulting the authorities, and violations to the indivisible integrity of the State with its nation and territory are still the major reasons for suppressing freedom of the press. [11]

2.   The Media

Media has an important role during crisis. Terrorism becomes threatening not only through violent events alone but also through the publicity and coverage that follow. As terrorism became a worldwide phenomenon, the news media's function ever-increased. It is generally agreed that there is a symbiotic relationship between terrorists and the media.   Terrorist groups use the media to convey their political message whilst supplying exciting news for the media. The media has the capacity to multiply the impact of terrorists and further their message in a way that terrorists are themselves incapable of projecting. Terror attack coverage can create a tunnel vision scenario, where viewers only see the repeated coverage of terror attacks, thereby losing perspective about other news and focusing only on the singular event.[12] An increase in the coverage of news about terrorism leads to increased concern over terrorism throughout the public.

The media has a duty to report on terrorism to fulfil the public's need to know and to promote open and informed debate about terrorism. On the other hand, "terror attacks mean ratings". [13] The human interest value of the attack, where the media explores the "background" of the victims, creates further viewer interest.[14] The sensational elements in the coverage of terrorism are also prevalent in the Turkish media. Take one of the most popular newspapers, *Hürriyet*, for example with these headlines: "Poetry Farewell to Martyr," "It was Only 10 Days Left to his Discharge," "Tears After Martyr Brother," and, "PKK Terror will be Protested in Times Square."

The media also plays a very important role when covering terrorism. It can mitigate "the effectiveness of terrorism by creating hostility towards terrorist organisations, compelling decision-makers attention to the topic of terrorism, and raising public awareness about terrorism". [15]

Because of the nature of PKK terror, it can be argued that the Turkish media as a whole is very sensitive to the issue, and their reporting mostly is parallel to government's policies. It must also be emphasized that most of the headlines and content of the news sounds patriotic. Moreover, the news media almost always put emotional and dramatic headlines to their news stories. Scenes from the funerals of soldiers who lost their lives when fighting with PKK terrorists invade the airspaces of daytime and evening news. Sufferings and grievances of martyrs' loved ones become the source of additional news stories. This sensationalism culminated in late 2007 with the government forced to suspend the broadcasting of terrorist attacks. For detailed analysis of newspapers coverage of terrorism, I selected one of the mainstream and most popular newspapers of the country: *Hürriyet*. This newspaper's coverage has been evaluated from 1987 to 2000. As the method, every other year was selected, and ten days in each year was reviewed for news about PKK terrorism.

Table 1: Headlines

	Day 1	Day 2
1987	PKK Bomb	Destruction Plan for the Traitor
1989	PKK Massacre: 22 Dead	PKK Trap: 5 Dead Again
1991	Terrorists apologised	Kirkuk Patrol passed to Kurds
1993	PKK bullet to a teacher	PKK Massacre: 6 Dead
1995	Warning to Moscow for PKK	We notified Iran one more time about PKK Camps
1997	German Judiciary saw the truth	We hit PKK from air
1999	Shame on you	PKK terrorists: Execute us, too

	Day 3	Day 4
1987	Rebels challenged, 30 Dead	PKK's heavy gun road
1989	PKK Rocket Launchers in Hakkari	Unemployment pushes East to Apo
1991	Bloody day in İzmir	PKK meeting with Germany
1993	Traitors	They murdered 33 civilians including 11 children
1995	We will erase PKK	PKK's gratefulness for Athens

	Day 3	Day 4
1997	He wants the whole Turkey	Great Hunting in Amanos
1999	PKK threat continues	İBDA-C / PKK Cooperation

	Day 5	Day 6
1987	PKK's Target: Saved Base	They ran from a PKK Camp
1989	What will happen to this PKK?	They target our borders
1991	4 PKK Militants captured dead	PKK Bullet to a 2year old
1993	6 PKK dead in Siirt	Çiller establishes Terror Congress
1995	End of the Terrorist	35 thousand soldiers in Northern Iraq
1997	PKK -Turkey Trading Line	Anti-terrorist Department Vice Head is Ahmet Demirci
1999	Terror Panic in England	God Bless

	Day 7	Day 8
1987	Apo will take the lesson he deserves	PKK Massacre Again
1989	Two Fierce Women	Military is uncomfortable
1991	Hero Mother	Terror Meeting with Iran is in October
1993	US is uneasy about Turkey-Israel Allying	Batman is exporting terror
1995	Tight Cooperation with Germany against PKK	Threat against Germany by PKK
1997	33 PKK terrorists have been killed	There are 140 PKK militants in region
1999	Drop the guns	Ceasefire to Barzani by PKK

	Day 9	Day 10
1987	Bloody Fight	Terror Fear
1989	Vertical Passing Barrier from PKK ve Tikko	22 terrorists were killed
1991	7 PKK members captured dead at fighting in Bingol	PKK confession

	Day 9	Day 10
1993	Those who committed this Massacre cannot be humans	Cross-border Operations will continue
1995	Increase in Martyr Compensation	Threat against German Police by PKK
1997	Sakık came for action	PKK surrenders ostensibly today
1999	Each of his concert is PKK gathering	RP negotiation by FP against Apo

The news media in any society is expected to play a central role in shaping public opinion, and this is the case for Turkish public opinion. As can be seen from the table, newspaper coverage seems informative, it provides official information regarding the casualties and nature of the operations. On the other hand, most of the headlines are patriotic and have sensational elements.

For the years 1997 through 2008, a simple keyword search for news in *Hürriyet* featuring the term "PKK terrorism" was also employed. *Hürriyet*'s coverage of PKK terror dramatically increased from 1997 to 2008, in parallel to increases in real-time events as well as increases in its importance in the public agenda. The ever-increasing PKK terror in Turkey moved terrorism to the top of the public's agenda, and consecutively to the media's agenda. There were 360 PKK related news in *Hürriyet* in 1997, 1520 in 1998, 1699 in 1999, 804 in 2000, 523 in 2001, 810 in 2002, 1172 in 2003, 1065 in 2004, 2064 in 2005, 2619 in 2006, 4774 in 2007 and 2254 until July 2008. As we see, the newspaper's coverage of terrorism increased in parallel to escalation of PKK terror in Turkey, while it declined slightly after the capture of Ocalan and following the cease-fire of terrorist organisation, and again it began to increase following the resumption of terrorist attacks after 2004.

The results also revealed that dramatic cases with emotional stories featuring the victim's families attracted the greatest attention in the Turkish media. Reactions to the attacks and support for a number of government policies and responses were also the topics mostly covered.

As is common in crisis coverage, Turkish press and television closely tracked official resources. Patriotic stories that focused on the bravery of Turkish soldier martyrs and national pride, with the cruelty of terrorist acts, and their impact on innocent civilians were the common themes of the media's coverage for terrorism. From this perspective, it can be argued that the news media contributed to "emotional reactions that could immobilize the public, making them fearful and unable to respond rationally to future terrorism risks."[16] While on the other hand, it primed public opinion in a

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fashion hostile to terrorists, by helping the military and government to justify their actions in their fight against terrorism.

3.   The Public

The success of terrorism is measured by the impact it causes. As Brian Jenkins said "terrorism is a theatre" and its aim is the feelings it will create in the audience.[17] In times of crisis, public opinion is an important player. "Public opinion can be mobilized quickly against an external threat in ways that produce dramatic shifts in policy". [18]

The Turkish public opinion is significantly affected by the news coverage, as well as by real world indicators and by their personal experience of terrorist events. In a very recent example, terrorists exploded bombs on July 27, 2008, in one of the crowded regions of Istanbul, which claimed the lives of 17 people, while 154 innocent civilians were seriously hurt. Among the ones who died were pregnant woman, and three small children. For this type of event, personal experience plays a crucial role. "The link between personal experience and physical proximity to the events clarified the additional power of terrorist events to frighten individuals most immediately affected by terror".[19] On the other hand, we depend on the media to inform us about the operations of the Turkish military against PKK terrorists in south-eastern Turkey, since we don't have a chance to experience the events firsthand. In this instance, the vast majority of the population is not exposed directly to these events, so they get their information through the mass media. Duration of the coverage is also important in influencing people. The ability of the public to make sense of terrorist events has been influenced by accumulated exposure to news reports. Regular tracking of news increased "both the perceive risk of terrorism, as well as fear and anxiety."[20] Fear and anxiety, in turn, increased patriotism.

The escalation of PKK terror in real life and the mass media's coverage of it made it one of the most discussed topics in the public agenda in Turkey. According to the survey done by Estima Research Company of Istanbul in September 2006, terrorism and the PKK were the most important issues along side unemployment and economic problems facing Turkey.[21] The Media Monitoring Centre in Turkey traditionally prepares a report every year called "Media Agenda of the Year." The 2007 Report of the Centre was compiled after examining the news in over 1700 newspapers, magazines, TV Channels and news web sites in Turkey. According to the report, terror was the top of the media's agenda in 2007; in other words, terrorism became the most talked about topic of the year. Terror incidents were covered in 270,535 news items and occupied 4678 hours of TV coverage. This number equals 195 full days of one channel. The news about terrorism also led to a decline of the European Union related news in the media.[22]

An American Research Organisation, the International Republican Institute held a survey for measuring Turkish public opinion in November 2006. The survey methodology was in person, in-home interviews. One of the questions in the survey asked the most serious danger facing Turkey in the next five years. 30% of respondents showed "economic crisis" as the most serious danger, while 17% of them think "terror in the southeast" and 12% of them revealed "terror in major cities" as the most serious dangers facing the country.

The International Republican Institute measured public opinion in Turkey again from May 31 – June 7, 2007. A total of 1507 people were selected as the sample. When the respondents were asked to rate the issues that would be important to them while voting in the 22 July 2007 General Elections, they rated unemployment, economy, and security-terrorism as the top three issues. When participants were asked which institution they trust the most on a scale from 1 to 10, they revealed the army as the most trusted institution (7.84).

The same survey was repeated between March 29 - April 13, 2008. The size of the sample was 1554 people, and the methodology was the same as previous years. Respondents were asked to rate the institutions that they trust the most on a scale from 1 to 4. And the army again hit the top with 3.46, while the judiciary came in second place. According to the majority of people, unemployment and economy with security issues and terror are the most important issues of the country.

In the presence of the worrisome threat of terrorism in Turkey, the public's trust in the government's officials and institutions declined, while the trust toward the Turkish military skyrocketed. The public rallies around its troops when they are killed. Citizens who rallied around the flag also rallied around Turkish armament. Violent attacks and those that involve high numbers of casualties increase the policy salience of terrorism, but they lead to a decline in support for the government.

4.   Conclusion

This paper analysed how the news media reported the threat of terrorism with an example of one mainstream newspaper's coverage and how the news media coverage in turn helps shape Turkish public opinion. Considering the numbers of casualties, it can be argued that Turkey is in a category of high terrorist vulnerability. Terrorism affects the ability of modern democracies to fulfill one of their primary functions – the preservation of personal security, as in the case of Turkey.[23] As terrorism makes people feel unsafe, it undermines the sense of stability and security "even if it does not pose a grave risk to the country as a whole."[24] The message conveyed by the terrorists is that anybody, at anyplace, at anytime, might be a casualty of an

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attack. This disruption of daily life, in turn, results in severe damage to the foundations of governments.

Knowledge is power and the anxiety of terrorism can be reduced by providing knowledge to the society, therefore the public must understand that terrorism is indeed psychological warfare. "Modern terrorism strategy places the civilians on the front of the war against terror-armed forces that may do a great job, but if the public is afraid of terrorism, we can win the battle but lose the war."[25] A nation facing the threat of terrorism should guarantee its citizens' preparedness to deal with terrorism and its psychological ramifications.[26]

Notes

[1] D Ü Arıboğan, 'Possibilities of Coordination and Cooperation Against Terrorism Among Institutions'. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on "Global Terrorism and International Cooperation," Ankara, 23-24 March 2006, p.130.

[2] Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies, 'A Case Study of the PKK in Turkey', accessed on July 2, 2008, http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/mfa-t-pkk2.htm.

[3] ibid.

[4] Turkish official, interview by S Cagaptay, Ankara, May 30, 2006, in 'Can the PKK Renounce Violence?', *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2007, pp.47-48; 'PKK and Terrorism', October 23, 2007, accessed on July 5, 2008, http://www.turkishpress.com/news.asp?id=199467. p. 45.

[5] S Cagaptay, 'Can the PKK Renounce Violence?'op.cit.

[6] R Matthew, and G Shambaugh, 'The Pendulum Effect: Explaining Shifts in the Democratic Reponse to Terrorism', *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, vol. **5** (1), 2005, p.4.

[7] M Landau, S Solomon, J Greenberg, F Cohen, T Pyszczynski, J Arndt, C Miller, D Ogilvie, A Cook, 'Deliver Us from Evil: The Effects of Mortality Salience and Reminders of 9/11 on Support for President George W. Bush'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol.**30**(9), 2004, pp.1136-1150.

[8] Translated and paraphrased from the Turkish by the author from 25 Ekim 1983 tarihli 18204 sayili Olaganustu Hal Kanunu [A State of Emergency Act No.18204, October 25, 1983], in M S Gemalmaz and O Dogru, Turkiye'de Basin Ozgurlugu Mevzuati [The Regulations Concerning Press Freedom in Turkey], Hurriyet Ofset Matbaacilik, Istanbul,1990, p. 179.

[9] Translated and paraphrased from the Turkish by the author from 2950 Sayili Kanun, ek madde 1 [The Act No. 2950, added Article No.1].

[10] L Whitman, and T Froncek, 'Paying the Price: Freedom of Expression in Turkey', *The Report of U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee*, 1989. p. 77.

[11] ibid.

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[12] Y Pries-Shimshi, 'Creating a Citizenry Prepared for Terrorism: Education, Media, and Public Awareness', accessed on June 23, 2008, http://www.ict.org.il/apage/5523.php.
[13] ibid.
[14] ibid.
[15] ibid.
[16] P Norris, M Kern, and M Just (eds.), *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public*, Routledge, London, 2003, p. 295.
[17] B M Jenkins, 'High Technology Terrorism and Surrogate War: The Impact of New Technology on Low-Level Violence', Project Rand Report #P-5339, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, 1975, pp. 12-15.
[18] Matthew and Shambaugh, op.cit., p.5.
[19] Norris et.al, op.cit., pp. 295-96.
[20] ibid., p. 295.
[21] Report on Halkın Gündemi (Public Agenda), Eylül (September) 2006, accessed on June 27, 2008, www.estima.com.tr.
[22] Norris et.al, op.cit., p. 291.
[23] Medya Takip Merkezi, 'Media Agenda of the Year', January 2nd, 2008, accessed on July 2, 2008, www.medyatakip.com/medya_sistem/medya_data/site/medyaarastirmalari/58.doc.
[24] Matthew and Shambaugh, op.cit., p.4.
[25] ibid.
[26] Pries-Shimshi, op.cit.

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Re-presenting Representations

Ipek Atik

Abstract: This paper aims at analysing *Crash* directed by Paul Haggis, in accordance with it being a representation of "fear, horror and terror" in contemporary cinema. The main questions being asked in this research are: Does this film thoroughly succeed in its - assumed - objective of becoming a striking reproach towards what has been going on in our societal everyday encounters which mainly tend to take place within the bubble of "fear, horror and terror" that has come to surface and that has been relentlessly reinforced since 9/11? Or, does it, reproduce and contribute to the dissemination of the "fear, horror and terror" and violence that it intends to highlight and expose and fail in its, again assumed, objective of being the one of the leaders of the socially responsible products of the 21st century's visual culture? The greater goal is to go further beyond what is explicit in the representations of "fear, horror and terror" and violence.

Key Words: Crash, violence, fear, horror, terror, visual culture.

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"Don't talk to me unless you speak American!"[1] says the African-American woman when her car is hit by another car which is driven by an Asian American, most probably Chinese. This happens during the last scene of *Crash*, the film that also starts with a similar crash scene in which, this time, an Asian American's car crashes into a car driven by a Latin American and the Asian American starts screaming: "Mexicans no know how to drive… I call immigration on you" and the Latin American answers, "Officer, can you please write in your report how shocked I am to be hit by an Asian driver!" and the somehow tragic part in that dialogue is that we later learn the Latin American's parents are from El Salvador and Puerto Rico, not Mexico.[i] The stereotype impressions that human beings can have about the distance one, the unfamiliar one, the other is exposed and highlighted by director Paul Haggis in almost every scene of *Crash*. Haggis reflects on a diverse array of stereotypical and judgmental ideas that people might have on certain ethnic communities other than their own. The reflections Haggis make includes various examples such as:
- To a Persian father and daughter who are trying to buy a gun from him and who are discussing, in Persian, which gun they should buy, a white American shopkeeper saying "Yo Osama! Plan a jihad on your own time."[2]

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- Two African-Americans continuously saying "Chinaman" in reference to an Asian American man.
- The white American wife of the white American district attorney, naming the locksmith in her house a "gang member", simply because he is a Latin American with a shaved head, wearing very loose pants and that has various tattoos on his body. She continues by saying that she wants her locks changed again in the morning by another locksmith because (in her words) this "amigo" will sell her keys to his other gang member friends.

      And maybe the most humorous, ironic but yet again the most meaningful and revealing reflection of how thinking based on stereotypes and prejudiced judgments nurtures and processes itself is evident in the dialogue between two African-Americans commenting on the dinner they just had in downtown Los Angeles:

> Anthony: You see any white people in there waiting an hour and thirty-two minutes for a plate of spaghetti? Huh? And how many cups of coffee did we get?
> Peter: You don't drink coffee and I didn't want any.
> Anthony: That woman poured cup after cup to every single white person around us. Did she even ask you if you wanted any?
> Peter: We didn't get any coffee that you didn't want and I didn't order, and this is evidence of racial discrimination? Did you happen to notice our waitress was black?
> Anthony: And black women don't think in stereotypes? You tell me something man. When was the lat time you met one who didn't think she knew everything about your lazy ass? Before you even open your mouth, huh? That waitress sized us up in two seconds. We're black, and black people don't tip. She wasn't going to waste her time. Somebody like that? Nothing you can do to change their mind.
> Peter: How much did you leave?
> Anthony: You expect me to pay for that kind of service?

With this one Haggis points out the two different types of stereotypes that people have: the ones that they have towards their own communities and the ones that they have towards communities other than their own. In my opinion, all these stereotypes that Haggis underlines are crucial because they all deeply connect to how fear, horror and terror are produced, reproduced and disseminated through society. However, I believe, the constitution of these stereotypes and the production and dissemination of these feelings do not occur spontaneously but they are rather inscribed in the society's thoughts and actions through the measures and operations of the state. Here, I take benefit from and follow Giorgio Agamben's philosophy that he performs in his *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* in order to explore what

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is at stake when "fear, horror and terror" and violence are reproduced, disseminated and are intricately inscribed in everyday lives of human beings by the state. According to Agamben, citizens of states do not necessarily need to be located into bordered, configured camps today simply because everywhere is a camp now.[2] As Agamben makes clear, the camp is so infused in our lives now, that we do not necessarily have to be deported to or excluded within a specific location, but we are vulnerable to face the biopolitical applications of the state – that are in fact belonging/specific to camps – such as fingerprints being taken at the airports and so on in our everyday lives, in the modern, *democratic* urban cities we live in.[3] As Agamben states:

> The political system no longer orders forms of life and juridical rules in a determinate space, but instead contains at its very centre a dislocating localisation that exceeds it and into which every form of life and every rule can be virtually taken. The camp as dislocating localisation is the hidden matrix of the politics in which we are still living, and it is this structure of the camp that we must learn to recognise in all its metamorphoses into the *zones d'attentes* of our airports and certain outskirts of our cities.[4]

Therefore, the state, the modern democratic state, or the totalitarian states of the twentieth century, always becomes the non-state - which is in other words, the state of exception or the abandonment of law by state – in order to reproduce itself as a state, in order to multiply and disseminate its sovereignty. For this purpose, violence from everyday life is withdrawn by the dominance of police, law and order which paves the way for that violence to be monopolised by the state and used in everyday life by the state in an unlimited, unending, constantly reproduced manner. Within this dissemination and reproduction and spreading of forensic violence through everyday life, the camp is now not the bordered, contained space that sovereignty displays itself, but rather it is an invisible stamp that is present on every corner of human daily life and it displays itself incessantly, implicitly or explicitly through numerous performances such as the biometric airport regulations in various countries, the USA Patriot Act, surveillance of immigrants, schools, prisons, the psychiatric hospitals for mental disorders or even by sovereignty performed and processed through the media. This unending and unlimited encampment that has no criteria for switching itself on but rather that is always active is the space of modern politics that Agamben goes on exploring in this last chapter of *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* and he reminds us to do the same when he says:

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> From this perspective, the camp – as the pure, absolute, and
> impassable biopolitical space (insofar as it is founded solely on the
> state of exception) – will appear as the hidden paradigm of the space
> of modernity, whose metamorphoses and disguises we will have to
> learn to recognise.[5]

How does Agamben's arguments relate to the constitution of these
stereotypes and the production and dissemination of fear, horror and terror in
the society - that are also represented in the film *Crash*? The invisible,
infinite camp that Agamben exposes, apart from its many other significant
consequences, teaches us to be afraid of each other. Through the regulations
we are obliged to face each day, which convey to us that our major priority
should be keeping our surrounding secure, we are made to accept that our
cities, our countries are always in a state of exception, always at stake,
always at danger, always under threat. Hence, it is no surprise that we are
always in fear that something might happen, or something is about to happen.
We are injected with the horror, the terror of what is about to come -
although, in fact, what may never come - and thus it is then inevitable for
each citizen of the world to be obsessed about protecting, securing, guarding
themselves from the potential hurtfulness that the others' possess. It is now
our first and only duty to be in constant alert especially when confronted with
someone who has an identity that is different from our own. As Slavoj Žižek
puts forward in his book *Violence*:

> Today's predominant mode of politics is *post-political bio-politics* – an
> awesome of theoretical jargon, which, however, can easily be
> unpacked: "post-political" is a politics which claims to leave behind old
> ideological struggles and instead focus on expert management and
> administration, while "bio-politics" designates the regulation of the
> security and welfare of human lives as its primary goal. It is clear how
> these two dimensions overlap: once one renounces big ideological
> causes, what remains is only the efficient administration of life…
> *almost* only that. That is to say, with the depoliticized, socially
> objective, expert administration and coordination of interests as the
> zero level of politics, the only way to introduce passion in this field, to
> actively mobilize people, is through fear, a basic constituent of today's
> subjectivity. For this reason, bio-politics is ultimately a politics of fear;
> it focuses on defense from potential victimisation and harassment. […]
> Today's liberal tolerance towards others, the respect of otherness and
> openness towards it, is counterpointed by an obsessive fear of
> harassment. In short, the Other is just fine, but only insofar as his
> presence is not intrusive, insofar as this Other is not really other… […]
> What increasingly emerges as the central human right in late-capitalist

society is *the right not to be harassed*, which is a right to remain at a safe distance from others.[6]

Now it is time to go back to understanding *Crash*, with these insights from Agamben and Žižek in mind. With various characters expressing their fear of the other in different manners of speaking, one can easily think that these expressions based on stereotypical judgments of the other are personally developed as a result of these characters' own sociocultural experiences. Director Paul Haggis presents a totality of numerous characters that act as both perpetrators and victims in the name of the fear of the other. One character that causes fear for another at one moment is victimized by another character's fear of his being at another moment, the characters collide and crash and this vicious circle goes on through the film, making us think how coincidental the world is, how people come across unexpectedly and spontaneously. However, it is no surprise that these people collide as a consequence of the fears that lead them through their lives. None of them are aware of the fact that the glasses of fear they have put on are not the glasses they have chosen on their own. The fear is inscribed on their minds by the state apparatus, or by the politics of fear and by the right not to be harassed as Žižek calls it, so of course, they keep on colliding, crashing and clashing with each other. What I find very unfortunate here is that the potential audience of this movie is just like the characters of the movie itself, that is to say, most probably unenlightened by and unaware of the breathtaking and astonishing theories about the state put forward by philosophers like Žižek or Agamben. That is why I believe it is very likely for the average moviegoer to think to himself, "yes, prejudiced people who think in stereotypes exist and they make life miserable for all of us" and also it is very likely for the average moviegoer to assume that these sorts of human beings evolve naturally within the society. Thus, it is possible here to ask this question: Is this film a striking reproach towards what has been going on in our societal everyday encounters which mainly tend to take place within the bubble of "fear, horror and terror" that has come to surface and that has been relentlessly reinforced by the state apparatus since 9/11? Or, does this film contribute to the dissemination of the "fear, horror and terror" and violence that it intends to highlight and expose and even further, fail in its assumed objective of being a responsible product of 21st century's visual culture, simply because it reluctantly passes by and does not recognise the idea that the fear, the horror and the terror it portrays is produced more by the state and its measures rather than the society's own sociocultural dynamics?

It is essential here to tell the story of Officer Hanson of *Crash*. Officer Hanson is one of the main colliding/crashing characters of the film. What makes this police officer special is that his every action throughout the film shouts no to racism. He is the antiracist of the film. First, when his partner

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verbally harasses an African-American man and molests his mixed-race wife, Officer Hanson reports his racist partner to their lieutenant and changes his partner. Then, later in the film, he runs into the same African-American man and this time the African-American man is in trouble with some of Hanson's other co-workers. As Hanson still feels guilty from remaining passive while Hanson's racist ex-partner harassed this African-American man and molested his wife, this time Officer Hanson heroically gets the man out of trouble by persuading his colleagues to let him go.

The next and the final time that Officer Hanson runs into a different African-American man, things go a bit differently. Officer Hanson picks up a hitchhiking African-American man, who is called Peter, into his car. They talk about trivial things and make some small talk. The camera becomes Officer Hanson's point of view as his eyes judge Peter by looking at his worn out shoes and clothes. Then Peter starts spontaneously laughing but he is actually laughing because he sees that Officer Hanson has placed in his car the same little statue that Peter carries in his pocket with himself all the time. While Peter keeps laughing, Officer Hanson gets angry because he simply thinks that Peter is laughing at him. They start arguing and shouting. At the end, Officer Hanson stops the car and tells Peter to get out immediately. Peter, who doesn't want to get out simply because Officer Hanson is his only ride home, says, "Fine, you want me to show you? I'll show you" by putting his hand in his pocket. Officer Hanson, terrified and anxious, shouts, "Get your hands out of your pocket, put your hands where I can see them." The argument goes on and Peter shouts back by saying "You want to see what's in my hands? I'll show you what's in my hands!" and just as Peter is about to take his hands out of his pocket to show Officer Hanson the little statue, Officer Hanson reaches into his own pocket, grabs his gun and shoots Peter. There goes the unbearable irony. The true antiracist cop shoots a completely innocent African-American. So where does this scene, which is titled "the miscommunication" in the DVD menu, take us? I believe that Officer Hanson's story is a great example of the way that fear is inscribed in human beings by the state. Even though Officer Hanson knows himself as a true antiracist, and acts like one throughout his life, at a very crucial moment, he fails to be one. Where does his antiracist personality and policies go in this one short yet fatal moment of his entire life? It does not go anywhere, but his usual consciousness is beaten up by the underlying fear of the other that is carved within his mind by the state measures at work, which is, the camp, the invisible soldier that tells us to be in alert towards the other. However, unfortunately, this short but significant story of Officer Hanson is portrayed as one of the many single frames that form the greater picture that depicts "the volatile intersection of a multiethnic cast of characters struggling to overcome their fears as they careen in and out of one another's lives" as the back cover of the film's DVD writes. The back cover is correct in saying that

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there is a volatile intersection of a multiethnic cast of characters, however, the sad thing is, no one in this film is even close to overcoming their fears as they don't really know the actual source of their fears – just like it is in real life, and just like it is evident especially in Officer Hanson's story. Furthermore, what is most unfortunate in the layout of this film is that the implicit idea of spontaneity that it conveys. The greater picture depicts something more than the whole plot of various people continuously colliding and crashing. It shows how our lives are entangled into each other's no matter how we are different. The greater picture depicts, unfortunately, something that most of the time only scholars or very conscious moviegoers can see.

To sum up, I think the subtext of this paper already has an obvious sense of disapproval towards the film *Crash*, but I would like to make it clear one more time. This film clearly hits on some very sensitive spots in a very eloquent manner. The style with which it depicts the judgmental and fearful perspective of human beings towards each other is striking and moving. Nevertheless, it fails to expose that that judgmental and fearful perspective which human beings have adopted towards each other is produced more by the state and its measures rather than the society's own sociocultural dynamics. The weakness I see in this film is its passivity. To put it in W.J.T Mitchell's words from his book *The Picture Theory*:

> In short, though we probably cannot change the world, we can continue to describe it critically and interpret it accurately. In a time of global misrepresentation, disinformation, and systematic mendacity, that may be the moral equivalent of intervention.[7]

Notes

[1] All quotes from this film refer to the P Haggis, *Crash*, DVD, Lionsgate, 2004.
[2] G Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1998.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid., p. 175.
[5] ibid., p. 123.
[6] S Žižek, *Violence*, Picador, New York, 2008, p. 41.
[7] W.J.T Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, p. 425.

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Dreadful Yet Irresistible Luella Miller: Horror in the Absence of Self

Chiho Nakagawa

Abstract: Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, who is generally regarded as a regionalist, thus a realist, wrote a supernatural story, "Luella Miller," about a woman who sucks life out of the people around her. Luella Miller looks innocent and charming, yet she brings about the worst fate in the people who are attracted to her: they waste away, taking care of her. Luella could be a vampire, addictive substance, monster, or parasite. Yet unlike vampires or monsters, she does not choose or even control her victims. "Luella Miller" is about the fears of lack, the fears of losing and of not possessing one's own self.

The problematic gender ideal surfaces when one brings the current discussion of addiction in examining this irresistible yet dreadful heroine. As Timothy Melley points out, addictions reveal "insufficient free will" of individuals, although the concept of addiction lessens that detestable implication by rationalising and medicalising the state. People become addicted to Luella, and lose their self-control to the point of death. Yet in this story, no one is more devoid of self-control than Luella herself: she has no choice but to die when no one is left to take care of her. Her magnetic charm suggests that, in a woman, the absence of self and self-control looks not only harmless, but also attractive. It becomes dreadful only when Luella's complete dependency on others makes people addicted to her, eventually leading them to the total renunciation of self - death. Luella is a vacuum of self, drawing others into the same fate as hers. Freeman presents a sharp critique of the feminine ideal at the turn of the twentieth century with her description of lovable but fatal Luella Miller.

Key Words: vampire, addiction, desire, femininity, hysteria, paranoia, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, *Luella Miller*, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Parasite*

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Vampire stories have always attracted us. The most famous vampire story, *Dracula*, has retained its popularity for more than a century and new novels, TV series, and movies about vampires are continuously being made, suggesting its undying hold on us. When examined with the current understanding of addiction, vampire stories can offer an interesting insight into our desire and ourselves, especially an unusual vampire story. "Luella Miller," illuminates the issue of the gender ideal at the turn of the twentieth

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century, in relation to desire and autonomy. "Luella Miller" presents a sharp critique of an irresistibly charming woman and reveals the dreadful implication of the ideal femininity.

"Luella Miller" is now read as a vampire story, especially that of a psychic vampire, but it differentiates itself from all the other vampire stories in many ways.[1] Written by a New England regionalist, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, and contained in her only collection of supernatural stories, this story is unlikely to make the reader afraid of the dark or of the things that go bump in the night, like a conventional horror story or Gothic story. Instead, it makes us uneasy and poses a series of questions: why and how this particular character attracts us, and whether the allure entails something dreadful. Unlike other conventional ghost stories about past grudges and cruelties, this story is simply about a woman who is loved but also dreaded in a small New England village. She is loved to the point that good ordinary people just devote themselves to death to her, but she is dreaded for the exactly the same reason. Her preys are willing victims, and they are addicted to Luella Miller, like love-struck people who try everything for unrequited love and die in content. Her victims do not feel horror; horror is felt only by people who see what happens to those addicts. Luella Miller takes away their autonomy and makes them her slaves. Behind the façade of a story of goodwill and innocence, it hides a story of addiction and exploitation, and ultimately of horror of not having one's self.

