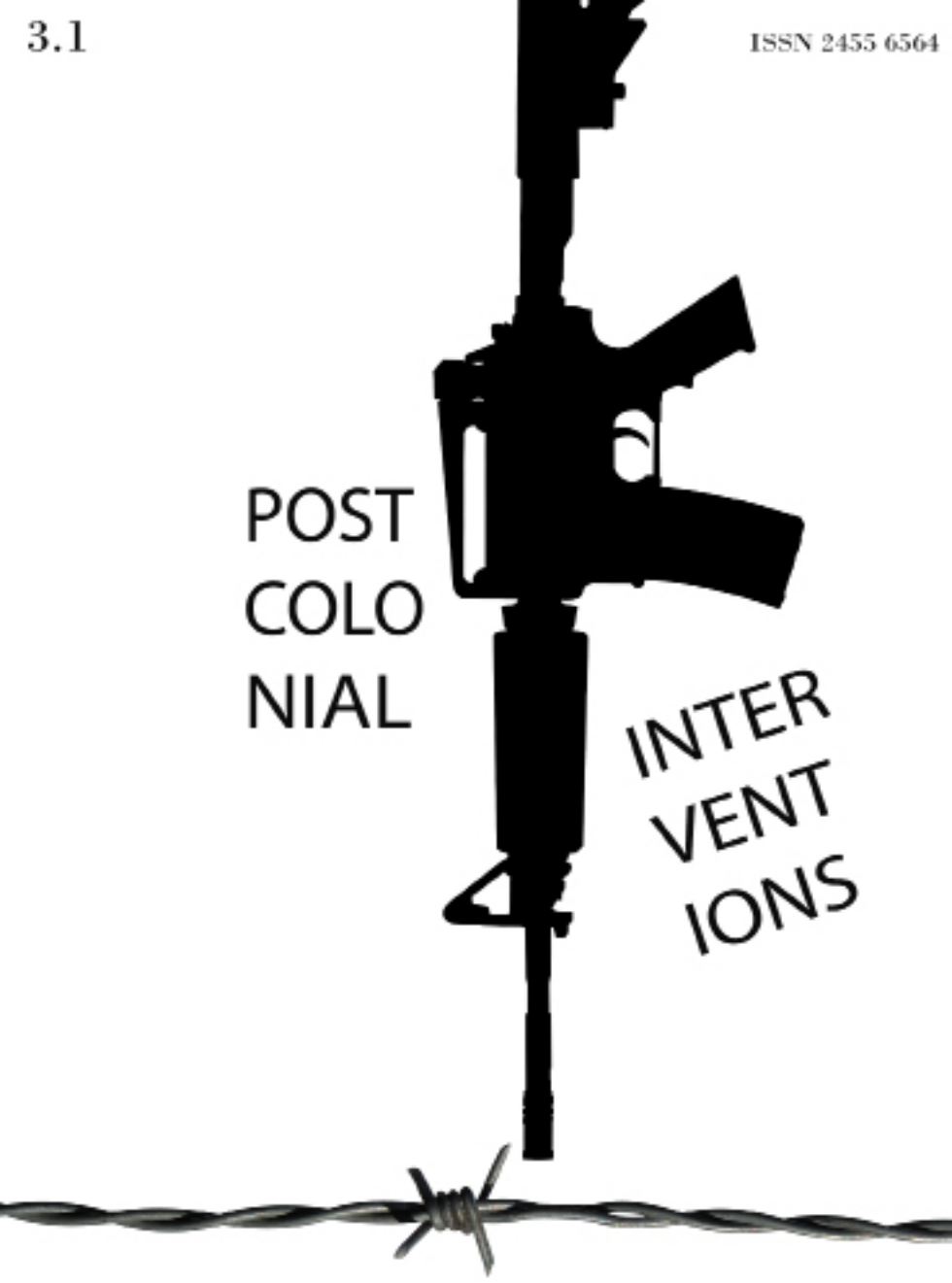
3.1

ISSN 2455 6564



Borders, Barriers and Bridges

PAGE HAS BEEN INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

POSTCOLONIAL INTERVENTIONS

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL OF POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

BORDERS — BARRIERS — BRIDGES

ISSN 2455 6564
VOLUME III ISSUE 1
JANUARY 2018

POSTCOLONIAL INTERVENTIONS
An Interdisciplinary Journal of Postcolonial Studies
Volume III, Issue I

Copyright of individual articles rests with the authors. Any reproduction would require the prior permission of Postcolonial Interventions and an acknowledgement of its first publication in Postcolonial Interventions.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

EDITORS
Dr Abin Chakraborty
Sayan Aich Bhowmik

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Souraj Dutta
Pritha Mukherjee

ASSISTANT EDITORS
Deblina Hazra
Somrita Misra

Cover image and design: Souraj Dutta
Published Online February, 2018

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE i-iv

1. THE POSTCOLONIAL AND THE POSTSOCIALIST: A DEFERRED COALITION? BROTHERS FOREVER 1
Madina Tlostanova

2. ANOTHER OTHER: THE REFUGEE - ON FINDING THE MISSING LINK IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE HUMAN ZOO 38
Lukas Müsel

3. OF NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS MASCULINE INTERLOCUTORS: THE CASE OF BALRAM HALWAI IN ARAVIND ADIGA'S *THE WHITE TIGER* 70
Amrita De

4. **HOMOSEXUALITY AND POSTCOLONIAL IDEA IN KABELO SELO DUILER'S *THE QUIET VIOLENCE OF DREAMS*** **98**
Ives S Loukson

5. MOVING BEYOND HEART & HEARTH: FINDING WOMEN IN IRISH LITERATURE **132**
Dima MT Tahboub

6. IMAGES OF WOMEN UNDER THE SHADOW OF CULTURAL PREJUDICE IN MALE COMMUNICATION **154**
Joshua Agbo

7. THE EMERGENCE OF IRANIAN NATIONALISM: RACE AND THE POLITICS OF DISLOCATION BY REZA ZIA-EBRAHIMI (2016) **186**
Ahmad Mohammedpour

NOTE ON CONTRIBUTORS **195**

EDITOR'S NOTE

ABIN CHAKRABORTY

Even as we welcome a new year, there hardly seems to be anything refreshing about the dynamic of the current world order where millions of refugees, whether in the border regions of Myanmar and Bangladesh or in the crisis zones of West Asia and Africa, continue to suffer from abominable trauma of displacement, dehumanisation and possible extinction even as states continue to roll out punitive and belligerent measures in the name of borders, or security or law and order, where the rise of xenophobia and religious fanaticism continues to spew violence, and the majority of the nations' wealth remains locked in the hands of a miniscule elite.

We have been here for quite a while without any specific roadmap, without any bridge that can join the

present to some blessed future. It is not as if we have not been trying. The postcolonial experience is an experience of manifold struggles. All the papers in this volume attest to such struggles. Lukas Musel's exploration of the installation named *Exhibit B,* especially in the context of the refugee crisis is a case in point as it traces the repetition of colonial discursive categories in the dehumanising scenarios of the present. But of course, struggles are also about the entrenched barriers of caste, gender and class which a country like India has been experiencing for eons, with more complex changes seeping in owing to India's integration with the neo-liberal economic order. Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* offers an incisive critique of this so-called "Shining India" and Amrita De foregrounds the nature of this critique, especially in relation to the kind of toxic masculinity it generates. These issues of gender and sexuality and the multi-dimensional conflicts associated with them are also explored by Ives. S. Loukson and Dima Tahboub in their papers, which focus on homosexuality in the context of South Africa and the marginalisation experienced by women in the context of Irish nationalist movement, respectively. The marginalisation of women is also analysed from a linguistic perspective by Joshua Agbo, particularly in the context of Nigeria.

While such local examinations of unequal hierarchies and their cultural manifestations remain crucial, what

our time also lacks and perhaps desperately desires, is an over-arching paradigm through which there might emerge a crystallisation of the different struggles into a holistic alternative. This is precisely why Madina Tlostanova's intriguing and insightful paper, the featured opening paper of this issue, is of such critical importance. With wonderful erudition and width of understanding, she delves deep into Soviet history to showcase the racist and imperialist projects that uncannily went hand in hand with projected socialist ethos and thereby opens the avenue for a possible comparative dialogue that links the postcolonial experience with that of the post-socialist experience of several eastern European and central Asian communities. The ultimate aim of such an exercise is to create a network of horizontal solidarity from below which might propel us precisely towards those decolonial horizons of dignity, equality and plenitude that seemingly continue to recede. This contribution and the very fact that she so graciously accepted our invitation, are indicative of a fusion between theory and praxis which offers grounds for hope. As academics we can only create new knowledges which might be useful to others and provide our readers with possible perspectives with which they might make better sense of the present, the past and the future. One indeed hopes that students, academics and scholars will find enough such components from her dexterous arguments.

Her contribution also indicates the journal's abiding commitment to explore evolving theoretical horizons to tease out suitable alternatives imbued with radical potentialities. And this of course in not an easy task, especially for a three-year old journal which has neither institutional support, nor assistance from commercial enterprises nor any profiteering scheme. This is a labour of love that depends entirely on the selfless devotion and hard work of the editorial team and the support and encouragement that we receive from our revered advisors and peers and contributors. It is this combination of encouragement and dedication that also helps us to overcome the countless obstacles that beset an enterprise such as ours.

Thank you all! We hope to continue for many more years and therefore seek your continued support and guidance for our future enterprises.

1

THE POSTCOLONIAL AND THE POSTSOCIALIST

A DEFERRED COALITION? BROTHERS FOREVER?

MADINA TLOSTANOVA

In my apartment in Moscow I keep many old photographs of my young mother visiting India – inter-

viewing Jafri Ali Sardar, discussing her translation of Krishan Chander's novel with the author, taking part in an official meeting with Jawaharlal Neru. I also keep the textbooks which were published in the mid 1950s and written for the Uzbek fifth graders experimentally learning Hindi (rather than English) as a foreign language. My mother was one of the authors of these textbooks and also one of the first school teachers of Hindi and Urdu in the old city of Tashkent.

"Russian and Indian—brothers forever!"—claimed the poster hanging on the wall of this class. But there were no Russians in the old Tashkent school and their teacher – my mother - was Uzbek after all. Typically, those who were assigned the role of advancing the "peoples' friendship" and mutual understanding were very often the Soviet colonial others. They were better at mastering the non-Western languages (often related to their own native tongues), grasping the cultural diversity of the foreign spaces and peoples which the racist imperial Russians saw as indiscriminate or opaque. Once sent to such non-Western countries, the colonial Soviet tricksters were able to establish sincere communication with the local population who instinctively trusted them more than the eurocentric and colonizing Russians. But these emisarries were required to remain the loyal tools of the Soviet empire and the mediators of its soft power to the global South. Those who refused or attempted to outsmart the power (like my mother) were seriously risking their careers and lives.