The greatest mystery of this story lies in the power Luella Miller has to make people addicted to her. The text does not offer any explanation, leaving an open possibility that she is a vampire that drains energy out of others. Luella is an outsider like any other vampiric characters in history; she is a type "unusual in New England," a "slight pliant sort of creature, as ready with a strong yielding to fate and as unbreakable as a willow."[2] She follows the tradition of vampire characters in her "otherness"; as vampires come from somewhere else - usually from exotic East Europe - Luella Miller comes from outside one day to the village as if to seek out new victims like all the other vampires do when they run out of their victims in the area they have formally resided.

Luella Miller, a newcomer to the village starts drawing her victims upon arrival. The magnetic charm, or forbidden attraction, is a characteristic shared by major vampires, a characteristic that reflects their strong narcissism, for they enjoy controlling their victims through their pseudo-love affairs. A good example that explains the relationship between a vampire and a victim is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Parasite." Miss Penelosa in "The Parasite" hypnotises men to make them want her, and when she is met with the victim's resistance, she turns around and starts using her hypnotic suggestion to ruin him. Whether for her gain or revenge, she has 'her grip' over her victim. The relationship between Professor Gilroy, her victim, and

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Miss Penelosa has nothing ambiguous in terms of control. Miss Penelosa controls; Professor Gilroy is controlled. Against his will, Professor Gilroy craves seeing her. With her hypnotic suggestions, she can make "him do her will."[3] Professor Gilroy tells Miss Penelosa, "If ever you heard me speak of love,…you know very well that it was your own voice which spoke, and not mine."[4] The victim's words of love addressed to the victimiser only represent her proclamation of love for herself.

Doyle's story can be seen as an attempt to demystify the mystery of vampires. This female parasite expands her own self by using hypnosis, whose similarities to love Freud already points out in the paper "Being in Love and Hypnosis," part of *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.* Freud argues that in an extreme situation when one is in love the object is put in the place of the ego or of the ego ideal, and thus, "from being in love to hypnosis is evidently only a short step."[5] Miss Penelosa reverses this progression and uses hypnosis to make him fall in love with her. Doyle presents a disillusioned view of vampire - a nondescript or even unpleasant looking woman well over forty with a crippled leg - and his answer to the magical charm of vampires is simple: hypnotic power.

"The Parasite" clarifies that the fears of vampires, or the fears caused by parasitic invasions come from confronting the magnetic and overpowering Other: the fears of the loss of one's own self, or the fears before the powerful Other. This process by which one's self loses its own also can be explained in terms of desire in addiction. Stacey Margolis points out that the process by which Professor Gilroy loses his control is comparable with a certain model of addiction, in which the drug wants itself, not the self that wants the drug.[6] Professor Gilroy becomes addicted to the mysterious woman, without knowing that his desire is replaced by the object itself. The horror of this story lies in the way in which the predator renders its victim powerless by completely taking over the victim's desiring action; when the victim realises how he is incapable of controlling his own behaviour and even his desires, it is too late.

Luella Miller does not hypnotise her victims, but they still show the clear sign of addiction. While Luella gradually sucks life out of her victims, they do not notice their free will slipping away from their own hands: they go deeper and deeper into their role as a caretaker and they cannot stop themselves helping Luella. The state in which Luella's victims fall resembles hypnosis without a hypnotiser; as Freud explains, the "hypnotic relation is the unlimited devotion of someone in love, but with sexual satisfaction excluded."[7] Luella may not offer sexual satisfaction, but they may experience the sweetness of martyrdom. The addiction to Luella ends in a form of an ultimate self-sacrifice: death. Her victims gradually lose the functions to take care of themselves until they relinquish their rights to life. Henry Krystal argues that "alcoholics and drug addicts are among those people who have a

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great inhibition in carrying out a multitude of 'mothering' or self-comforting functions."[8] The irony here is that Luella's victims start developing an inhibition in "mothering" functions for the sake of mothering and comforting they do for Luella. In this story, dependency grows from responding to and accommodating the person whose existence is based on the complete dependence.

Luella's ability to possess her victims without even making them experience the feelings of fear indicates that she has a more powerful magnetic ego than Miss Penelosa has, yet the text suggests otherwise. Luella lives on others, and naturally and effortlessly finds her victims that devote their lives to her, yet she does not intentionally choose her victims or even control them. She does not set her target, or intentionally create "desires" in others, as Miss Penelosa does. She does not, it seems, even have a desire of her own, unlike Miss Penelosa who makes others desire for her. Luella Miller does not know what she has done, and she is like a "baby with scissors in its hand cuttin' everybody without knowin' what it was doin'."[9] Virtually Luella Miller is a baby: her face is coloured with pink and white, and dominates others not with her power but something that "draws the heart right out of" others.[10] She is tended and cared for as a baby until words spread that the "days of witchcraft" have come again.[11] She does not take the role of predator, but rather that of dependent, someone to be protected, cherished, and spoiled like a child, in relation to her victims.

Luella's appeal seems irrelevant of gender in the sense that she is strangely indiscriminate of her victims unlike other vampires. Normally the charm of vampires is associated with their sexual attractions that transgress the accepted norm. Yet in the tradition of vampire stories, vampires seem to choose one gender for their victims - Polidori's Lord Ruthven has a particular interest in one man although his preys are all women, and Le Fanu's Carmilla is obsessed with one girl, and Dracula saves men for his female minions while he targets only women. Whether with homosexual or heterosexual preference, vampires tend to stick to one gender as their victims. On the other hand, Luella Miller never chooses her victims. As long as they attend her, she welcomes whoever comes. The very first victim is a female student when she first comes to the village as a teacher. Then as soon as the girl, Lottie Henderson, who is doing all the teachings for her, dies, she quits teaching and marries Erastus. When Erastus Miller dies,[12] Erastus' sister comes in to help her. Luella attracts both men and women, and their relationships do not always take those of romance. Sometimes her relationship with others takes that of mother and child: Aunt Abby Mixter attends her as if she were her baby, and when Aunt Abby's daughter comes to claim her mother back from the hand of Luella, she tells her daughter that Luella needs her more than her daughter does, as if to talk to her older daughter about her younger sister. She may transgress even more than all the other classic vampires in regard to her

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indiscriminate nature. She can charm men or woman, older or younger, to possess them to become her caretaker.

Far from being genderless, however, this baby like woman is greatly feminine in her demeanour as well as in her looks. As Nina Auerbach calls Luella a "perfectly idle Victorian lady," Luella is the epitome of femininity.[13] With her "blue eyes full of soft pleading, little slender, clinging hands, and a wonderful grace of motion and attitude," Luella expresses her discontents and discomfort through unconventional means: hysteria.[14] Hysteria has been considered a female disease, particularly as a disease of communication. The hysteric acts out symptoms that are "symbolic resolution of an unconscious psychological conflict," or a conversion of her or his unexpressed desires and wishes, according to the *DSM-IV-TR*, in the section on the conversion disorder, one of the descendents of hysteria.[15] Luella falls into a hysteric episode when no one is around to take care of her, and she faints when she cannot counter the accusation that she is killing off her caretakers. Luella acts like a baby, therefore, she communicates with her hysteria. By describing Luella with the analogy to a baby, the story evokes the connection between a baby and hysteria, and also a baby and femininity. As a person with limited communication skills - here both associated with ultra femininity and immaturity, Luella Miller depends on her hysteric symptoms to communicate her inarticulate wants and discomforts.

As her hysteric symptoms indicate, Luella's lack of communication skills, and by extension, the state of her desires can never be articulated. Miss Penelosa, on the contrary, has such a strong narcissistic desire that she can take over her victim's. In a closer examination, however, one can conclude that Miss Penelosa's form of desire is still in the confine of "feminine." The desire that surfaces in the hypnotic relation is her desire to be desired. She controls a man, but she does so to make him *want* her. She still breathes in the world in which only men's desires matter and women have to be desired. Her narcissistic desires seem to threaten the autonomy of her victim, yet her desires are not as much a transgression as they seem. By forcing her desire onto her victim, she steps beyond the boundary of femininity, but by desiring to be desired, she operates within the boundary. She manipulates men not as the subject of her own desire, but as the object of desire.

On the other hand, Luella remains the object of desire throughout. Erastus marries her, Doctor Malcom wants to marry her, and other female victims feel the need to take care of her. The text also focuses on Luella as the object, too, to show her state as the object of desire; she is seen and described and she hardly talks or expresses herself. Being an embodiment of Victorian femininity, she lacks all the elements that one sees necessary in a modern individual: autonomy, desire, and self-control. Yet she has no question about herself, remaining the object of desire and being in the state of

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dependency, because most people in the village love her and accommodate her.

This story qualifies itself as a horror story just because seemingly harmless Luella's complete dependency becomes infectious. Luella's physical dependency self-duplicates and spreads to the people who take care of her, so that others can experience her state. Whether it is behavioural or substance-related, addiction describes a state in which an individual cannot stop doing, or consuming, the object of desire. Luella is not an addict, for she is the object of desire, which her victims cannot stop desiring, but like an addict, she is completely dependent or incapable of self-control. Luella, a woman even incapable of self-control, creates dependency in her victims. Her victims are addicted and controlled but they are controlled in the absence of a controller.

The controlled state without a controller, or the dependency on dependency, can easily be associated with the contemporary pseudo-psychological entity, co-dependency. According to John Steadman Rice, many theorists of "co-dependency" assume "human nature to be 'innately benevolent and constructive,' and culture and society 'overly repressive'" and co-dependent persons are suppressing their "inner child."[16] Thus, the co-dependency theories would see Luella's victims suppressing themselves, finding their identities in the empty vessel of self, Luella. According to those theories, Luella's victims are the ones to blame as failures that cannot liberate themselves from all the constraints of society. However, Luella's victims are perfectly normal adults, varying in age, gender, and rank. Unless reading this story as a critique of a New England village, whose suppressive culture supposedly produces "immature" and "addiction-prone" adults, albeit possible, the ideological tenets of co-dependency theories disagree with my reading. The ideas behind co-dependency theories, however, can help better understand the psychic vampire story with a helpless victimiser.

The co-dependency theories are a variation of the addiction therapy discourse, thus, it shares the same concern and the same principle. Rice points out that resistance to the institution and socialisation is at the bottom of the co-dependency theories. This makes sense when one looks at the discussion of an early advocate of "addiction" scare, Stanton Peele. In his influential book that claims addiction can be applied not only to alcohol and substances but also to love or interpersonal relationships, Peele argues that the decreasing sense of our control over ourselves and the increasing societal control over individuals contribute to the rising numbers of various forms of addiction.[17] Since one does not feel that he or she has control over oneself, it becomes easier for one to start falling into addictive behaviours. This argument, however, also reminds one of another contemporary illness - paranoia.

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Paranoia and addiction can be tied together in that they both react to the sense of loss of control. Addiction explains the loss of control and paranoia represents fears of loss of control. Timothy Melley terms the sense of serious anxiety about the autonomy and individuality of persons in contemporary society, "agency panic" and he finds in 'agency panic' the "national tendency toward addiction-attribution."[18] In paranoia, one has a delusion or an acute sense that he or she is being persecuted or watched. Someone, or very often, the government is behind this operation in the minds of the paranoids. These conspiracy theories reflect the sense that one is not in control of oneself. Alternatively, conspiracy theories can compensate a person for their sense of insignificance in the world. This is a world in which one feels less and less in control of oneself because of today's complex structure. When a similar sense manifests itself in the physical form, the paranoid will fear one's own body gradually decaying or being invaded by foreign life forms. The combination of conspiracies and invasion fill the modern legends of alien stories seen in television programmes or science fiction stories. In fact, vampire stories could be one variation of alien stories, and thus, stories of paranoia.[19]

In place of the monster or alien, this short story has Luella Miller, a helpless woman. She does not have control over herself. Luella herself is the embodiment of our anxieties, without autonomy, control or even desire. Yet no one - including Luella herself - knows how dreadful her state is until victims replicate her state by losing their mothering functions, simply because she is viewed with a positive light of femininity. The fate that all the ordinary people fall into - addiction and then death - is that of Luella Miller, who herself does not feel fear for her own life, like a baby.

Vampire stories, therefore, can also be stories of paranoia and addiction: when the focus is on fears of loss of control, the story can become that of paranoia; when the loss of control is accepted and its process is focused on, the story can be that of addiction. Luella Miller is the story of addiction, because victims themselves are unaware, and thus unafraid, of their loss of control. Yet by applying the name, "addiction," one can rationalise the process. Without the name or diagnosis, what one sees is his or her own weak will that cannot even stop what he or she is not supposed to do and against wise judgment. Applying the name to it does not change the fact that an individual cannot stay in that condition, but at least gives a rationalisation and offers a seemingly plausible prognosis. The aforementioned addiction specialist, Peele, later changes his position on addiction theories as applicable to behaviours unrelated to substances, and harshly criticises the tendencies to see compulsive behaviours as diseased events because they avoid the "work of understanding why people drink or smoke in favour of simply declaring these activities to be addictions."[20] If one attributes what happens to Luella's victims to addiction, here we find the

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rationalisation, or something like it, for only rationalisation of Luella's power can be found in seeing her as a vampire or supernatural being. However, Luella is not a supernatural being, an alien, or a domineering woman with hypnotic techniques. One still cannot explain why her victims cannot stop putting Luella's interest first before their own interest, without using the word, addiction or vampire. Yet we know why her victims are drawn to Luella and why those victims feel compelled to help her; her vulnerability and helplessness that people are afraid in themselves are accepted and cherished when described as feminine.

This unusual vampire story reveals the other side of an attractive feminine woman. Only people who have not fallen under Luella's spell - people who can resist her feminine charm - can see the dreadfulness of her state, as well as that of her fate. Luella Miller may be attractive from the outside, yet being in Luella's shoes is dreadful. Her victims are not conscious of the horror of her state and they share Luella's fate, also unconscious of the horror of her fate. By spreading her dependency and helplessness into others, Luella makes others experience her dreadful state. Because they cannot resist Luella's charm, they lose control of their fates, as Luella has never controlled her fate. She makes them regress into the state of incomplete human begins like her. She not only draws the heart out of her victims, but also draws them into the same fate as her. This psychic vampire story questions the idea of the attractive woman at the turn of the twentieth century, and shows us that attractiveness is indeed simply deadly helplessness. Functioning as an addictive substance, Luella Miller lets us see how fearful it is to be a feminine woman without her own self.

[1]**Notes**

[1] Several anthologies, such as *The Penguin Book of Vampire Stories,* A Ryan (ed), Penguin, New York, 1987, include this story as a vampire story.
[2] M Freeman, 'Luella Miller' in *Wind in the Rose-Bush and Other Stories of the Supernatural*, Academy Chicago Publishers, Chicago, 1986, pp. 77-78.
[3] A C Doyle, 'The Parasite' in *Dracula's Brood*, R Dalby (ed), Crucible/Thorsons, Wellingborough, 1987, p. 127.
[4] ibid., p. 135.
[5] S Freud, 'Being in Love and Hypnosis' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*,vol **18**, J Strachey (trans and ed), Hogarth, London, 1955, p. 114.
[6] S Margolis, 'Addiction and the End of Desire' in *High Anxieties: Cultural Studies in Addiction*, J F Brodie and M Redfied (eds), University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, p. 22.
[7] Freud, op. cit., p. 115.

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[8] H Krystal, 'Self Representation and the Capacity for Self Care' in *Essential Papers on Addiction*, D L Yalisove (ed), New York University Press, New York, 1997, p. 122.

[9] Freeman, op. cit., p. 97.

[10] ibid., p. 93.

[11] ibid., p. 97.

[12] Because Erastus dies of "consumption," this story can be interpreted as a story of vampire/tuberculosis, in which people who die one by one are gradually infected and wasted away. The association of vampires and tuberculosis may lie in the appearance of blood on the lips of the sick. In this story, Luella Miller can be the carrier of tuberculosis, and the last incidence, burning of Luella's house, can be the preventive measures to stop any more infection.

[13] N Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995, p. 108. Auerbach also points out that Luella is the "exemplar of her class and time, the epitome of her age, not an outcast to it." However, Luella clearly belongs to a class in which a woman also has to do physical work. She has to work as a teacher before she marries Erastus, and even after marriage, she does not have servants to do household chores. Auerbach's indication that Luella is a Victorian "lady" is based on a false assumption, but it also suggests that the true misfortune is that Luella was born into the wrong class.

[14] Freeman, op. cit., p. 78.

[15] The American Psychic Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 2000, p. 494.

[16] J Rice, *A Disease of One's Own*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1996, p. 76.

[17] S Peele, *Love and Addiction*, Signet, New York, 1976, p. 153.

[18] T Melley, 'A Terminal Case: William Burroughs and the Logic of Addiction' in *High Anxieties: Cultural Studies in Addiction*, J F Brodie and M Redfied (eds), University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, p. 39.

[19] To be precise, this kind of delusion is categorised as "schizophrenic" rather than paranoiac, according to the *DSM*s. The delusional disorder, the contemporary name for the paranoid disorder, is characteristic of "nonbizarre" delusions, meaning delusions with realistic events, while the schizophrenic disorder entails "bizarre" delusions. Stories of invasion by imaginary creatures and extraterrestrial life forms will be no doubt qualified as "bizarre."

[20] S Peele, *Diseasing of America*, Lexington Books, New York, 1989, p. 146.

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On Chigurh's Coin and Benjamin's Angel: Fear, Horror, and Terror through the Fate of History

Stephen Hessel

Abstract: This essay delves into the peculiar character of Anton Chigurh from Cormac McCarthy's *No Country for Old Men* through the reflections on history contained within the essay "Theses on the Philosophy of History" by Walter Benjamin. The effect of Chigurh's determination and determinism in conjunction with the realm of chance is explored in order to show how he stands out among villains as something that transcends the dialectic of good and evil and lies outside this systematic categorization of society. In addition Chigurh is seen for his similarities to and how he differs from the characters of Christopher Nolan's *The Dark Knight*.

Key Words: Cormac McCarthy, *No Country for Old Men*, *The Dark Knight*, Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History."

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I have never been afraid of the chainsaw-wielding hockey-mask-wearing maniac that I knew was about to bust through the door in a matter of seconds. Sure I jumped a bit and let out a weak yelp of surprise, but it never sent shivers down my spine and haunted my dreams like the faceless terrors that lurked in shadows never revealing more than a fraction of their terrific evil. I prefer ghost stories to slasher flicks primarily due to this predilection.

The act of "not knowing" has always been foundational in my understanding of how fear, horror, and terror are produced. A year ago I charted the course of this phenomenon through the seemingly humorous novel *Don Quixote* and how the genres of fear, horror and terror have evolved to their present forms. In that case it seemed as if the modern and postmodern postures of doubt and pessimism were the keys to the kingdoms of fear. This was my firm belief until I encountered Cormac McCarthy's novel *No Country for Old Men*. The trajectory of this book has illustrated to me how absolute certainty can be just as terrifying and horrifying as creaky floorboards or dark corners.

The sinister and efficient Anton Chigurh leaves nothing up to doubt in the way he cuts a murderous path across Texas and through the course of this book. Questions of "if" and "why" are silenced by his matter-of-fact and emotionless imposition of inevitable acts of violence. His lack of remorse and moral consideration is balanced by his peculiar yet coldly logical set of rules. The coin he flips provides the only opportunity to deviate from his set destructive path, but in the end, even when survival is granted, its power

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subjugates all good and possibility within the world to brutal and unwavering chance. Life may continue, but in a world where it means almost nothing. What it means to be human in the "positive" sense is cast into a void of mechanical and darkly messianic progress.

Despite its lack of violence, one scene stands out in its power to unveil the terrifying and horrifying nature of Chigurh's philosophy; or what Carson Wells, another hit man, calls Chigurh's "principles." In a small gas station on a road in rural Texas, the station's proprietor comes face to face with Chigurh's blunt and uncomplicated destructive power. After reacting coldly to the proprietor's attempts at small talk, Chigurh demands that he call heads or tails for a coin he has just flipped. Confused by this the proprietor protests saying he doesn't know what he stands to win or lose. Chigurh retorts that it does not matter what is riding on the outcome, but only the fact that the coin has been flipped, and that he must call it. The inevitability of the outcome can be seen decided long ago, perhaps, in a distant place. The bizarre encounter of Chigurh and the gas station proprietor demonstrate this cold logic:

> Just call it.
> I didn't put nothin' up.
> Yes you did. You've been putting it up your whole life. You just didn't know it. You know what date is on this coin?
> No.
> It's nineteen fifty-eight. It's been travelling twenty-two years to get here. And now it's here. And I'm here. And I've got my hand over it. And it's either heads or tails. And you have to say. Call it.[1]

In the end the proprietor calls it correctly and Chigurh leaves without committing any physical violence, but the psychic violence enacted by reducing life to a coin toss is obvious in the final description of the attendant:

> The proprietor watched him go. Watched him get into the car. The car started and pulled off from the gravel apron onto the highway south. The lights never did come on. He laid the coin on the counter and looked at it. He put both hands on the counter and just stood leaning there with his head bowed.[2]

The true power of Chigurh lies not in his silenced shotgun or pneumatic cattle gun, but rather in this coin that reduces life to a meaningless string of sequential actions and events that cannot be avoided. The present and future are at the brutal mercy of the past and its history. In this absolute causal view of history the present and future are always justified by the past in such a total fashion that little wiggle room is left for possibility; it is what

it is because it was what it was and tomorrow will likewise be what it'll be; a truly demented "C'est la vie" and a horrifying "que sera, sera."

Considering this attitude toward time, existence, and the essence of justification, I would like to invoke Walter Benjamin's "Angel of history." Described in his essay "Theses on the Philosophy of History," the angel is a peculiar figure whose situation seems to complicate Benjamin's idea of Messianic trajectory in the past to the future. He writes:

> A Klee painting named "Angelus Novus" shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This is what we call progress.[3]

Instead of a world in which actions have flexible reactions and possible outcomes, this world is predicated on and dictated by one event which predetermines the rest; the expulsion from Eden. The unwavering path of time and existence is denigration and destruction. The "Angel of history" must bear witness to it due to its inability to change its course. Every step forward is inevitably a step away from paradise and in a sense progress is ultimately a step backwards or a journey toward ever-increasing ungodliness.

Benjamin laments the Angel of history's predicament and questions the historicist mindset that has brought humanity to this mode of thinking, but Cormac McCarthy (Chigurh's creator) appears to provide us with a man that basks in the absolute certainty of the immanent moment. Unlike a determinist fascist reading of history that proclaims the superiority of a group to be ordained in the annals of history and/or justifies the violence it provokes, Chigurh has no such agenda. He does not bend history to his will. He is rather its instrument. He is the storm on the horizon that threatens to overpower humanities hope for redemption.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Chigurh's nature is that it follows the Judeo-Islamic-Christian concept of a directional history in the strict universal sense. God, who knows all in past, present, and future, must therefore have seen the inevitable set path of time and events, but the idea of free will is seemingly incommensurable with this divine determinism. Milton struggles with this conundrum constantly in *Paradise Lost*. To make both

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ideas fit Milton provides the characters of his work with choice and agency, but they are ultimately ineffectual in the face of God's set path. Ironically, Satan's attempt to rebel in the end only brings about the ordained yet future existence of a new garden; a New Jerusalem. If with our free will we attempt to rewrite history in order to control our future then we are scribbling frantically in invisible ink. To borrow a line from *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, in the face of history's march of progress, "resistance is futile."

　　If any character in *No Country for Old Men* could fill the role of a redemptive yet pensive angel, it is Sheriff Ed Tom Bell. Despite the fact that he never lays eyes on Anton Chigurh nor Llewellyn Moss alive, he is intricately tied to their story. Bell's commentary provides the perspective of a man who has seen the inevitability of the world's destruction through the acts of Chigurh. After relating the story of a boy who had killed a fourteen year old girl just because he had always wanted to kill someone, Bell shows that this is nothing compared to the cold, wicked, and unavoidable nature of Chigurh:

> They say the eyes are the windows to the soul...there is another view of the world out there and other eyes to see it and that's where this is goin'. It has done brought me to a place in my life I would not of thought I'd come to. Somewhere out there is a true and living prophet of destruction and I don't want to confront him. I know he's real. I have seen his work. I walked in front of those eyes once.[4]

The messianic nature of the description is palpable in the way that Bell chooses to phrase his thoughts. The storm that rises in history is written and cannot be erased. It is the messiah and the Angel is less of a guardian than a herald. Bell heralds something we may not be all that ready to hear.

　　For Bell the battle is lost in two places. The first is a seemingly inconsequential lapse in the code of societal respect. Commenting on the downward slide of society and the rise of crime Sheriff Bell says "It starts when you begin to overlook bad manners. Any time you quit hearin' Sir and Mam the end is pretty much in sight."[5] The second is the inability of a normal man to successfully confront a man with such an unwavering path.

　　The first point may seem to be an exaggerated excuse, but its seemingly inconsequential nature demonstrates that society has slipped head first over the wrong side of the razor's edge. The point of no return is now barely a memory. This quaint social commentary carries more gravity than initially meets the eye, especially when we consider the impossibility of any good man to be committed enough to battle such evil. A boulder at the top of an incline may take little effort to move but once it has begun its descent only an equal or greater force can intervene in its progress.

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The question of how to battle such an overwhelming and methodical force is explicitly addressed in the latest instalment in the Batman series of films, *The Dark Knight*. Harvey Dent, the courageous district attorney of Gotham City, foreshadows his own tragic downfall when he proclaims, "You either die a hero or you live long enough to see yourself become the villain."[6] In this case to not commit fully and without remorse to the principles that should be upheld is to never become a hero. To truly defend good, one must be fully capable to hurt, kill, lie, and destroy to protect it. Humanity accepts this as inevitability but fails to see that to fully be a hero one must be so principled and dedicated that they are ultimately a villain. The application of a principle contains no consideration of right and wrong. It is the simple application of force that is dictated by the nature of the principle.

An average "evil-doer" has limits that allow those dedicated to protect good to only commit minimal transgressions against goodness in order to keep an even keel, but those that are certain and committed (sometimes to nothing more than chaos itself) threaten to transform even our greatest heroes into the most vile villain. In the case of Anton Chigurh, to do what is necessary to stop him is far beyond the bounds of imagination for any man and even if these measures were fathomable their enactment would constitute a point of no return for the do-gooder. Perhaps this is why Sheriff Bell cannot bring himself to face this man. Even in victory he would lose himself.

What can be done? Perhaps as we progress, men like Anton Chigurh will lose their terrific novelty as we rationalise and justify their existence. This process takes time. In 2001 the population of the United States of America could barely fathom the type of modern terrorist attacks that had existed for decades, at least, but today the news is filled with segments that delve into the minds of the perpetrators of these acts. In some ways they have become normalized and commonplace faces on the evening news. The uncertainty originally felt has dissolved in the presence of a burgeoning media marketplace (books, movies, websites, etc.) that may not make us feel more secure but instead helps us try to understand that which we find so horrifying. Through a proximity to "knowledge" of evil we appear to assuage the psychic damage caused by such acts.

But will this process of understanding and knowledge work with regards to a person such as Anton Chigurh. There is no doubt, no personal agenda, no foothold to stand on when we begin to lend certainty to his character precisely because he is already certain and inevitable. Can we cleanse the demented certainty of this man when we can barely look into his eyes? Or will we, like his victims, look away before he destroys us. I leave the question to you.

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Notes

[1] C McCarthy, *No Country for Old Men*, Vintage International, New York, 2006, p. 56.

[2] ibid., pp. 57-58.

[3] W Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in W Benjamin *Illuminations* Harry Zorn (trans.), Pimlico, London, 1999, p. 249.

[4] McCarthy, op. cit., p. 4.

[5] ibid., p. 304.

[6] *The Dark Knight*, Christopher Nolan (dir.) Warner Bros Pictures, 2008.

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The Politics of Fear: New Zealand's Asian Inv-Asian Sentiment, Fear and Social Cohesion Policies

Shilinka Smith

Abstract: In December 2006 New Zealand's *North and South* magazine published a feature article by former right-wing politician, Deborah Coddington. Her article was entitled 'Asian Angst'. It claimed that New Zealand's recent increase in Asian (predominantly Chinese) immigrants had brought violent crime, economic threats and disease to New Zealand shores. While the misuse of statistics and factual inaccuracies created a sensational article, what I focus on in this paper, is the way in which Coddington's feature repeats a previous script of fear levelled against most immigrant groups. For example, not only were these charges levelled at the early wave of Chinese immigrants in the late 1800s, but also at Croatians, Indians and Polynesian immigrants at various times in history. This repetition of the same fear but with a new object contributes to what D. Altheide claims has become a way of life in the contemporary age. He states that the news and entertainment media use a lens of fear to portray new objects, so that in time the object is forgotten, but the fear remains. In this way Coddington's claims can be treated as new 'evidence', no matter how inaccurate, and thereby previous objects of fear become obscured. This paper examines how the repetition of this script of fear has implications for social cohesion policies.

Key Words: fear, racism, decilivising effects, New Zealand, social cohesion.

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Fear is a pervasive part of society. According to Altheide, it has become a dominant framework for developing identity and engaging in everyday life.[1] He argues that political figures and those who control the mass media use a politics of fear in order to influence and persuade people of particular points of view. The success of this politicking does not necessarily lie in one-off activities but in activities that repeatedly construct and reconstruct 'the evidence' no matter how inaccurate. This makes it a foundational threat. This threat is then embodied in a script of fear, ingrained in forms of knowledge and is in turn shaped by and shapes various discourses and public perceptions. Over time, the object may change, but the fear persists. This paper uses Altheide's theory to show how fear of crime, disease and economic threat are often associated with immigrants, in a repetitive cycle, regardless of the ethnicity, religion or characteristics of the immigrant group itself.

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Starting with this premise, I use a cover story from *North and South* magazine by Deborah Coddington, to show this construction of fear around Asians.[2] The purpose of my paper is not to analyse the way Coddington's specific article inaccurately uses statistics to create fear (and a sensational cover story). The purpose is to argue that the particular fears that Coddington plays on have become so ingrained that those that reviewed and edited this article were either (1) unaware of the extent of the distortion because they were too socialised within constructed scripts of fear, or (2) were open to using this kind of framework. Either way, Coddington was able to build upon an already circulating 'script of fear' that "everybody", - at least everybody in Coddington's world, - knows and in this way the article was a success.[3] To show this, I trace how "certain fears persist" over time and while the fear is constant the object shifts.

This paper is divided into three parts. First it contextualises the basis of the fear and horror around Chinese immigration in Coddington's article in terms of Elias' notion of 'decivilising effects' on the ex-British population of New Zealand.[4] The second section shows how this script is not specific to the Chinese or to the characteristics of any other immigrant group, but has been applied in the media and political speeches to many immigrant groups since colonisation began in 1840.[5] The third section contextualises this media-tion and transmission of what "everybody knows" so that the factual evidence is no longer required for an unsubstantiated claim to be believed. I also discuss the implications for social cohesion policies and how these policies need to respond to this fear directly.