THE POSTCOLONIAL/POSTSOCIALIST ASYMMETRY

In the last decade, many scholars have started to discuss possible links and similarities between the postsocialist and the postcolonial conditions (Kołodziejczyk and Sandru 2012, Chari and Verderi 2009, Suchland 2013, Kašić, Petrović, Prlenda, Slapšak 2012, Pucherová and Gáfric 2015, Annus 2017)[1]. These discussions have largely been initiated by either the Western experts analyzing postcolonial and postsocialist others in typically area studies and hence, inevitably objectifying way, or the postsocialist people themselves—mostly those living in the West and having received an injection of contemporary critical theories including the postcolonial one. In the latter case the postcolonial analogizing is used to explain the major shift that has taken place in the lives of the socialist people—the shift from the so called second world to the position of the global South or deep periphery today.

Significantly, there are much fewer meaningful cases of the postcolonial scholars attempting to reflect on the parallels between their condition and that of the postsocialist people[2]. Thus, in the spring of 2015 together with my Indian and Estonian colleagues living and working in Sweden we organized a conference on the possible dialogues and opacities between the postcolonial and the postsocialist feminisms. Symptomatically,

none of the postcolonial participants even attempted to address the links or parallels with the postsocialist condition or reflect on the reasons for their lack. Without conspiring, they focused each on their own local history—be it Latin America, Africa or India—not showing any interest in coinciding them with the other socialist modernity and its aftermath.

The postsocialist feminists, mostly of Eastern European origins, on the contrary, freely borrowed from the postcolonial discourse criticizing the subalternization and peripheralization of Eastern European countries after the collapse of the state socialist system. In their reasoning, the postsocialist women were seen as too advanced, emancipated and already westernized to be equalized with the subalterns who need to be liberated by the Western world. The postsocialist women unanimously found it insulting to be analogized with the postcolonial other. I see this as a manifestation of an important asymmetry in many ways preventing the possibility of coalitions and solidarity between the postcolonial and the postsocialist people, and leaving each of the groups once again, alone and facing the global neoliberal capitalist modernity with its inevitable darker colonial side. Today this global coloniality [4] discriminates and devalues not only the former colonial subjects and the ex-socialist people but also many other groups that were protected before by their mere belonging to European/White/Christian/mid-

dle-class/educated strata. I have been reflecting on the reasons for the lacking dialogue and deferred coalition of the postcolonial and postsocialist others, and on the necessary steps we need to take to build an alliance for a better and more just world. This article is a preliminary result of my reflections.

It seems that the postcolonial and the postsocialist discourses in their predominant descriptive forms refuse to notice each other's histories or see them as relevant. They remain blind to any possible connecting threads between their mutual seemingly independent experiences, and unable to theorize any overarching concepts or notions allowing to see the postcolonial and postsocialist narratives as parts of the same story. To me, the decolonial option is a more promising tool for conceptualizing the links between different "wretched of the earth" and also for preparing and launching "deep coalitions"[5] for the struggle to dismantle modernity/coloniality.

It is necessary to differentiate between various levels affecting the parallels and discrepancies between the postcolonial and the postsocialist conditions and imaginaries, and in doing so, to go deeper than the history of the state socialist system. The roots of the possible dialogues or the reasons for their lack lie in the intersection of the earlier historical layers, marked by the imperial rivalry and therefore by the imperial

difference in its multiple and complex manifestations [6], and the later ideological and geopolitical differences merging with these original imperial-colonial levels.

Once again, a racism without race?

A core category defining modernity/coloniality is race, intersecting with economic and social forms of the modern/colonial dependence.The difference in the interpretation of race and racism is one of the main reasons for the lack of understanding and deferred coalitions between the postcolonial and the postsocialist others marked by different forms of coloniality of being and often rigid stand-point positionality. In the case of the USSR and a number of other socialist countries racism acquired specific altered and distorted forms merging with class and economic factors, and was not identified as racism either by the local people or much less from the outside.

Race and racism were excluded from the state socialist social sciences and hence, any discussion of the mechanism for the shaping of the human taxonomies, had to be limited by the critique of the capitalist system and/or the denunciation of the previous Czarist regime as the Soviet modernity's own darker past. This deceived not only the naïve foreginers, including the fighters for the national independence and later representatives of the so called non-aligned countries whom the Soviet

empire strove to win using its soft-power techniques, but also many local subjects who were brainwashed by the Soviet propaganda and awarded an honorary belonging to the second world. These Soviet colonial tricksters realized that they were too weak to start an open decolonization and had to choose a lesser evil and try to infiltrate the Soviet system from within, pretending to be loyal to gain advantages for the suffering local people and for themselves.

The strata of the colonial socialist others who could tell the story of their discrimination and conceptualize it as racism, was rather thin. These groups were neither properly represented in the public discourse nor had any right to have a voice because they contradicted the Soviet modernity's grand narrative of the backward people civilized by the Socialist Russians to be accepted and assimilated into the only correct form of modernity. The universal class parameter in the State Socialist discourse was used as a common denominator absorbing race. Race then was translated into the language of class. Whereas in the Western liberal capitalist modernity with its darker colonial side race has remained the central factor into which the class distinctions were often translated in the proportion which was the opposite to the Soviet recipe.

In the Soviet "wonderland" the noble lineage and education were devalued and replaced with poverty, low

origins and illiteracy as "positive" factors guaranteeing social and economic promotion, welfare and security. One was better off being poor and illiterate because this meant he or she was entitled to be civilized and educated in the only legitimate way sanctified by the state and the communist party. In the end a specific Soviet intelligentsia artificially selected from the previously disenfranchised groups, took central place and sang their dithyrambs to the Soviet power. It is these people who were later ardently supporting the Soviet proletarian internationalist myth in meetings with fighters of anticolonial struggles from all over the world, and drawing a sharp distinction between the blissful Soviet paradise advancing the progress of the backward people, and the grim racist reality of the USA and Western Europe and their colonialist policies in Asia, Africa and South America.

However at a closer inspection the Soviet racializing and social engineering were merely a reflection of a typically modern/colonial mechanism of interpreting all negative characteristics through race. Even if one would not find here a commercial of a black child washing himself with Pears soap until he got white (McClintock 1995, 213), there were surely caricatures that depicted the bourgeoisie, the clergy and the aristocrats as racially degenerate people. The Soviet posters advertising the friendship of the peoples were based on the hierarchy which was racial in its essence and stagist in its form: the central or higher place was always occu-

pied by the Slavs (in the order of their closeness to Russians as an etalon), while the non-European peoples were put lower and farther from the center. In a sense Bolsheviks were against racism Western style and for racism Soviet way. What remained intact in both cases was, in Weitz's idea, the assignment of indelible traits to particular groups. Hence, ethnic groups, nationalities, and even social classes can be "racialized" in historically contingent moments and places" (Weitz 2002, 7). A biological interpretation of race by the 1930s had changed to culturalist arguments, with the significant exception of colonial spaces. In E. Balibar's words, "this approach naturalizes not racial belonging but racial conduct" (Balibar 1991, 22).

The politics of Soviet *korenizatsija* (literally, "rooting") of the 1920–1930s, and later an anti-nationalist campaign (nationalism being used as an accusation only in relation to non-Russians[7]), the forced deportations of the whole ethnicities, manifested the Soviet politics of creating and controlling nationalities from above. As Weitz points out, the social characteristic easily collapsed into biological (Weitz 2002, 11), the class enemies became the enemies of the people and enemy nations. The Soviet ideology contradicted itself in creating nationalities in the periphery, on the one hand (including the imposed literacies and the sense of ethnic-territorial belonging), and on the other hand, regarding the national traditions and customs that came

to be associated with this ethnicity only due to colonization—as a threat.

This Soviet hypocricy in relation to racism is hard to grasp from the outside especially if one is not familiar with historical details and cultural nuances. An ignorance about the Soviet reality and its propagandistic false self-representation is one of the reasons for the reluctance of postcolonial scholars to venture into this area and compare their situation with that of the Socialist and postsocialist subjects.

THE INTERNATIONALIST RHETORIC AND THE COLONIALIST LOGIC, OR THE SOCIALIST DREAM OF THE POSTCOLONIAL PEOPLE

The USSR with its showcase ideology offered a grand utopia or a new religion. The failed socialist modernity has lost its most important future vector and turned into a land of the futureless ontology. By losing to the capitalist modernity it failed to meet the expectations of so many "wretched of the earth". This was a traumatic experience that in many cases needed to be compensated or at least buried deep which is what the postcolonial subjects with leftist views and social expectations often attempt to do. But it does not lead to any critical analysis of state socialism or to a clear understading of differences between utopia and reality. Many democratic social movements and thinkers

of the global South are still marked by a residual sympathy towards the Soviet experiment, and socialism as such. For them it is difficult to equate socialism with colonialism, particularly since state socialism has always represented itself as an anticolonial system.

The Soviet experiment was positioned as a liberation and particularly for the former colonies of the demonized Czarist empire. Their main lost illusion was independence, with which the Bolsheviks originally lured the colonies back into the Soviet yoke to later enslave them, to deprive them even of the rights which they enjoyed in Czarist Russia, and most importantly, of the nascent local national modernities.

The 1917 Bolshevik revolt was positioned as liberating for all toiling classes and tactically used to gain more allies and restore the empire. Yet it was someone else's revolution and someone else's history, which many anticolonial thinkers interpreted as a recoil in the sense that the expectations of the empire's periphery that blossomed after the 1917 February revolution and the beginning of the Russian empire's demise, were abruptly aborted by the October revolt and the subsequent crashing of all national liberation parties and movements, constituent governments and councils of deputies, such as the Union of Mountaineers, Musavat, Ukrainian Central Rada, the Bolshevik Terek and the liberal democratic Mountaineers republics,

etc. The persisting myth of the lagging behind Asia and the Caucasus erases important historical events which took place prior to the October revolution and immediately after, and signify the political awareness and independent goals of the colonial regions and elites.

The Bolshevik revolution was far from being anticolonial. It was a deferral and strangling of decolonization impulses that had just started to develop. As it has often happened in the Russian history, the good and the evil easily swapped places, enslavement was presented as liberation and efforts to decolonize were branded as reactionary uprisings of the old forces, especially after the quick coming of the Soviet thermidor. The consequences of this deferral and distortion have unfortunately marred the history of the Soviet empire and its colonies from the start to the end, and are still not resolved today when these old grudges murge with the newer social, economic and political divisions threatening to destroy the Russian Federation from within.

In many anticolonial texts written by the fighters for independence coming from the Western capitalist empires of modernity, there is a shared reluctance to criticize the socialist world. The alternative colonizer looks more attractive than one's own familiar former master. Particularly when this colonizer made a point out of advertising its distinctly internationalist anti-racist stance while practicing racism and colo-

nialism all along. And even if the majority of the non-aligned countries today have almost unanimously turned to the West for their models of the future or to different forms of dewesternization (trying to preserve the local axiological bases combined with the Western economic and technological models), it has not necessarily been a voluntary and happy choice. Behind the pragmatic attitude and the need for survival, there is also a wisp of disappointment in that the state Socialist promises of universal happiness that have never been fulfilled. In other words, it is not only the postsocialist people themselves, but also others in the world who have reasons to be nostalgic of the socialist utopia and therefore reluctant to dismiss or see it as similar to western imperialism and colonialism.

The above mentioned combination of proletarian internationalist rhetoric and the colonialist racist logic was only one of the manifestations of the typical Soviet double standard policy. Alexander Akhiezer pointed out this

> manipulative Bolshevist tactic of coinciding simultaneously with the cultural values of different and often completely opposite groups, sucessfuly persuading each of them that the Bolsheviks defend their and no one else's beliefs and later using these groups for selfish ends. The result was not the common good as it was proclaimed, but a complete utilitarianism coupled with shameless demagogy and manipulativeness – not only in

economic and political spheres but also in the spiritual realm" (Akhiezer 1998, chapter "Pseudosyncretism").

This element of the soviet system is seldom taken into account in its non-Western interpretaitons.

Previously I attempted to define Russia as a Janus-faced forever catching-up empire meaning that as a double-faced Janus, it had different masks for different partners – the servile visage turned to the West into which Russia has always longed to be accepted but has never succeeded, and a patronizing compensatory mask of a caricaturistic imitating civilizer meant for its own non-European Eastern and Southern colonies (Tlostanova, 2003; 2010). The same configuration lagerly defines the relations with the former colonies of other empires.

The Russian/Soviet empire has been marked by an incredible diversity of economic and social structures almost impossible to unify within one (even pseudo-federative) state. This also referred to different forms of colonialism which typically coexisted and at times merged in the Russian imperial policies rather than succeeding each other as it often happened in other cases. In addition the colonial othered spaces were not sharply divided from the metropolitan sameness by the seas and oceans or by a distinct racial difference as much as the Russians would have loved to see themselves as "white" and "European" as opposed to

the Asiatic or Black colonial others.

The Soviet propaganda was more successful when applied to the more loyal and open postcolonial people visiting the USSR than the hardened Western critics. The postcolonial guests had a specific optics marked by their anti-racist and anticolonial agendas, took the offered happy pictures and statistics, fake testimonies and made-up narratives at face value and generally saw what they were pushed to see. This schizophrenic Soviet duality ominously emerges from the seemingly cheerful lauditory diaries, letters and stories of the African, Indian, Caribbean writers, journalists, actors, film makers invited to visit the Soviet Union, and tricked into becoming the friends of the state socialist regime.

(POST)COLONIAL INNOCENTS ABROAD

An interesting early example is Rabindranath Tagore's *Letters about Russia* (1930)[1956] which includes his reflection on the "backward" peoples of the Russian empire in need of 'enlightenment' with the help of the Soviet Russians. Tagore uncritically reproduces the Soviet progressivist rhetoric when he writes about the history of Bashkirs – an ethnic group which has suffered a lot as a result of colonization and Sovietization (70). The Soviet modernity constructed a false opposi-

tion with its own Czarist's past whose many elements including the imperial policies of control and subversion, the development of state monopoly in the key industries, and generally, industrialization at the expense of peasantry, were intensified rather than cancelled by the Bolsheviks. This operation of disqualifying the past allowed to re-code many people, social and political movements, ideologies, beliefs, and values—into their opposite. The easiness of this re-coding could make anyone into an enemy without moving a finger. Consequently the former fighters for the national independence with the help of which the Bolsheviks often came to power, automatically became the enemies and the bourgeois nationalists as soon as they tried to finish the strangled decolonization and continue fighting for advancing the national forms of modernity. As many other people who had the misfortune to be located in the sphere of the Russian/Soviet empire's geopolitical interests, the Bashkirs were promised autonomy which was later curtailed through repressing intelligentsia, the peasants and the clergy, as well as through typical Soviet policies of mass sacrificing of dispensable lives (through famine) for the insane industrialization plans.

Tagore could not possibly know that in 1920 a Bashkir leader of anti-colonial national liberation movement, Zeki Velidi Togan expressed his disillusionment with Bolshevism, pointing out in his letter to Lenin the cyn-

ical and manipulative Bolshevik tactics:

> You accept the ideas of genuine national Russian chauvinism as the basis of your policy . . . We have clearly explained that the land question in the East has in principle produced no class distinction . . . For in the East it is the European Russians, whether capitalists or workers, who are the top class, while the people of the soil . . . , rich or poor, are their slaves . . . You will go now finding class enemies of the workers, and rooting them out until every educated man among the native population . . . has been removed (Caroe 1967, 112–113).

Similar deception characterizes the Soviet chapters of the autobiography *I wonder as I wonder* (1956) written by African American poet Langston Hughes who was invited to USSR in 1932 to make an antiracist film which was never produced. Hughes made a long journey to Central Asia and his reflections on the Soviet enlightenment of the "backwards Asiatics" are not only a curious addition to the long list of innocent testimonies of the fooled foreigners but also a poetic if highly subjective look at the early Soviet (post)colonial life through a very specific lens, translating class and ideology back into race. Hughes wrote his memoir at the time of the mass famine and the beginning of mass terror but remained largely insensitive to both. Aided by the Eurocentric interpreter with increasingly anti-Soviet beliefs, the poet attepted to justify his own blindness to the sinister signs of the coming totalitarianism

by comparing the racial politics in the Soviet Turkestan and the US segregation: "I was trying to make him understand why I observed the changes in Soviet Asia with Negro eyes. To Koestler, Turkmenistan was simply a primitive land moving into twentieth century civilization. To me it was a colored land moving into orbits hethereto reserved for whites" (135). Hughes is not naïve. He deliberately chooses one perspective and ignores others. The evidence of the Tashkent trams in which the locals can now ride together with the "whites" i.e. Russians, overweighs for him any discussions of political repressions, marked or unmarked by ethnic-racial factors.

Hughes easily equates those the Soviet politically repressed with those at home who opt for racism and segregation as if the higher class belonging was automatically linked to racism or the anti-Bolshevism characterized only in the higher classes. During his trip the poet meets with only one particular type of people – the Russian Bolsheviks, the Russian Czarist time colonizers, or the poorest local strata which has fully accepted the Soviet power as the only source of support. Unable to speak any local language and protected by the secret service from meeting any politically unloyal groups, Hughes can never hear the voice of the local intelligentsia, businessmen or nobility who would strongly disagree with the Soviet mythology he is pushed to reproduce. Moreover he is not even aware

of the existence of the local intelligentsia simply reproducing the racist Russian myth of the backwards and illiterate asiatics in need of the Russian civilizers. Yet Hughes's coloniality of perception and of knowledge are unintentional as he easily combines a fascination with the artifacts of the ancient Uzbek culture and the racist myth of the talented Russian directors creating a national theater for the Uzbeks who have never had this artistic form before.

In 1976 Afro-Caribbean lesbian feminist poet and activist Audre Lorde was invited to visit the USSR. Her "Notes from a trip to Russia" are no less historically, culturally and politically confused than Hughes's text but much less straighforward and simplified in their interpretation of race, sexuality, gender, and the intersectional discrimination in the Soviet Union. Lorde's perception is marked by an acute affective sensibility – she does not repeat the propagandistic clichés, rather trusting her own personal impressions of the people, of urban and country-side spaces, sounds, and smells. And this intuitive grasping balances her ignorance and helps her see the colonial affinity between Africa and Central Asia. Soon she starts asking inconvenient questions and manages to pinpoint the gap between propaganda and real people, always opting to escape from yet another meeting for the solidarity for the oppressed to go to the local fruit market instead: "The peoples of the Soviet Union, in many respects, impress

me as people who cannot yet afford to be honest. When they can be they will either blossom into a marvel or sink into decay" (28).

THE DARKER SIDE OF THE POSTSOCIALIST POSTCOLONIAL ANALOGIZING

The postsoviet trajectory of Russia and its ex-colonies shows that first they were lured by the carrot of the catching-up modernization and even, in some cases, by the promise of getting back to the European bosom, but these models were grounded in false evolutionism. With different speeds and with different extents of realization of their failure, most of these societies grasped that they will never be allowed or able to step from the darker side of modernity to the lighter one, from otherness to sameness. The only move they can count on is comprised of the small steps climbing the ladder of modernity leading ultimately nowhere, yet always enchanting with a desired but unattainable horizon. Then a number of postsocialist communities started cultivating disappointment in the European/Western project, and its critique, resembling the postcolonial arguments or even openly borrowing from them. In a sense this was a repetition on a larger scale of what the Bolsheviks earlier committed in relation to the former Czarist colonies: first a promise of liberation and then a quick and violent termidor and a slow endless lag-

ging behind for the remaining tamed slaves.

Yet, there is something disturbing in the appplication of the postcolonial theory to the postsocialist reality. When thoroughly analyzed it turns out to be Eurocentric and racist, although it is a specific sort of Eurocentrism grounded in typically modern/colonial agonistics i.e. a rivalry for a better, more prestigious place in the human taxonomy created and supported by modernity/coloniality. This classification of the humankind in relation to the colonial matrix of power and ontological marginalization of non-Western and non-modern people is evident in both capitalist and socialist discourses. The Socialist modernity practiced its darker colonialist policies differently in relation to European and non-European colonies and also in relation to different historical forms of colonization and coloniality that coexisted in the vast spaces of this territorially largest empire. Soviet colonialism was difficult to detect, particularly for the outsiders, precisely because it was mutant and excessively intersectional (arguably more so than other forms of colonialism).

Modernity/coloniality justifies violence against those who are branded sub-human. One of the consequences is the uncritical acceptance of the existing global hierarchy where everyone is assigned a never questioned place, and even those who are unhappy with this place are scared of losing this already precarious position or

being associated with those who stand even lower. In many cases this turns into a victimhood rivalry detected in both postcolonial and postsocialist groups. This is a sad result of the continuing coloniality of being, thinking, and perception, which does not allow to break free from the universally accepted agonistic paradigm - compete or perish. A true decolonization then means delinking from this logic and refusing to compete for a higher place in modernity, or for a tag of a victim which would allow to gain access to charity and affirmative action. Hence the Eastern European clinging to Europeanness, hence the postsoviet reluctance to be associated with the ex-third world. In this case the postcolonial analogy is used negatively, and with indignation: "How can we be compared with Africans or Arabs? We are European and White".