1.   Deborah Coddington's *Asian Angst* and its Historical Context

While in Scotland in 2008 "Asian Inv-asian" is used positively as the title of an Asian cultural festival, in New Zealand 'Asian Inv-asian' headlines (whether in the 1990s or in the 1890s) express a fear of the increasing number of Asians (primarily Chinese) who have "invaded" New Zealand.[6] Coddington's article is a continuation of this sentiment. To give this context, I will use examples from Anti-Chinese immigration debates in the late nineteenth century. These took place within a view that New Zealand was "the fairer Britain of the South Seas".[7]

The rationale for excluding Chinese from New Zealand was because the British colonised New Zealand with the "sacred mission" of bringing Anglo-Saxon culture to the "primitive Pacific". The Governor of the time, Governor Grey, was concerned that Chinese "exercise a deteriorating effect upon [New Zealand's] civilisation."[8] Elias' theory of 'civilising and decivilising' effects is useful to unpack the Governor's statement. Elias claims there is a 'civilising process' whereby people can move from one end of a continuum to another, with different cultures and different parts of

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society being placed on the civilising continuum. At the 'civilised' end there are three components:

1. State control of legitimate violence and the ability to routinely raise taxes
2. Interdependency of people due to the division of labour and therefore the need to control impulsive behaviour and aggression
3. Internalisation of restraint, in public and private spaces.[9]

Elias does not associate these characteristics with a teleological superiority. However, those using them to justify immigration controls did think the "Christian and civilised" British race was "superior".[10] They also found trespasses against civilised restraint horrifying as James Kerr, MP for Westland, noted in 1896 [I have] "a perfect horror of the Chinese"… "they are not capable of understanding our laws or obeying them".[11] Within this frame of reference, Coddington's 2006 article repeats this same sentiment, based in fear and horror. Following Altheide's theoretical prediction, Coddington's article constructs its argument around symbols of good and evil. In her article the signs of the civilising process (internal restraint, interdependence, and state control of violence) are constructed as good and breaches of this process as 'evil'.

The difference in 2006 compared to 1896 is that the absolute superiority of these three components is not as obvious. In 1896 politicians could state, "we are freeman and they are slaves, we are Christians and they are Mongolians" and expect people to respond with fear and horror. In Coddington's 8-page article instead she needs to explain that "not all Asians are good Asians", emphasising by example the decivilising effects of Asian migrants, rather than using the language of 'civilisation' itself.[12]

2.   How does Coddington's article do this?

Coddington establishes first the Asian Inv-asian with a picture of a crowd of predominantly 'Chinese-looking' people, calling it the new face of Queen Street (the main street in the central business district of Auckland).[13] She de-stabilises Pakeha[14] or NZ European readers, used to seeing themselves as the majority. She does indicate in the text that Asians are only 18% of Auckland's population, but this statistic is saturated by the reader's emersion in a crowd that is almost totally Asian. With the growing interdependence required from 'civilisation', or at least late twentieth century capitalism, she implies New Zealanders will need to rely on 'Asian faces' for their future. She then makes general references to a "gathering Asian crime tide" funded by government legal aid for "many of the worst Asian criminals".[15] After setting up a "regular monotony" of Asian violent crime through phrases like "hardly a week goes by where another Chinese-sounding name …" She asks how this affects the average New Zealander? To answer this question she

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begins with the body horror and shock of boaties finding "human flesh" in a dumped suitcase, where the victims head had been "sawed off (apart from one flap of skin)".[16] Having established the lack of internal restraint in the brutality of this crime, that she links to a "Chinese-sounding name", she moves onto prostitution (legal in New Zealand), whereby the interdependence of neighbourhoods and impulsive behaviour such as the purchase of sex means even the 'suburbs' are still effected by "crime" she attributes to "Asians".

Coddington then moves to showing how the State's legitimate control of violence is challenged by an Asian gang "enforcer" who murdered another gang member. She describes a world of organised crime, challenging State control of violence and punishment. Later in the article she indicates how the police authorities (the State) are having difficulty with Asian organised crime because "they all look the same to us" and she quotes a police source as saying he often wonders if his building's cleaning staff are involved in [Asian] organised crime.[17] This unnerving fear of never knowing who might be criminally inclined permeates the basis of fear in this article.

Reinforcing this script of fear, the story continues by outlining a domestic dispute in which a student stabbed his former-girlfriend and two friends. Coddington notes this lack of restraint turned the neighbourhood into a "bloodbath", again stressing the unwilling interdependence of society in the impulsive behaviour of "another Chinese-sounding name".[18] Having established how Chinese or Asians (Coddington uses the terms almost interchangeably) are incapable of showing restraint, challenge State control of legitimate violence and are impulsive and aggressive, Coddington moves on to show how they are also threatening to decivilise the non-Chinese population. Coddington's example is drugs.

Using a quote from the New Zealand Police Commissioner, she notes he says P is a particularly "pernicious drug, … one that takes an average person and makes them violent". She then catalogues a number of drug seizures, quoting a senior police officer as saying the Asian population has good connections in China and can easily "pick up the phone, call a cousin and get him" to send precursor drugs in the mail.[19] The inability for the State to control this border crossing is made clear, further underlining the challenges to legitimate state violence and the impulsive nature of "Asians" – although in this case she does not link these crimes to "Chinese sounding names". The article goes on, but I will not cover the seafood poaching and disease, suffice to say the same fear and blame is applied to both.

Complaints against the article were immediate. Most complaints to the Editor noted Coddington's inaccurate use of crime statistics. The basis of these complaints was that there was no increase in offences attributed to Asians between 2001 (3,182 offences) and 2006. In addition, during that period the Asian population nearly doubled to 9.3% of the total population.

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As Keith Ng describes it, "Asians went from being under-represented in crime statistics by a factor of 2 to 1 (in 2001) to being under-represented by a factor of 3.7 to 1". [20]

In Coddington's right of reply to letters to the Editor she claimed her opponents were not comparing apples with apples and "contrary to what the PC brigade pretend" the Asian Menace is currently being ignored.[21] A fuller description of Ng's comments were also published in the *New Zealand Listener* under the heading 'Damned Statistics'[22]. This debate on the problems with Coddington's article shifted from alleged racism to whether or not she accurately used statistics. In some sense, this critique re-framed the problem. The debate shifted from whether Coddington was fear mongering to a different fear-based script. The new script notes that statistics can be used to prove almost anything, as the title of the *Listener* article reminds us by implication; 'damned lies and statistics'.[23] The inaccuracies as well the sensational imagery and script of fear dissolves into a game of proving whether there is or is not a "gathering crime tide" not whether, as Coddington also said, the "Asian Menace has been steadily creeping up on us".[24] Dissolving the counter attack into statistical debates means all that remains from Coddington's article is the fear of the 'Asian Menace'. As Altheide notes dangers, such as individual crimes, can be dealt with one at a time, resolving them.[25] Fear is all pervasive and proving or disproving a "gathering crime tide" in stories like Coddington's is irrelevant to the fear that these events may threaten to decivilise society as a whole.

The New Zealand Press Council upheld three amalgamated complaints six-months after publication, stating, that even though journalists are "entitled to take a strong position on issues they address ... that does not legitimise gratuitous emphasis on dehumanising racial stereotypes and fear-mongering and, of course, the need for accuracy always remains".[26]

3.   How does this relate to broader discourses about immigrants?
The general point I want to draw from the Coddington article is that the effectiveness of this obvious sensationalism, is in its repetition of the script of fear that is familiar and ingrained. Even without the claim of an Asian crime tide, Coddington's three descriptions of bloody, brutal and violent murders by "Chinese sounding-names" are enough to reinforce the persisting fear that New Zealand's purity is at stake. This fear is also associated with many other non-British immigrant groups, for example, Croatians, Indians and Pacific migrants.[27] This also replicates the international use of this script of fear, for example see comments by the Deputy Secretary General of the UN, or various political speeches in Australian and US studies of anti-immigrant sentiment.[28]

What is clear from these various comparisons is that isolated (even if persistent) response to the accuracy of any one fear-based report will not be

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effective in mitigating the impact of reinforcing persistent fears. The fear cannot be allayed through statistical proof that there is no "Asian crime tide", or that Pacific migrants do not bring disease, for example. The predatory social dynamic of this fear script stifles questions and thereby stifles informed debate because the fear always persists regardless of the 'facts'.[29] My analysis suggests in New Zealand the fear that non-British immigrants de-civilise New Zealand is so deeply embedded, it is no-longer visible. Its language of civilisation is no longer part of the reports that activate fear of the 'Asian menace' or 'Pacific disease'. Nevertheless the fear persists and is still persuasive.

According to Altheide, directing fear in a society is tantamount to controlling society.[30] Directing the fear not only controls the object of the fear (the immigrant groups) but also the process of who can lead New Zealand into a secure future, because the person who can identify an object for the fear can identify good from evil. The fear script will continue as long as it addresses the unspoken fear of de-civilisation.

4.   What are the implications for Social Cohesion Policies?
I argue that exposing, acknowledging, and directly addressing this fear will be key to successful social cohesion policies. The social cohesion policies of a number of English-speaking countries at present are based on evidence that one of the most effective means of building cohesion is through dialogue about differences, customs, beliefs, personal interaction and tolerance.[31] I agree these policies and initiatives are important, but until we address the basis of people's fears (such as de-civilising effects) growing interdependence will not be considered positively.

In conclusion, the success of intercultural dialogue and communication is dependent on the dominant culture recognising its fears regarding immigrants. Identifying the scripts of fear that permeate debate and revealing their historical legacy is just as important as disproving the accuracy of these scripts. Based on this analysis my recommendation to those trying to influence social cohesion debates, would be to influence the direction of fear in society and direct it away from immigrant groups, not through proving facts, but by addressing the fear itself.

Notes

[1] D Altheide, *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*, Aldine De Gruyter, New York, 2002.
[2] D Coddington, Asian Angst: Is It Time To Send Some Back, *North and South*, 2006 December, pp. 38-48.

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[3] J Best, 'Social Progress and Social Problems: Towards a Sociology of Gloom', *Sociological Quarterly*, **42**, pp.1-12, quoting p. 6.

[4] J Pratt, 'Elias, Punishment and Decivilisation' in J Pratt, D Brown, M Brown, S Hallsworth, and W Morrison, (eds) *The New Punitiveness: Trends, Theories, Perspectives*, Willan Publishing, USA, 2005, p.257.

[5] My paper is focused on the experiences of British and non-British migrants to New Zealand. It is not about colonialisation of the indigenous people, which has some similar but also many different characteristics.

6 ----------, 'Edinburgh to face Asian InvAsian', *AIM Magazine*, 10 April 2008, downloaded, 17 August 2008, www.asiansinmedia.org/2008/04/10/edinburgh-to-face-asian-invasion.

7 N Murphy, *The Poll-tax in New Zealand*, Office of Ethnic Affairs, Wellington, 2002, p. 7.

8 Murphy, p.7.

9 Pratt, p. 257-258.

[10] Murphy, p.7.

[11] Murphy, p.7.

[12] Coddington, p. 40.

[13] Coddington, p. 38.

[14] Pakeha is the name commonly given to New Zealanders of European (primarily British) decent. Less commonly it is used to describe all non-Maori (the indigenous population).

[15] Coddington, p. 40.

[16] ibid.

[17] ibid., p. 43.

[18] ibid., p. 41.

[19] ibid., p. 42.

[20] K Ng, 'Damned Statistics' *New Zealand Listener*, 2 December 2006, p. 26.

[21] ibid.

[22] ibid.

[23] Mark Twain 'Chapters from My Autobiography', 1906 in *North American Review 186*. Project Gutenberg., Retrieved on 23/08/08.

[24] Coddington, p. 41.

[25] Altheide, p. 197.

[26] New Zealand Press Council, Case Number: 1091 Asia New Zealand Foundation Against *North and South*, NZ Press Council website, dated April 2007, downloaded 16 August, 2008, www.presscouncil,org.nz/display_ruling.asp?casenumber=1091.

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[27]See for example, S Bozic-Vrbancic, 'Mysterious Degrees of Whiteness: Stereotypes About Croats in Colonial New Zealand', *Revija Za Sociologiju* e-journal, **3**(4), 2006, p. 181-192.
[28]A Ingram, 'Pandemic Anxiety and Global Health Security', in R Pain and S Smith (eds) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*, Ashgate, US, 2008.
[29] Altheide, p. 49.
[30] Altheide, p.17.
[31] The Criminal Justice Collective of Northern Arizona University, *Investigating Difference: Human and Cultural Relations in Criminal Justice,* Allyn and Bacon, USA, 2000.

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Shilinka Smith is currently employed as a Senior Advisor in the New Zealand public service. However, this presentation represents her personal views and in no way reflects government intention or policy.

Fear, Horror, Terror: Violent Movies for Violent Times

Thomas Riegler

Abstract: Assuming a connection between violent periods and a violent pop culture, this article explores the present conjuncture of fear, horror and terror in American films and TV through comparison with matching themes in 1970s Hollywood cinema. Both the 1970s and 2000s can be categorised as "ages of fear, horror and terror", shaped by political, social and economic crisis. Since 9/11 and the beginning of the War on Terror a new brand of explicitly violent horror movies has scored major box office hits. "Shoot 'em up"-scenarios and revenge thrillers feature prominently, as well as conspiracy and paranoia motives. In a similar way splatter horror and dark thrillers referred to the Vietnam War, political scandals and economic problems of the 1970s. Just as the then cultural products tell us: 'There is something profoundly wrong with our world.' Dark and nightmarish fantasies express anger and frustration about forces out of control, warlike events and estrangement between the public and elites. The conclusion is that real/reel violence and horror overlap/mirror each other.

Key Words: Popular culture, Violence**,** Torture**,** Horror, Fear, Hollywood

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1.   Introduction

Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Zizek recently noted: "It's only in cinema that we get that crucial dimension which we are not yet ready to confront in our reality. If you are looking for what is, in reality, more real than reality itself, look into cinematic fiction."[1] That echoes film-theorist Siegfried Kracauer, who stated in 1947: "What films reflect are not so much explicit credos as psychological dispositions – those deep layers of collective mentality which extend more or less below the dimension of consciousness."[2] Using these ideas this contribution examines the interaction of cinematic fiction and reality on the basis of a particular assumption: That there is indeed a coincidence between violent times and a violent pop culture. This thesis is evaluated (1.) by specifying the themes of fear, horror and terror in the 1970s and 2000s contexts. (2.) by using this "mirror image" for drawing lessons about the contemporary mindset.

2.   Fear, Horror, Terror in the 1970s

1970s violent movie-genres "fed" on political and social turmoil, which had begun in the late 1960s: The Vietnam War, a string of high profile political

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assassinations, racism and urban riots. There was much paranoia about the rise of violent crime, economic woes resonated strongly and the political system was engulfed in a serious crisis of confidence after the Watergate scandal. These themes were reflected by different genres in various ways. With George A. Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* horror was finally localised at home and took a dramatic turn towards social and political criticism. Film historian Ben Hervey noted:

> In pursuit of authenticity and truth, it debunked everything that had served to vanquish evil in prior 'monster flicks': individual heroism, teamwork, science, knowledge, religion, love, the family, the media, the army and the government. Panic, selfishness and power struggles tear the would-be heroes apart before the ghouls do.[3]

Romero and fellow directors like John Carpenter, Wes Craven and Tobe Hooper depicted America's youth sacrificed by old, paternal, reactionary forces full of resentment, sadism and pure hatred. Especially the countryside revealed itself as a lawless and unforgiving "wilderness", inhabited by constant menace and danger (*Last House on the Left, Texas Chainsaw Massacre, Dawn of the Dead, The Hills Have Eyes*). These are uncompromising pictures of a nation "devouring" itself.[4]

In thrillers, motifs of revenge and vigilantism dominated: The cop Dirty Harry fights his "war" on crime without regard to authority, rules and due process, whereas in *Taxi Driver* or *Death Wish* ordinary New Yorkers turn into one-man death squads. Assaulted by violent crime, the L.A. suburb "Anderson" has already spiraled out of control: In *Precinct 13* policemen, convicts and civilians have to club together fighting off a murderous assault by a gang.

Notions of paranoia, conspiracy and cynicism were at the core of politcal films: *A Few Good Men*, *Nashville, The Conversation* and *Days of the Condor* depicted corrupt politicians and spies rushing to defend their diminishing power and authority. Evil capitalists were also singled out, whether it's the danger of a corporatist state (*Rollerball*) or media-manipulation (*The Parallel View, Network*). The medium for confronting the deepest fears and nightmares was of course the disaster genre, which went through a golden age with any kind of apocalyptical danger and threat imagined: Extraterrestrial (*Andromeda Strain*, *Meteor*), a militarized system running out of control (*The Crazies*), killer insects (*Swarm*), spectacular accidents (*Airport*, *Poseidon, Towering Inferno*) and natural disasters (*Earthquake, Hurricane*).

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3.   Fear, Horror, Terror on the Screens Today

In a piece for *The Atlantic Monthly* Ross Douhat has argued recently that Hollywood took a remarkably different path after the 9/11-attacks. Many experts had warned of a strategic "pact" between the movie industry and Washington promoting patriotism and even jingoism – just like in the aftermath of Pearl Harbour. Instead, writes Douhat, Hollywood returned to the "paranoid, cynical, end-of-empire 1970s."[5]

There are indeed many similarities. To begin with, the dark, amoral world of unregulated and destructive corporate power has returned: *The Constant Gardener*, *Michael Clayton* and *Syriana* are populated by powerful white men, who use every means, necessary to enhance profits and personal might. They function also as "bad guys" in conventional action films, manipulating the heroes in their evil schemes: CIA-killer Jason Bourne takes on his superiors after a painful awakening to the fact that he was used as a pawn in national security matters. Even in the more conservative TV-series *24* the Islamist terror-plots are a mere deception, designed by a shadowy network of oilmen and a corrupt president. When set in the recent past, thrillers adapt the looks and setting of 1970s classics: *Munich* – depicting the Israeli retribution for the massacre of its athletes during the 1972 Olympiad – was full of references to *The Day of the Jackal*, most notably the casting of Michael Lonsdale. *Zodiac* went to great lengths to faithfully recreate the atmosphere of the San Francisco Bay Area shattered by the attacks of the serial killer.

A distinct 1970s-character has also returned – the vigilante: *Man on Fire*, *The Punisher* and *Hitman* show lonely avengers going on wild rampages. In *The Brave One* radio show host Erica Bain kills random criminals after being brutally assaulted and her fiancé murdered in New York. This urban nightmare fits into a wider perspective of suspicion and fear of the "other". High profile cases of child abuse, domestic violence and terrorists living perfect double lives seem to have sharpened concern for what's "really" going on behind the scenes. The TV-series *Sleeper Cell* speculates that Al Qaeda is already firmly established in America, its members waiting to strike at any time. More personal is the confrontation in *Red Eye*, where the charming yuppie on the neighbouring passenger-seat reveals himself as a kidnapper and would-be killer. Likewise the successful and happily married businessman in *Mr. Brooks* turns out to be a split personality: His sadistic alter ego "Marshall" is a serial killer.

What unites characters like these is that they murder randomly in an evermore lawless world slowly coming apart. In *No Country for Old Men* the US-Mexican border area is a battlefield of rival drug syndicates, sparking a crime wave with unprecedented violence. Its chief architect, the contract killer Anton Chigurh, engages in a killing spree which soon loses sight of the

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original assignment. His aura of deadly seriousness and lack of any humanity make this "ultimate badass" a modern personification of pure evil.

The most obvious choice for a 1970s revival is of course the horror-boom: Just like Vietnam was a main catalyst, the ongoing War on Terror and its implications resonate in a revival of the genre. When the documentary *The American Nightmare* explored the connection between 1970s horror movies and their context in 2000, a reviewer asked: "At this point, what real-life horrors would be required to return the genre to its former glory?" With hindsight the answer did not take long in coming: "In short order, we got the real horrors and then, inevitably, the reel ones."[6] This was delivered in two ways: First, a retro-trend brought remakes of almost all classics, often made by their veteran directors (*Land of the Dead, Diary of the Dead, The Hills Have Eyes*) And second, there was also a distinct new trend (*Captivity, Saw, Hostel, Hatchet, Grindhouse, Turistas*) with a special trademark: Explicit and up-close violence administered on the victims in lengthy torture sessions and often directed primarily against women. Critics labelled this "torture porn". [7] From the point of view of directors, experts and fans, this graphic horror reflects only contemporary horrors. For example Elli Roth remarked that his pictures were made thorough the lenses of 9/11 and the War on Terror:

> Right now we're at war, and then you have Hurricane Katrina, where there are people on roofs screaming for help. I have this feeling that civilization could collapse, and that if you go overseas, you could get killed, […]. This film is also about the dark side of human nature.[8]

This perspective of a dangerous world and a shaken belief in civilisation is exemplified in Roth's *Hostel*-movies, which have become synonymous for "torture porn". Promised cheap booze and easy sex, young American backpackers on a European trip are lured to a Bratislava youth hostel – only to be abducted to an abandoned warehouse and subjected to all kinds of imaginable cruel and sadistic treatment. Their tormentors are American businessmen, who pay to maim and murder them with torture tools.

Finally, a 1970s-parallel lies in a renewed obsession with mysterious dangers and apocalyptic catastrophes: Impending doomsday (*Revelations*), nuclear holocaust (*Jericho*), paranormal threats (*Supernatural*), extraterrestrial abductions (*Taken*) and infiltration of small town-America (*Invasion).* These threats are so overpowering that only people with special abilities can rescue an otherwise doomed mankind (*The 4400*, *Heroes*). Or as superhero-movie *The Dark Knight* proposes by fighting fire with fire: Batman imitates the means of the enemy and operates outside of the law using intimidation, torture and rendition since the state authorities are so corrupted that they are unable to resist the terrorist onslaught of the Joker.

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That the system is not up to the test, often making matters even worse, is the message of several new disaster movies: The US-Government is too slow to respond to the rapid climate change in *The Day after Tomorrow* and its forces don't even have a chance defending the homeland from a devastating Alien attack (*War of the Worlds*). Fighter jets and tanks prove useless stopping a gigantic monster from destroying Manhattan (*Cloverfield*). And from the start of *I Am Legend* all seems finished: A microbiologist is the sole survivor of a deadly disease in a completely empty New York. According to these pictures the only hope for humanity lies in virtues such as love, self-sacrifice and faith – typical cultural reactions to states of uncertainties.[9]

4.   Ages of Fear, Horror, Terror in comparison

To sharpen the characterisations of these two ages of fear, horror and terror, it's necessary to clarify the main differences separating them and forming the "space" in between. As mentioned before, the 1970s were a decade of crisis on many fronts: The country had still to come to terms with the unsolved issues of the civil rights conflict, while the economy struggled because of high energy prices and a weak dollar. In the international sphere the US suffered setbacks and humiliation such as the retreat from Saigon (1975) or the occupation of the embassy in Teheran (1979). Fears of nuclear war and Communist infiltration had shaped the national psyche of the 1950s and 1960s, but Americans looked differently on their country's prospects back then: The US had won World War II and in Korea, living standards and incomes were continuously improving in the boom of Fordism. Starting in the late 1960s a crisis of confidence set in, shaped by the political, social and economical problems described.

It was Ronald Reagan's promise of restoring America's might and belief in itself ("A New Morning"), that won him the election in 1980 and his presidency did so through various ways: Brief military adventures with few casualties against inferior foes (Grenada, Libya) mastered the Vietnam "syndrome". Economic policies – privatisation, deregulation and cuts on welfare – opened new markets for finance capital, whereas in the cultural sphere the US took a profound shift to conservative values. The movie industry was part of this atmospheric change: Adjusting itself, the dark and cynical days of "New Hollywood" were over and the era of blockbusters and escapist entertainment began with the *Star War* and *Indiana Jones*-franchise. This trend was widespread – in the wake of *Friday 13* even sub-cultural horror became primarily self-referential, detached from real events and entering mainstream with the teen slashers (*Scream*) in the 1990s.

The self-satisfied and optimistic tone of this decade was constituted by the "victory" in the Cold War and a long period of steady growth. Correspondingly, Hollywood showed a functioning system: Repelling an

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Alien invasion (*Independence Day*), preventing a meteor from hitting earth (*Armageddon*) or a president defeating terrorists single-handed (*Air Force One*). The approaching millennium promoted a sense of unease over the future (*X-Files*). No matter how much dissent was articulated, there was an overall sense of confidence in American values.

Secondly, the major differences between the 1970s and now have to be taken into consideration as well: The impact of the Vietnam War was felt more strongly. Today, with an all-volunteer army, the overwhelming majority of Americans witness the War on Terror as spectators. Although far fewer soldiers are deployed in overseas conflicts, the extent of violence in the international sphere is hardly comparable to the decades before. Since 9/11 the US has invaded two Islamic countries, the civilian death toll from the Iraq conflict alone is estimated at between 80,000 and 151,000. On other fronts war lords, militias and gangs are continuing to devastate large areas of Africa, civil war rages in Latin America (Columbia), Russia (Chechnya) and Asia (India, Afghanistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, etc.) and terrorism is also rife: In the years following 9/11 it has increased sharply, in 2006 alone by 25 percent. The clear and manageable Cold War polarity has given way to a "constant" state of anarchy, with new powerful actors emerging and "asymmetrical" threats to which the conventional military apparatus struggles to adjust.

If one looks at violence in local context it is obvious that crime rates in the US are no longer at the level of the 1970s. They peaked in the 1980s, before decreasing in the 1990s and 2000s. The year 2005 was overall the safest year in the past thirty years, but recent statistics indicate that crime could again be increasing. Violence is certainly more visible today: Through 24 hour news cycles, the dynamics of a corporate media system, the internet-portals like Youtube and the easy circulation of digital photography. This reinforces the popular perception of a dangerous, lawless and disintegrating era, not only on the peripheries of the American Empire, but also in the US itself. The failure of federal agencies to respond adequately to hurricane Katrina, the crumbling infrastructure and the pauperisation of large urban areas can be described as symptoms of failing state power.

Thus, trust in political systems and their elites is diminishing, there is much discontent about corporate scandals and an ongoing armed conflict without any kind of exit-perspective. And unlike in the early 1970s, which was still a time of high hopes about change, politicians (and democracy?) seem to have lost the ability to inspire with optimistic visions. This notion is only reinforced by an ailing economy: Neoliberalisation, privatization and free trade have altered the socio-economic structure dramatically as well as establishing a powerful value-system based upon individual success, risk, flexibility, and self responsibility. Now, after the end of the real estate-boom and faced with rising inflation, high oil prices and shortage of resources the

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neoliberal dogma is slowly on the retreat – but the pressure to compete/succeed as well as fears of unemployment and loss of social status are more real than ever. Against the background of lost "grand narratives" and universal truths it is harder than ever to find orientation, which makes religion or supernatural mythologies attractive for coping with reality.

5.   Conclusion

After having evaluated the symptoms of fear, horror and terror, what lessons can be learned about what American (or Western) society is in the process of becoming? Reviewing two "shoot 'em up" pictures for the "New Yorker", David Denby came to this conclusion: "Made in a time of frustration, […], '300' and 'Shooter' feel like the products of a culture slowly and painfully going mad."[10]

That may be exaggerated, but the "mirror" of films, TV-shows, etc. shows a bleak, pessimistic and unsparing "picture" of a society deeply affected by fear, uncertainty and also aggression. The comparison inspired by Kracauer and Zizek has shown that real and reel violence do not exist apart one another, they are constantly overlapping – just like in the high profile-case of "torture porn". Some of the sadistic practices in *Hostel* clearly resemble "methods" of "harsh interrogation" employed by the US military and intelligence agencies in the War on Terror. Videos and pictures detailing this real abuse spread through the Internet, while fictitious torture "trickled" down – not only through "torture porn" movies but also via mainstream entertainment. According to a study by the Parents' Television Council there were 102 torture scenes on American TV between 1996 and 2001. During only three years, from 2002 until 2005 this number increased to 624.

Especially singled out were five seasons of *24*, which featured 67 torture scenes, more than in any other series. Its protagonist, counterterrorism agent Jack Bauer uses torture on a frequent basis to obtain vital information on the locations of terrorist plotters and "ticking" bombs. He chops off the finger of a Russian diplomat with a cigar tip cutter, stages the execution of a ringleader's family and maltreats even his own traitorous brother with electric shocks. This ongoing illustration and rationalisation of torture contributed to a climate of opinion, which regards it as both normal and justifiable. According to a 2006 *Pew Research Center*-study 63 percent of Americans now approve of the use of torture under some circumstances. *24* even influenced the actual application in the field: "People watch the shows, and then walk into the interrogation booths and do the same things they've just seen", a former Army interrogator in the war in Iraq reported.[11]

When the infamous pictures of the Abu Gharib scandal appeared, they were not only testimony to a sadistic and brutal military culture, but also of a darker quality of post 9/11-America, since torture's aspects of domination and control are increasingly found in civil debate. It is almost common sense that

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"lesser evils" are necessary to win the War on Terror, whereas complex conditions are increasingly judged simply in Manichean black/white. There is also a dimension of low level violence through the rapid expansion and privatisation of security, the strict regulation of immigration and enforcement of hegemonic "values".

The nihilistic violence of "torture porn", the draconic counter terrorism of *24* and dystopian visions of impending doom are obviously more tightly linked to reality than we want to acknowledge. If cinema and TV are indeed "safe" places for confronting unconscious social and political nightmares, this experience should also function as inspiration for change – not to allow the real world to increasingly resemble its dark abstractions.

Notes

[1] 'The Pervert's Guide to Cinema' - Slavoj Zizek interview, in *Time Out*, 6. October 2006, viewed on 17 July 2007,
<http://www.timeout.com/film/news/1439/>.
[2] S Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1947, p. 6.
[3] B Hervey, *Night of the Living Dead*, London 2008, p. 27.
[4] R Humphries, *The American Horror Film: An Introduction*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2002, pp. 115-125.
[5] R Douthat, 'The Return of the Paranoid Style', in *The Atlantic Monthly*, April 2008, viewed on 22 April 2008,
<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200804/iraq-movies>.
[6] R Nelson, The Zeitgeist Made 'Em Do It, in *The Village Voice*, 5 June 2007.
[7] D Edelstein, 'Now Playing at Your Local Multiplex: Torture Porn', in *New York Magazine*, 28 January 2006.
[8] G Braxton, Rise in Torture Scenes Raises Red Flags, in *The Los Angeles Times*, 11 February 2006.
[9] M Madden, 'Apocalyptic Films and TV Reveal Our Fear of the Times', in *Detroit News*, 27 February 2008.
[10] D Denby, 'Men Gone Wild', in *The New Yorker*, 2 April 2007.
[11] J Mayer, 'Whatever It Takes: The Politics of the Man Behind "24"', in *The New Yorker*, 19 February 2007.

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Day 3:

FHT in Public Faces and Public Spaces

and

In The Words of FHT 1

Societies under Siege: Media, Government, Politics and Citizens' Freedoms in an Age of Terrorism

Banu Baybars-Hawks

Abstract: A famous historian and media scholar Fredrick S. Siebert, in his *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776*, argued that when events increased stresses on society and on government, freedom of expression would diminish. For example, especially in war times, or if any internal attack on the structure of government is perceived, restraints on freedoms are increased. For many years in much of the world, terrorism has been a major continuing threat to peace, freedom and progress. Historically, the experience of the United States with terrorism is not lengthy. When hijacked airliners brought down the World Trade Center towers on September 11, 2006 and damaged the Pentagon, roughly 3,000 persons died. Reactions to those events, through passage of laws, vigorous police measures, and military initiatives have placed the United States on a continuous war footing. A nation which long prided itself on its openness is now quite closed.

During the past 20 years, the United States - a nation of more than 300 million persons -has suffered perhaps 3,500 deaths from terrorist incidents. Turkey, by comparison, a nation of about 70 million persons, has lost 40,000 persons to terrorist activities in that same two-decade period. Comparative study of the experiences of Turkey and the United States is proposed to better understand aspects of terrorism. Over the years, governments have used various justifications in limiting freedoms. This paper focuses on one of those justifications, threats to national security, in line with Fredrick S. Siebert's argument, which asserted that the more insecure the government, the more restraints are put on freedoms. Governments under normal circumstances are not likely to interfere with fundamental liberties. But if they are seriously threatened, they would exert control of various kinds. The examples of Turkey and the United States, as argued in this paper, will support Siebert's thesis.

Key Words: Terrorism, national security, civil liberties, Turkey, The United States.

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Federalist leader Alexander Hamilton--no advocate for democracy--wrote words in 1787 that foretold Fredrick S. Siebert's Proposition II. A leading historian of the press and First Amendment Lawyer Siebert argued in 1952 that when events increased stresses on society and on government, freedom of expression would diminish.[1] For a native of Turkey who has used

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Siebert's great insight as a framework for a study comparing key aspects of press freedom and control in the United States and Turkey, Hamilton's comments in No. 8 of the Federalist, written during the struggle over ratification of the Constitution of the United States, took on added power.[2] Alexander Hamilton wrote:

> Safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct. Even the ardent love of liberty will after a time, give way to its dictates. The violent destruction of life and property incident to war, the continual effort and alarm attendant on a state of continual danger, will compel nations the most attached to liberty to resort for repose and security to institutions which have a tendency to destroy their civil and political rights. To be more safe, they at length become willing to run the risk of being less free.[3]

Hamilton feared democracy--the rule of the rabble--and he would have been disconcerted to hear twentieth and twenty-first century scholars assert anything like the idea that press freedom is at the heart of modern democracy. As world press scholar Pnina Lahav has written, 'The roles of press are seen as a vehicle for self-expression, as an informer of the public, as a participant in the formation of public opinion, and as a watchdog of the government."[4] And governments, when realizing what has been called in recent times the checking function of media, attempted throughout history to place some controls on the media.[5]

Over the years, governments have used various justifications in limiting freedoms. This study focuses on one of those justification factors, threats to national security, in line with Fredrick S. Siebert's Proposition II, which characterises different types of government control on the press. Proposition II says, "The area of freedom contracts and the enforcement of restraints increase as the stresses on the stability of the government and of the structure of society increase." This proposition seems valid for all types of government regimes. For example, especially in war times with other nations, or if any internal attack on the structure of government is perceived, the restraints on the freedom of press are increased. The more secure the existing government, the fewer restraints are imposed on the press.[6] The events of late 2001 seem to bear this out once again.

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States brought a level of threat that the country had not dealt with since the attack on Pearl Harbor in Honolulu on December 7, 1941. Following the attacks of September 11, the United States began its biggest military mobilization since the Gulf War in 1991, naming the campaign against terrorism 'Operation Enduring Freedom.'[7] Within this context, the George W. Bush administration ordered the use of military tribunals to try non-U.S. citizens suspected of

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involvement in terrorist activities. Bush's tribunal authorization, issued as an emergency executive order not requiring congressional approval, was the first action of its kind since World War II.[8] The United States government also made some changes to federal immigration laws. According to the changes, the attorney general is given "the authority to certify based on his belief that a non-citizen is a danger to the United States, or might be someone who might engage in terrorist activities…Under the law, a person certified by the attorney general must be taken into custody, and can be incarcerated."[9] This has given government a power to detain based only on mere suspicion.

The war on terrorism, the Bush Administration claimed, required new powers. Within this context, the Attorney General proposed to allow a single wiretap warrant to authorize listening in on all phones and electronic communication of one individual. He also proposed allowing prosecutors to share information from grand jury proceedings with FBI agents in other investigations. One of the most important acts issued in response to terrorist attacks was the USA Patriot Act. This Act granted extensive powers to the government. The George W. Bush Administration also enforced using automatic face recognition technology, a form of biometrics that compares an individual's digitized facial image to a computerized database. They argued "biometrics is one technology that can help to achieve the goal of a safer America."[10]

These actions of the government brought criticisms from some quarters. Arguments based on differing principles were made whether it is better to sacrifice individual freedoms in order to defeat terrorism, or should individual freedoms, which most Americans today consider as natural as breathing, be upheld at any expense.[11] The critics of government action claim that the George W. Bush administration is exercising tremendous power in the name of security and violating civil liberties. Civil libertarians express their shared views with these words: "All of us today share a feeling of grief and outrage over the events of September 11 and a desire that those responsible for mass murder be brought to justice. But at times of crisis the most patriotic act of all is the unyielding defense of civil liberties, the right to dissent and equality before the law for all Americans."[12]

There are also some supportive views. Kate O' Beirne, an attorney and the Washington editor of the National Review, claims that the Patriot Act "preserves civil liberties while preventing further terrorist attacks on the United States," and she insists that "over 90 percent of Americans do not believe that the Patriot Act has infringed upon their civil liberties."[13] Former Assistant Attorney General Viet Dihn argues that government's actions resulted in success. For example, between 2001 and 2003, "terrorist cells in Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle, and Portland, Ore., have been dismantled; criminal charges have been brought against 225 suspected terrorists; and 132 of those

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suspects have been convicted."[14] This, according to their views, shows that domestic war on terrorism has worked.

Perhaps "a new battlefield in the world" emerged after the September 11 attacks, as ex-secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld stated in the September 12, 2001 briefing, that war by terrorism is terrifyingly familiar around the world. Take Turkey, for example, where terrorism has been all too commonplace since 1984 when the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) began its armed struggle against the country. In Turkey, a country with roughly one-fifth of the population of the United States, over 40,000 lives have been lost in terrorism incidents in around 24 years. Consequently, the government of Turkey has found--as was happening to some degree in the United States after 2001--that defending against terrorism is a sufficient reason for curtailing liberties. In the United States, on the other hand, terrorism from an overseas enemy had not been a major concern until the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001. As a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11, the United States government has followed a path somewhat like the Turkish government and has attempted to bring some restrictions on freedoms that Americans long took for granted.

The 1982 Constitution of Turkey, amended on October 17, 2001, protects press freedom by saying that "The press is free and shall not be censored." But then it notes a series of exceptions to that principle:

> Anyone who writes or prints any news or articles which threaten the internal or external security of the state or the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, which tend to incite offence, riot or insurrection, or which refer to classified state secrets and anyone who prints or transmits such news or articles to others for the above purposes, shall be held responsible under the law relevant to these offences. Distribution may be suspended as a preventive measure by a decision of a judge, or in the event delay is deemed prejudicial, by the competent authority designated by law.

Freedom of the press in Turkey is also governed by laws enacted by the Parliament, in addition to the Constitution. One of these laws, the Press Law, which was amended 17 times and the last version passed in June 2004, provides that "so long as an examination or investigation is launched, all printed matter may be confiscated through a judge's order by the State prosecutor containing material that constitutes an "offense against the state"- a vaguely defined offense that includes political expression and is the functional equivalent of seditious libel.

Turkey's Anti-Terror Law was amended on June 29, 2006, in order to give authorities greater powers in their fight against illegal terrorist organisations. The new Anti-Terror Law expanded the scope of crimes

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punishable as "terrorist acts" - from drug and human trafficking to hijacking of transport vehicles and forgery. The law calls for prison terms of one to three years for those who publish the statements of terrorist organisations. The same jail terms are given for spreading propaganda in favor of terrorist groups, with the sentence increased by half if the offense is committed in the media. Wearing emblems and uniforms of outlawed groups or covering one's face during demonstrations punishable under the propaganda charge. Under the new law, suspects detained on terrorism charges can be denied access to a lawyer for the first 24 hours in custody, but cannot be forced to testify during that time. Also, the law allows security forces to use weapons against suspects who ignore orders to surrender a security operation.[15]

The new anti-terror law received protests and objections from human rights and press groups. Press groups accused the Turkish government of backtracking on democratic reforms over the past several years that eased restrictions on the press in a bid to boost Turkey's European Union membership bid. Human Rights Watch also criticized the law, saying, "amendments to the Terror Law are an ominous sign of the retrograde trend currently prevailing in Turkey."[16] On the other hand, ex-Justice Minister Cemil Çiçek, on behalf of the government, assured that the government was committed to protecting human rights and press freedoms and added, "If you fail to ensure public order, you don't have the chance of using any freedoms."[17] He also made clear that the law itself would be consistent with relevant framework decisions of the European Council.

As one of the oldest members of NATO in 1952, one of the 51 founding members of the United Nations, and now in the process of European Union accession negotiations, Turkey complies with international norms concerning fundamental rights and freedoms. For example, what the Turkish government did was not in violation of section 2 of Article 10, the European Convention on Human Rights, which provides for certain limitations on the right to free expression and a free press. From this aspect, the Turkish government has been able to curtail freedom of expression and press "in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, and for the prevention of crime and disorder" as was stated in section 2 of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

In the last 24 years, as a result of the campaign of terror against Turkey, over 40,000 people lost their lives, "more than in the conflicts on the West Bank and in Northern Ireland combined."[18] Among the ones who died were women, elderly, children and in many instances even infants. One of the main targets of the PKK was school teachers "since it was judged that PKK's subversive views could be most easily imposed on the uneducated and the ignorant."[19]
The PKK was recognised as one of the 30 main terrorist organisations in the world by the United States Department of State and the European Union.

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Following the capture and arrest of Ocalan by Turkish security forces in Nairobi, Kenya in February 1999, the PKK's actions against Turkey declined, although recently they exploded again, resulting in the death of dozens of Turkish soldiers and security forces personnel.

Terrorism continues today as the ultimate violation of human rights, with indiscriminate killings. Without the right to live, there are no rights at all. On September 11, the United States experienced some of the most extensive attacks of terrorism, when Al-Qaeda hijackers flew two airplanes into the World Trade Center in New York City and another into the Pentagon. More than 3,000 people died. Following the attacks, the world has seen the United States go from a nation paying only half-hearted attention to security, not understanding that the first World Trade Center bombing was part of a larger pattern, to a security-oriented nation. Now, in line with Siebert's insight, stress on government and society - and a wartime footing if not actually a declared war - is beginning to limit the freedoms that Americans took for granted.

Turkey lived with terrorism for many years and witnessed the loss of thousands of lives. As a result, Turkey stated that the PKK has violated the right to live. As seen, when threatened with terrorism, every nation, including the one recognised as the freest nation in the world, the United States, has claimed the right to take appropriate measures to protect themselves from violence and eradicate terrorism. Turkey's fight against PKK terrorism was of this nature and aimed to maintain security and protect its citizens.[20]

The illustration of international terrorism in this study proves a significant point. Both in Turkey and the United States, governments have limited freedoms as a result of incidents of terrorism, in line with Siebert's Proposition II, which asserted that the more insecure the government, the more restraints are put on freedoms. Although these two countries are geographically distant and the development of the media is quite different in each case, there are still some similarities between them. The most important similarity is that both countries, under pressure of terrorism, justified their actions in limiting freedoms by asserting the imperative to make their nations secure by eradicating terrorism.

 Many governments under normal circumstances are not likely to interfere with press freedom. But if they are attacked or believe that they are seriously threatened, governments with their supporting public opinion (if any) are likely to exert control of various kinds.[21] The examples of Turkey and the United States, as argued in the paper, seem to prove that.

In this study, incidents of terrorism appeared as the primary justification used by both countries' governments to impose restrictions on freedoms. In Turkey, with its long history of autocratic rule and relatively short history of democratic strivings, perceived threats to government stability in the press were often met with swift and severe legal reprisal. It

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must be emphasized, however, that terrorism claimed the lives of over 40,000 Turks since 1984. Pressure on the government to take repressive measures for security reasons has been extreme. On the other hand, the toll from terrorism in the United States since 1995 is perhaps around 3,500 persons, and sent shock waves through America. It is not argued here that similar threats will bring commensurate responses in both nations. The United States Constitution has remained in force with its Bill of Rights since 1791, and the tradition of a right to criticize government is as strong as anywhere in the world. Turkey, given its geographic destiny as a crossroads between East and West, swept by both external and internal threats over the centuries, comes from different traditions of expression and control than the United States.[22] However, both governments have limited freedoms by issuing laws, decrees, and judicial decisions. In Turkey, in addition to these documents, the Constitution, press law and anti-terror law were and are other important documents used to bring restrictions on the press.

It seems probable, from a careful reading of Siebert's masterpiece, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* that his propositions emerged from his research as insightful afterthoughts rather than guiding his research from the outset. That said, although scholars must not allow "maps to determine the territory," Siebert's propositions - even 56 years after they were first published - still seem to raise questions which researchers - and journalists covering troubled areas of the world - will ignore at their peril.

Notes

[1] F S Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776,* University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1965, p. 10.

[2] B B Hawks, *A Comparison of Some Key Controls over the Media: The United States and Turkey*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, U.S.A., 2002.

[3] E M Earle (ed.), T*he Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States Being A Collection of Essays Written in Support of the Constitution Agreed upon September 17, 1787, by the Federal Convention.* The Modern Library, New York, n.d.

[4] P Lahav (ed.), *Press Law in Modern Democracies,* Longman Inc., New York, 1985, p. 339.

[5] See V Blasi, 'The Checking Value in First Amendment Theory', *American Bar Foundation Research Journal*, vol **3**, 1977, pp. 523-649; and N L Rosenberg, *Protecting the Best Men: An Interpretive History of the Law of Libel*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1986.

[6] ibid.

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[7] J Weisman, 'Pentagon renames campaign Enduring Freedom'. *USA Today*, 25 September 2001, available at

http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2001/09/25/name.htm.

[8] K F Balkin (Ed.), *The War on Terrorism Opposing Viewpoints*, Greenhaven Press, MI, 2005, p.66.

[9] 'ACLU's Lucas Guttentag: Immigrants and civil liberties'. October 17, 2001, http://www.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/10/17/guttentag/index.html

[10] Balkin, op.cit., p.148.

[11] D L Teeter, Jr. and B Loving, *Law of Mass Communications: Freedom and Control of Print and Broadcast Media*, 10th ed. Foundation Press, New York, 2001, p.5.

[12] K V Heuvel (Ed.), *A Just Response The Nation on Terrorism, Democracy, and September 11, 2001*, Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, NY, 2002, p.53.

[13] Balkin, op.cit., p.75.

[14] ibid., p.76.

[15] Anti-Terror Law of Turkey, No.5532, June 29, 2006.

[16] 'Anti-terror law toughened despite protests', *Today's Zaman*, July 1, 2006.

[17] ibid.

[18] K McKiernan, 'Turkey's War on the Kurds', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* vol. **55**, March-April 1999, p.2.

[19] 'What is the PKK?' Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001, www.mfa.gov.tr/grupe/eh/eh01/pkk3.htm.

[20] ibid.

[21] D L Shaw, and S W Brauer, 'Press Freedom and War Constraints: Case Testing Siebert's Proposition II'. *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. **46**, Summer 1969, pp.243-44.

[22] B B Hawks, op.cit.

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Trash Mob:
Zombie Walk & the Positivity of Monsters in Western Popular Culture

Simone do Vale

Abstract: Employing flash mob's tactics and performed worldwide by youngsters dressed as the undead since 2003, zombie walks keep spreading all over like a "plague", in a metaphor that illustrates contemporary fears of disintegration, nuclear catastrophes and infection, due to HIV and other highly spectacularised epidemics, whilst revealing an affectionate identification with this amazingly resilient monstrous cultural icon that mixes life and death, human and non-human in one single lurching carcass. These parades were inspired by the ever growing zombie culture, due to the constant appropriation of George Romero's famous apocalyptic trilogy through remakes and original movies like *The Return of the Living Dead* (1985), *28 Days* (2002) or *Shawn of the Dead* (2004), as well as the popular video game *Resident Evil* and its versions on celluloid. Therefore, by focusing on the recent global phenomenon of zombie walks, this paper aims to discuss the positivity of monsters in contemporary Western popular culture by exploring the new role assigned to the zombie myth.

Key Words: Zombie Walk, Horror Movies, Culture.

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La vida pública no es solo política, sino, a la par y aun antes, intelectual, moral, económica, religiosa; comprende los usos todos colectivos e incluye el modo de vestir y el modo de gozar.

Ortega y Gasset

Back in 2003, just one week after Halloween, six Toronto horror movie fans decided to go out dressed as zombies, apparently for no special reason whatsoever besides having fun. Over the following years, however, the group teamed up with Thea Munster, who used to throw zombie parties, launched its own website at http://www.torontozombiewalk.ca - and began summoning the public to take part in the enactment. That's how Zombie Walk, a movement that in less than three years spread like a plague along several Canadian and North American cities and, almost as instantly, infected countries like Brazil, England, Poland and Australia, exclusively through the internet.

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Therefore, dolled up as the living dead, the participants follow a previously planned route whose goal is crossing each town's busiest spots like malls, parks and main boulevards. However, it is not a simultaneously orchestrated happening, held on a specific date. Although many groups obviously prefer dragging their carcasses on Halloween (when traditions holds that the dead are allowed to walk among the living) or, like in the Brazilian case, in the Day of the Dead (Finados), the marches may happen worldwide at random dates, therefore totally independent from one another.

According to the definition found at the Porto Alegre Zombie Walk organiser's web site, Zombie Walk is a *"flash mob*, a free event without any apparent purpose, in spite of the intention of gathering horror movies and music fans"*.[1] Yet, in contrast to *flash mobs,* instant gatherings whose intent is intervening in the urban space that, at least superficially, seems pointless and dissolves into air, Zombie Walk does not fade away all of a sudden: the zombies mingle with the crowds as a line up of bizarre celebrators.

The reticence regarding explanations, theories and manifestos, such as publicity strategies employed so to disclose the marches and the "surrealistic" fashion enactment, are very similar between flash mobbers and zombie walkers. Nevertheless, the adjective *"flash"* - that expresses an intense although brief experience - in the Zombie Walk case, does not make any sense. Zombie Walk, thus, could be understood as an unfolding, an appropriation of flash mobs tactics in a kind of collective performance entirely distinct.

In Brazil, as in other countries, the thematic universe that bounds participants together, in addition to the taste for horror movies, also includes its own particular clothing style, tattoos as well as the preference for rock bands that incorporate horror and science-fiction movies' trash culture from the decades of 1950s and 1960s as an aesthetic concept. In England, there is Zombina and the Skeletons, as well as Zombeatles, which is a parody, as well as Brazilian trio Catalépticos (cataleptics), all derived from bands likes The Cramps or Ramones. A whole new zombie culture seems to be rising... from the grave.

The main goal of the Zombie Walk is simulating an invasion of zombies who feed themselves on human flesh, as in George A. Romero's most popular movies, that originated a very special living-dead cult. Romero's famous trilogy - *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) and *Day of the Dead* (1985) - never ceased to reverberate, either through remakes or appropriations like *Return of the Living Dead* (Dan O'Bannon, 1985), whose zombies are particularly drawn to human brains and, hence, do constantly appear in the movie grumbling the punch-line *"brains, brains",* echoed until exhaustion by Zombie Walk participants worldwide.

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Besides the *Dawn of the Dead* remake (Zach Snyder, 2004), several recent movies recaptured the zombie theme, specially Romero's apocalyptical perspective like *28 Days Later* (Danny Boyle, 2002) and the parody *Shaun of the Dead* (Edgar Wright, 2004), as well as the notorious videogame *Resident Evil* (1996), that have launched its own *blockbuster trilogy,* not to mention the wide variety of short movies and independent productions. [2]

In the latest decades, the expression "*trash*", traditionally associated with this particular segment of the film industry, distinguished itself from its pejorative meaning and so began connoting a whole new genre of low budget productions that, independent regarding Hollywood dogmas, feature unending supposedly not intentional gags due to the lack of time and financial resources, is highly appreciated by its aficionados.

In order to deepen an understanding of Zombie Walks and the positive role it assigns to monstrosity, it is necessary to approach trash culture without prejudice, hence exploring its aesthetical project and the resistance possibilities it may offer in opposition to mass culture. According to João Freire Filho, the discussion on the understanding of resistance is so controversial, that therefore we can approach these contemporary manifestations as "seismometers... for the shifts in cultural production and consumption, behaviour and social interactions". [3]

1.   Horror & Entertainment

Le manoir du diable (George Méliés, 1896) is said to be the first horror movie, and it is also important to note that the first great horror movie production was *Frankenstein* (1910), filmed by Thomas Alva Edison for the kinetoscope.

Among the gender pioneers we can assemble the obscure Danish version for *Dr. Jeckyll and Mr. Hide* (August Blom, 1910); the German classics The *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919) and *Nosferatu* (1922), followed by Universal Studios *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925), *Dracula* (1931) and *Frankenstein* (1931), which launched its own icons to stardom - Bela Lugosi, Lon Chaney and Boris Karloff.

Often theorists agree that the proliferation of horror movies coincides with times of general insecurity, like the Great Depression or the German defeat in WWI. However, we can argue that this is not the only explanation for the popularity of scary narratives. An intense curiosity for the different, morbid, monstrous, elements that are omnipresent in child tales through out history, have always permeated Western Culture. As an example, we can mention the Greek myth of the Gorgon to illustrate this old fascination for monsters.

Later, in the nineteenth century, Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810-1891) may be considered a predecessor of horror shows appropriated by modern cinema. Barnum's circus consisted of a kind of *cabinet des curiosité* that

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travelled around the so-called civilised world exhibiting otherness in its most dramatic and therefore reassuring form.

In 1932 *Freaks,* directed by Todd Browning, whose cast was formed by authentic freak show celebrities, however, was not as well received as contemporaneous horror movies. *Freaks* is an act of bravado against the tyranny of normality that, currently, seems to be the predominant model according to which we might shape ourselves, regarding our bodies. Due to their rare occurrence, monsters were an affirmation of order itself, a guarantee for the humanity of the human. Normality, however, is not as generous as monstrosity.

Whether dystopian or conventional, in the sense that the monster must always be defeated at the end, horror movies often provide allegories for fears. For Douglas Kellner, they "reproduce the resurgence of the occult in contemporary society, an indication that people realise that they do not control their own everyday lives". Therefore, Kellner argues that during moments when dealing with social and economic reality becomes harder, the occult helps make sense of unpleasant circumstances or unintelligible events, like catastrophes, for instance.[4]

2.   Zombies 'r' Us

According to Slavoj Zizek, paranoia's most elementary form is exactly the belief in an Other of the Other: an Other that, under the socially explicated Other, conjures random effects in social life, therefore guaranteeing its consistency.[5] Other than dystopias like *1984*, in Romero movies, evil has no fixed focus. Although figures of authority are fiercely satirised, evil is represented in ambiguous forms. Romero does not totally explain the origin of the mysterious radiation that causes the dead to rise from their tombs and eat people, whilst the first zombie movies - White Zombie (1932) and Plague of the Zombies (1966) - refer to zombies as people enslaved by voodoo sorcerers. Therefore, before Romero, the zombie condition was a reversible one.

Anticipating the nihilism of horror movies from the 1970's, in which authority is shown as absolutely helplessness before evil, *Night of the Living Dead,* as in his other movies, uses the monster as an allegory of a dehumanisation thread, the fear of nuclear holocaust, but also for the fear of mass alienation, loss of identity and the fear of homogenisation and disregard for individuality.

From another perspective, *Dawn of the Dead* criticises media and consumption society. The opening sequence shows a TV station that is broadcasting the news on the emergence of cannibal zombies. Running for their lives, the main characters seek refuge in a shopping mall, where staggering zombies struggle to repeat the same acts they used to perform when alive. Obviously, here the compulsion for human meat, whose lack

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makes the poor creatures from hell moan like there's no tomorrow, is a critique of consumerism.

When her friends decide to hide in the living-dead infested mall, Francine, the only woman in the group, argues that they "must be hypnotised, this is a prison". Her boyfriend retorts, "Here we have everything we need." The metaphor couldn't be clearer. After they eradicate all the zombies in the mall, Francine and the others start behaving in a curious Decameron fashion.

In bantu, zombie means a ghost that looms at night. Through a powerful potion, Haitian tradition holds that the sorcerer or "book" is able to stir and command the dead to perpetrate crimes for him. The zombie, therefore, could be defined as a body deprived of will, controlled by an invisible force, a borderline creature between human and monstrous, life and death. Therefore, only after Romero's approach to the zombie allegory, we may found it directly associated with an idea of the contagious outbreak posed by the putrid body mass. In interviews, Romero himself usually states that the zombie, in his films, must be understood as a metaphor for the passiveness frequently associated with consumption society. Therefore, the affection Zombie Walk participants express for the unappealing living-dead that lurch miserably in *trash movies,* and not for glamorous monsters, like the vampire, for instance, is very peculiar. In part, we can argue that outsider logic may explain the origins of this fondness for such a wreck of a monster. Like his fans, Romero himself can be called an *outsider* – in fact, a very successful outsider role model.

In contemporary context, in spite of all the spectacularisation of catastrophes and genocide, death itself became aseptic, secluded to the hospital environment. For Julia Kristeva, "the corpse seen without God and outside of science is the utmost of abjection. It is death infecting life".[6] And, whilst its imagery now causes uncanniness and revulsion, death became a constant fear. As Philippe Ariès puts out:

> The dead became beautiful in social vulgate when they started to be a real source of fear, a fear so deep that it can only be expressed through interdicts, that is, silences.[7]

As any other monster that inhabits an at least apparently human form, the zombie represents the supposedly untameable animal nature that resists the perishing concept of the human. But surely it is a representation of the fear of disintegration, of contagion and therefore the trespassing of boundaries, the plague and, consequently, isolation? These are common fears in a society that faces dramatic shifts in social interaction due to HIV and other towering menaces, like the bird flu.

My aim was to explore the possibility of resignificating the zombie allegory through Zombie Walks as a component of an ironic resistance, albeit

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many might see it as non-political from a traditional perspective. Through the zombie metaphor, Romero movies present an idea of a predating, alienated, despicable crowd. On the other hand, however, Toronto Zombie Walk website explains the zombie allurement as follows, *"which other monsters accomplish such a unity as a mass in death?".[8]* Unlike *flash mobs*, a clear desire for closeness and distinction, moves Zombie Walk participants that, however, does not prevent it from becoming a commodity. A series of paid events have been created for the zombie walkers, like movie festivals and so on.

Finally, there are also beneficent Zombie Walks, and the astounding civil organisation *Zombie Squad*, in Saint Louis, Missouri, whose mission is offering community assistance regarding survival tactics in the occurrence of earthquakes, floods, terrorists acts and... zombie invasions. [9] Zombie Walk could be understood as a kind of carnival, a reason for people with a cultural universe in common to show their power as a mass. And, in this sense, Zombie Walk is a political manifestation however deprived of modern idealism. In its grotesque representation, Zombie Walk holds a principle of bodily materiality. Inspired by Bakhtin's essay on Rabelais,[10] I believe that the corporal images provided by zombie movies, and then reproduced by Zombie Walk participants, are as exaggerated as are the excesses that a risk society condemns.

Notes

[1] Porto Alegre's Zombie Walk website, viewed August 2007, www.zombiewalk.com.br.

[2] *Resident Evil* (2002), *Resident Evil: Apocalypse* (2004) and *Resident Evil: Extinction* (2007).

[3] J Freire Filho, *Reinvenções da resistência juvenil: os estudos culturais e as micropolíticas do cotidiano.* Rio de Janeiro: Editora Mauad, 2007, p. 22.

[4] D Kellner, A Cultura da Mídia. São Paulo: Edusp, 2001, p. 165.

[5] S Zizek, 'The Matrix or the Two Sides of Perversion'*,* in W Irvin, (ed.) *The Matrix and Philosophy: Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 2002, p.245.

[6] J Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: an Essay on Abjection.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, p. 4.

[7] P Ariés. *História da Morte no Ocidente*. Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2003, p. 158.

[8] Toronto Zombie Walk website, viewed August 2007, www.torontozombiewalk.ca.

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[10] M Bakthin, *Rabelais and his World*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984, pp.18-19.

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The Gothic Topography in Scandinavian Horror Fiction

Yvonne Leffler

Abstract: It is possible to discern a certain Gothic tradition in Scandinavian literature and film from the late 18th century to the present day. The stories are located in specific Scandinavian environments and regional folklore and local traditions are used to enhance the local atmosphere, as well as to intensify the gothic mode. The gothic castle or haunted house is replaced by the wilderness, the large dark forest, the stormy sea or the crags and rocks of the mountains.

In this paper I will show how the protagonists in Scandinavian horror fiction are victims of the environment in contrast to the traditional gothic villain. Their loss of control and their dark side is much more distinct than in European fiction and connected to and triggered by the landscape and therefore an integral part of the barbaric pagan past. Therefore it is noteworthy that Scandinavian writers and filmmakers do not, as most European ones, return to the Middle Ages to revive a feudal past in their horror stories. Instead they recall a prehistoric time further back in history, i.e. the pagan pre-medieval era before Christianity was brought to Scandinavia.

On the basis of selected examples I will show what I call the gothic topography in Scandinavian horror fiction, which is the complex relationship between landscape and character, space and focalisation, external environment and internal mental state, the present time and the hidden past. In this way I will introduce a new way of analysing characteristic elements in horror fiction with specific focus on those, which are especially frequent in Scandinavian fiction.

Key Words: Scandinavian horror, Gothic fiction, monster

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The Swedish horror film, *Frostbite* (*Frostbiten*, 2006), which has won several awards, is an interesting example of a modern Scandinavian horror film.[1] This vampire tale takes place in a small Swedish town north of the polar circle in the immense darkness of the arctic winter night. The standard vampire tale elements are sometimes playfully exaggerated and the director Anders Banke trifles with these elements, as for instance when one of the male protagonists by mistake takes a pill containing vampire blood. The first effect of the drug is to make him part of the domestic wildlife of

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the town. No boundaries exist between him and the pets he meets in the streets. He hears the thoughts of the dogs as voices inside his head and he feels more akin to them than to his old friends or even his girlfriend.

Frostbite is an example of the boom in horror novels and films, which has taken place in Scandinavia, especially in Sweden, in the last two decades. *Frostbite* has been classified as a modern vampire parody, showing how horror has taken over elements from other genres and turned into an ever-changing popular genre. Still, the film is also a good example of a long tradition of Scandinavian horror fiction and a specific gothic tradition in Scandinavian literature and film from the late eighteenth century to the present day. Scandinavian horror stories are, like *Frostbite*, set in specific Scandinavian environments using regional folklore and local traditions to enhance the local atmosphere, as well as to intensify the gothic mode. The gothic castle or gothic city is here replaced by the Nordic wilderness, the arctic climate and the darkness of the long winter nights.

Initially, I will start by discussing a few illustrative examples of the gothic setting in Scandinavian horror fiction from the early nineteenth century to the present day. The Danish author Bernhard Ingemann's short novel *The Dwarves Below* (*De underjordiske. Et bornhomsk eventyr,* 1817) is a typical example of a story located in a specific Scandinavian environment and referring to what the contemporary reader would have recognised as historical facts.[2] It takes place on the island Bornholm, between Sweden and Denmark, and depicts certain historical battles, but the authentic setting is only there as the back-drop to another story, a story of the evil forces in nature and within man.

Another example of how a well-known geographic location is turned into a gothic landscape in Scandinavian nineteenth century literature is the novel *Singoalla* (1857) by the Swedish author Viktor Rydberg.[3] In the first chapter the narrator stresses that what he is about to tell has taken place at an old castle at a certain lake in the county of Småland in Sweden. It is a story about a Christian knight, the heir of the castle, whose love for a pagan Gipsy girl, causes him to abandon his Christian values and his duties. The first part is also sprinkled with many gothic elements. The moon, the Nordic night and pagan blood rituals gradually achieve a profound symbolic significance. The combination of these elements adds a mystical edge to the love between the knight, Erland, and the Gipsy girl, Singoalla, in a way that turns the love story into a vampire tale à la Gauthier's *La morte amoreuse* (1845).