The postcolonial analogy applied to the postsocialist world is rather superficial and erases the nuances of many local histories. Reintroducing these nuances into the scholarly and activist discourses and advancing a critical self reflection outside the prescribed Eurocentric mythology, is a necessary step for the elaboration of theory and practice at the intersection of the postcolonial and the postsocialist experiences rather than simply borrowing the postcolonial terms and concepts outside their historical context. The postsocialist analogizing with the postcolonial discourse is too often done not for the sake of solidarity with the global

south, but for negotiating a better place in the modern/colonial human hierarchy and in order to not be seen as postcolonial others. In the political discourses of several Eastern-European states there is a rather jealous attitude to anyone who attempts to take their place as the main 20th century victims of communism. Hence their rejection of the Middle Eastern refugees who are seen as potential rivals in the historical victimhood race.

This is a peculiar form of colonial and imperial amnesia detected not only in the case of the former empires but also the former colonies and quasi-colonies which do not want to be seen as such, particularly if in the process of colonization the conquering empire stood lower in its racial status than the colonized countries. Thus the Baltic littoral is ready to forget the Teutonic invasions, subsequent forced Christianization, economic exploitation, serfdom and the imposed roles of the second-class Europeans. Likewise, the Baltic states do not focus on the Czarist imperial policies but continue to see the Soviet occupation as the main national tragedy. Benedikts Kalnacš reflects on the insecure Europeanism of the Baltic social and cultural profile marked by the constant balancing at the crossroads of the imperial dominations from Russia and the German speaking nations in the West. The colonial periphery is a looming third reference point in the awkward positioning of the Sovietized Eastern Europeans from which they try

to distance themselves despite subconscious feelings of the affinity in their historical destinies (Kalnacš 2016).

The local histories of Central, Eastern, South-Eastern Europe were imperial and colonial histories too as for several centuries these locales have stood at the crossroads of various imperial struggles between the Ottoman sultanate, the Russian czarist empire and the Habsburg empire (the "older" second league empires, inferior to the winning capitalist empires of modernity). Traces of these complex relations and imperial rivalries are clearly seen in the identifications of Eastern Europeans claiming their place not in the capacity of eternal overtakers or second-rate Europeans, and not as the new subalterns of the global coloniality.

Exclusionary tactic and victimhood rivalry are becoming rapidly outdated in the face of enforced fragmentation and reemergence of the ultra-right. So it is not a question of encapsulating within one's narrow position, but rather a necessity of always being critical of our own locus of enunciation, of arguing from a specific point which we should not be afraid of displaying. In the logic of pluriversality we are all equal and therefore we have the right to be different, yet this difference is not a closure, it does not prevent us in all our diversity from joining the struggles crucial for all.

THE POSTCOLONIAL AND POSTSOCIALIST COUNTERPOINT

The lacking dialogue between the postsocialist and the postcolonial others stems, among other things, from the dis-coordination of the capitalist and socialist modernities, which shared many (mostly negative) features, such as progressivism, Orientalism, racism, providentialism, hetero-patriarchy, and a cult of newness, but coded them differently, thus confusing their satelites, colonies, and their own citizens. The trajectories of the two groups were quite different. The former colonial other entering the larger world controlled by the West does not have to change his or her modernity – it used to be Western and remains today the main landmark for the postcolonial other who simply continues his/her progressive movement toward the cherished belonging to sameness or in some cases, creating a national version of modernity which often continued the trickster game of manoeuvering between the two modernities of the Cold War times.

Today the situation is simplified and there is no need to manoeuvre any more. The postcolonial other could at the same time cherish a dream of an other socialist modernity which however had to remain a dream, whose loss is unfortunate but not catastrophic.

In the postsocialist case, a lot more is at stake. The

postsocialist people were asked to forget about their version of modernity and start from scratch in a paradigm of a different Western and neoliberal modernity. They had to reorient ourselves to someone else's modernity or go back to the national modernities strangled in the 1920s during the re-establishment of the Soviet empire which first cynically used the national liberation movements in the former Russian colonies to fight its multiple enemies and gain power, and very soon announced them to be bourgeois nationalists subject to repressions[8]. However, going back to these shortlived modernities is hard as even their memories were erased from the official public discourse.

This configuration is different and more complex than the postcolonial trajectory and due to it the postsocialist subjects seriously lag behind the postcolonial countries. Instead of the progressive development, there is a drastic change of ideal and hence an abrupt regression and a new progressivism, but much slower and humbler – as if in punishment for disobedience and efforts to proclaim a different modernity.

If we attempt to draw a schematic time-line for the development of postcolonial and postsocialist discourses we will see that their relation reminded a musical counterpoint: in many ways the two discourses coincided, but it happened at different historical moments and in different political contexts and prevented them from

hearing each other. The early postcolonial discourses were largely leftist, anti-capitalist and still progressivist without questioning the universalized western norms of education, human rights, democracy, women emancipation— invariably understood through the Eurocentric lens. However early enough there emerges a more critical kind of postcolonial theory which attempted to question the Western modernity as such (including its leftist versions). This critical postcolonial discourse follows the principle that postcolonial and other forms of coalitions grounded in multispatial hermeneutical principles (instead of taking the other to a frozen difference) are more important in our struggles for liberation than any one single form of diference, be it gender, race, religion or class. It is important to idealize neither socialism nor the constructed tradition with its pre-colonial social and cultural systems. These sensibilities disagree with the post-Socialist stance both when we criticize state socialism and when we refuse to romanticize the tradition.

The development of the post-Socialist critique did not correspond to this postcolonial logic at all, neither in its temporal nor in its notional accents and nodes. Initially the post-Socialist trajectory was marked by an almost emotional rejection of everything Socialist and a fascination with Western knowledge, at a time when postcolonial scholars still largely rehearsed the leftist anti-capitalist discourses and at least indirectly opted

for Socialism. Later a number of post-socialist activist, scholars, thinkers started reinterpreting the socialist legacy in a less negative way, criticizing the Western infiltration of the post-Socialist academia, NGOs and other knowledge production bodies. They were doing it at the point when postcolonial discourse started developing its anti-Western modernity stance and objectively the two discourses intersected, although the traditions they were having in mind were totally different and they did not hear each other at that point as they still do not hear each other today.

This schematic juxtaposition of postcolonial and post-socialist trajectories still shows that there are indeed many intersections between the two but they take place at different moments and are triggered by different reasons leading nevertheless to similar results and even possible coalitions, because ultimately they manifest different reactions to the same phenomenon of coloniality.

A DEEP BOTTOM-UP HORIZONTAL COALITION?

The intricate experience of the Soviet colonial intelligentsia and its lonely efforts to counteract that I mentioned in the beginning of this article, should be revisited and revived today, at a different level of tricksters

finally coming out and struggling in solidarity. Such "deep coalitions" to counter modernity/coloniality can liberate us from endless appealing to someone else's ideals, free us from the double consciousness of those who cannot belong and will never belong. But these coalitions should be initiated from below, and never be vertical and hierarchical, never again imposed from the imperial center. Even more importantly, they should start from ruthless decolonising of our own selves, minds, bodies, genders, sensibilities, and memories. But for that we need to work hard and painfully to be our better selves. It is not only about eradicating ignorance and learning about each other. More importantly, it is about nurturing particular subjectivities grounded in correlationism, horizontal solidarities and caring attitudes instead of predominant agonistics.

For the non-European postSoviet people it is crucial to remember and retrace the forgotten links with the global South, but to remember them differently from what the Soviet empire prescribed and controlled before, to bypass the distorting imperial mediation and concentrate on the positive resistance and re-existence as another way of being in spite of coloniality and beyond modernity, and the co-existence of many models of knowledge and perception of the world, including the postcolonial and the postsocialist ones. It should be a coalition not of the "offended" competing in their victimhood, but striving to change the logic of

the world order in such a way that nobody is an other any more, that we are all equal not only on paper but in reality and hence have the right to be different and practice pluriversality in the world consisting of many interacting and intersecting worlds.

NOTES

1. Although there are efforts to establish "postsocialist studies" similarly to postcolonial ones, when I refer to postcolonial and postsocialist, I do not mean these terms as distinct theoretical paradigms but rather as geopolitical conditions into which people are born and which they have no power of altering.

2. One example is Kalpana Sahni's *Crucifying the Orient: Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia* (1997). Her exceptional insight and lucidity stem not only from the outstanding knowledge of archival sources but more importantly, from her deep and subtle understading of the colonial lining of the Soviet rhetoric, which is very different from its habitual reproduction in the case of the majority of postcolonial interpreters of Soviet life.

3. Postcolonial and Postsocialist Dialogues: Intersections, Opacities, Challenges in Feminist Theorizing and Practice. International conference. Department of Thematic Studies (Gender Studies Unit), Linköping University, 27-28 April, 2015.

4. Coloniality is the indispensable underside of modernity, a racial, economic, social, existential, gender and epistemic dependence created around the 16th century, firmly linking imperialism and capitalism, and maintained since then within the modern/colonial world (Quijano 2007).

5. Deep coalitions is a concept theorized by decolonial feminist Maria Lugones. She sees them as being always in the making. Deep coalitions never reduce consciousness of the colonial others. Fanon's views also turned to be too close to the tabooed SRs – the Socialist Revolutionaries who were the Bolsheviks' old and successful rivals with a much more attractive ethnic-national program grounded in wider autonomies for the members of the federation, a complex and contructivist understanding of the nation and the centrality of peasentry for Russia.

6. A global imperial hierarchy has started to be shaped in the emerging world system in the sixteenth century and has been transformed in the course of time. The post-enlightenment phase of modernity placed Spain, Italy and Portugal in the position of the South of Europe or the internal imperial difference. The Ottoman Sultanate, and Russia became the zones of the external imperial difference, rooted in different (from the core

European norm) religions, languages, economic models, and ethnic-racial classifications. European norm) religions, languages, economic models, and ethnic-racial classifications.

7. If the Soviet colonial others were accused as the enemies of the people as soon as they attempted to fight the Soviet yoke, the anticolonial fighters from the global South were treated in accordance with a more nuanced tactic. The Soviet empire censured their writings and represented them as ardent Marxists. This is what happened with Franz Fanon. His revisionist (from the Soviet Marxism point of view) works were not translated in the USSR as Fanon dangerously insisted on the leading role of peasants instead of the proletariat, and accentuated the psychoanalytic perspectives on the double, banned in the Soviet Union.
8. The people of the Soviet colonies quickly realized that the Bolsheviks lured them back into the Soviet yoke to later restore colonialism. The anticolonial anti-Soviet revolts continued until WW2 and in many cases long after. Yet the information about the Central Asian 1922-23 and Ibragim-Bek 1931 antisoviet anticolonial uprisings, the Baksan revoult in 1928 and Khadzimed Medoev's revolt in 1930 in the Northern Caucasus, Ukrainian resistance to Bolsheviks in 1917-1920 and peasant revolts of the 1930s to name just a few were never included in historical text books or openly discussed.

WORKS CITED

Akhiezer, Alexander. 1998. *Kritika Istorichesko-go Opyta [A Crtique of Historical Experience*]. V. I. Novosibirsk: Siberian Chronograph, accessed 1 September, 2017. http://litresp.ru/chitat/ru/%D0%90/ahiezer-a-s/rossiya-kritika-istorich-eskogo-opita-tom1

Annus, Epp. 2017. *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands*. London: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, Incorporated.

Balibar Etienne. 1991. "Is there a neo-racism?" in: *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. Eds. Balibar E., Wallerstein I. (London and New York: Verso): 17-28.

Caroe, Olaf. 1967. *Soviet Empire. The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism*. New York: Macmillan.

Chari, Sharad and Katharine Verderi. 2009. 'Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51(1):6–34.

Hughes, Langston. 1956. *I wonder as I wonder.* New York: Rinehart & Company.

Kalnačs, Benedikts. 2016. "Comparing Colonial Differences: Baltic Literary Cultures as Agencies of Europe's Internal Others," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47(1): 15-30.

Kašić, Bilana, Jelena Petrović, Sandra Prlenda, Svetlana Slapšak. Eds. 2012. *Feminist Critical Interventions. Thinking Heritage, Decolonizing, Crossings.* Zagreb: Red Athena University Press.

Kołodziejczyk, Dorota, and Cristina Sandru. 2012. "Introduction: On colonialism, Communism and East-central Europe—Some Reflections," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 48. 2: 113-16.

Kovačević, Nataša. 2008. *Narrating Post/Communism: Colonial Discourse and Europe's Borderline Civilization.* London: Routledge.

Lorde, Audre. 1984. "Notes from a trip to Russia". in: *Lorde, Audre. Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches.* (New York: Crossing Press): 13-35.

Lugones, María. 2003. *Pilgrimages/Peregrinajes. Theorizing Coalition against Multiple Oppression.* Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

McClintock, Anne. 1995. *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.* New York: Routledge.

Pucherová, Dobrota, and Róbert Gáfric, eds. 2015. *Postcolonial Europe? Essays on Post-communist Literatures and Cultures.* Leiden-Boston: Brill Rodopi.

Quijano, Anibal. 2007. "Coloniality and modernity/rationality". *Cultural Studies* 21 (2–3): 68–78.

Sahni, Kalpana. 1997. *Crucifying the Orient. Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia.* Oslo: White Orchid Press.

Tagore, Rabindranath. 1956. *Pisma o Rossii* [*Letters about Russia*]. Moscow: State Publisher of Fiction.

Tlostanova, Madina. 2003. *A Janus-Faced Empire.* Moscow: Blok.

_____. 2010. *Gender Epistemologies and Eurasian Borderlands.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weitz E. 2002. "Racial Politics without the Concept of Race: Reevaluating Soviet Ethnic and National Purges". *Slavic Review*, 61, no 1. (Spring):1-29.

2

ANOTHER OTHER: THE REFUGEE

ON FINDING THE MISSING LINK IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE HUMAN ZOO

LUKAS MÜSEL

> these people [refugees] […] were no longer […] considered and hardly pretended to be active enemies […] but they were and appeared to be nothing but human beings whose very innocence from every point of view, and especially that of the persecuting government was their greatest misfortune.
>
> (Arendt 1994 294, f.)

> Refugees are the price humanity is paying for the global economy.
>
> (Zizek n.p.)

As children we are exposed to stories about ghosts; stories about strange beings residing on the threshold between life and death. These stories fascinate us; we are instantly drawn in by the marvellously strange and uncanny world they create. At the same time, however, we fear that this 'other-world' is not entirely shut off from the 'real world'. We fear that this imagined world might encroach upon ours and that its impalpable inhabitants

might harm us. It is not the factual ghosts that haunt us but the stories creating the ghosts. Departing from this thought, the present paper will argue that *Exhibit B*[1] uses the human zoo format as an intertext to link the colonial past to the current political situation by connecting 'the colonial' subject with 'the refugee': quite literally both of them are ghosts – they once were human, but they are not quite human anymore. They are not quite here nor quite there; they are the uncanny on the threshold between life and death, between "bios" and "zoē", caught in a "zone of indistinction" (Agamben 1998 12, 19, 109)[2]. Like ghosts, the Other/ the refugee haunts us because he is potentially dangerous – yet, just like our fear of ghosts this threat lacks substance and is seldom really tangible; it is first created by the stories we hear and the predominant narratives we are exposed to. While it has often been claimed that *Exhibit B* is 'the human zoo back on stage', the renaissance of a colonial repressed, the revival of ghosts from a colonial past presumed dead long ago, this article will argue that *Exhibit B* rather illustrates that these ghosts have never been dead; this colonial past has never been over; the human zoo has never really vanished. It will illustrate that the structural analogy between the human zoo format and *Exhibit B* enables us to look behind the magic lantern creating this 'other-world' and its inhabitants.The notion of the Other, the zone of indistinction, and the human zoo format as represented in *Exhibit B*: these are the three intricately interwoven

threads I engage with in my paper. The first part introduces the human zoo, explains the imaginary creation of the Other, and illustrates the necessity of the resulting – and indeed very real – binary opposition between 'them' and 'us' for hegemonic control (cf. Said; Foucault; Böetsch and Blanchard). It will be argued that the Other is an intertextual invention (fathered by colonial narratives) that threatens European hegemony and hence has to be controlled. Hence, the human zoo is a cardinal means to corroborate European economic predominance, cultural superiority, and racial fixity (cf. Hodeir 2014; Dreesbach 2012; Zedelmaier 2007; Grewe 2006). The second part examines the two core mechanisms that make formats like the human zoo work: identity formation *ex-negativo, via hermeneutic exclusion*, and the supposed unidirectionality of the gaze serve to separate, discipline, and exert power over the Other, thus re-establishing cracked boundaries in order to control the colonizer's own population. The third part revolves around Brett Bailey's *Exhibit B* that absorbs and transforms these exact mechanisms, thereby challenging the very fundament of its intertext (cf. Kristeva 1980, 66). The manipulation of the relationship between 'object' and audience creates a productive "zone of indistinction" (Agamben1998, 109); a void, homogeneous space that questions the sovereign differentiation between the 'self' and the 'Other', thus quite literally turning the "eye of power" (Bhabha 1994, 160) back upon itself. The inclusion of 'the refugee' as

one of Bailey's *tableaux vivants* extends the trajectory of this colonial discourse to present day politics. This double bind of intertextuality that ties the past to the present and vice versa results in Arendt's argument that the unique characteristic of the modern refugee is his fundamental innocence: he is the 'leftover' of what has formerly been excluded by the colonial world – he is the colonial Other come back to life: a 'ghostified' human being whose only reality is the part he plays in the economic equation of globalization; he is "the price humanity is paying for the global economy" (Zizek n.p.) – mass-migration has always been part of human history, but in modernity, it is mainly the result of capitalist politics and colonial expansion. As will be shown, Brett Bailey's *Exhibit B* thus provides the concrete for a palimpsestic construction that binds together early (colonialist) representations of the Other and the latest 'product' of the global economy by laying bare the space both of these processes of Othering rely on in order to take effect: the "zone of indistinction" (Agamben 1998, 109), the sovereign-declared threshold between "bios" and "zoē" (ibid. 12, 19). *Exhibit B* hence illustrates that the cage as materialization of such a zone of indistinction has morphed into various forms and shapes, thus intricately connecting the colonial Other and the refugee by marking them as 'bare life', as non-political beings without the right to have rights. The cage becomes visible in the ocean that asylum-seekers drown in. It becomes tangible in

refugee shelters that are set on fire, in so-called transit zones in which 'normal' laws no longer apply, and in means of transportation used to deport stateless people in inhuman conditions. This paper hence argues that 'the refugee' is the biopolitical product of a continuously progressing process of othering driven by the urge for infinite economic progress; s/he is the result of predominant colonial narratives and economic structures, an uncivilized and potentially dangerous human being that is incompatible with 'our' norms and values; s/he is a modern *homo sacer*[3] dwelling in ever-changing zones of indistinction – he is another Other.

Human exhibitions were a powerful instrument to create, reproduce, establish, and circulate the notion of the Other. By intertextually inscribing colonial narratives on the body of the 'Other' exhibited in the human zoo, these narratives are converted into 'reality' through this body. Hence, the physical body of the Other is used as the site that transforms theory into praxis. The exhibited 'objects' are the bodily incarnation, the materialization of Orientalism. Böetsch and Blanchard correctly explain that "the human exhibition was a way of objectifying and inscribing the Other in a hierarchy" (2014, 189) - the act of inscription as an act of writing visibly illustrates Said's analysis that "every writer on the Orient […] assumes some Oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the Orient, to which he refers and on which he relies" (1977, 20). The Orient therefore "is

not an inert fact of nature" (ibid. 4) but a sort of stereotypical, intertextual Western product because it is imbued in "a tradition of [Western] thought, imagery, and vocabulary" (ibid. 5, also cf. Bhabha 1994, 153). This thought, this imagery, this notion of the 'Other' and the Orient is hence "constructed as a mosaic of quotations" (Kristeva 1986, 37) - it is not based on an empirical reality. The exhibition of a black man in a cage, performing 'ritual dances' with a 'traditional' weapon in his hands therefore is not the visual expression of an irrefutable truth – it is rather the strange product of an intertextual process that establishes an intimate relationship with earlier signifying elements, such as colonial "desires, repressions, investments, and projections" (Said 1977, 8) that define and constantly confirm what is deemed to be Oriental.

The installation of human zoos—being highly influenced by this complex psychological reflex of the European colonizers—and the spectators' gaze—being highly influenced by their expectations, scientific assumptions, and the general ideology of their time—hence constantly confirm and maintain the essentialist division of the world. The apparently direct witnessing of the Other in human zoos therefore ostensibly provides evidence for the existence of racial and cultural hierarchies (cf. Maier 2012, 151). This "immediacy [however] … obscures the fact that the audience is watching an highly artificial enactment of what a

non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient" (Said 1977, 21): the materials and requisites used to build huts are imported goods from the natives' homeland, but their architectural design is a deviant reproduction of a supposedly original construction (cf. Grewe 2006, 14, f.). The acclaimed authenticity of this re-presentation of the Other is thus instantly problematized because the Orient is illustrated as a palimpsest built on the unchallenged unidirectional gaze of the Western colonizer and his *materialized* 'white' narratives. This observation clearly shows that Orientalism is not simply an ethereal European illusion, but a "created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment" (Said 1977, 7). The material exhibition of exotic 'sub-humans' thus profoundly contributes to the maintenance of the invented Other; Orientalism is confirmed to be an authoritative system that, in constituting knowledge as truthful, invigorates the supremacist European body (cf. Ludden 1993, 265; Couttenier 2014, 108, f.). The aforementioned psychological reflex then is no longer reserved for the colonizer, but it begins to take over the spectator; the authoritative system (that is Orientalism), becomes both definite reason and alleged remedy for a pathological condition that—just like every other intertextual product—questions (or even defies) spatial and temporal boundaries (Kristeva 1986 37): it comes to be a permanent state of paranoia because the author of the Orient—that is

European hegemony—at once is forced and threatened to "lose his structure and that of the world in the structure of language" (Barthes 1993, 145); instead of neutralizing and deconstructing what is 'true' and what is 'false', which according to Barthes is the ultimate goal of language, the Western individual uses the structure of language to constitute *praxis* and thereby "loses all claim to truth" (ibid.)[4]. In a structure that resembles Barthes' topos of the death of the author, European hegemony comes under the threat of losing its authorial position[5]. Therefore, the Orient is to be controlled by the West. Yet, the essentialist position the Western individual assumes in this attempt of controlling the Other merely constitutes "an ambiguous product of the real" (ibid.). Due to its epistemological sovereignty, the repetitive stereotypical representation of the Other consequently reconstitutes this fragile order by operationalizing the language of 'the writers on the Orient', thus constituting an alternate reality.