Ingemann's and Rydberg's novels illustrate a most prominent feature of the gothic in Scandinavian literature; the major role played by the scenery, the powers of nature and the pagan past as driving forces in the story. As in most gothic fiction the setting is related to the characters, but in the Scandinavian tales the setting – the scenery and the wilderness – plays the part of an independent character in the story. In Ingemann's novel *The*

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Dwarves Below, the dwarves *are* Nature: the earth, the sea and the forest. Likewise, in the Swedish author Rydberg's novel *Singoalla*, the knight Erland and the Christian society in which he lives are threatened by all things connected to the wilderness, i.e. the untamed landscape surrounding the castle and the monastery. Singoalla and her people are not only foreigners and heathens; they are also part of that wilderness. They worship the moon, and with the help of the powers of the moon they take possession of Erland and force him to leave his family, and his personality soon splits in two. In daytime he is the righteous Christian crusader married to the pious lady Helena, at night he becomes Singoalla's passionate lover succumbing to the influence of the forces of nature. Just as in Ingemann's story the wild landscape, nature untamed, is one of the principal driving forces of the plot in *Singoalla.*

Also in the very latest horror fiction the protagonists are victims of the environment. Much more distinctly than in European horror fiction their dark sides are activated by the landscape and therefore become an integral part of the wilderness. In Jonas Cornell's film *The Moon God* (*Månguden*, 1988) the Swedish wilderness triggers a psychopath to act as the moon god looking for human beings to sacrifice.[4] In Michael Hjorths film *The Unknown* (*Det okända*, 2000) the Swedish forest is transformed into a claustrophobic horror setting for a group of young scientists sent to investigate a remote fire-ravaged area in the northern forest.[5] The scientists' work, their investigation and their documentation of it, is gradually threatened by an unknown alien force as the landscape, the forest, starts acting as a living organism. The scientists' modern scientific worldview is more and more challenged by some ancient primitive force in nature.

One of the latest Swedish horror novels, Andreas Marklund's *The Harvest Queen* (*Skördedrottningen*, 2007), again demonstrates the central role of the powers of the Nordic wilderness in Scandinavian horror fiction.[6] The young university scholars Olof and his friend Carolina are trying to find out what happened to their mutual friend Fabian, who has disappeared leaving a lot of confusion behind. Soon Olof and Carolina are drawn into a fatal adventure as they believe they are being pursued by a secret brotherhood organisation. Their investigation leads them to the very north of Sweden, far into the wilderness to an old decayed farm belonging to their lost friend. But what starts out as a modern thriller or detective story soon turns into a real horror story, where the protagonist, Olof, in the end transforms into an alien being with an uncanny connection to the wilderness. Finally he becomes a demon belonging to the destructive death goddess, known as the 'harvest queen'. It is then revealed that by birth he is destined to serve the harvest queen, as all his male ancestors before him.

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Like in many Scandinavian horror stories the protagonist's romantic quest in *The Harvest Queen* is twisted into a journey into the darkness and back to a barbaric or savage state prior to civilisation. The male protagonist in the novel transforms into a savage being, a beast of prey, closely connected to the wilderness and the savage rituals of sacrifice and nature worship. Two earlier examples of this are Ingemann's story "The Werewolf" ("Varulven", 1835), and Rydberg's "The Vampire" ("Wampyren", 1848).[7] In both narratives the protagonists are bound to the wild forest; in the "The Werewolf" the young bridegroom turns into a hunting wolf, who after his killings disappears into the forest, and in "The Vampire", Ruthven, unlike most European vampires, does not haunt his victims in their bedrooms but instead, like a werewolf, he brings them into the forest where he drains them of blood before disappearing into the wilderness. In Tomas Alfredson's film *Let the Right One Enter* (*Låt den rätte komma in*, 2008), which is based on John Ajvide Lindqvist's recent vampire novel from 2004, the rather urban setting of the novel is placed in the background.[8] The horror scenes, which show the attacks of the vampire Eli and her assistant, take place in the snow-covered forest residues left within the modern suburb outside Stockholm. The snow and the forest are just as important for the vampire's health as the darkness of the night.

1.   The Gothic Topography

These examples all show a "gothic topography" that is typical of Scandinavian horror, i.e. a complex relationship between landscape and character, space and focalisation, external environment and internal mental state, the present time and the forgotten past. In most Scandinavian horror novels and films, as illustrated by the examples above, the mazy architecture of the gothic building, the labyrinthine city or the haunted house, is replaced by a boundless, uncontrollable and wild Nordic landscape. The protagonist is not as much threatened by a distinct monster as by an undefined ever-present force connected to the wilderness. The scenery is not mainly, as in most gothic fiction, an emotionally coloured landscape, that expresses the emotional state of the main characters or the narrator. Instead it is the generating locus of action or an acting character in the story. It has a life of its own and acts as an alien force or organism, threatening the protagonist. Its function is not solely, as in most gothic fiction, to enhance the atmosphere by causing mists and storms but to literally attack, invade and transform the protagonist into a savage creature.

In Scandinavian fiction the landscape or the force of nature may even act as an external antagonist fighting the protagonists and preventing them from reaching their goal. In the film *The Unknown* some undefined force in nature defends itself against the young scientists' research project by attacking them when they are working in the forest. In some stories the

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landscape even forces the protagonist to act in certain ways. In Marklund's *The Harvest Queen* the snow storm brings Olof and Caroline to Fabian's old house and it is the harsh arctic climate that keeps them at the farm during the winter. The snowbound winter landscape prevents Olof and Caroline from returning to Stockholm, and brings Olof gradually closer to his ancestors' dark history preparing him to become a new servant to the old mother goddess, the harvest queen.

The encounter with the wilderness, as demonstrated by *The Unknown* and *The Harvest Queen,* places the protagonist in a state of mental dissolution on the verge of collapse as an individual. This is a state I would call "a gothic atopos", a mental state where no boundaries exist between the self and the environment, between man and landscape, memories and present experiences. An example of this intertwined mental state is the Swedish author John Ajvide Lindqvist's short story "Border", ("Gräns", 2006).[9] It is a story about a very successful customs officer Tina, who seems to possess an almost supernatural skill in finding smugglers and their goods. Her meeting with a stranger makes her discover her own hidden past and makes her revert into that ancient primitive humanoid species she is an offspring of. Tina is Nature; there is no border between her and the surrounding wildlife. She is more at home in the forest than in a house and her most intimate confidant is an old tree in the forest.

In "Border" there is a more passive and harmonious psychological bond between the female protagonist and the wilderness than in most Scandinavian horror fiction. Often the wilderness acts as an evil force within the protagonist, as illustrated by Selma Lagerlöf's short story "The Outlaws" ("De fågelfria", 1892), where one of the outlaws, the good-hearted Tord, is taken over by the dark forces of the wilderness at the end of the story. We are told how he starts hearing a forest   "full of voices", whisperings "mournful songs" and "heavy threats like roaring woes" [my translation].[10] He is soon convinced that it is the voice of the avenging and merciless Christian God telling him to betray his friend Berg Rese, who once murdered a monk. Naturally, Tord does not dare to act against the will of God. He becomes possessed by it and is taken over by the evil forces when he betrays his friend and at the end becomes his friend's murderer.

As in "The Outlaws" the alien and repressed forces within man are often depicted as a product of the savage, untamed wilderness and its predators and most Scandinavian horror stories are about man and his pagan inheritance. It is noteworthy that Scandinavian writers and filmmakers do not, as most European ones, return to the Middle Ages to revive a feudal past in their horror stories. Instead they recall prehistoric times further back in history, i.e. the pagan premediaeval era before Christianity was brought to Scandinavia, and instead of the atmosphere of decay in the European horror

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fiction, in Scandinavian horror there is an atmosphere of doom, focused on the protagonist and his family. In almost all Scandinavian tales the characters are victims of their ancestors' crimes back in the past and they are often doomed to repeat them. In "The Outlaws" Tord is for instance known to be the son of a witch who fed on drowned men's bones. And in *The Harvest Queen* the scholar Olof is from the start a victim of his ancestors' pagan past. In the end he discovers that his friend Fabian's mysterious disappearance is connected to his and his ancestors' dark history and that his search for his friend is part of the dark forces' plotting to make him uncover his ancestors', especially his grandfather's, hideous secret as well as another powerful reality beyond modern life, a world ruled by the merciless 'harvest queen'.

Another elucidatory example of the gothic atopos and how the border between man and nature as well as present and past is broken down in modern Scandinavian literature is presented in Kristoffer Leandoer's story "The Black Swans" (1994).[11] A young family is moving to an old farm in the southern part of Sweden. In the garden there is a pond where a couple of black swans of a rare species, thought to be extinct, are nesting. The young woman Charlotte establishes an intimate bond to the swans while the narrator, her husband Jonas, feels threatened by them. When he arrives home late or wakes up in the middle of the night he often finds his wife walking around in the garden petting the swans and one night he witnesses how the male swan is making love to his wife, entering her body through her mouth and making her almost immediately give birth to a snakelike creature, which dives down into the pond. Jonas finds an explanation to what is happening when he is told an old story dating from pagan times, the Saga period, explaining the presence of the two black swans at the farm and their uncanny connection to the wilderness, forbidden love, uncontrollable hatred and murder.

In "The Black Swans" it is however not the protagonist, the main character or the narrator, who is connected to the wilderness and transforming into some non-human being. Instead the tale is told by someone who witnesses the horrible transformation of his wife. It is not, as is usual in gothic fiction, the male protagonist but a female character who becomes part of the wildlife at the farm and who at the end transforms into an alien being, a black swan. The way she becomes part of the wild life of her environment is, however, characteristic of Scandinavian horror. The representatives of the old wildlife of the farm, the black swans, trigger repressed forces and forbidden desires within the young woman and make her transform into 'The Other'. Like a werewolf she is suffering from what Noël Carroll calls temporal fission; during the day she is Jonas's wife Charlotte, at night she transforms into a black swan joining the other swans at the pond.[12]

Thus, the setting, the powers of nature and the pagan past play a major part in "The Black Swans"; they are the driving forces of the plot as they trigger the repressed forces within man as a product of a savage, untamed wilderness and its predators. The meeting with the black swans, the link to the past, makes chronological time dissolve in a way that is typical of Scandinavian horror. Past, present and future lose their chronological and historical sequence and tend towards an eternal present.

2.   The Haunting Pagan Past

What characterises horror fiction in Scandinavia is that the gothic castle, monastery or spooky ruin is replaced by the wilderness, i.e. the large dark forest or the snow covered Nordic mountains. Like most gothic characters, the protagonists in Scandinavian horror lose control of their repressed desires and are taken over by their dark sides. But in Scandinavian fiction the dark side is, much more distinctly than in most European horror, bound to and triggered by the landscape. When the protagonists in Scandinavian horror lose control over their perceptions and imagination, or over their ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy or accurate perceptions and feverish imaginations, there is a fusion between inner and outer reality within the character, i.e. ego and milieu. Their unreliable status as narrators or focalisers does not solely illustrate their mental states as much as the state of the world itself. In most horror fiction the stability of the external world breaks down and the mysteries relate more to the human personality than to the environment. In Scandinavian horror it is quite the opposite, the horror *is* the environment. The mind is invaded and taken over by the Nordic landscape and the wilderness.

However, the gothic topography in Scandinavian horror fiction is about more than setting and focalisation. Besides an unstable distinction between landscape and character or external conditions and inner mental state, there is a complex relationship between time and focalisation, between what is happening to the protagonist at present and what has happened in the past, i.e. between the present time and the hidden past. In Scandinavian horror the threatening landscape and wilderness is very much part of a barbaric past. When man cannot resist the powers of nature residing within him he cannot resist the power of the prehistoric pagan past connected to or part of the surrounding wilderness. As in most gothic fiction and horror the past represents a threat to the protagonist, but in contrast to most European authors, Scandinavian writers do not return to the Middle Ages to revive a medieval feudal past in their horror fiction. Instead they recall prehistoric times further back in history, a pagan pre-medieval era before Christianity was brought to Scandinavia.

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      Therefore, it should be noted that even if most modern horror mainly deals with the protagonist's individual trauma, Scandinavian horror is more frequently concerned with evoking a collective trauma bound to a common Scandinavian past. Thus, Scandinavian horror fiction seems to express a fear of losing control over the external circumstances, the landscape and the climate, as well as a lack of control over the still present remains of a pagan past. Old conceptions of supernatural creatures and powers activate a repressed memory of a past condemned by the Christian church, disowned by the new bourgeois society of the nineteenth century and the modern scientific-technical society of the twentieth and twenty-first century. Beyond the civilised modern world there is another world lurking, a world that calls forth the haunting memory of a hidden past. Because this dark premedieval past is repressed and not clearly recognised, it is not easily exorcised. As it existed prior to the concepts of good and evil, time and place, it is a threat to both the existing social order and to the prevailing concept of the modern, civilised and rational world. At least, that is the way things are in Scandinavian horror.

Notes

[1] *Frostbiten* (English title *Frostbite*), Anders Banke (dir), Sweden 2006.
[2] First published as Ingemann, Bernhard, *De underjordiske: Et bornholmsk Eventyr*. Copenhagen, 1817.
[3] *Singoalla* has been published in several versions and edition. It was first published 1857 in a magazine as Rydberg, Viktor, *Singoalla. Romantisk sagodikt*, in *Aurora. Toilette-kalender för 1858*, Gothenburg, 1857.
[4] *Månguden*, Jonas Cornell (dir), Sweden, 1988.
[5] *Det okända*, Michael Hjort (dir), Sweden, 2000.
[6] Marklund, Anders, *Skördedrottningen*. Järnringen, Stockholm, 2007.
[7] Ingemann, Bernhard, op.cit. and Viktor Rydberg's "Wampyren" was first published as a serial in a newpaper, *Jönköpingsbladet,* 1848.
[8] Johan Alfredson's film *Låt den rätte komma in* (English title: Let the Right One In), Sweden 2008, is based on John Arvijde Lindqvist's novel *Låt den rätte komma in*. Ordfront, Stockholm, 2004.
[9] The short story "Gräns" was published by John Arvijde Lindqvist, *Pappersvägar. Tio berättelser*, Ordfront, Stockholm, 2006.
[10] Selma Lagerlöf's story "De fågelfrie" was first published in *Osynliga Berättelser*, Albert Bonnier, Stockholm, 1927, p. 80.
[11] Kristoffer Leandoer, "De svarta svanarna", *Svarta speglar. Skräckberättelser*, Norstedts Förlag AB, Stockholm, 1994.

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[12] Noëll Carroll, *The Philosophy of Horror, or Paradoxes of the Heart*, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 46.

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Legends and Ghost Stories in Naples between Two Centuries:
Matilde Serao, Roberto Bracco and Benedetto Croce

Armando Rotondi

Abstract: The following study shows how three important Italian intellectuals, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were interested in ghost stories and describes ghost legends of Naples, a city where the three authors lived. The first is Matilde Serao, and her *Leggende Napoletane* (1881). The second is Roberto Bracco, with his *Spiritismo di Baby* (1886), a positivist divertissement, where Bracco ridicules the esoteric fashion diffused in Naples and in Italy. Finally, the third is Benedetto Croce and his *Storie e leggende napoletane.* One of the last chapters in this work is particularly dedicated to "ghost houses" in Naples. My study describes the relationships between the works of these three authors, and uses this to delineate the characteristics of ghost stories in Naples between the two centuries.

Key Words: Superstition, sacred and profane, legends in Naples, Spiritism, haunted houses and spirits' buildings.

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Superstition, and the fear and awe arising from superstition are feelings, which firmly belong to Neapolitan culture and history. Ancestors that have passed away, ghosts and legendary figures often appear in Naples, which the playwright Annibale Ruccello recognises as being a place able to welcome both the sacred and the profane as well as the Christian and profane worship. As a proof of this way of feeling, the *Presepio* (Christ's nativity representation) has always been set in 17th century Naples and not in the Holy Land.

La Cantata dei pastori (1698),[1] for instance, by Andrea Perrucci is about Joseph and Mary's journey, continuously obstructed by devils and demons. It also features a parallel story about two Neapolitan men who wander through the Holy Land: Sarchiapone, a hunch-backed and deformed barber who committed murder and Razzullo. Going back in time and focussing on supernatural apparitions, much can be said about two of the most famous plays written by Eduardo: *Questi fantasmi!*[2] and *Non ti pago!*[3]

In the first play, Gennaro Iovine is a soul in pain (Eduardo's words while introducing his characters), who moves into a haunted house with his

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wife. In this play each character represents a kind of soul: besides Gennaro who is a soul in pain, there are also black souls and many others. This is the reason why the more proper title *The Souls of Naples* was given to Roman Paska's version, staged by *Theatre for a New Audience Company* and starring John Turturro.

Apparitions are the main topic also in *Non ti pago!*, where superstition, considered an unavoidable element in Neapolitan traditions, is staged through one of its greatest expressions: the lottery. The main character is Ferdinando Quagliuolo, the owner of a lottery shop, who does not want to pay his employee's winnings. Ferdinando is sure he won the lottery thanks to his father. He thinks his father's ghost mistook the employee for him because he appeared in his employee's dreams and gave him the lucky numbers while sleeping in his former bedroom. So in his father's intention, the numbers were actually directed to him and not to his employee.

After this brief introduction, we can focus on three literary works by three writers who have given much to Neapolitan and in general to Italian culture dealing with supernatural and fantasy worlds: Roberto Bracco, Matilde Serao and Benedetto Croce.

The three works are not contemporaneous. They were written over a period of thirty years. However, a link among the three can be found if they are analysed two at a time. *Lo spiritismo di Baby* by Roberto Bracco was published in 1886 (Baby is Bracco's assumed name at the beginning of his literary production).[4] *Leggende napoletane* by Matilde Serao[5] was written a few years earlier in 1881. Benedetto Croce's *Storia e leggende napoletane*,[6] which recalls Serao's work, is a collection of his youth writings, gathered for the first time in 1919.

The cultural environment the first two works were written in should be considered. They are set at the end of the 19th century, when various cultural movements were spreading in Europe.[7] Among these movements, Spiritism, which will become a real fashion, is the most significant for our topic.[8]

The three authors are not Spiritism followers: Bracco experiences many movements but is deeply linked to Positivism; Serao comes from *Verismo* and also popularises it; Croce can be ascribed to Idealism. Their works, and especially the first two, are clearly influenced by this cultural scene. A new edition of Roberto Bracco's *Lo spiritismo a Napoli nel 1886* was pubblished in 1907 by Perrella in Naples.[9] In the introduction the publisher writes:

> The flowing of spiritistic events has raised the idea in my mind to look for some form of originality. This aim has taken me to Roberto Bracco's door. In 1886, at the beginning of his varied, successful

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and adventurous life as an author and journalist, this great playwright and story-teller published a booklet in 1886 by Pierro inspired to Spiritism in Naples: a booklet which became a hors ligne rarity. [10]

In the first part of his booklet he creates a real divertissement, where some aspects of Spiritism are held up to ridicule and inserted in a story with a really catastrophic tone. He imagines a world where furniture (in Italian *mobilia*) is alive and creates absurd and paradoxical situations. The beginning of Bracco's story will be told in order to understand its tone and show his inventiveness while creating a world where Spiritism is real and rules everything.

The author states: "The moving of furniture is Spiritism's most revealing element. The word *mobile* (furniture) in Italian also means ability to move and seems to be a spiritistic philological prediction come true."[11] He continues his speech telling his readers:

There is not much to laugh about! Mankind is in danger, because it is threatened by a total change, which will force people to have their backs to the wall. This way man will make a really bad impression. Tables and chairs already struggle and chat as if they were in the likeness of God. If you please, I would like to ask: if Spiritism makes progress and reaches perfection, what is going to happen to us? What is going to happen to future generations? I can say it is quite obvious: furniture will overwhelm man![12]

And in this new situation man will become a useless and an obsolete leftover from the past, the main character of unheard-of and gruesome situations caused by the new system. Bracco then writes:

A great confusion caused by furniture and man's actions is going to reign in public offices, in private homes, in honest houses, in all kinds of places: furniture and man will bitterly fight, will fool and deceive each other in name of the mysterious flurry of Spiritism.[…] and at the right time and place, secretly or openly, tables, armchairs, chairs, wardrobes and clothes hooks are going to start playing husbands and wives, lovers, thieves, daredevils, swindlers, stern moralists, criminals and so on. Everything will therefore be explained with Spiritism, everything will be justified with Spiritism, everything will be a phenomenon of Spiritism. If an open safe-case is found, it will be Spiritism! If a library is robbed, it will be Spiritism! If a book full of mistakes is found, it will be

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Spriritsm! A fordged signature? Spiritism! A murdered gentleman? Spiritism! An unfaithful wife? Spiritism!

The safe case must have opened automatically, the money must have walked away; the library must have been visited by the soul of a selfish reader.[13]

The author goes on, imagining the story of a man who was betrayed by his wife with the living-room table:

As I already told you: unheard stories and gruesome situations will occur! The man, the poor betrayed man, after having found out about his wife's affair by chance, is full of anger and pain and not having the courage to speak to her, will think to write her a fiery letter; and, unbelievable but true, this fiery letter will be written on the guilty and seductive table! […] This man will be facing a piece of furniture in his own house, a table that was bought when Spiritism was not a utopia and was kept in his house without the suspicion it would have become his rival, his enemy, a trouble-maker. He had left his wife next to that table so many times! On that same desk he had leaned flowers, ribbons, sweets for her and also his respectful hat, his friend and guardian of his respectiveness.

My heart is in pain at the only thought of it.[14]

Once he discovers his rival in love, he decides to consult a lawyer. When he arrives at his office he has a big surprise. Bracco therefore sketches the following hilarious incident:

He nervously knocks at the door. A servant opens it.
-Is the lawyer in?
-No, sir, he isn't; but if it pleases you, you can speak to his sofa.
-Thank you, I am very grateful
[…] he walks in with respect and once in the office he sits on the sofa which stands in for the lawyer. After a few minutes, the betrayed man's body starts reacting to the situation. The sofa starts communicating some oscillations to the sitting part of the man, who will soon start confessing the secret suffering of his soul. At the end, the sofa replies:
Ttà, ttà, ttà.
The lawyer's soul is there.
The lawyer, in other words the sofa, understands and talks throughout knocks: one knock stands for an A, two knocks for a B, three knocks for a C and so on, taking its time to spell a word. Instead, the betrayed man was using an old-fashioned way of speaking: his mouth. The man was in a foul temper and while he

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was trying to seem calm and attentive, he was afraid of missing one
of the sofa's knocks.[15]

The sofa/lawyer gave unexpected answers to the man (the first time
he calls him fool, then *ox*, in other words *cornuto*, a betrayed husband),
raising the poor client's anger. At the end, the author represents an example
of everyday life in a Spiritistic world ruled by furniture and objects, with the
sofa getting the better of the situation:

> At this point the angry sofa rises with violence; the man bounces off
> of it as if he were kicked in the less accessible place of a sitting
> person. After having taken a few seconds for reflection and after
> having realised the immensity of the catastrophe caused by the
> intervention of objects in the human system, he runs down the
> stairs, cursing lawyers, wives, sofas, tables, spiritism and longing
> for suicide as a desperate remedy. Ladies and Gentlemen, by chance
> he will then meet a gun walking on the street.
> -If it's no bother, would you mind shooting me?
> The gun replies.
> It replies with one single shot, a non-ambiguous shot. Without
> referring to spiritistic alphabet, it blows out his brains!
> I limited myself to telling you with accuracy, one of the many
> tragedies that will happen in the period of change we are meditating
> upon.[16]

In this part Spiritism is presented only in its general aspect: he will
refer to Spiritism in everyday and social life in the following chapters,
dedicated to some spiritistic salons arranged by Chiaia (Ercole Chiaia, who
spread Spiritism in Naples). In his introduction, Perrella states:

> The booklet by Roberto Bracco, under the assumed name of Baby
> (the name he was using at the beginning of his journalistic career),
> is an interesting historical document. In spite of its jesting aspect, it
> gracefully and sincerely portrays that period of time in which
> Spiritism spread from Naples to the rest of Italy, making proselytes
> and sceptics. Baby's booklet, with its cheerful tone, is the first
> espression of Bracco's observing power. It has caused a total chaos
> in the spiritistic field and has started a dispute remembered by those
> who still stand for or against the truth or the illusion of Spiritism.
> The memory of this is quite useful, since the medium about which
> much is said today in Italy is the same Neapolitan spiritistics used to

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refer to back in time: Eusapia Paladino, who Neapolitans improperly used to call Sapio. [17]

At this point, Bracco skips from an imaginary situation (an apocalyptic vision of world ruled by furniture) to society news, dealing with one of the most sensational spiritistic cases in Italy: the Eusapia Paladino affair. Antonio Emanuele Piedimonte dedicated a chapter to this medium and says she was born in the province of Bari in 1854 and that she moved to Naples after her parents' death. She starts her career as a medium under Ercole Chiaia's direction in Naples. She aroused Cesare Lombroso's interest in 1888 and will then meet him thanks to Ercole Chiaia in 1891. Lombroso, who was a very sceptical person, and other scholars, watched many of her performances in Milan. Two were documented. She performs her natural gift (including the possession of the English pirate John King, her spirit guide and father in a former life) in many places around Europe as well. Bracco tells us he had watched some of the lady's performances and describes the time he had caught her not able to rise a table because she was unable to touch her skirt. This way the medium's cryptoscopic powers were called into question (you might want to define cryptoscopic).

In the part dedicated to Eusapia Paladino and to the spiritistic salons arranged by Chiaia (Bracco gives a detailed list with the names of the believers and non-believers who took part in these events), the positivist attitude of the author can be deduced. This attitude influences also the following works: *Articoli polemici*, *Lo spiritismo contraffatto-Patatrac spiritistico* and *The letter to Leonardo Bianchi*, where the author expresses his doubts and scepticism about Spiritism to Leonardo Bianchi, a doctor who held a chair at the University of Naples and who was also a founder and manager of the Psychiatric Hospital of Capodichino, which will then be given his name.

Matilde Serao, one of the most important intellectuals in this period does not deal with contemporary ghosts, but refers to those belonging to the past. In her *Leggende Napoletane* she revives 16 short stories among the most known in Naples, which have a horror and disconcerting nature in their original form. In *Leggende Napoletane* she reviews legendary characters of magicians and spirits who have created the collective imagination in Naples, like Virgil (buried in Naples), in the specific instance Virgilio Mago. Serao writes: "We know Virgil, the author of The Eclogues, The Georgics and Aeneid. We know him much better than Virgilio Mago who has performed miracles thanks to his magic powers in the place he has always considered his favourite city".[18] Who is Virgilio Mago and what has he done for the city?

He used to live on the seashore, on the hill of Posillipo, but he used to wander through the countryside in the area of Baia and Cuma all day long; he wandered through the hills around the city, staring at the stars and speaking to them with their language; he wandered on the seashore, along Platamonia, listening to the harmony of the waves, as if they were whispering mysterious words. For this reason he was called magician and actually performed many miracles. […] another miracle was the following: the swamps in the city were very harmful: their miasma would spoil air, cause fevers, plagues and death; they were infested by leeches whose bite could kill. After casting a spell, Virgilio made all the leeches die, he damp-dried all the swamps and at their place many gardens and houses were built. Air became the purest ever breathed. […] In the district now called Pendino, there lived a dreadful and frightening snake: it had bitten and strangled many children and young girls. Every time people would gather with the intention of killing it, it would quickly run down to earth and then reappear angrier and angrier. So Virgilio was asked to kill the monster. He rejected any company and went alone. With a magic formula he tamed it and made it die. It is also thanks to him that although Naples was built on a gloomy and insalubrious city, made of caves and sewers, with a real underworld deep underneath it, no other reptiles have lived and no other calamities have occurred.[19]

These are only two of the miracles by Virgilio Mago described by Serao in her stories. The most famous and fascinating magic he makes is about the golden egg he made and kept in a glass carafe. He then put it in a cage made of iron and placed it under *Castel dell'Ovo*. It is said that all the precarious stability of *Castel dell'Ovo* and of the entire city depends on the being of this egg.

The legend of one of the most famous mythological Neapolitan characters is very interesting as well: *'o Munaciello* (the little monk). This legend can be analysed from an anthropological point of view and by Serao's point of view. The *munaciello* is a legendary spirit that seems to have belonged to a deformed young boy, dressed with a cowl and shoes with silver buckles. It is said that this spirit can be nice and hide money somewhere in people's houses or play harmless jokes which can be codified in numbers to be played at the lottery; he can also be unpleasant and hide objects, break plates and tableware, blow in sleeping people's ears; he also likes expressing positive remarks about beautiful women.

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Antonio Emanuele Piedimonte dedicates an interesting chapter of his books *Napoli segreta* to all the *munaciello*'s possible definitions. He starts with those given by the *Grande Enciclopedia dei Folletti*:

> The Neapolitan *Monacello* or *Manchetto*, the Sicilian *Mammucca*, the *Monachicchio* from Basilicata and the *Monacheddu* from Calabria all have only one thing in common with real monks: the cowl; they are all well-known swaggerers, thieves, rascals, bottom-pinchers, who terrify convents and annoy nuns from the early morning during their prayers and especially at night.[20]

Alfonso Maria Di Niola gives a definition to the idea that people have of devil in folk culture: "Devils have something bizarre, amusing and generally tolerated in common with elves who usually wander through the air and in people's houses. In Sicily and in Campania elves make tricks: they distract pious persons while praying, hide objects, suddenly laugh, make strange noises, whisper unclear words and haunt houses"..[21]

It is a character who appears in Neapolitan literature and theatre many times, like in Antonio Petito's work (a very important comedy writer, who played Pulcinella mask and was Eduardo Scarpetta's artistic guide) *'O Munaciello dint' 'a cas 'e Pulcinella*, staged for the first time at the *Teatro San Carlino* in Naples on 12th December 1870.

Serao builds one of the stories of her *Leggende Napoletane* on the basis this character provides. The writer starts from his assumed historical origins and refers to things that actually happened: the *munaciello* could be Caterinella Frezza's son, a young lady of good family who fled to a convent when her child's father was killed in 1445. The baby grew up there. He was quite deformed so the nuns decided to hide his malformations with a cowl (from which the word *munaciello* comes) until he died in mysterious circumstances.

The author writes: "These are local news. As a modern and obscure commentator I venture to say that since the *Munaciello*'s death nothing has ended. On the contrary everything has begun".[22] Referring to the legend, a middle-class legend, she also adds:

> It is not a gnome who dances on the grass, it is not a spirit who sings on the river bank; it's an evil elf that lives in the old areas in Naples, it's the *Munaciello*. He doesn't live in the aristocratic districts of Chiaia, S. Ferdinando, Chiatamone, Toledo nor in the new districts of Mergellina, Amedeo, Salvator Rosa, Capodimonte: he doesn't belong to the open, bright and clean areas of the city: the middle-class elf stretches his unopposed reign from the narrow streets in Toledo and the dark ones in Tribunali and Sapienza, to the

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sad streets around Foria and the low and dark districts of Vicaria, Mercato, Porto and Pendino.[23]

From a middle-class point of view, she then dwells on the *Muncaciello's* evil and spiteful ways of being: "the *munaciello* messes up houses and furniture, confuses minds and hearts, filling them with fear. He is a tormented spirit who torments others and causes disorder with his black habit and spoils everything with his black hat".[24]

In spite of this, the *Munaciello* is not always a terrible spirit. Serao says: "when the *munaciello* wears a red hat, his coming is of good omen. Because of this mix of evil and good, the *munaciello* has always been respected, feared and loved".[25]

Matilde Serao thinks Neapolitan legends which refer to these spiteful spirits and the selling of souls to the devil are made with a basis of love. In her introduction to *Leggende Napolitane* ("Imagaenaria" edition), Patrizia Di Meglio writes:

> There is a thread running through all the stories in this collection which is set already in the first tale, Partenope - elsewhere more properly titled *La Città dell'Amore* (City of Love) - is the introduction and sounds like a peremptory statement: "Our legends are about love. Naples was made with love"; so everything - myths, nature, history and Neapolitan psychology - is made of love and Serao undertakes to probe the shades of this feeling in the local culture through legends […] [26]

There is also another interpretation of the same character given by Carmine Allocca and Giuseppe Errico in their *'O Munaciello. Storia e storie di uno spiritello napoletan*o published by Pironti.[27] They state that Neapolitans don't consider the *munaciello* a wandering and tormented soul. They assign him a real body and a name, good feelings and bad feelings and take distance from the image of a dead person's spirit. He is a creature who carries out orders given by those who rule the ultra sensitive life. Instead, Serao contrasts the legend with the historical event of his birth from Caterinella Frezza and presents the *munaciello* as a soul in pain.

Also Benedetto Croce takes a look at the past in his *Storie e leggende napoletane* in which the great philosopher and historian gathers some of his youth works (including an analysis of the tale by Boccaccio about Andreuccio da Perugia,[28] which takes place in Naples): the 11th part is the most important to be considered and is titled *Leggende di luoghi ed edifizi di Napoli* (Legends of Places and Buildings in Naples)[29]. For an analysis of myths, also the most horrifying ones in Naples, much can be said about the

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Coccodrillo di Castelnuovo (The Crocodile of Castelnuovo, chapter 5).
Croce writes:

> One day he had an unexpected and horrible sight at Castelnuovo
> (well-known as Maschio Angioino): there was a monster, a
> crocodile that was setting out for the sea through a hidden hole in
> the castle's moat. The monster caught a prisoner by the legs with his
> jaws and went towards the sea to eat him. From that day on the
> crocodile, which must have come from Egypt fastened on the sides
> of a bastion, was used as a means and executor of justice; prisoners
> sentenced to death were sent down to the moats and were regularly
> swallowed by the crocodile. [30]

The 6th chapter of this part is the most interesting. It refers to *I
palazzi degli spiriti* (the spirits' buildings).[31] In a few pages (about 5) there
is a series of stories about ghosts who haunt many Neapolitan buildings.
Croce says: "there were many buildings haunted by spirits in Naples.
Strange noises and weird and scary visions could be seen".[32]

At the *Portella del Faccione*, located in an alley in the district of
Santa Lucia, "the situation is quite hilarious, because it is said that every
now and then there is a huge shadow (called *Faccione* for its huge face) that
throws rocks to the imprudent people who go and disturb the peace of his
home".[33]

The well-known Prince Raimondo di Sangro closes the chapter with a
referral to his esoteric culture. Who was he? His biographical sketch is given
by *Istoria dello Studio di Napoli* by Gian Giuseppe Origlia,[34] written in
1745 and also by the Prince's *Lettera Apologetica*'s introduction written by
Domenico D'Alessandro.[35] He was born in 1710 in Torremaggiore, a feud
belonging to his family in the province of Foggia. His parents were Antonio,
duke of Torremaggiore and Cecilia Gaetani dell'Aquila d'Aragona. His (?)
mother died shortly after his birth. His father entrusted him to his
grandfather's care. His grandfather was Paolo, prince of Sansevero and
became responsible for his education. His excessively lively attitude and
intelligence pushed his family to send him to Rome at the *Collegio
Clementino dei Padri Gesuiti*, well known for its high cultural level.
Although he was intolerant of the strict discipline, his versatile mind led him
to study literature, philosophy, law, pyrotechnics, hydraulic engineering and
alchemy. When his grandfather passed away, Raimondo inherited his title
and estate: although he was very young he started leading one of the most
powerful families of the Reign: he was the 7th Prince in the family of
Sansevero.

He was an inventor and a scientist; he was one of the most
representative exponents of the enlightened minds, he was active in social

life and a forerunner in understanding the evolution of history and in fostering the civil renewing which will then reach a complete expression with the following generation. Towards the end of his life, when he was discovered being the Great Master in the Masonic lodge, he was excommunicated by the Pope. He obtained the revocation of the excommunication by Pope Benedict XIV, he retired and continued working on the family Chapel and went on with his studies and laboratory experiments until his death in 1771. In this family Chapel, near San Domenico Square, lay a fascinating legend about the Prince. After the alchemist's death the skeletons of a man and a woman were found in a cellar of the Chapel. The skeletons were entirely provided with their venous and arterial system as well as other organs. Tradition says they were persons who had died accidentally and were inoculated with a mysterious liquid, which has metallised all their veins, arteries, capillaries and also some organs. The other hypothesis is that he attempted to reconstruct the human circulatory system thanks to an anatomist doctor led by Raimondo, by using beeswax. In that case, since anatomic knowledge of the circulatory system was meagre at the time, the perfection they reached has caused great astonishment. Also the statue called *Cristo Velato* located in the Chapel is a result of the Prince's alchemic knowledge: the contract between the Prince and the doctor on 25th November 1752 under the notary's hand, found at the Notarial District in Naples, states that the veil covering the statue of Christ is not made of marble: it was made of a fine material, changed into marble afterwards thanks to Raimondo's alchemic procedures. Croce describes the Prince in the following way:

> The lower classes living around his Chapel (full of baroque and amazing masterpieces) considered the prince of Sansevero, or the Prince par excellence, the Neapolitan embodiment of Doctor Faust or of the magician Pietro Barliario from Salerno, who sold his soul to the devil and became a devil to rule on nature's secrets and act against the laws of nature. But in order to be considered a real lord, the prince decided to join his tyrant's whims with his diabolic skills and to spill people's blood with refined cruelty.[36]

He continues with legends concerning the Prince's chapel:

The Prince had two of his servants killed, a man and a woman, and embalmed their bodies in a way to have all their viscera, arteries, veins in view. He kept them in a closet in a corner of the church; another time he killed seven cardinals and built four chairs with their bones and covered part of these chairs with their skin. He also

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had the eyes gouged out of the artist who spent a lifetime sculpting the Statue of the Cristo Morto in his chapel, in order not to let him create such an amazing sculpture again.[37]

In conclusion Serao and Croce's legends can only apparently seem alike (they have similar titles). Matilde Serao rewrites legends in the form of short stories which all have a common thread of love. For her only love can explain the reason for the existence of these stories in particular and Neapolitan culture in general. Benedetto Croce, who is not a narrator, looks at Neapolitan stories and legends as a scholar. He prefers investigating their origin and development. Bracco has another interpretation. He is not interested in the past. As a journalist and playwright, he is keener on the present and on the societal aspect of this world.

After such an analysis, it is now possible to create a map of esotericism and mystery in Naples. The occurrence of spirits and ghosts dating back in time (there are also many referrals to the Greeks, the Latin and also to Egyptians and Mythraics) makes Naples a city of mysterious and strange presences and authorises the city to share the title of Italian esoteric capital with Turin.

Notes

[1] Original title *Il Vero Lume tra l'Ombre, ovvero la Spelonca Arricchita per la Nascita del Verbo Umanato*, written by Andrea Perrucci with the assumed name of Ruggiero Casimiro Ugone.

[2] Staged for the first time in 1946.

[3] Staged for the first time in 1940.

[4] R Bracco, *Spiritismo di Baby*, L. Pierro, Napoli, 1886.

[5] M Serao, *Leggende napoletane,* Imagaenaria, Ischia, 2004. First edition M Serao, *Leggende napoletane*, Ottino, Milano, 1881.

[6] B Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, Adelphi, Milano, 2005. First edition B Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, Latenza, Bari, 1919.

[7] For an in-depth study, see Luigi Capuana, *Gli –ismi contemporanei*, N. Giannotta, Catania, 1898.

[8] For further information see, *Spiritismo?* by L Capuana, N. Giannotta, Catania, 1884, and Cesare Lombroso's *After death - what?: Spiritistic Phenomena and their Interpretation, Small Maynard, Boston, 1909,* and *Hypnotisme et Spiritisme*, by C Lombroso and C Rossigneux, Flammarion, Paris, 1910.

[9] R Bracco, *Lo spiritismo a Napoli nel 1886*, Perrella, Napoli, 1907. All references to this book are translated from the original by the author.   .

[10] ibid., p. 4.

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[11] ibid., p. 16.
[12] ibid., pp. 16-17.
[13] ibid., pp. 18-20.
[14] ibid.,pp. 20-21.
[15] ibid., pp. 23-25.
[16] ibid., pp. 28-29.
[17] ibid., pp. 4-5.
[18] Serao, op. cit., p. 40.
[19] ibid., pp. 41-43.
[20] A Piedimonte, *Napoli segreta*, Edizioni Intra Moenia, Napoli, 1997, pp. 99-100.
[21] ibid., p. 100.
[22] Serao, op. cit., p. 116.
[23] ibid., pp. 100-101.
[24] ibid., p.119.
[25] ibid., p. 119.
[26] Patrizia Di Meglio, in Serao, op. cit., p. 11.
[27] C Allocca and G Errico, *O **Munaciello**. Storia e storie di uno spiritello napoletano*, **Pironti**, Napoli, 2003.
[28] Croce, op. cit., pp. 51-88.
[29] ibid., pp. 293-332.
[30] ibid., pp. 323-324.
[31] ibid., pp. 324-329.
[32] ibid., p. 324.
[33] ibid., p. 325.
[34] G Origlia Paolino, *Istoria dello studio di Napoli: in cui si comprendono gli avvenimenti di esso più notabili*, Stamperia Giovanni Di Simone, Napoli, 1718.
[35] R Di Sangro, *Lettera apologetica*, Luca Torre, Napoli, 1984.
[36] Croce, op. cit., pp. 327-328.
[37] Croce, op. cit., pp. 328.

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Re-reading Fear in Fairy Tales: Little Brave Riding Hood

Cynthia Jones

Abstract: *Little Red Riding Hood* is not a tale that evokes fear, but far from it; it is a tale that subverts fear. The wolf, commonly interpreted as the "Big Bad Wolf" of male lust and desire to violate women, is actually the projection of LRRH's inner 'animal' nature that she is not yet consciously aware of. This is not a tale to teach children to fear the "Big Bad Wolf", but rather a tale of consciously becoming aware of one's dual nature: wild/culture, masculine/feminine and good/evil. This tale certainly evokes fear, but we must keep in mind that LRRH subverts it and that this is truly a tale about the internalization of one's dual nature, despite the challenges that fear presents.

By looking at the oral folk version, *The Story of the Grandmother*, collected by Paul Delarue in comparison with the more famous versions by Charles Perrault and the Brother's Grimm, one can see the internalization of the wolf in LRRH as she confronts her dual nature. Within the three texts there are situations in which one should be fearful, for example, the woods, the wolf and cannibalism, but no where in the text does LRRH show fear; rather she is willing to internalize this part of her nature. In this paper I will show how the wolf is the representation of the 'wild' and 'animal' nature within LRRH, and that she subverts fear by allowing herself to be swallowed by the wolf. Thus, she internalizes her inner 'animal' nature and becomes consciously aware of her animus. This tale is not merely a cautionary tale meant to evoke fear, but a tale about subverting the fear of one's inner 'animal' nature.

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In this paper, I will argue that *Little Red Riding Hood* is not merely a cautionary tale to warn little girls not to speak to strangers and to never stray from the path. I will be using three different versions of the tale in order to illustrate my argument: *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge* by Charles Perrault, written in 1679, *Rotkäppchen* by Wilhem and Jakob Grimm, written in 1837, and finally the last version of the story is the oral version that had been circulating in the French countryside, *The Story of the Grandmother*, which was collected by Paul Delarue.

The tale of LRRH is actually the tale of a girl who subverts the fear of her unknown inner animal nature. The wolf in this tale represents the inner animal nature of LRRH that she has not yet become consciously aware of. The wolf becomes the symbol for the fear of the wild/nature, or the dual

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nature of man. This dual nature is the opposition of his *culture* nature and that of his *wild/animal* nature. LRRH goes into the woods through a rite of passage and before she can return to society, she must confront her inner animal nature. She must overcome the fears that society has placed on the wild or savage nature of man in order to understand this other side of herself that she is not aware of.

LRRH cannot meet this side of herself within the safety and confines of society and therefore must go into the woods. She must leave society and all that is safe in order to be allowed to meet this side of herself that she does not yet know exists. In this journey she must physically leave society and enter into the wilderness before she can come back to society. The woods become a liminal space (a space of a new beginning) where the rite of passage can take place. According to Victor Turner, when referring to rites of passage, he describes liminal as "entities [that] are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions arrayed by law, custom, [and] convention."[1] It is then the woods that turn into this place that is 'betwixt and between" where LRRH is able to meet her 'animal nature.' Since the normal conventions of society do not exist, she is not afraid to speak to the wolf, nor should she be, since in both versions by the Grimms and Perrault, it is stated that she doesn't know any better not to speak to wolves, nor would it be considered out of the ordinary in this space since societal conventions no longer exist there.

The use of the wolf, rather than any other animal, becomes important; firstly, since the belief in werewolves still existed in the country side at this time and also because wolves are recognised for their ravenous appetite (which Perrault translated into sexual appetite). The belief in werewolves and their facility in passing from human to animal form give the wolf more human like qualities and also in this story becomes the symbol for one's own untamed nature. The wolf is feared and known for his great appetite because he will often eat an entire kill at once. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when wolf attacks in rural areas were particularly rampant, a great fear of wolves developed because famine slowly brought them in from the woods. Catherine Orenstein in her book *Little Red Riding Hood Uncloaked*, cites a case in the sixteenth century where numerous witnesses stated that they had seen a werewolf devour children in the fields. "He confessed without torture to killing a small girl with his hands and teeth, removing her clothes, eating part of her thighs and arms, and then taking a portion back home for his wife."[2]

This account closely relates to *The Story of the Grandmother*, which was spreading by word of mouth throughout rural France during this time period. In *The Story of the Grandmother*, a little girl is sent into the woods to go to her Grandmother's house. When she reaches a fork in the road, she meets the wolf and he asks her whether she will take the path of pins or path

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of the needles (either path still being painful). The girl indicates the path of needles and the wolf takes the other path. The wolf arrives at the house, kills the grandmother, eats her, but saves a portion of her for the little girl when she arrives. When the little girl arrives at Grandmother's, she offers Grandmother (the wolf) the food she brought, but the wolf insists that she put the food in the pantry and eat the meat and wine that is in the pantry instead, thus inviting the little girl to participate in a cannibalistic ritual of eating her Grandmother. The little girl eats as she is told and is then scolded by a cat who says, "a slut is she who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of her grandmother."[3] The girl is not able to recognise that her grandmother is not really her grandmother until she is invited into bed with the wolf, and only then does she realise who she is with. She is able to trick the wolf into letting her go outside for a moment to relieve herself and is able to escape from being eaten.

Intertwined in this tale is the fear of cannibalism. Hunger can often drive a person to extreme measures, including cannibalism. During the Great Famine of 1315-1317, there were many accounts of cannibalism. Although it is difficult to know whether these were merely rumors or true accounts, it still emphasizes the fear of hunger and cannibalism over the public at that time.[4] This may explain the use of the wolf, which in the oral tale is actually called a bzou, meaning "werewolf." He is a man driven by his appetite to take desperate measures in order to survive. There have also been accounts of medicinal cannibalism within sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. For example, the practice of serving the still warm blood of recently executed criminals as a cure to epileptics.[5] The cannibalism in this tale can symbolize the fear that the little girl has of replacing her mother/grandmother, yet also the necessity of this process for the continuing development of the little girl into a woman. Growing up/ becoming of age is never easy. Ingesting the grandmother symbolizes the fact that she is going to take on those responsibilities of the grandmother and leave her childhood behind. In the end the girl really has no choice but to grow up and eventually replace the matriarch of the family, though she may secretly fear this process.

Although the werewolf in archaic societies did not necessarily have a negative connotation, in fact Hans Peter Duerr in his book *Dreamtime,* points out that they were awed because of their power to change easily between human and animal form. According to Duerr:

> it would be much more to the point to say that werewolves are persons who are able to dissolve 'within themselves' the boundary between civilization and wilderness, who can step across the fence separating their 'civilization side' from their 'wilderness side', their 'wolf's nature'. These are people who can look their 'animal nature' in the eye, something usually kept under lock and key in

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their culture, and in this way can develop a consciousness of their 'cultural nature.[6]

This is the balance between culture and nature that LRRH must find on her journey into the woods. The werewolf is a person who is able to recognise that animal nature within himself and allow himself to fully understand this nature, just as LRRH is learning to do in the woods. She is not afraid of the wolf; instead, she looks her animal nature in the eye without fear. She is discovering her own ability to move between her 'animal nature' and her cultural nature. The fact that she is devoured by the wolf in the end means that she allowed herself to completely change into her animal nature and although Perrault ends the story upon the wolf devouring Red, the Grimms show that she is able to come back to her cultural nature, although in order to change back she needs the help from another member of society, der Jäger, whom is also a member of the woods and familiar with the transformation from man to animal and vice versa. Since according to Duerr, "those who wished to come to know the essence of culture needed to go into the wilderness. Only there could they discover their everyday nature which was familiar to them and yet unknown".[7] Der Jäger had already made his journey into the woods and had come to understand his animal nature. Therefore, it is plausible that since this is the first time LRRH has encountered her animal nature, she may not yet be familiar how to easily move through one to the other, while der Jäger, who has already spent time in nature, perhaps understands how to help LRRH learn to navigate between the two sides.

Perrault does not specify how the she was eaten, but only that the wolf ate her. "Ce méchant Loup se jetta sur le petit Chaperon rouge, et la mangea."[8] However, in the Grimms' version she is swallowed whole, meaning that she was completely taken over by the wolf. The swallowing whole of LRRH represents her giving herself over completely to her animal side, from which she is able to come back whole. It is a symbolic death and rebirth back into culture or society. Duerr notes that "in those rare moments…we must surrender our 'cultural nature'…we must step over the border that separates wilderness from civilization,…the step into this wilderness, however, is a confrontation with death".[9] LRRH had to give up her cultural nature temporarily in order to give herself over to her animal nature. "Only a person who had seen his 'animal part', who had 'died', could consciously live in culture".[10] The meeting of the wolf, or LRRH's animal nature, was fated. She needed to know and experience this side of herself before she could return to society.

The wolf in these tales could then be interpreted as LRRH's animus. The animus is the personification or projection of the masculine psychological tendencies and vice versa for the anima (the psychological

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personification of the feminine). It is the masculine personification of the collective unconscious, and also that of the individual unconscious. Each person has within themselves masculine and feminine qualities, but one cannot recognise these qualities until coming face to face with their animus/anima. The animus is a masculine figure which at the same time is a product of the individual's unconscious and the collective unconscious, "thus forming a connecting link or bridge between the personal and the impersonal, the conscious and the unconscious," according to Emma Jung.[11] The wolf becomes this link between LRRH's unconscious and conscious. The wolf is the projection of masculine qualities that she does not yet consciously understand within herself, and therefore, these qualities are projected onto the wolf, and by encountering him she is able to understand her inner masculine on a more conscious level.

LRRH overcomes the fear one may have of becoming possessed by her animus. If the animus is allowed to posses the female, she will be "suddenly entered by a mood of cold male determination, taken over by abstract opinionated thinking and driven by an impulse toward rash, brutal, determined action."[12] Since the animus is the representation of masculine qualities that the female may not possess on a conscious level, if she is possessed by her animus, these masculine qualities which could be used to her advantage will actually become her disadvantage. So, if she can find the power to hold her own against her animus and not be possessed by it, she will then be empowered by her animus and not hindered by it. The animus will no longer be a danger to herself, instead, it will become a creative power with which she can use to expand her creative capacity.[13] In becoming more aware of her animus she must learn how she can use its power to increase her own rather than allowing it to take over.

In the Grimms' version, LRRH is possessed by her animus, but then she is able to become un-possessed with the help of der Jäger. This tale is more educational for the female reader in that she can see how LRRH is learning to control her animus. She is swallowed whole by the wolf (her animus), then rescued by der Jäger, and later in the second part of the story when she is confronted by another wolf she is able to overcome him. In the second part of this tale, LRRH has learned how to deal with her animus and doesn't allow herself to be possessed by it; now she will be able to use her animus rather than be used by it. She uses the cunning instincts from her animus in order to control it.

It must be noted that both of these tales were written/recorded by men, who perhaps on an unconscious level, fear the woman's animus, and the power that it gives them. C G Jung, who coined the term *animus/anima* was often afraid of a woman's animus. Jung felt that "a woman's ruthless criticism is one form of animus attack that men resent greatly. A woman…possessed by her animus is 'always right' and Jung believes that 'in

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intellectual women the animus encourages a critical disputatiousness." [14] It is men that fear a woman who is possessed by her animus or even worse has learned to use her animus and become empowered by it, because they then become less dominated or willing to be dominated by men. Especially within the version by Perrault one can see a deep underlying fear of women who become stronger than men. LRRH must be punished for wanting to know her animus and is therefore devoured by it, because Perrault feared that a woman who used her animus or became possessed by it would then become more powerful than a man.

Within the three tales, the relationship between the wolf (LRRH's animus) and LRRH are different. Perrault is warning young maidens not to be possessed by their animus; in fact, they should just avoid it all together. The Grimms are trying to teach these young maidens how to overcome it, however only through the help of der Jäger. In the oral version, *The Story of the Grandmother*, LRRH is able to hold her own against her animus or animal nature all by herself. The little girl realises who she is with and is able to outwit him all on her own. She does not allow herself to be devoured by the wolf, but rather comes up with a clever plan in order to escape him. This would be an example of her holding her own against her own animus and then using it to expand her own creative power and her decision making ability. By using her animus, she is able to escape the danger of her animus. Thus, LRRH becomes empowered by it. This tale truly becomes a tale about learning to harness one's own inner animal nature and becoming empowered by one's own animus/anima, rather than to fear it. There is a part of us that belongs to society, and a part that belongs to nature, we must each learn how to find this balance.   The tale of LRRH is simply teaching young readers/listeners how to go about doing this, that there will come a time when we will see or feel these instincts that lurk within us and how we can use them for our benefit. In the end LRRH is not defeated by the wolf, instead she subverts that fear and learns from her own animus (animal nature), which is the wolf. One should not fear one's own animus, but instead use its creative power to one's own advantage.

Notes

[1] V Turner, 'From Ritual to Theater', *Performing Arts Journal*, 1982, p. 95.

[2] C Orenstein, *Little Red Riding Hood Uncloaked*, Basic Books, New York, 2002, pp.94-96.

[3] P Delarue, "The Story of the Grandmother" in *Little Red Riding Hood: A Casebook*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1989, pp.15-16

[4] D J Mabry "The Great Famine of 1315-1317 and the Black Death" *Lecture in Medieval History*, 31 July 2008,
http://historicaltextarchive.com/books.pp?op=viewbookid=64&cid=45

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[5] K Gordon-Grube, 'Anthropology in Post Renaissance Europe: The Tradition of Medicinal Cannibalism', *American Anthropologist*, vol. **2**, 1988, p. 407.
[6] H P Duerr, *Dreamtime: Concerning the Boundary between Wilderness and Society*, Felicitas Goodman (trans), Basil Blackwell Inc, NY, 1985, p.86-87.
[7] ibid., p.359.
[8] C Perrault, *Les Contes de Charles Perrault*, Librarie des Bibliophiles, Paris, p.122.
[9] H P Duerr, op.cit. p.66.
[10] H P Duerr, op. cit. p.68.
[11] E Jung, *Animus and Anima*, Spring Publications, Zürich, 1978, p.1
[12] S F Walker, *Jung and the Jungians on Myth*, Garland Publishing Inc, New York, 1995, p.54
[13] S F Walker, op.cit. p.58.
[14] S F Walker, op.cit. p.52.

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Day 4:

FHT at the Movies 2

and

In The Words of FHT 2

Portrayal of women in Popular Pakistani Cinema

Rabia Hussain Kanwal

Abstract: The present study was carried out to find out whether and to what extent popular Pakistani cinema has been portraying stereotypical roles of women. The sample consisted of 50 participants including 25 university students (13 females; 12 males) and 25 professionals, age range 20-35 years, 13 males; 12 females respectively. The standardised questionnaire was developed on the basis of Pakistani movies that were shown to two focus groups. Structured interviews were also conducted. The famous movies, selected from the last six decades, were shown to the participants in order to collect opinions about stereotypical roles of women in popular Pakistani cinema. The results indicated that illiterate filmmakers have been misrepresenting women. There has been a shift from self-sacrificing, stereotyping, civilised, gracefulness into liberal, vulgarity, materialistic, clumsy, and corrupt features. In the early decades of the study, Pakistani actresses' dialogue, film story, dances, and body language was represented as the true picture of all socio-economical classes of Pakistani women while in the present era the women's role in movies has been depicted as western women, commercialised, and a piece of sexual pleasure and gratification so that the true picture was left far behind. There is a fear that in the future Pakistani cinema markets will annihilate itself becoming desolate of intellectual rigour and accurate portrayals of women.

Key Words: Pakistan, cinema, women, fear, Stereotypical role

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Cinema, the major cultural form of the twentieth century is considered to be the most popular of cultural practices reflecting a plethora of social, economic and cultural phenomena in modern societies.[1] However, one could argue that the creation of a mass culture came inevitably with the coming of cinema, even though socio economic conditions were not fertile for the construction of a national industry. Foreign films and productions played then a key role in the formation of the future cinema culture for audiences. Regarding the projections of popular culture through cinema, the first Greek films associated elements of folk culture and popular traditions.[2]

Pakistan's strategic position meant that many of its most enduring cinematic representations have been an amalgam of different cultural factors. Thus from the beginning, two trends have been seen which dominated the Pakistani cinema and Pakistani cultural life in general. On the one hand, there

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is a leaning towards the modern achievements of western civilization, its way of life and artistic models, and on the other, an attachment to the Eastern ways. Naturally, the interaction or belonging of these seemingly opposing elements would have an impact on popular forms of entertainment.[3]

In the sub-continent, it was the Lumiere brothers who exhibited their short films in December 1895 at Grande Café, Paris. The following year they brought the show to India and held its premier at the Watson Hotel in Bombay, 1896. In the next 18 years many cinema houses were built exhibiting silent films mostly from the United States. All over India many individuals tried to make some sort of film with their own insufficient resources.[4]

In multi-linguistal India, Hindi and Urdu cinema developed very rapidly as these languages were spoken and understood by a vast majority of people, among both the masses and elite. The ten years between 1935 and 1945 were a period of revolutionary ideas and inspiration as emancipation was in the offering, people wanted freedom from the British colonial rule and a respite from the domination of Nawabs, Rajas and feudal lords. In the realm of performing arts the main objective shifted from the commercial exploitation to ideological incitement. So the Pakistan's first film "Teri Yaad", released in 1948 was made by joint efforts of the champions of this secular film culture.

In the era of the 1950's the political condition in Pakistan influenced not only the Pakistani media but also Pakistani cinema. Since 1951, after the assassination of Liaqut Ali Khan, the civil Bureaucracy under the command of Ghulam Muhammad, the main Governor General managed the affairs of the state by manipulating politics and politicians to keep the reins of government in their hands. Gradually the military stepped in; Iskandar Mirza took over from the ailing Governor General, and declared himself the president of the country while delaying the impending elections. In 1958, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Ayub Khan removed his benefactor and declared marshal law in the country. Until this point, previous governments had tried to check the contents of the film through censorship boards without realising the power of cinema as a potent vehicle for mobilizing public opinion. Ayub Khan evidently knew about the impact of repeated propaganda. On his orders, fifty films were produced defaming politics, politicians, creating antagonism towards democracy and hailing the imposition of martial law as a "Green Revolution". He projected the slogan "Quaid ne banaya, Ayub Nay Bachaya" through controlled media. The first film newsreel, Pakistan News Pictorial also made its debut under his rule. Its inaugural issue, released in cinema houses on 16 June 1959, showed the president, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, heralding the event by announcing, "The film is a dynamic form of news presentation which can acquaint our people effectively with the day to day events of our national life."[5]

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In 1962, when Ayub Khan introduced a new constitution and became the president of Pakistan by forming his own council Muslim League, his aversion towards politics and politicians turned into friendship. The stable government now allowed some outlets for undertaking movies on history and culture. S.M. Agha's "Gandhara art" and River Idyll were the earliest films that do not refer to the president and his government. Beautifully photographed by innovative craftsman Siraj Alam these films won laurels in national and international forums. The department of film and publication established the documentary and newsreel form of cinema in the country, but the contents of these films left a deep scar on the integrity of this genre. The year 1966-67 was heralded by the government of Ayub Khan as the closing year of the "Decade of Reforms." The Ministry of Information and broadcasting under its secretary, Altaf Gohar facilitated the projection of such efforts through the mass media including cinema. Cinema scope was introduced, co-production with foreign producers was also undertaken, and film producers started going abroad for on location shooting. In the 1960s, a total of 588 movies were produced. The film industry was in full swing. New air-conditioned cinemas replaced pre partitioned ones. Film studios sprang up in Lahore, Karachi and Dhaka. Indian films were shown till the Indo Pak war in 1965, keeping the industry on its toes. Dhaka made waves not only with Bengali films, but also with low budget realistic Urdu films like "Chanda," "Talash" "Chakori" which was Nadeem's hit debut, as well as historical epics like "Nawab Sirajudaullah". In 1967, Raza Mir's "Lakhon main eik" based on the theme of a Hindu-Muslim relationship during the Kashmir crises opened in theatres.[6]

In 1970 the first ever general elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in the country.[7] The army was expecting a hung parliament as too many untested political parties were in the field. The political situation deteriorated to such an extent that the army took action through brute force. On 21st December 1971 the army surrendered and the country was dismembered. The people of West Pakistan forced President General Yahya Khan to hand over the reigns of government to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, leader of Peoples' Party who had won most of the seats in West Pakistan. Afzal Chaudhry's "Jaltay Suraj Kay Neechay" was the last Urdu film from the golden land of what was known as "East Pakistan". In 1973, Bhutto's government realising the deteriorating condition of the film industry established the National Film Development Corporation (NAFDEC). The fifth of July 1977 marked the beginning of the longest Martial law in the country. With the creation of Bangladesh, Pakistan lost over a hundred cinemas. With technicians mostly settled in Lahore, Karachi was no longer attractive as the second film centre. All major artists and directors moved to Lahore and released blockbusters film at the national and international level.

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Javaid Jabbar, an advertising wizard, produced the country's first full-length English feature film "Beyond the Last Mountain" with a team of educated young men and women unknown in the field of cinema before. In 1979, a short-featured documentary film by Mushtaq Ghazdar, titled "They are Killing the Horse" did bring Pakistani cinema into the limelight at the international level. The first cinema scope Punjabi film "Lakha" was released on 22 September, 1978. The biggest blockbuster of Punjabi cinema "Maula Jaat" was released on 11 February, 1979. 1001 films were produced in this era.

In the 1980s, the Government imposed a strict censorship policy and cancelled the censorship certificates of all the films running in the cinema. With so many offences in the code of conduct for film censorship, no one dared to express new ideas through form, content, aesthetics or artistry in order to make a creative or thought provoking movie. The period from 1981 to 1984 was the worst period for the cinema world. The decade of martial law proved to be fatal in the context of untimely death of great pioneers, contributors and stalwarts of the film industry. The first National film awards were arranged by NAFDEC, in 1983. Because Zia-ul-Haq wanted to hold a political referendum on his presidency he favoured these awards and cinema was once again put to propagandist use.