Dividing this meta-analysis up into its parts, two intricately entangled key processes can be identified in relation to the constitution and the behaviour of the spectators. First, in an *ex-negativo* movement, the notion of the Other that is not-me triggers off the idea of who I actually am, thus restructuring my fractured self. Second, this psychological process involves a socio-political one: the panoptic uni-directionality of the gaze, designed to maintain this newly structured order. The view (voir) of an 'animal-like' black man, parading

in a cage with a 'primordial' weapon, reiterates "European superiority over Oriental backwardness" (Said 1977, 8). The Other then is "something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual)" (ibid. 40), and it is "something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum)" (ibid.) in order to gain and spread knowledge (*savoir*). Consequently, the control and the circulation of this unchallenged knowledge is the nexus of European strength and power (*pouvoir*). The fear of losing the self (the author's fear of death) is overcome by detachment via the gaze; it is overcome by setting the self off against the Other. Consequently, whenever "the whites confronted the "other", they confronted themselves" (Maier 2012, 202): as if he were looking into a Foucauldian mirror when looking at the 'objects', the spectator sees himself where he is not, and thus begins to reconstitute himself[6]. The process of watching 'freak shows' is thus to be identified as a 'reversed mirror stage'[7]: in a scopophilic manner, the spectator looks at the Other (who impersonates his mirror image) and perceives a strikingly similar shape and all the usual features, but at the same time he realizes that the Other ought to be what he himself is not (savage, lazy, lewd, superstitious), and he answers with disavowal[8]. This recognition ultimately sparks the idea of what he actually is: not what he perceives—ego-formation via the gaze as a process of abjection, ego-formation *ex-negativo*.

Yet, this process can only take effect because of the manipulation of the egalitarian 'see-being-seen-dyad'. By denying the objects' humanity, the audience neglects the possibility of having their gaze returned. This panoptic uni-directionality of the gaze consequently generates and maintains their power: in the "peripheral ring everyone [the Other] is seen without ever seeing, whereas in the central tower, everyone [the spectator] sees without ever being seen" (Foucault 1977, 202). The exhibited objects are always looked at in their cage, and they can never effectively return this gaze because by definition of the Occident, the peripheral ring is constructed as a space of subordination, a space containing 'non-humans' that cannot look back. Following Foucault, the connection between *voir, savoir,* and *pouvoir* consequently illustrates that perspectivism generates knowledge, and the constant repetition and reproduction of this knowledge generates power; power that manifests itself in the body of the 'objects' exhibited in human zoos. The uni-directional gaze hence generates an 'autho-real' position in producing unquestionable—albeit intrinsically ambivalent and neurotic—knowledge that restores an idea of fixity: the stereotype, the "anxious repetition" (McLeod 2000, 54) that is the most important strategy of fixity (Bhabha 1994, 94). By constantly being "in excess of what can empirically be proved or logically construed" (Bhabha 1983, 18), the stereotype is an ambivalent means to repress the fractured reality and to replace it with the

firm, fixed, and comforting "Western thought, imagery, and vocabulary" (Said 5). The stereotype is therefore to be seen as a sort of Freudian defence mechanism developed to resolve this precarious condition by restoring an idea of fixity; the symmetrical form of the cage, the unshakable dominance of the cage's iron bars that contain every uncertainty and every potential threat illustrates this mechanism perfectly. Hence the construction of the Other as the 'non-self', as the antipode (of the West) that is savage, backward, and primitive in contrast to the self that is civilised, industrious, and cultured. These unchallenged essentialist ontological and epistemological binaries consequently define European discourse. The stereotype – as brought about and constantly enacted by the gaze – is the legitimization of the sovereign's suspension of the law, of his action without sanction; it is the justification of placing the Other beyond the law, turning them into *homini sacri*, thus re-establishing the Western individual and social order and giving rise to modern politics: according to Agamben, "there is politics because man is the living being who, *in language*, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life and, at the same time maintains himself in relation to that bare life in an inclusive exclusion" (1998, 8). Consequently, the human zoo assumed a crucial role in visualizing this language, circulating it and thus maintaining this essentialist position and the embedded power relations.

By visualizing this language of power in a 'zone of indistinction', *Exhibit B* – a controversially discussed art project by South-African artist Brett Bailey – transforms and undermines it. *Exhibit B* features 'human installations' that confront the viewer with the most appalling and horrible atrocities committed under colonial rule and the current debauching policies towards asylum-seekers and refugees[9]. As if Bailey's extreme realism and the superficial similarity to the human zoo format are not enough, it is perhaps this unsettling connection that sparks disapproval and even triggers protests against the exhibition. Smith-Prei and Stehle (2016) explain that Bailey's exhibition reproduces the racist display of black people, but that "it is not a disruption" (78) (cf. Hess 2013, 107). As Bailey is a white artist, it has also been argued that he cannot thematise subjects like slavery or colonial atrocities because white people were perpetrators of these acts and therefore are ineligible to represent (post-) colonial traumata (cf. Knox 2016, 2). Yet, as will be shown, the very point of Bailey's artwork is not to represent; the Spivakian distinction between portray and proxy[10] that collapses in formats like the human zoo is supposed to be restored by each and every individual spectator. In order to understand this point, however, it is necessary and fundamental to interpret *Exhibit B* as an intertextual product that can only exist in relation to the human zoo format. By transforming this format, *Exhibit B* uncovers the fact that the Other (that is the

colonial Other and the refugee) continues to be the expelled and excluded ambivalent product of a discursive antagonism based on the representation of stereotypes depicting the non-empirical deviance from the norm.

The transformative aspect of *Exhibit B* as an intertextual artwork lies within the manipulation of the relationship between text and reader (object and spectator) that undercuts pre-existing hierarchies and power relations. Following from the premise that Exhibit B can only be discussed in relation to the human zoo format is that the artwork has to be defined as a "text that is the absorption and transformation of another" (Kristeva 1980, 66). Just like the Other that has been identified as a 'mosaic of quotations' (Kristeva 1986, 36), Bailey's installation is dependent on previous signifying elements: the human zoo and its colonial context. Yet to only consider this absorption of previous texts by arguing that Exhibit B is a simple reproduction of the human zoo format is to ignore the aspect of transformation in Kristeva's definition. A closer investigation of the relationship between text and reader, object and audience, yields that the boundaries between the self and the Other dissolve, thus questioning hegemonic narratives of Western dominance and control. In a statement about the cancelling of the show in London, Bailey explained that

> The listed components of each installation include spectators – it is only complete with an audience. The instal-

> lation is not about the cultural or anatomical difference between the colonial subject and the spectator; it is about the relationship between the two. It is about looking and being looked at. Both performer and spectator are contained within the frame. (theguardian.com 2014 n.p.)

The spectator no longer looks at the Other from behind the iron bars, but he is drawn into the cage (cf. Knox 4). By bursting this differential frame that has been constitutive of the human zoo format, *Exhibit B* successfully undermines colonial hierarchies. The spectator's position is no longer that of the white European colonizer: at the beginning of the show, each spectator is assigned a number. Not unlike black slaves, who were branded with numbers as a sign of their status as property, the audience members are consumed by the artwork, 'contained within the frame'; their white European identity is taken away, and thus the 'object' that is looked at and the 'numerical object' that watches are equated – every notion of 'cultural or anatomical difference' is erased from the very beginning. By entering the room in which the 'found objects' are exhibited, the spectator transgresses a spatial boundary, ending up in a sort of void, homogenous space in which the rigid binaries between black and white, between Occident and Orient, between the self and the Other have dissolved. As the notion of the Other becomes an empty category, the notion of the self is severely questioned because there is nothing left for the individual to separate the self from—the mirror stage ceases to work

(Knox 2016, 3). Therefore, everything that is known to be different— everything that is known to be Oriental, everything that defines the Other and has formerly been excluded—is now included as part of the self. At the same time, however, the horrible things that are portrayed push the self farther away from what was known to be Oriental, from what was known to be the Other—and since the Other has been included in the self, the installations ultimately alienate the spectator from his own self, thus enabling him to observe himself from a distant vantage point. By manipulating the relationship between text and reader, *Exhibit B* hence successfully absorbs the mechanisms employed by the human zoo format and transforms them. It thereby creates a newly coded space that is void of previously existing hierarchies and thus enables the audience to observe and question themselves.

In this homogenous space the panopticon ceases to work; by returning the gaze, the 'objects' are 'subjectified' and cast the spectator into an ambivalent, hybrid space in between that allows him to analyse and reject predominant colonial narratives. While the spectator thinks he is simply watching inanimate subject matters, 'still lifes', the performers are instructed to 'return the gaze', to look back at the audience, thus questioning "who can gaze upon whom, when, and how" (Knox 3). As a consequence, the spectator is surprised by an unsuspected glance and watches himself being looked at because the fundamental 'see-being-seen-dyad' is

re-established (Foucault 1977, 202). The unidirectionality of the gaze that dominated the objects exhibited in the human zoo is turned into a multi-directionality, and thus the spectator becomes the object of the "purportedly invisible all-seeing and controlling surveillant eye" (Amad 2013, 51). Quite literally, the 'subjectified' object uses this "counter-gaze" (Bhabha 1994, 67) to turn the eye of power back upon itself (cf. ibid. 160). As a consequence, it is the spectator who is caught in an ambivalent position in-between. He becomes the "interstitial passage between fixed identifications" (Bhabha 1983, 5) as he is caught in a performative space of enunciation: in a space between the 'familiarized object' and the 'othered self', between the 'subjectified object' and the 'objectified self'. The hybrid spectator thus seems to become the "terrifying exorbitant object of paranoid classifications" (Bhabha 1994, 162) that is the origin of disorder and unrest, the origin of the dislocation of colonial narratives and hegemonic knowledge. By returning the gaze, the Other therefore assumes the role of the spectator, thus turning him into a strange mélange of his own Other and his original self. This process allows the spectator to perceive, experience, understand, and disrupt hegemonic narratives and knowledges.