In the 1990s, there was landslide victory in the general elections of February 1997 and the Muslim league came into power under the leadership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Earlier in 1992, during his first tenure as the Prime Minister, the local cinema was given constitutional status as an industry in the new establishment. Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed a journalist turned politician has been appointed by the prime minister to streamline the activities of the Information and Cultural Divisions of the Federal government. On May 1997, within a few months of the formation of the new government, a film convention was held at Lahore. It was the fifth convention of the kind between the government and the emissaries of the cinema.[8] The industry took a nosedive as first satellite and then cable television expanded. Directors like Iqbal Kashmiri, Sangeeta and Pervaiz Malik churned out formula films at an alarming rate. Syed Noor, a script writer in the 70s and 80s, turned to direction and came out with "Qasam", "Sargam", "Dewanay Teray Pyar Kay" and "Daku Rani". He showed some spark, temporarily, but gave quantity preference over quality.

The 2000s has been the worst period for the film industry. The Pakistani film industry has failed to keep up with the changes in technology, tastes and mindsets. Today the Pakistani cinema entertains one segment of society, the urban illiterate males. Despite producing 60 plus films a year in Punjabi, Urdu and Pushto it is hard to find a recent film with artistic merit except perhaps Ajab Gul's "Khoey Ho Tum Kahan" and Javaid Shaikh's "Yeh Dil Aap Ka hua".

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It is hard to assess this representation of violence against women, however, due to the presence of a second category into which female character fall, the role of the female as heroine. The idea of a strong woman character, capable of overcoming seemingly impossible odds to destroy (or at least hinder) her assailant, first became popular with horror filmmakers during the 1980s. Many filmmakers employed this type of character as an alternative to the female victim, hoping to break new ground within a genre normally associated with nothing more than mindless violence towards women. The Pakistani media, attuned to patriarchy, misplaced perceptions of religious injunctions, and resulting directives from the concerned authorities, continues to portray women in stereotypical subordinate, weak, dependent positions - needing male protection, and resists their acceptance otherwise. Women victims of violence make good stories for movies, thereby becoming doubly victimized due to the sensationalized, tabloid-style derogatory depiction of their suffering, especially by the Punjabi and Pashto movies. Meanwhile, the state-controlled electronic media, especially television, has been hesitant to highlight the issue, avoiding talk shows or documentaries on the issue of violence against women where it touches upon rape, domestic violence and incest. Our government has never asked why women are presented stereotypically?[9]

1.   Hypothesis
Following hypotheses were formulated:
1.   Pakistani cinema portrays stereotypical roles of women.
2.   Women are portrayed as sex symbols in the popular Pakistani cinema.
3.   Portrayal of women in popular Pakistani cinema does not match with social reality.

2.   Method
A.   Participants

The data was collected from the students and professionals of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The sample was consisted of 50 participants including 25 university students (13 females; 12 males) and 25 professionals, age range 20-35 years, 13 males; 12 females respectively.

B.   Instruments

Movies selected from each decade were the instruments, which were shown to the sample in order to collect data. The movies selected were "Saat Lakh" from era of 50s, "Armaan" from era of 60s, "Aaina" from 70s, "Bandish" from 80s, "Duppata Jal Raha hai" from 90s and "Khoey Ho Tum Kahan from 2000".

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C.   Questionnaire
The standardized Cinema Women Portrayed Questionnaire was used in the present study. This questionnaire was developed by Salim & Najam. It contains 21 items, scoring based on MCQ format i.e. 1-3.

D.   Interviews
Structured Interviews from eminent media persons were conducted in order to have in depth information about the topic.

E.   Procedure
The selected super hit movies from each decade were given to the sample. They were also provided with the questionnaires. The sample was requested to fill in the questionnaires after watching the movies.

3.   Results
        The data was analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences, version 13. Cross tabs were used in order to see the differences between different decades.

Table 1
Cross tabulation and Chi value of gender and age (years) (N=25 each)

Gender	20-22	23-25	26-28	29-31	32-34	M	SD
Female	11	6	4	3	1	24.24	3.62
Male	5	13	5	2	0	24.64	2.50

$X^2 = 26.66$, df= 12, p= n.s (non-significant)

Table 2
Mean, Standard deviation and t value of comparison between gender and eras on Cinema Women Portrayed Questionnaire (N=25 each) (df= 48)

Era	Males		Females		t	p
	M	SD	M	SD		
1950's	30.76	2.35	29.00	2.81	2.40	.02
1960's	35.24	2.09	34.48	1.90	1.348	n.s
1970's	28.64	1.55	28.24	3.37	.539	n.s
1980's	31.60	1.94	30.20	2.53	2.195	.03
1990's	34.48	1.90	35.24	4.48	.781	n.s
2000	26.76	4.94	25.96	2.70	.711	n.s

Table 3

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Cross tabulation on era and film on female character's role in films and decades.

Name of Film	Decade	Female Character's role in film			Total
		Central role	Side role	Equal with Hero	
Saat Lakh	50s	50	0	0	50
Arman	60s	28	22	0	50
Aaina	70s	18	5	27	50
Bandish	80s	42	1	7	50
DJRH	90s	32	8	10	50
KHTK	2000	50	0	0	50

Table 4

Cross tabulation on era and film on male character's role in films.

Name of Film	Decade	Male Character's role in film			Total
		Central role	Side role	Equal with Heroine	
Saat Lakh	50s	25	8	17	50
Arman	60s	45	5	0	50
Aaina	70s	41	1	8	50
Bandish	80s	50	0	0	50
DJRH	90s	23	3	24	50
KHTK	2000	12	25	13	50

Table 5

Cross tabulation on era and film on representation of average Pakistani women in films.

Name of film	Decade	Does she represent the average Pakistani women of that time?			Total
		To some extent	To great extent	Not at all	
Saat Lakh	50s	32	11	7	50
Armaan	60s	35	15	0	50
Aaina	70s	34	12	4	50
Bandish	80s	29	0	21	50
DJRH	90s	22	18	10	50
KHTK	2000	19	14	17	50

Table 6

Cross tabulation on era and film on her lifestyle shown in the film.

Name of film	Decade	How was her lifestyle shown in the film?			Total
		Upper class	Middle class	Lower class	
Saat Lakh	50s	50	0	0	50
Armaan	60s	9	17	24	50
Aaina	70s	32	9	9	50
Bandish	80s	7	37	6	50
DJRH	90s	1	1	48	50
KHTK	2000	50	0	0	50

Table 7
Cross tabulation on era and film on her reflection of dresses.

Name of film	Decade	Her dresses were reflecting				Total
		Modern/western influenced	Eastern look	Appropriate for her times	The decade	
Saat Lakh	50s	50	0	0	0	50
Armaan	60s	0	11	39	0	50
Aaina	70s	46	4	0	0	50
Bandish	80s	0	47	2	1	50
DJRH	90s	0	28	17	5	50
KHTK	2000	50	0	0	0	50

Table 8
Cross Tabulation on era and film on her role shown as:

Name of film	Decade	Her role was shown as			Total
		Selfish and materialistic	Noble and altruistic	Selfless and sacrificing	
Saat Lakh	50s	50	0	0	50
Armaan	60s	0	44	6	50
Aaina	70s	3	39	8	50
Bandish	80s	0	14	36	50
DJRH	90s	0	35	15	50
KHTK	2000	24	11	15	50

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Table 9
Cross tabulation on era and film on her dances.

Name of film	Decade	What do you think about her dance?				Total
		vulgar	Expressive	Decent	Appropriate	
Saat Lakh	50s	10	2	13	25	50
Armaan	60s	0	10	31	9	50
Aaina	70s	0	25	25	0	50
Bandish	80s	0	47	3	0	50
DJRH	90s	7	8	15	20	50
KHTK	2000	36	14	0	0	50

Table 10
Cross tabulation on era and film on description of her make up.

Name of film	Decade	How would you describe her makeup?			Total
		Overdone	Appropriate	Normal	
Saat Lakh	50s	0	24	26	50
Armaan	60s	0	9	41	50
Aaina	70s	13	24	13	50
Bandish	80s	0	21	29	50
DJRH	90s	4	17	29	50
KHTK	2000	9	24	17	50

Table 11
Cross Tabulation on era and film on her role shown influenced by

Name of film	Decade	Her character was shown influenced by				Total
		Social pressure	Family pressure	Economic pressure	All the above	
SaatLakh	50s	0	34	16	0	50
Arman	60s	6	17	27	0	50
Aaina	70s	22	27	1	0	50
Bandish	80s	9	41	0	0	50

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Name of film	Decade	Her character was shown influenced by				Total
		Social pressure	Family pressure	Economic pressure	All the above	
DJRH	90s	9	4	17	20	50
KHTK	2000	3	47	0	0	50

Table 12
Cross Tabulation on era and film on her gestures while acting

Name of film	Decade	How were her gestures while acting?				Total
		Suggestive	Decent	Provocative	Normal	
Saat Lakh	50s	0	25	6	19	50
Arman	60s	0	0	0	50	50
Aaina	70s	2	39	5	4	50
Bandish	80s	10	3	0	37	50
DJRH	90s	7	16	16	11	50
KHTK	2000	2	17	9	22	50

Table 13
Cross Tabulation on era and film on description of her body language

Name of Film	Decade	How would you describe her body language?				Total
		Suggestive	Decent	Provocative	Normal	
SaatLakh	50s	6	21	3	20	50
Armaan	60s	13	25	0	12	50
Aaina	70s	0	38	0	12	50
Bandish	80s	0	39	0	11	50
DJRH	90s	7	30	0	13	50
KHTK	2000	8	25	16	1	50

Table 14
Cross Tabulation on era and film on her education level shown in the film

Name of film	Decade	Her education level shown in the film			Total
		Highly educated	Educated	Uneducated	
Saat lakh	50s	6	42	2	50

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Armaan	60s	0	0	50	50
Aaina	70s	7	43	0	50
Bandish	80s	0	50	0	50
DJRH	90s	0	50	0	50
KHTK	2000	17	33	0	50

Table 15
Cross Tabulation on era and film on who created difficulties for her in the movie.

Name of film	Decade	Who created difficulties for her in the movie?				Total
		Male	Female	Both	Her own actions	
Saat Lakh	50s	0	16	0	34	50
Armaan	60s	0	50	0	0	50
Aaina	70s	0	20	30	0	50
Bandish	80s	11	39	0	0	50
DJRH	90s	0	0	50	0	50
KHTK	2000	19	0	0	31	50

Table 16
Cross tabulation on era and film on songs featuring the heroine

Name of film	Decade	Songs featuring the heroine				Total
		Inconsistent with the situation	To expose her	add colour to the movie	According to the situation	
Saat Lakh	50s	0	0	13	37	50
Armaan	60s	0	0	0	50	50
Aaina	70s	0	0	10	40	50
Bandish	80s	0	0	6	44	50
DJRH	90s	1	12	12	25	50

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Name of film	Decade	Songs featuring the heroine				Total
		Inconsistent with the situation	To expose her	add colour to the movie	According to the situation	
KHTK	2000	11	17	11	11	50

Table 16 shows that according to the majority of the respondents the songs featuring the leading woman characters of the movies of 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s were according to the situation. In contrast, the songs from the 2000s were solely to expose the women's body.

4.   Discussion

The present study was conducted to investigate the portrayal of women in popular Pakistani cinema in different decades. Numerous studies demonstrated that almost every woman in films has been portrayed as self-sacrificing, always stereotyped and harming the images of women. It appears as though women fit into conventional roles.[10] Lack of education and traditionalist thinking among filmmakers have been leading role in downfall of cinema in Pakistan. They are not trained and anyone can make a movie.[11]

The present study also investigated whether and to what extent women are portrayed as sex symbols in the Popular Pakistani cinema. In the films of early decades the portrayal of women was at least within the limits of indigenous culture. They have been shown as modern and independent rather then any vulgarity and abusiveness. In the film of 1950s the songs featuring the leading lady were according to the situation, dances were appropriate, gestures, and the body language of the leading lady of 1950s were courteous but with the passage of time, in the decade of 2000s, the features of the leading lady have been tailored to that of a sex symbol, vulgar, disgusting, and the lead is portrayed negatively.

In the decade of fifties women were playing active roles in the development of the country as Pakistan was a newly born country. Both the ladies of fifties and 2000, are depicted as being rich and upper class, wearing western influenced dresses and both are shown as selfish and materialistic but the difference between these eras is the unrealistic presentation of women in the latter films. The recent attempts by producers and directors to modernise film according to western styles, has led to the portrayal of women in an unrealistic form. They have presented the heroines as bold ladies with strong minds but having loose moral characters. The major purpose for the negative depiction of women in movies is of commercial success. Every movie has been made from a commercial point of view and therefore the true picture is left far behind.

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4   Limitations of the study

It was not possible to show more than one movie from each era because of fixed time frame. The decade of 1940s was not selected because the movies of that decade were either not available in the market or with the producers. Furthermore the professionals showed considerable reluctance to watching the movies.

5.   Conclusion

After analysis, the following recommendations could be made in order to improve the sorry state of cinema and portrayal of women.

1.   Educated people should come forward in the industry in order to meet the demands of the fast pace of the industry of neighbouring countries.
2.   Private sector should be involved.
3.   Government should reduce taxes on the deteriorated industry.
4.   Proper training should be given to producers and directors.
5.   Academies should be made to teach and train industry people.

Notes

[1] J Hill, *The Future of European Cinema*, Farnsworth publication, London, 1994.

[2] D McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory. An Introduction*, Sage Publications, London, 1994.

[3] Hill, *The future of European cinema*, Farnsworth publication, London, 1994

[4] G Mushtaq, *History of Pakistani Cinema*, Oxford Publications, Pakistan, 1997.

[5] M Gazdar, *The History of Pakistani Cinema 1947-1997.* Oxford University Press, Lahore, 1997.

[6] G Mushtaq, *History of Pakistani Cinema*, Oxford Publications, Pakistan, 1997.

[7] G Mushtaq, *History of Pakistani Cinema*, Oxford Publications, Pakistan, 1997.

[8] Gazdar, *op.cit*.

[9] ibid.

[10] ibid.

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Transgressing Boundaries: Genies in Turkish Horror Films

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Abstract: After Atatürk founded the modern Turkey, a number of radical reforms to create a secular and modern state were instituted. While most people were supporting the secular reforms, tending to the West, the rest, particularly the rural ones, were bound blindly up with Islamic thought. Governments, after the death of Atatürk, conceded on secularism up until now. And finally in 2002 an Islamic based party, AKP, was elected. By 2007, AKP reinforced its position with increased votes. Even though the AKP claim that they are not a threat to the regime, the laics are seriously concerned about the AKP's religious based actions which progressively infuse into daily life. While influencing social life, the religious dynamics blur the boundary between those of the secular life and themselves. As the Islamic movement becomes strengthened, the laics feel threatened on a daily basis. The fear of being dominated by an Islamic regime is expressed via various media, one of which is cinema. Horror films are considered as indicators of social fears by means of cultural representations. Horror films, particularly during a crisis period, reflect fear and anxiety caused by the stated conjuncture of metaphors. Although horror is one of the least made genre in Turkish Cinema, 4 within 90 years until 2004, 18 horror films have been made between 2004 and today. This paper argues that recent films have reflected the metaphors of the mentioned crisis period. Three films, *Dabbe*, *Musallat* and *Semum*, in which protagonists are possessed by genies which, in Islamic thought, are created by God and live in a different plane of existence, are investigated. But, in those films, the genies possessed the humans by passing beyond their dimension. This paper examines the role of genies as fear figures which represent the rise of religious movement that break out of its plane, to the public sphere after the AKP government.

Key Words: Horror Film, Turkey, Rise of Islam, Genies

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Horror is one of the least made genres in Turkish Cinema. The beginning of Turkish cinema dates back to 1914, to a documentary film produced by Fuat Uzkinay. In the first 90 years of its history, approximately 6000 films were made in Turkish cinema and only 4 of them were horror films. Several reasons can be mentioned here: these include: no horror genre in Turkish literature as a source for horror film; producers' objective for guaranteed box office genres like melodrama and comedy; believing horror is a risky genre for the box-office since the target audience of Turkish Cinema are families; and Turkish cinema's is behind in the technical skills that the

horror genre requires. Nevertheless, in Turkish cinema a few attempts were made at the horror genre like *Şeytan* (1974) which was a remake of *Exorcist, Drakula İstanbul'da* (1953), and *Ölüm Saati* (1954). If we count in *Çığlık* (1949) which is described as suspense more than horror film by many critics, there are four horror films within the 90-year-history of Turkish cinema. But since 2000 in Turkish cinema many horror films came one after another like a creepy hand breaking through the grave. After 2004, 19 horror films have been made.

Many reasons can account for this increase: for the last two decades the majority of audiences are not families but teenagers whose genre choice is different, and producers have noticed; a new generation of directors that were educated in film schools, and recent advances in the technical qualities of Turkish cinema. But besides all these surface reasons there is also a link with the economical, political and social crisis during the last two decades in Turkey. Presupposing that horror films are metaphors of fears and anxieties of society, this paper focuses on sub-genre of Turkish horror films called genies horror films and tries to link genies with the crisis between the secular system and increasing Islam. For clarification of the situation, we need to look at a brief history of secularism and modernization in Turkey.

After four centuries of the golden age of The Ottoman Empire, a regressive era began in the seventeenth century, and the empire began to lose her superiority and lands. Following 300 years of regression, the Turkish Republic was born out of the ashes of the Empire. The Ottoman Empire had mainly been based on Islam which means laws, politics and daily life were determined by religion. Islam was the main tool for governing the empire. The Empire consisted of many Muslim and non-Muslim communities and the Sultan was the caliph of all Muslims, so the caliphate was important to govern the Muslim communities and to having relationships with other Muslim countries. As a matter of fact the Empire's interpretation of Islam was not helpful for progression. In the nineteenth century while the Empire was approaching the inevitable end, intellectuals demanded reforms in the government, army and education. Against a strong opposition camp, reform efforts were begun with the middle classes leading the reforms. But it was not satisfactory to recover the Empire. After the 1919-1922 War of Liberation the Turkish Republic was founded.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and first president of Turkey put the blame for centuries long regression, poverty and illiteracy on the Empire's conception of Islam. Many radical reforms were put in to practice which comprised laws, education, and daily life even dressing. So it was not a surprise that the first major reforms were connected with secularism. As a visionary leader, Atatürk was aware that the principal condition of the Republic's permanence was to be a secular, modern state. As cited by Karpat the purposes of secularism in Turkey were of a multiple character: to help

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create a modern national state without the bias of religion; to liberate the society from the hold of Islam; and to bring about a new type of free individual.[1] It was a rationalist, scientific-minded, anti-traditionalist, and anti-clericalist secularism which was cited by Keyman and Öniş as "hyper-secularism"[2]. That secular, modern, free state was the dream of the intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire and the middle classes are already prepared to accept it. But it was not easy for the rest to accept the reforms and radical changes in daily life. I must highlight that secularism was not voluntarily accepted at the end of peaceful evolution but imposed upon the society by the government and the first operation of Atatürk was to remove the caliphate. Karpat stresses that had Atatürk not acted quickly in these decisive days Turkey would have remained a primitive theocratic state and the sordid struggle between the secularists and conservatives that started at the beginning of the 19th century, would have continued with secularists on the losing side.[3] To assure the new Republic's survival, cultural and political foundations must be established. So a fast modernisation was needed and the only model to be followed was The West. Thus modernisation had to be imposed, regardless of the consequences, upon a society whose original culture was considered irreconcilable with that of the West.[4] The primary target that was established by Atatürk was to reach the contemporary level of civilization "by establishing its political, economic and ideological prerequisites, such as the creation of an independent nation-state, the fostering of industrialisation and the construction of a secular and modern national identity".[5] So Atatürk saw Western modernity as the only way for building modern Turkey. To achieve the mentioned state, as cited by Keyman and Öniş, modernisation had to be swift due to the "gap" between Turkey and The West.[6] So reforms were swift and top-down.

While the secular, modern way of life, affected intensely bureaucrats, intellectuals and most of the middle classes, the people in the villages and small towns continued to preserve their basic Islamic customs and traditions and as cited by Karpat "the cultural goals of secularism were only superficially fulfilled there".[7] For a public governed by Islamic principles only a few years earlier, the young Republic's transformation was hard. And especially during its first years, the government had an antagonist policy to Islamic rituals and clericalism and a definite control on religious activities. These practices caused great resentment among conservatives and even common citizens. As a matter of fact rebellions rose up in Anatolia demanding an Islamic government but they were quashed immediately. In a very short time, Turkey accomplished a radical transformation and turned her face to the West. But not all of the people shared the pleasure of success.

Until Atatürk's death in 1938 the reforms applied rigidly. In 1945 after World War II, Turkey managed to make a transition to multi party democracy. The main figure of single party democracy, the Republican

People's Party lost the elections and the Democratic Party came into power. Democracy was an opportunity for conservatives waiting for 25 years to place religion in daily life. By democracy people in villages and small towns had an essential weapon: the vote. After World War II Turkey had significant social and economic changes.

> …democracy has opened a legitimate avenue for the countryside to incorporate the lower class, traditionalist culture into the official one. The migration of millions of villagers into the cities, in turn, has created a true populist revolution in music cuisine, dress, language, etc., by supplementing the political democracy with a cultural one.[8]

Big cities like Ankara and Istanbul enlarged to be metropolises. People came from the rural areas with their grass root culture which is traditional and Islamic. Although in the first 25 years of the Republic, the government rejected Ottomanism and Islamism and the historical and cultural legacy, a variety of ideological movements ranging from extreme nationalism to Islamic fundamentalism sprung up with the establishment of democracy.[9] Perhaps worst of all politicians discovered that religion was a guaranteed way to get votes. The Democratic Party government began to compromise from secularism and arguments for a modern, secular state began to lose. Government opened Clergy and Divinity Schools that basically have Islamic curriculum with a significantly increasing number, exonerated the members of the imperial family who were exiled in 1924, opened many mosques and changed the Turkish ezan (to call the Muslims to prayer) to Arabic in a similar fashion to the Ottoman Empire.

The secular Kemalists and middle class who see Islam as the main threat and consider themselves the guardians of a secular, modern Republic were not pleased about these changes. In the next decades until the 1990's Turkey was shaking with economical crises, anarchy, corruption, and coups. In the 1970's an Islamic party consolidated power for the first time. That was not the first but the biggest gap in the Kemalist modernism project.

The 1990's were a simultaneous existence of transformation and crises as cited by Keyman and Öniş, mainly felt in the realms of politics, economics and culture. These years can be characterised by decadence of the Left and elevation of conservatism and Islam:

> In this period, while there were societal calls for the necessary democratisation of state-society relations, the development of civil society and sustainable economic development, the state and political parties faced a serious legitimacy and representation crisis, the economic realm has experienced a serious financial and governing

crisis, the cultural realm was confronted by the religious and ethnic-based conflict. In fact it was the identity-based conflicts, which have given rise to the process of the resurgence of Islam and the Kurdish question that marked the crisis-ridden nature of Turkish modernity and Turkish politics during the 1990s."[10]

The 1990s were a real resurgence for the Islamic community in Turkey. They had results from their 60-year-efforts. They had political and economical power. Islamic media, holdings, banks, private schools were started to enmesh Islam all over the country. Islamic parties gained most of the local municipality elections in the 1990's. In 1996 Islamic Refah Party became a partner of coalition government and soon their actions countered with Kemalist elites. As a matter of fact, Kemalist elites in the state did not consent to their actions and the Refah Party was banned by the Constitutional Court. The Fazilet Party that was established after the Refah Party had the same fate with its preceding. Finally AKP, most of whose founders were from Refah Party origin, was established with a claim that they are a centre-right party and not an Islamic one.

> During the 1990s, the Islamic challenge has produced (a) a successful politicization process both national and local levels, which has brought a success of the Islamic-oriented parties in national and municipal elections and (b) successful Islamic-oriented economics actors, whose increasing presence in economic life has proved that Islam can co-exist with free market capitalism, globalization and modernity.[11]

After DSP (centre-left) ANAP (centre-right) and MHP (radical right) coalition years with an unstable political and economical structure, in 2002 national elections, AKP had a settled single majority government. Keyman and Öniş link AKP's success to people seeking prosperity more than state and security. People were tired of economic crisis, poverty and weak coalitions.[12] Since the AKP has emerged from the previous Islamic-based political parties with a moderate Islamic discourse, it created uneasiness and anxiety in secular and Kemalist people. Their hope was political and economic failure of the AKP but it didn't happen and in the 2007 national elections AKP won 47% of the votes and the centre-left Kemalist party CHP won only 20% of votes. That was a nightmare for secular, modernist people.

Even though the AKP claimed that they are not a threat to the regime, the secular people are seriously concerned about the religious based actions infused into daily life. An important recent case was female university students' demands for rights to wear a turban which was banned as a political symbol in 1997. AKP changed the law to allow them to wear a turban. But

this caused endless debates. Secularists arranged demonstrations where thousands of people yelled to ban the turban. Finally the Supreme Court banned the turban in the Universities and secular tensions eased for a while. One single conflict was won but not the overall war yet. The secularists saw AKP's every action as a threat for secularism and the Republic. Most of the employees working for government were supporters of the AKP. Most of the executives, like governors, have Clergy and Divinity School origins. Mayors were trying to ban alcohol in their region. While these actions influence social life, the religious dynamics blur the boundary between secular aspects and religion. As the Islamic movement becomes stronger the laics feel threatened on a daily basis. The fear of being dominated by an Islamic regime is expressed in various media, one of which is cinema.

As cited by Ryan and Kellner, genre films have always been the most powerful instruments of ideology, and there is a close tie between them and social ideology which makes them most fragile and vulnerable to the effects of social change. Horror genre is considered as a strong indicator of social fears by means of cultural representations.[13] It is in the horror genre that some of the crucial anxieties, tensions and fears generated by societal changes are played out.[14] Ryan and Kellner and Robin Wood connect increases in horror films in 1970's to the anxieties, and despair of society and political and economic crisis. A similar evolution emerged in Turkey in the 2000's.

We can approach genie films from two perspectives. Some genie films reflect the fear and anxieties of secular side, some of them reflect the Islamic side. These two groups are the two faces of the same reality. While the Republic's government policies depend on creating a state-nation and modernisation for 60 years, in the last two decades ethnic and local culture has been promoted. This is a consequence of neo-liberal politics as in the rest of the world. While the first group of films reflect the fear of the middle-class and Kemalist elites as a result of eliminating the state-nation and promoting ethnic, local and Islamic culture, the second group of films enable Islamic groups' or moderate people's who have Islamic belief, integration in the system and give meaning to their lives. Because while the neo-liberal politics banish Kemalist elites from power and give way to Islamic belief, it did not change millions of people's low standard of living who support Islamic parties. The majority of voters for Islamic Parties are low income and low educated group. They perceive the life in an irrational way. They are rather away from the rationality for which the modernist Kemalism aimed. They still do not have good incomes, they have poor health services, poor education, and they have no confidence in their tomorrows. While surrounded by poverty, unemployment, increasing crime rates, these people need something to give meaning to these things. Because most of the Turkish people have a moderate Islamic faith, they voted for the AKP but they cannot

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determine the politics of AKP. While this party is neo-liberal, its politics are not for the benefit of its supporters. These people cannot benefit from neo-liberalism. On the contrary, they suffer from neo-liberalist politics. But neo-liberalist politics' change the status quo, and take power from one set of elites and give it to a new group. This satisfies them to some extent, but as a matter of fact the system does not change. It creates its own elites. The masses, 47 % of which voted for the AKP, cannot give meaning to all these circumstances of their own life. So these people want to believe that there is a super power that controls and determines the world that they cannot control or determine or rule. These films represent the deterioration in moral values, and the superficial and meaninglessness of the modern life style as a result of the modernisation project of the Republic and suggest moderate Islamic belief as a solution. Since they cannot control their own lives, they reflect these fears in metaphysical forces like genies.

Three of these horror films *Dabbe, Semum and Musallat* are worth detailed study. These films can be considered as a "genies" sub-genre. In Islamic belief, genies are not mythical or folk tales figures, but they actually exist as The Koran states that "We have created humankind from potter's clay and (we created) the Djinn (genies) from smokeless flame" (55:1). "I have only created Djinn and the man that they may serve me" (C 51:56). There is an entire sura (Al-Jinn) about genies. The Koran also states that genies were created before humankind much like the angels were. Genies are just like humans, they are mortal and they too can be both good and evil. They are more powerful than human beings. They live in another dimension and are not visible to human beings. In Muslim countries including Turkey people believe in genies and there are many folk tales, stories, and superstitions about them. They believe that genies can jump into the human dimension, to our world and be seen by people and scare or posses them. Some mediums claim that they can communicate with genies and make them serve. Muslims are afraid of and respect genies.

At this point I will use Douglas Kellner and Michael Ryan's approach to horror film and cultural representation used in their remarkable book *Camera Politica*. Ryan and Kellner emphasise that during times of social crisis, several sorts of cultural representations tend to emerge. Some idealise solutions and alternatives to the distressing actuality, some project the worst fears and anxieties induced by the critical situation into metaphors that allow those fears to be absolved or played out, and some evoke a nihilistic vision of a world without hope or remedy.[15] If we think about the genies sub-genre in Turkish horror film we realise that these films project these fears and have a pessimistic approach.

Dabbe, filmed in 2006, is the first film of this sub-genre. Since it was directed by Hasan Karacadağ, a young director who worked in Japan, *Dabbe* has many inspirations of Japanese horror film. Despite being slashed and

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knocked down by critics, *Dabbe* had remarkable box-office success. The film takes place in a popular touristic province of Turkey. Hande and Sema, souvenir shop clerks, phone their colleague Tarık who has not come to the shop for a few days. Dialogue inform us that Tarık has been behaving strangely since he bought a computer and internet connection. When the phone rings in Tarık's apartment all we see is the computer by Tarık's POV. Because Tarık does not answer the phone Hande goes to his house and finds him again behaving strangely. All the walls and windows in the house are covered with newspapers and Tarık is odd. As Sema tries to chat to him, Tarık goes upstairs and kills himself with a huge knife. Police detective Süleyman takes the case. As the plot progresses we learn that all over the world many people are committing suicide like Tarık. Hande remembers the video camera that she has lent to Tarık. When she watches the tape she sees Tarık's lunatic behaviours and black shadows moving in the room and finally the TV screen turns to red, demonic eyes. Hereafter the film establishes frightening motifs by using communication media. Dead Tarık sends SMS "help me" to his friend, and an MMS standing in a tunnel with shadows behind. While Hande watches TV, the speaker turns into a demonic creature. Tarık's other friend, Cem's laptop opens and a message appears "Are you ready to invert everything?" I think this message is very important for the film's analysis and I will handle it later. As the plot unfolds, genies spread via the internet. The second victim is Cem. When the police investigate the house in which Cem's body was founded, a man in the crowd yells something about Dabbe. Dabbe is a creature mentioned in the Koran which is an indicator of the judgment day. The man says Dabbe is responsible for the murders and he uses genies. When Hande researches Dabbe she finds that it means "spreads like a spider's web". So Dabbe uses internet and kills people. After this point the plot progresses chaotically. All the protagonists including Hande are killed one after another by genies.

Semum (2008), Karacadağ's second film, takes genies as a subject matter again. The plot begins when a young businessman Volkan and his wife Canan buy a villa surrounded by a grove. The site is outside İstanbul and cannot be considered as suburban because there are few villas in the neighbourhood. The villa's architecture and isolated location, bizarre gardener Naci and mysterious neighbours give the film a gothic atmosphere. As the plot unfolds the film takes guise of "a haunted house". Canan begins to see hallucinations. The protagonists are watched by POVs and we cannot see to whom the POV belongs. Then we begin to see the genie as a shadow or a smoke. Volkan worries as his wife's hallucinations get worse day by day. But it is more than hallucinations. The genie begins to possess Canan and the film begins to be a "Turkish Exorcist". One night while sleeping with her husband, Canan sees the genie as he crawls towards her and she can't move or warn Volkan, she is paralysed. The genie sits on her chest and

outpours something from his mouth to her mouth. After that night Canan gets worse. She begins to speak with a voice of a non-human creature, tries to hurt her husband or she waits for the genie like a terrified little girl. Since her psychiatrist cannot help, Ali, a colleague of Volkan warns him that Canan might be possessed by a genie and suggests a hodja. Mikail Hodja accepts to help and comes to their villa. He sees the genie and understands that Canan is possessed by him. Soon he finds out the reason for the possession. Canan's best friend Banu, because of her jealousness, has learned black magic and sent the genie to her. Mikail Hodja fights with the genie in a scene reminiscent of Gandalf fighting with Balrog in the *Lord of The Rings* and kills him. Finally Canan and Volkan live in ease and Banu is punished by other genies because she was the cause of a genies death.

Musallat, directed by another young director Alper Mestçi, is about a genie that falls in love with a human young girl. The film begins with a young man and an old man in a small lorry and they arrive at a village and take down a carcass. They wash it according to Islamic rules. After that we see someone writing with the Arabic script that "we have been appraised that we are not alone in this world. Whatever have happened to us happened because of neglecting this revelation. Everything started nine months ago", and the main plot begins in Berlin. Suat is a young Turkish worker in Germany and his only thought is his fiancée Nurcan that was left behind in his village in Turkey. But he has problems because of dissonant in Germany and he has a longing for Nurcan. He has nightmares and Nurcan has the principal part in his nightmares. She is seen like a ghost with her white skin and bloody mouth and Suat can't give any meaning to these nightmares. As the nightmares frequency increases Suat gets worse day by day. His best friend Metin worries abut him but he can't help him. After Suat passes out at the factory Metin takes him to the hospital, but the doctors cannot make a diagnosis and recommend that he see a psychiatrist. Metin takes Suat to İstanbul to see a hodja, Hacı Burhan hoping that he can help. Hacı Burhan finds out that a powerful genie wants to harm Suat. Burhan writes a charm to protect him. At the hotel he removes his charm to take a shower. When Metin comes into the room he finds Suat dead in the bathroom. He calls Burhan and they take the body to bury in his village because Burhan said "that must be done."

We see the sequence at the beginning of the film again. When they bury him at the village the genie kills Burhan's son and daughter in-law. When Burhan returns to his house he finds the dead bodies. At that time Burhan's dead wife (whom we have seen previously in frowning portraits on the wall), appears saying "Burhan look carefully" holding a dead new born freaky baby in her hands. Burhan is hit by the genie and although he is wounded he writes the words at beginning of the film. As a voice-over he explains the reason for these curses and pain. The reason was love, a great

love. We see Suat and Nurcan's wedding. Soon we understand that the genie was in love with Nurcan for many years and when Suat went to Germany the genie came to the village in Suat's appearance (in Islamic belief genies can take anybody's or anything's shape) and married Nurcan. He lives with Nurcan in Suat's house and the couple's happiness grows when they learn that Nurcan is pregnant. Finally Nurcan gives birth to a genie baby and one of the villager women that assisted at the birth, kills the baby with the screams "this is the seed of the evil and should be killed immediately". The genie-Suat enters the room and goes mad when he sees the body of his baby. Like a centre of a storm he gets out of a human body and shows its real face. And finally he kills Suat in the bathroom saying "everything is your fault". The film ends with Burhan's last words "it was a great love but it was wrong".

The common point of these three films is taking genies as a subject matter and they are occult films. As cited by Ryan and Kellner, films featuring occult motifs frequently use demonic or supernatural figures to represent threats to social normality and the existing institutional order. The numbers of these films increases during periods of internal social disorder, crises or threats to the society that are especially feared. At such times, the occult appears as an efficient ideological mode which helps explain seemingly incomprehensible phenomena. It suggests that what seems meaningless has meaning. In a society run on irrational principles, the need for such meaning structures will be increased the more the system enters a dysfunction. Thus, the occult should be read as a projection of fear, but it is also a way of attaining the meaning of the things denied in real life. A sense of meaning provides security by describing the origin and the function of seemingly irrational phenomena. These films can be read as metaphoric representations that fulfil emotional needs that cannot be satisfied in the social system. All these anxieties result as fantasies of evil in the world.[16]

These statements of Ryan and Kellner can easily be adapted for Turkey and the genie sub-genre. The twenty-first century was not a good beginning for Turkey. The economy was about to collapse and getting worse, similar to the physical health of aged Prime Minister Ecevit. The Coalition Government was joggling with political crisis. The Istanbul stock exchange price was dependent on Prime Minister's health. High inflation, coalition governments, political crisis, government's tight monetary policy, anxiety about the future created an expectation for a powerful, stable leader and a government. The principal reason for the pessimistic world in Turkish horror films in general, genies horror films in particular can be explained in this way. It is also because genie films enable Islamic groups to cope with the neo-liberalistic politics of Islamic AKP. But the first film *Dabbe* reflects the fears and anxieties of modern secular people.

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We can claim that *Dabbe* is the most pessimistic film of the three and it can be counted in the first category. The film begins with a warning script: "They see you from where you can't see them." This warning refers to the two separate planes either diegetic or real world. These two spheres should not be amalgamated or fused because it causes catastrophe as seen in *Dabbe*. It cannot be a coincidence that the film is taking place in a little tourist town in the west of Turkey. The towns like these are the gates to the West and Western lifestyle because of tourism. Also, the little towns are the places where Islamic customs are rigidly conserved. All the visual elements in the film reflect this dualism. The souvenir shop is like a brief history of the journey from ancient Greek and Islamic-Ottoman roots to a modern nation-state. The shop is full of ancient Greek vases, relief, Arabic prayer calligraphies and Atatürk portraits on souvenirs. It is like a summary of multi-cultural structure of Anatolia. So the first attack of the genies' on a souvenir shop is significant. When Hande worries about Tarık, the first protagonist possessed by genies, and goes to see him, an old woman with a veiling sits in front of her on the bus. Modern and young Hande and the veiled woman reflect the same dualism. A few days later when Cem takes the bus the same veiled woman sits in front of him. This repetition reinforces this dualism. The film reflects the fears and anxieties of modernist people about the failure of nation-state and the power and authority slipping through their fingers. The representative of authority in the film is the police chief Suleyman. The Chief's inability to interpret the incidents and feel the threat, his weakness because of keen sense of guilt (cheating on his wife caused her suicide) reflects the disability of the modernist nation-state governors. The fear of collapse of the modernist nation-state appears tangible in a scene when Cem, the second victim, notices that his laptop opens and letters which seems like Arabic but actually is Turkish reads "Are you ready for the inverting of reality". An Islamic government and the collapse of the modernisation project is an actual inversion for modernist, secular people. The next day Cem tells of this event to Hande and Sema. The location of the scene is rather significant. They are standing on a locomotive in a railway museum. Railways were one of the principal issues of the Republic. It was the way to defeat underdevelopment and reach Western countries and civilization. Also, the fate of railways and the secular modernist state project are similar. At the same time as the concession from secularism, the Democrat Party government began to neglect railways and privilege highways. So the place of learning about the threat of inverting reality is very significant.

The other essential scene is the news program that Chief Suleyman is watching. An anchorwoman hosts a psychiatrist, a representative of positive science and his words state a resignation. "Today metaphysical things that we excluded and cannot explain are in a dimension that we cannot reject. This is

like reality's trading places with dreams" Actually the true word must be the nightmare. In the second half of the film, things get worse. We begin to see the genies but they are like shadows. The shadows are not very clear, they are rather blurred. The genies in *Dabbe* are the most concrete representation of fundamentalists. They were everywhere but did not draw attention. They were in the shadows, and they grow up in shadows. When the time came they appeared to get what they wanted. Another symbolic link between the film and reality is Tarık covering the windows and walls of his flat with newspapers as a protection from genies, he states "you will not enter in". The protective function of a newspaper for a metaphysical creature is not different from the governments' praxis against radical Islam in the last fifty years. In *Dabbe* the rhetoric of the camera supports this theme. High angle crane shots are used with dreadful impact, and give an impression of genies watching the protagonists. This enables the film's uncanny atmosphere. These high angle shots reinforce the weakness of protagonists and authority to genies. Toward the end of the film all the protagonists are possessed and killed by genies. In this apocalyptic final, only Hande survives as a "final girl" but she does not last that long. She is called to a dark tunnel outside the city by dead Chief Suleyman, in which all the killed-by-genies protagonists get together. After facing her dark genie twin - which is a rather important issue and I will discuss at the end of the paper - she is killed as well. The tunnel, I think has an important symbolism as well. The first time we see the tunnel is when Cem receives a photograph by e-mail from Tarık after his death. In this photograph Tarık is seen in a dark tunnel with some shadows behind him. We see this creepy tunnel a few more times, all of which is connected with genies, death and evil. Finally Suleyman's assistant discovers the tunnel outside the town but he is killed right after that. So the tunnel is not a metaphysical place, on the contrary it physically exists. Not as a profound or complicated analysis but as a simple one, I want to read the tunnel as an Islamic formation against the secular system. While this formation expands the genies - Islamic formation-, it undermines the system or foundations. At the final scene of the film the dark armies of genies walk through the tunnel with an Arabic prayer on the soundtrack. The despairing atmosphere of *Dabbe* and pessimistic end reflect the emotional state of the secular side of Turkey.

On the other hand, *Semum* and *Musallat* have a clear Islamic discourse. They transform the difficulties and distress of daily life into a metaphysical evil and they replicate the conservatism and "the recipe is religion" motto of 1970's American Horror film.

> These demonic films suggest life is horrible because evil is exists as a tangible entity. (…) other recurring elements in these films include the idea of vengeance (…) the concept of mystic possession; and the

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use of an all-pervasive Christian symbology, which serves both to reinforce and to pervert Christian belief.[17]

Semum and *Musallat* use Islamic symbology and rituals to defeat the evil which comes from the metaphysical universe and threatens our world. *Semum* is the clearest expression of the way of thinking of this traumatic period. It can be seen as an artistic expression of dominant ideology that was formed in parallel with the transformation of social-economic constructs. This dominant ideology is the moderate Islam. Today there is a balance in Turkey. This balance requires in Turkey neither a secular nation-state nor a radical Islam. So, moderate Islam that has been promoted for 30 years consistent with America's "Green Zone" in the 1980's and neo-liberal politics of today creates a balance position that veils traumas.

In *Semum* the couple that is menaced by genies is a modern, educated, wealthy one. As a target of the genies' attack this couple is a clear symbol of not merely the threat to secularism or the modern way of life but the changing elites. Today new elites appear in Turkey. Most of them are from provincial areas and rose to wealth in the last two decades. Volkan and Canan buy a luxury villa out of the city lost between woods. There are few other villas neighbouring and the site is rather isolated. Volkan asks the real-estate agent about the neighbours. He replies "people prefer here for peace. No one is interested in the other". This scene reminds the viewer of the elite's isolated and withdrawn lifestyle. But the woods surrounding the villa also remind us of the threat. Another unsettling thing is the bizarre gardener Naci. He always watches, suddenly appears and informs of bad news. He is a typical provincial, low educated, low income man. His eyes reveal a dislike of this young, rich couple. He informs them that the wife of a man in the neighbourhood is missing and he is the first suspect of the police. Canan chafes but Volkan calms her. He is the symbol of the 'insensible rich elite'. He cannot detect the bad signs. After their move to the villa Canan begins to change. She begins to have nightmares. One night the genie crawls on her bed and pours his evil into her mouth, and possesses her. At that moment her husband Volkan sleeps near her. Canan is terrified to death, and tries to shout but her voice is hoarse. He cannot hear her voice. At that time ezan is heard reminding the help of a more powerful existence. As things get worse Volkan takes her to a psychiatrist but he cannot help her. When Canan harms the neighbour Volkan ties her to a bed. The psychiatrist decides to send her to a clinic. But Ali, a colleague of Volkan, wonders whether a genie might have possessed Canan and convinces Volkan to see a hodja. As Ali and Volkan drive, the camera dollies through the rampart of İstanbul. With this symbol of the opposition of modern and old, the cure for the evil that was brought by modernism is old and traditional. The name of the hodja is Mikail, (Michael in English) which has a deep symbolism. Mikail is one of the four leading

angels of God and responsible for the order of the universe. So a spiritual help is sent for Canan. When Ali, Volkan and Mikail move toward the villa, it is seen like a castle in the uncanny forest in fairy tales. Mikail sees the genie and begins the exorcism. At that moment the psychiatrist comes and chides Volkan for getting help from a charlatan. The film takes its side with a symbolism of colours. The psychiatrist wears a black shirt and Mikail wears a white cloth. This scene is the summary of the changing the modernisation project, rationalism and science to neo-liberal politics, irrationalism and implicit faith. Mikail argues with the psychiatrist saying "medicine can not help her. Science is never a deity to worship. Science is necessary but you can't live without faith." And he challenges the psychiatrist: "I will prove to you that she is not Canan." He wants the psychiatrist to touch her. When he touches her, he is hit by the genie. The room darkens and psychiatrist sees the genie. So faith beats the science. Finally Mikail defeats the genie and frees Canan. The mystery is enlightened at the end. Banu, best friend of Canan invited the genie with black magic because she is jealous of Canan, her big house, her richness, her handsome husband, her lifestyle. Actually Banu is the victim of the modernist life style's boons. So the film displays the superficiality and badness of this life style and also warns people that wealth without faith is not the solution. *Semum* offers the moderate Islam as a solution.

Musallat offers the same solution for a desperate love. The love you can never reach. The love of the genie to a human being is the metaphor of Turkey's westernisation and frames it as a desperate dream, because they are from different universes. In *Musallat* there are two appearances of the protagonist Suat who lives in two different countries at the same time. One is the human Suat, the other is the genie in Suat's guise. But for the benefit of the twist, the plot is only bared at the end of the movie. The real Suat lives in Berlin as a worker but he is not pleased. He longs for his fiancée Nurcan. The shots of the modern western city highlight his dissonance, his alienation. The modern, huge buildings, sculptures, crabby neighbours, all these are shot below angle, like they come over to Suat. His acute dissonance and his purpose for living in Berlin, remind us of Islam's bipolar western image. Rich but degenerated. "We will take the technology of West not its depravation" says Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan. Because of hallucinations Suat's psychological statement gets worse. He is always alone, people stare him curiously as if he is an exotic thing. He cannot communicate with other people. The visual language of the film underlines that he is an "outsider". Like Turkey in Western civilization. According to conservative/Islamic discourse Turkey can never be a part of Western civilization. At this point their argument agrees with the anti-Turkey front.

On the other hand, the second half of the film reveals the twist after Suat's death. We see a wedding; the genie marries Canan. Every thing goes

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properly initially. But things change when Canan is pregnant. She gives birth to a genie baby. The midwife woman panics and kills the baby. The genie goes mad and kills Suat. So the film suggests that the product of the two different worlds can only be a freak. The result of Turkish westernisation politics can only be a freak; half western, half eastern. Hacı Burhan, another self-sacrificing, over-kind hodja writes "It was a great love but it was wrong."

Musallat repeats the helplessness of the science against the evil. When Suat gets worse his friend Metin takes him to hospital. Doctors want an MR examination. Suat enters the MR tube. When the camera is in the doctor's room Suat is seen from the window and everything is okay but when the camera goes to the MR room we see Suat is shaking like he has been hit by an electric current. This scene reinforces the weakness of western science against the problems of the people. The solution is doubtlessly in spirituality. The transition between two different worlds is made between the places of worship. Metin and Suat walking in the street and Metin says "You really need to go back to Turkey" and the camera tilts up through a church and after we see the sky it tilts down through a mosque. They are in Istanbul. Like *Semum, Musallat* offers Islam as a solution too. When Hacı Burhan explains to Metin, Suat's state, he says "Those who come to me should be faithful too. Knowledge and faith go side by side up to a certain point, at one point they depart from each other. Then whatever the cure for your problem is, you follow that path." The path that *Musallat* follows is clear. Not the rational, modernist path but irrational, metaphysical, Islamic path.

As a conclusion we can say that the genie sub-genre in Turkish horror film reflects different fears. And all these fears are the summary of the Turkish modernisation project and traumas of top-down reforms and painful transition of neo-liberal politics in the last twenty years. In all three films everything about modernization become helpless; science, medicine, government system, computers. While *Dabbe* reflects the fears of Kemalist elite and their uneasiness about the failure of the modernism project, *Semum* enunciates the new dominant ideology: the moderate Islam. And *Musallat* puts the Westernisation dream as a desperate love. The result of this dream can only be a nightmare. The answer is again moderate Islam. The genie sub-genre mystifies the social origins of the traumas and depicts the evil as something invulnerable to existing institutions. This pessimism reproduces an reactionary worldview.

As closing words I want to draw attention to the common point of these three films; that is, the dark twins of the protagonists. Hande, Canan and Suat face their horrifying twins. This refers to the dissociated personality, the schizophrenia of the Turkish people in any political idea. Top-down reforms, the modernisation project, neo liberal politics, preserving Islamic

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belief or preserving secularism created this schizophrenia in Turkish society. We create our fears; our horrifying twin is identical to us.

Notes

[1] K Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System,* Princeton University Pres, New Jersey, 1959, p.271.
[2] E Fuay Keyman and Ziya Öniş, *Turkish Politics in a Changing World*, Bilgi University Pres, İstanbul, 2007, p.59.
[3] Karpat, p.288.
[4] ibid, p.325.
[5] Keyman and Öniş, p.11-12.
[6] ibid, p.12.
[7] Karpat, p.271.
[8] Kemal Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society*, Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, volume 94, (Boston:2004), p.xiii.
[9] Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society*, p.2.
[10] Keyman and Öniş, p.16-17.
[11] ibid., p.17.
[12] ibid. p.164.
[13] Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner, *Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1990, p.76.
[14] Ryan and Kellner, p.169.
[15] ibid, p.168.
[16] ibid, p.170-171.
[17] Charles Derry, 'More Dark Dreams : Some Notes on the Recent Horror Film', in G. A. Waller (ed) *American Horrors, Essays on the Modern American Horror Film*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1987, p.168

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Torturous Laughter: Expression and Repression of Horror in Rudyard Kipling's "The Mark of the Beast"

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Abstract: When Rudyard Kipling strayed from his children's stories to publish tales of the colonial experience from an adult perspective, he caught the eye of H. P. Lovecraft himself. "The Mark of the Beast" (1890) stands among Lovecraft's selection of exemplary "weird tales." Lovecraft's writings and canon of "weird tales" betray not only his fascination with the aesthetics of the unknown and unknowable but the political biases fundamental to his reaction to tales of the non-white Other. Regardless, he holds up a now controversial tale whose readings have shifted political valence in the criticism of the past century. Kipling reveals a vision of the colonial experience that invites both attacks and appreciation from post-colonial studies. Despite provocative statements about the native population, the narrator invites subversive readings through manipulation of dark irony and the eruption of mysterious, hysterical laughter.

The superiority model of humour and laughter assume the social function of language depends heavily on the shared awareness of cultural norms. Deviation provokes laughter, particularly notable in cases of mockery of the individual. Horror fiction and films resound with the derisive laughter of powerful figures, from scornful intellectuals to unstable villains. Far worse, however, erupts from the protagonist's lips in the wake of fear. Far from providing relief or reinstating the superiority of the protagonist, the hysterical laughter marks the twist of horror from dread to unbearable knowledge. Recognising the abject within him or herself, the hysteric loses control over the "civilised" body. Sound expresses the abject, expels it for the sake of the rest of the self. The reader risks maintaining identification with the madman, seeking the mystery of the wordless sign that is laughter, or severs the connections he or she shares with the protagonist.

Key Words: Rudyard Kipling, Julia Kristeva, laughter, horror, abjection, relief, incongruity, superiority

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There will always be plenty in Kipling that I will find difficult to forgive; but there is also enough truth in these stories to make them impossible to ignore.[1]

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Laughter is never innocent. However, studies involving laughter and its cousin humour rarely consider examples in the horror genre. Only among the critics and theorists confronting horror do I find *mention* of a laughter that coexists with fear and serves a valuable function in decoding horror texts. For the purposes of discussing laughter in horror, I have isolated the case of Rudyard Kipling's "The Mark of the Beast," in which the 19th century writer describes this kind of laughter in with exemplary detail, ambiguity, and ethical resonance. The narrator confronts a figurative mirror that reflects his hypocritical and monstrous self, capable of brutality that it has previously ascribed to the bestial other. Though existing theories of laughter's form and function suggest that it would break the finely tuned tension appreciated by aficionados of classic horror, the H.P. Lovecraft-approved story describes a fit of laughter as horrible on par with contemplating native revolt, supernatural revenge, and torture. Seen through the complementary lenses of humour studies and the psychoanalytic work of Julia Kristeva, the layers of expectations involved in the production of laughter offer an exemplary point of entry for analysing a second climax in the story, perhaps more important than the rescue of a man's soul.

Short of going back to the initial violence of the colonial project, the conflict begins with the character Fleete's drunken defilement of an idol. This results in a curse that transforms him into a beast by the gradual erosion of his humanity. To rescue the civilised self from this impossible and unacceptable fate, fellow British officers Strickland and the narrator commit themselves to torture unfit to be printed.[2] To force the leper to repeal the curse, the two men abandon language and go straight to brutal force without needing to confer or rationalise their decision. Ironically, their next wordless communication will be their combined laughter, the consequences of this unquestioned decision.

When all evidence of the event seems to vanish, except in the memories of the perpetrators, Strickland even begins to doubt their experience. In response, the narrator notes the sensory evidence left in the home: "The red-hot gun-barrel had fallen on the floor and was singeing the carpet. The smell was entirely real".[3] The return of the victim to the scene of the torture by the light of the next day offers a perspective in stark contrast to that grim description:

> One other curious thing happened which frightened me as much as anything in the night's work. When Fleet was dressed he came into the dining room and sniffed. He had a quaint trick of moving his nose when he sniffed. 'Horrid doggy smell, here,' said he. 'You should really keep those terriers of yours in better order. Try sulphur, Strick.'
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> But Strickland did not answer. He caught hold of the back of a chair, and, without warning, went into an amazing fit of hysterics.

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> It is terrible to see a strong man overtaken with hysteria. Then it struck me that we had fought for Fleete's soul with the silver man in that room, and that we had disgraced ourselves as Englishmen for ever, and I laughed and gasped and gurgled just as *shamefully* as Strickland, while Fleete thought that we had both gone mad. We never told him what we had done.[4]

At what are they laughing then? At Fleete for his ignorance? At his banal comment for how far it falls from the truth? Or instead for how close it comes? Perhaps the laughter is inspired by the deeper, ironic implications, considering the "beasts" involved. One thing is certain: when they hear Fleete's comment, the hellish night closes with an unexpectedly mild chastisement.

Both screams and laughter are physiological responses resulting from a largely unconscious, reactionary assessment of a situation. In light of the visceral similarity, it is little surprise that the first laughter in horror appears in the work of a scholar intent on the interactions of physical and psychological experience. In *Powers of Horror,* Julia Kristeva refers to laughter as a means of "placing or displacing abjection".[5] To laugh severs the abject's tie to the self and thus establishes and maintains identity boundaries. True to her visceral style, the physiological explanations and psychological combine: the body's convulsion becomes the emotional equivalent of vomiting.

The title declares the abject in the story, but readers may not realise they will find it conflated within the familiar "I" of the narrator. In "The Mark of the Beast," laughter rejects the officers' inhumane, immoral capacity for brutality in the sense of brute or animal violence. She specifies, in fact, that the abject involves "those fragile states where man strays on the territories of animal".[6] Though abjection is productive force, excising the abject creates and establishes an identity by contrast with the not-I.[7]

The sudden conflation of the self-abject results in what the narrator himself dubs hysteria and even today might be called hysterical laughter. These uses of the term hysteria have a connotative difference from the Freudian use, but both suggest the loss of control of the self. The non-hysteric succeeds in displacing the abject well enough to feel secure that the boundaries are unbroken, but the hysterical subject recognises the permeability of the self and loses its grip on its distinction. The narrator's continued anxiety over his changed status puts him in the category of hysteric at least in so far as the evidence prohibits recovery of the identity others assume of him. But this explanation, however plausible, is unsatisfying.

Still, why laugh rather than cry or scream?

Let us return to humour studies for the other processes and mechanisms in the theories of laughter. As an utterance, laughter's

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significance and performativity depends on context and intonation since it lacks a precise denotative meaning. It has a referent, but it refers not to an object but to a quality or relationship compared to the laughing individual's expectations. In order to pin down laughter by its causes, interdisciplinary work in humour studies takes on laughter by one or more of the following concepts: A) superiority, the relative status of the persons involved, B) incongruity, the gap between the event and the observer's expectations, and C) finally, and relief, with the event causing a shift from tension to relief.

Freud is a key figure in the explanation of laughter as relief, so its little surprise that Kristeva's discussion of laughter begins in that vein. The officers' response has much to do with relief: the cause of the tension and surfacing guilt - or perhaps dread - is erased in the banal interpretation of the evidence. However, relief only establishes part of laughter's function. Relief theory focuses on the result of laughter, and to an extent its purpose for the laughing individual, but it stops short of exploring laughter as an interpersonal and performative utterance. Also, this hysterical laughter indicates a continued tension and thus incomplete relief.

The two theses of superiority and incongruity frequently override relief in the competition to isolate the necessary condition for laughter. First, I consider superiority. Despite a long history dating back to antiquity, the superiority theory has recently been championed by professor of Law F. H. Buckley. The popularity of the superiority thesis may stem from the popularity of superiority itself. However, I would credit also the punishing experience of being laughed at, as well as the isolation of being left out of a joke, of not knowing and not belonging. Those laughing are sharing in delight or even triumph by comparison with an inferior other.

The superiority theory's focus on judgment creates a knot when applied to Strickland and narrator. The narrator laughs at himself because he recognises his *inferiority* relative to expected standards of behaviour. In the superiority model, laughter should be impossible at such a moment. As Buckley puts it, "He might be an inferior brute, but he can never think himself so when he laughs".[8] Since the story's example directly contradicts this model, I won't linger too long here on this point. Still, superiority in the case of the narrator will bleed into the following analysis of the incongruity, since narrator's comments indicate a hierarchy of value: an English gentleman and his baser self.

Although relief and superiority are here at work, incongruity appears to be essential to the triggering of laughter, with the other two providing value and energy but not comprising the "laughable" itself, to borrow linguist Gail Jefferson's term. Incongruity supporter Immanuel Kant incorporates relief, but emphasizes the contrast of expectation and reality. Laughter results when "our expectations evaporate into uselessness."[9] For the narrator, the evaporation of his expectations benefits him by freeing him from a measure

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of dread. However, the evaporation of his expectations about himself has painful and lingering consequences. In his personal "fall" from civilised to bestial, he has seen the lie of the hierarchy. He has witnessed the perceived order and stability of the boundary between West and East, the basis for his national and personal identity, literally dissolve at a touch.

Fellow linguistic scholar Houts-Smith's confirms, finding "differences in experiences, perceptions, and expectations" provoke both humorous laughter and, more importantly, nervous laughter.[10] Although her research findings are limited to conversations, her analysis resonates with buzzwords of literary theory and humour studies: "The tension is primarily the differentiation of reality from unreality as it relates to the difference between self and other".[11] In this case, the narrator sees his reality replaced by a harsher world and self-image, only to find that the world around him has not changed. He recognises what Edward Said asserts: "Behind the White Man's mask of amiable leadership there is always the express willingness to use force, to kill and be killed. What dignifies his mission is some sense of intellectual dedication".[12] Indeed, the horror of "shamefully" dissolving into hysterics lies precisely in his loss of justification and dignity. He perceives the illusion superimposed on his new and harsh contact with the world and himself, but that illusion still exists only in the eyes of the ignorant Fleete and is unfortunately - for his emotional state at least - now incongruous with his self-image. He is not fundamentally rational; he is fundamentally animal.

In terms of the theories discussed, the structure of his laughter appears congruent with several elements of the predominant theories considered in humour studies. The laughter responds to Fleete's statement in the context, but excludes him from explanation. The narrator and reader are superior in knowledge in respect to Fleete, aware of the incongruity of the explanation, but also relieved at the outcome of the incident. Most importantly, the components indicate that the other side of the cognitive conflict that caused the laughter is an incongruity between the "White Man" and the narrator's transformed self-image.

To be fair, Kristeva's comments on laughter in horror go far beyond the relief theory she inherits from Freud's *Jokes and the Unconscious*. All three theories referenced in humour studies depend on social and often unconscious processes of comparison of events with expectations. The superiority theory begins from a less detailed analysis of the individual psyche, but it focuses on the relationship of individuals, both the inferior Other and the comfortable same. Laughter as a response to incongruity parallels Kristeva's link between laughter as a reaction to the abject, the unexpected and quite possibly undesirable element. The beast, the soulless man, threatens the existing definition of the self, as with the abject corpse. That soulless man causes a similar transformation in the viewer of Fleete's transition to animal, denying the human "I" at the core of the narrator.

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Though he lives, he is a walking corpse. Finally, laughter as displacing or safely placing the abject beyond the boundaries of the self parallels the idea of laughter as relief, and the apocalyptic laughter that Kristeva finds in modern texts is hysterical in the sense that it cannot release enough energy to dispel the tension.

Combined, psychoanalysts determination to look at the unconscious and the external focus of the pragmatics allow us to look at laughter's function in terms of the human animal's interaction with their environment and their society, as well as that abstract virtual environment that exists within the mind and is so heavily socially conditioned. When laughter results from the recognition of incongruity - the difference between the real and the desired - laughter typically relieves the strain of straddling the gap, especially if the difference can be resolved and brought to agreement with a single reality. In the case of the story, the hysterical laughter fails to provide full relief for the narrator because it does not accompany a full resolution of the original disjunction. Interpreted in terms of abjection, laughter indicates a break in the desired boundaries of I versus not-I, and the narrator cannot expel the beast nor his knowledge. He becomes aware of himself as Other by his own definitions.

The narrator's confession exposes the underside of his laughter, the unthinkable reality of his experience. Explaining the target of his laughter, he shows its components in slow motion, at the speed of contemplation and reason rather than instinct. By this rhetorical delay, the story becomes horrible, not in spite of, but because of the laughter's wordless judgment on the civilised façade of authority and self-control. By exposing the reader to the cognitive dissonance that produced the laughter, he cracks the assumed reality and integrity of that identity. The struggle of wills between torturers and their victim succeeds in returning life and "soul" to one "beast," but damns the Englishmen for hypocrites and beasts themselves. When threatened with the loss of a fellow, he is not a gentleman or the moral superior guided by the values and law and Church that he has attempted to establish in the colony (discipline, administration), but instead the successful aggressor, the bestial superior. When the narrator comprehends the cost of his actions, the story he tells to himself *about himself* - his definition against the Other and the abject - collapses.

Notes

[1] S Rushdie, 'Kipling', in *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism*, Granta Books, London, 1991, p. 80.

[2] R Kipling, 'The Mark of the Beast,' in *The World's Greatest Horror Stories*, S. Jones and D. Carson (eds), Barnes and Noble Books, NY, 2004, p. 316.

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[3] ibid., p. 316.

[4] ibid., p. 317.

[5] J Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, L. S. Roudiez (trans), Columbia University Press, New York, 1982, p. 8.

[6] ibid. pp. 12-13.

[7] ibid. p. 45.

[8] F H Buckley, *The Morality of Laughter*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2003, p. 37.

[9] ibid, p. 7.

[10] L Houts-Smith, "Funny Ha-Ha or Funny Strange: The Structure and Meaning of Laughter in Conversation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Dakota, 2006, retrieved 2 February 2008, ProQuest database, p. 3.

[11] ibid, p. 27.

[12] E Said, *Orientalism: 25th Anniversary Edition*, Vintage Books, New York, 1994, p. 226.

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