As for the exhibition itself, the very same process can be observed. *Exhibit B* does not have a definite beginning and a definite end; it is a "performance of

intertextuality that dismantle[s] temporal and spatial boundaries" (McQuillen 2013, 154). As such it has to be identified as a menacing mélange of past and presence, illustrating that the *same* mechanisms (gazing, othering, defining, dominating) work in all the different and seemingly irreconcilable texts (colonialism vs. nowadays politics, human zoos vs. Western humanitarian values); of texts that are simultaneously 'there' and 'gone'. The most obvious example of this intertextuality is the case of Marcus Omofuma[11].

In extending the trajectory of colonial discourse to modern day politics, *Exhibit B* successfully illustrates that these mechanisms of sovereign othering led to the present refugee 'crisis' and are still intimately interwoven in the fabric of our way of thinking about the Other.

Illustration 1: Marcus Omofuma tied to his chair (Meersman n.p.). Permission obtained.

The connection is perfectly obvious: as illustrated in the tableau, 'the refugee' has been forced into the cage, he has become 'another Other'. Albeit asylum-seekers have not actively been deported to Europe to serve as a tool for racist propaganda, colonialism, neo-colonialism, global capitalism, neo-liberal politics and Euro-American interventionism in Africa and the Near East have actively triggered the present 'refugee crisis'. This is what leads Zizek to the conclusion that "refugees are the price humanity is paying for global economy" (n.p.). They seem to be the ones to get or to take what 'even Europeans' are lacking, and therefore they are just like the Other (cf. Hess 112). Asylum-seekers and refugees are defined through fear; they are the subjects of 'fearism', the fearsome Other—they present a threat to European norms and values, they endanger the economy, they are potential risks for security, and they threaten to liquidate the national (and European) notion of a comprehensive spatial theory. Like Orientalism, these fears are not based on an empirical reality but on a collectively spun intertextual narrative about '*the* refugee' in binary opposition to the Western individual. As "fear is a director of both life and civilisation" (Subba 13) this (unconsciously) developed narrative consequently directly impacts European politics by asserting 'power over life': the performer in the above installation is strapped to the chair, his head loosely dangling on his left shoulder as if he were sleeping—yet, the tape covers almost his whole face

and most of his body, thus illustrating that no matter how free he would be in his dreams, in reality, he is *caught* in a spectrogram and *fixed* in a stereotype, thus turning him into a *binding* precedent for the making of a *homo sacer*. His facelessness adds to his inability to speak; due to his black clothes it almost seems as if he vanishes in the darkness that surrounds him – he is slowly dissolving, leaving behind everything that defines him as a human until nothing is left but one thing: his shoes. While he is still in the process of becoming a homo sacer, at the brink of losing his humanity, caught in his personal 'zone of indistinction', the pairs of empty shoes to his left and right illustrates the final product: Void. Emptiness. All-encompassing nothingness. The human in them is gone. The tableau represents this exact moment, the 'moment in between': Marcus Omofuma is caught between being a citizen and being stateless, and he is caught between being a human and being something else – the installation shows that human rights are nothing but civil rights after all. As a consequence, Marcus Omofuma is caught between being bios and zoe – it is this exact *moment*, the *never-ending* threat of the camp that is the "hidden paradigm of the political space of modernity" (Agamben 73). The fact that the artwork is a 'real-life-still-life' illustrates this temporal transition lucidly and turns the transitory 'found object' into a 'statuesque' monument. When Derek Walcott hence makes the colonizer in his *The Sea is History* ask "where are

your monuments, your battles, martyrs?" the answer no longer has to be that "the sea has locked them up". They are no longer forgotten and voiceless on the bottom of the Middle Passage or the Mediterranean Sea. They are here, included in the artwork, silently shouting to the audience that they shall look intensely, that they shall not ignore that everyday refugees are at the brink of becoming bare life: "[n]ot every refugee in a refugee camp is a *homo sacer*, but every one of them is virtually exposed to the possibility of becoming one" (Geulen 24). Hence, the coalescence of self and other brought about by *Exhibit B* is the source of true solidarity[12]; it lays bare "those invisible walls and the associated priviliges that still govern how racial and ethnic minorities are viewed" (Knox 8); it lays bare the mechanisms that give rise to right wing movements all over Europe; the mechanisms that prevent refugees from finding work or accessing education, health care, and accommodation. It lays bare the mechanisms that result in the demand for 'more national security', for so called 'transit-zones'[13], for detention camps, and ultimately for the juridical legitimization to passively let asylum-seekers drown in the ocean or to actively shoot refugees at the borders: it lays bare the mechanisms that enact the very principle of Foucault's Biopolitics that "if you want to live, the Other must die" (*Society* 255). The case of Marcus Omofuma is but one example illustrating that statelessness quickly turns into bare life; by being bound to the chair he is being stripped

off his right to have rights. Thereby his case not only visualizes the potential fate of all other refugees – prefigured by Hannah Arendt when she wrote that "history has forced the status of the outlaw" (*Refugees* 119) upon Jews and refugees alike – but illustrates the paradigm of modern capitalist politics. *Exhibit B*'s 'zone of indistinction' hence is a call for a common struggle against the materialist factors that brought 'the Other' and 'the refugee' into being in the first place.

NOTES

1. *Exhibit B* (2012) was a controversial art installation by South-African artist Brett Baily and his theatre group 'Third World Bunfight'. They performed in several European cities such as Paris, Berlin, and Edinburgh until the show was cancelled in London in 2014. The installation featured tableaux vivants depicting atrocities committed under colonial rule and the predicaments of immigration. It forces the spectator to engage with the colonial past and re-evaluate the present political situation.

2. Agamben argues that the sovereign's power to differentiate between bare life and qualified life, places him in a state of exception in which the differentiation of politics and nature collapses. At the same time, the person declared bare life is included in the political system solely based on his/ her exclusion: "Sovereign violence opens up a zone of indistinction between law

and nature, outside and inside, violence and law." (Agamben HS 41)

3. According to Agamben, "Western politics first constitutes itself through exclusion … of bare life" (HS 11) – or, in Arendt's words, through the sovereign's ability and decision to arbitrarily "kill the juridical person" (447) – thus declaring him/ her "homo sacer" (Agamben, HS 12, 47). Hence, 'homo sacer' is merely a human body without the "right to have rights" (Arendt 297); a disenfranchised and banned human being who can be killed with impunity.

4. In describing the relentless vigour of reclaiming authority as "classificatory mania" (197), Maier instantly problematizes this approach to a solution: precisely because of the attempt to classify every human being and every race, the European individual loses itself in a psychological condition in which every classification blurs and becomes non-existent; a condition in which fantasy and reality can no longer be divided – hence Barthes' conclusion.

5. The death of the author is taken quite literally here; yet, as will be shown, it serves another (less programmatic) purpose: the idea is relevant in so far that it demonstrates that intertextuality challenges the dichotomy between interior and exterior, between (temporal) beginning and end; it challenges the notion that

a text has definite boundaries – it therefore not only applies to the (synchronic) social stratification but also to the (diachronic) reproduction of these hegemonic mechanisms and narratives. In the last part of this paper, Brett Bailey's Exhibit B will illustrate this thought more clearly.

6. This idea relies on Foucault's notion of the mirror as both a utopia and a heterotopia and proves to be quite fecund in relation to the human zoo. The mirror views myself in a place where I am not – it is a utopia. Yet, I see myself in this non-place, which renders my occupation of that place absolutely real, and I am able to come back to myself – it is a heterotopia. The Other as constructed by white Europeans is a utopia because it "enables me to see myself where I am not" (Other Spaces 24) – in the 'savage' who acts as my mirror image. Simultaneously, however, this mirror image does really exist (the spectator is looking at a real human being after all) where "it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy" (ibid.); he is becoming aware of the utopia, and in discovering the absence from what he is, he comes back to himself, reconstitutes himself (ibid.). As illustrated before, the real and the unreal clash and blend, supporting the psychasthenic or maniac analysis resulting from Barthes' observations; the Orient's author loses himself in a space without boundaries. (on which issues? Briefly mention.).

7. The spectator does not perceive the centre of his own perception for the first time as Lacan suggests (cf. 64). The process works quite the other way around: the spectator sees what he is not, thus defining what he actually is.

8. This term has been chosen here because it illustrates the irony of human zoos perfectly: disavowal is a Freudian term operating in the discourse of sexuality: the anatomical difference between man and woman reiterates the boy's fear of castration and makes the girl feel already inferior because supposedly she has already been castrated. Disavowal hence is a psychological defence mechanism resulting from uneasy sexual observations. Ergo, it appears as if the 'savages' are not really the ones with an excessive sexual drive.

9. As will be shown in the subsequent paragraphs, Knox correctly identifies this connection, but she does not follow through, thus failing to come to an adequate conclusion.

10. Spivak highlights two different modes of representation: in politics, most of the times, Vertretung is in connivance with Darstellung. While the first term refers to political representation (proxy) of a marginalized group of people, the second term means the portrayal of that people (portray). In formats like the human zoo, the representation of colonial subjects is a portrayal used as a political tool – the distinction col-

lapses. Bailey's artwork, however, brings Spivak's solution (the constant critique of any kind of representation) back into play.

11. Marcus Omofuma was a Nigerian refugee, who illegally entered Austria in 1998, but his application for political asylum was denied. When he refused to enter the plane, Austrian police forces bound him to his seat with adhesive tape, not sparing his mouth and covering most of his nose. As a consequence of this maltreatment, he suffocated during the flight.

12. Zizek is highly sceptical of certain modes of 'humanitarian solidarity' like sentimentalism or compassion. Yet, by claiming that empathy alone does not get to the root of the problem and can therefore be dispensed with, he betrays his own 'realistic' position: in the long term, empathy does not solve the problem, but refugees and asylum-seekers oftentimes are dependent on this idea of situational ethics because it provides material aid in a momentary condition of need.

13. The idea of transit-zones was introduced by the German government in 2015 as a solution to cope with 'the refugee crisis'. In terms of geopolitics, it is both extremely interesting and tremendously horrifying: transit-zones were supposed to be created 'in between borders', where the deportation of refugees would be much easier – de facto non-existing spaces to be built up out of nothing.

WORKS CITED

Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Amad, Paula. 2013. Visual Riposte: "Looking Back at the Return of the Gaze as Postcolonial Theory's Gift to Film Studies." *Cinema Journal* 52.3: 49-74.

Arendt, Hannah. 1994. "We Refugees," in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, edited by Marc Robinson. Boston, London: Faber and Faber.

--. 1951. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Barthes, Rolande. 1993. *Critical Essays*. Translated by Richard Howard. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Bailey, Brett. 2014. "Yes, Exhibit B is Challenging – but I never sought to Alienate or Offend." *The Guardian*, 24th September. Theguardian.com. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/24/exhibit-b-challenging-work-never-sought-alienate-offend-brett-bailey>

Bhabha, Homi K. 1983. “The Other Question,” in *The Politics of Theory*, edited by Francis Barker. Colchester: University of Essex Press.

--. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Boetsch, Gilles, and Pascal Blanchard. 2014. “From Cabinets of Curiosity to the “Hottentot Venus”: A Long History of Human Zoos,” in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, edited by Nicolas Bancel et al., 185-195. New York, London: Routledge.

Couttenier, Maarten. 2014. “We Can’t Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914),” in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, edited by Nicolas Bancel et al. 100-117. New York, London: Routledge.

Dreesbach, Anne. 2012. “Colonial Exhibitions, 'Völkerschauen' and the Display of the 'Other',” in *European History Online*, published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 5.3.2012. <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/dreesbacha-2012-en>

--. 2005. *Gezähmte Wilde: die Zurschaustellung "exotischer" Menschen in Deutschland 1870-1940*. Frankfurt: Campus, 2005.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.

--. 1978. *The History of Sexuality Vol I*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books.

--. 1986. "Of other Spaces." *Diacritics* (16.1): 22-27.

--. 2003. *Society Must be Defended*. Edited by David Macey. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Geulen, Eva. 2009. "The Function of Ambivalence in Agamben's Reontologization of Politics," in *A Leftist Ontology: Beyond Relativism and Identity Politics*, edited by Carsten Strathausen 19-33. Minnesota, London: Minnesota University Press.

Grewe, Cordula. 2006. "Between Art, Artifact, and Attraction: The Ethnographic Object and its Appropriation in Western Culture," in *Die Schau des Fremden. Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, edited by Cordula Grewe, 9-45. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hess, Sabine. 2013. "Hegemoniale Diskurs-Bilder brechen – eine kulturwissenschaftliche Kritik der dominanten Wissensproduktionen zu Migration",

in *Migration und künstlerische Produktion: Aktuelle Perspektiven*, edited by Burcu Dogramaci, 107-122. Bielefeld: transcript.

Hodeir, Catherine. 2014. "Human Exhibitions at World Fairs: Between Scientific Categorizations and Exoticism? The French Colonial Presence at Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago 1893," in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, edited by Nicolas Bancel et al., 222-233.New York, London: Routledge.

Knox, Katelyn. 2016. *Race on Display in 20th- and 21st- Century Franc*e. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Kristeva, Julia. 1980. *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Translated by T. Gora et al., edited by Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press.

---. 1986. "Word, dialogue, and the novel," in *The Kristeva reader.*, edited by T. Moi, 35-61. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lacan, Jacques. 1973. "Das Spiegelstadium als Bildner der Ichfunktion," in *Schriften I*, translated by Rodolphe Gasché, Norbert Haas. Olten: Walter-Verlag AG.

Ludden, David. 1993. "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in *Orientalism and the postcolonial predicament: perspectives on South Asia*, edited by Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, 250-278. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Maier, Charles. 2012. *Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood*. Cambridge, London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

McLeod, John. 2000. *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Machnester, New York: Manchester University Press.

McQuillen, Colleen. 2013. *The Modernist Masquerade: Stylizing, Life, Literature, and Costumes in Russia*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Meersman, Brent. 2014. ""Exhibit B": Look black in anger." *Thisisafrica.me*, 9th September. <https://thisisafrica.me/brett-bailey-exhibit-b-look-black-anger/>

Said, Edward. 1977. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.

Smith-Prei, Carrie; Maria Stehle. *Awkward Politics: Technologies of Popfeminist Activism*. London, Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.

Subba, Desh. 2015. *Philosophy of Fearism: Life is Conducted*, Directed and Controlled by the Fear. Transl. by Rajendra Subba. New York: Barnes and Noble.

Zedelmaier, Helmut. 2007. "Das Geschäft mit dem Fremden: Völkerschauen im Kaisserreich", in *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert: alte Fragen und neue Perspektiven*, edited by Nils Freytag, Dominik Petzold, 183-200. München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2007.

Zizek, Slavoj. *Against the Double Blackmail: Refugees, Terror, and Other Troubles with the Neighbours*. London: Penguin, 2016.

3

OF NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS MASCULINE INTERLOCUTORS:

THE CASE OF BALRAM HALWAI IN ARAVIND ADIGA'S *THE WHITE TIGER*

AMRITA DE

Betty Joseph's essay "Neoliberalism and allegory" (2012, 68) begins with a reference to a highly acclaimed advertising campaign by the national newspaper Times of India, which on the first page of its January 2007 issue, featured a rousing full page anthem titled, "India poised"' This began with the lines: "There are two India's in this country. One India is straining at the leash, eager to spring forth and live up to all the adjectives that the world has been recently showering upon us. The other India is the leash" (*TOI*, 2007).

The official video for this campaign featured superstar, Amitabh Bachchan in a tuxedo as the only spokesperson, lending his imposing baritone voice to the well-composed transcript–which reads more like a paean to a neoliberal utopia, than as an honest med-

itation on the socio-cultural complexities inscribed within the nation. Amitabh Bachchan is a well-recognized face in both the national and international space. He has served as a cultural ambassador for India on various international platforms. Quite predictably, his star text precedes his physical persona in India, triggering affective responses that straddles different socio-economic spaces. His star text allows him to position himself as someone, who inimitably through an exploration of affect, becomes the spokesperson for everyone in India: from struggling drivers like Balram in *The White Tiger* (Adiga, 2008), to corporate honchos behind slick glass-doored multi-national companies. People in India, irrespective of their social strata, have similar affective responses to this mega-superstar who has the credibility to single-handedly monopolize, the immense economic capital of the Bollywood film industry. He therefore becomes a convenient choice to peddle this version of a new-neoliberal India- an India that is 'poised' to fly, while another India that is looking "down from the edge of a precipice". (*TOI*, 07)

This is a version of neoliberal India, that is advertised on glossy corporate magazines promising wealth and upward mobility under the lure of a 'better tomorrow', in a nation that is incredibly diverse in terms of socio-economic lived experiences. It is important to note, that Mr Bachchan in his corporate suit, is the only looming presence in the video; juxtaposed against a faded backdrop of the sea-side, where he locates himself.

However, it is a specific kind of socio-economic lived experience that is being prioritized here. This is a video by and for the people who can afford to live and benefit in a neoliberal world–people who have access to neoliberal markets, people who have different colored business suits, which they can wear to work daily to consistently feed themselves the myth of partaking in a neoliberal success story. They can afford to be dynamic in an India that is apparently poised to fly: the ultimate glorification of a neoliberal fantasy. The people who are however looking down from the edge of a precipice do not have any screen presence in this narrative. Their voices are obscured: silent, voiceless people who can only exist at the margins of this neoliberal fantasy.

What is endorsed in this anthem is a specific 'way of life' or a specific kind of upward mobility that is advertised more as an individual choice, than something which is dependent on the specificity of socio-economic lived experiences. The dynamic, new India that is envisioned within this neoliberal fantasy is an India where class, caste and gendered vectors apparently cease to operate. Instead, there is the suggestion of a uniform, monolithic and absolute neoliberal fantasy replete with foreign-markets and free trade possibilities, which everyone should aspire to achieve. Coded within this idea, is the implicit message, that diverse, caste, classed, gendered identities cease to matter in this neoliberal world where everyone has access to the same opportunities.

Aravind Adiga observes in an interview, "The past fifty years have seen tumultuous changes in India's society, and these changes--many of which are for the better--have overturned the traditional hierarchies, and the old securities of life. A lot of poorer Indians are left confused and perplexed by the new India that is being formed around them" (2008, n.pag.).The transcript of the advertisement also evinces the presence of this concomitant duality within this India: '"One India lives in the optimism of our hearts. The other India lurks in the skepticism of our minds. By consistently foregrounding this apparent duality, the video seeks to achieve a dual purpose by presenting to its viewers- the sword and the shield: the sword represents the idea of 'free will' or a dynamic individualism; an India that is poised to fly and fight the shackles that has hitherto deterred its progress by opening itself to foreign markets and investments—and an India that shields, or protects itself against the onslaught of global liberalizing practices. Both these apparently conflicting ideas are coded within the same space which acts as a greater signifier for the imagined new nation that would effectively accommodate all these conflicting ideas, yet be "poised to fly" or accelerate its economic progress on the global stage. It is important to note, that the only medium which is directly referenced in this transcript is the mention of 'foreign-made goods', and the idea of purportedly taking over foreign companies which produces these goods. In other words, this is a, "new India"

(Mattin 2017), which is both the consumer and producer of foreign goods. Rupal Oza reflects on the idea of 'new India' by pointing out that this catch phrase gained currency when the"complex political, economic, and cultural changes [which] began roughly in the mid-1970s with a series of economic liberalization policies led up to marketing India in the early 1990s as an important global destination for foreign investment "(Oza 2001,1071). The idea of economic progress therefore becomes the fulcrum, on which this neoliberal fantasy is hinged. The video also insinuates, that this economic progress would bridge the supposedly (hidden voices in this video) incommensurable gaps within discrete socio-economic lived experiences through its foregrounding of a neoliberal grand narrative; where everyone irrespective of their social strata can be an equal participant–almost as if this neoliberal fantasy would pare down gross social inequalities and instead present a narrative of uniform socio-economic growth.

Aravind Adiga presents a compelling critique of postcolonial, neoliberal India that is ensnared within this binary abstraction of 'darkness' and 'light' in his debut novel, *The White Tiger* (Adiga, 2008). Adiga is engaging with multiple vectors in this text such as the politics of class and caste identity at the local level and the effects of neoliberalism at the global level. By foregrounding his protagonist, Balram's narrative, Adiga consistently engages with the fun-

damental power dynamics of the murky society that he inhabits, to present a critique of neoliberal India. This is a "new India", caught between the shiny, glittery, artifice of its chain supermarkets and high end malls and a dark, fecund India, infested with nameless, voiceless creatures who live and die like field rats, in a world too limited to celebrate their humanity.

Balram's story is however presented in a complex manner. According to Shetty et al, it is not necessarily a revolt of the oppressed based on consciousness of class antagonism but rather one which uses it for the sake of individual profit. (Shetty, Prabhu, Pratapchandra T 2012, 277-87). Balram is the "white tiger"—the careful interlocutor who brings the worlds of 'darkness' and 'light' in conversation with each other. He believes in social mobility and actively resists the identity that he is born with. However, his social mobility comes at the cost of him turning increasingly corrupt in a world, where it is impossible to retain his sense of ethical morality. There is no scope for absolute heroism in this world. At best, he can inhabit a liminal space with his conflicted morality, in the form of an apparent celebration of the coming together of the periphery with the centres (Shetty, Prabhu, Pratapchandra T., 2012, 277-87) Balram constructs an independent identity for himself, which is aligned with his movement from 'the darkness' to 'the light'. This self-fashioning however comes at a heavy price where he must compromise on some of the core values and ideals that define him. Balram sees

identity as fluid and malleable, which is stressed by the frequent name changes that he goes through. Ironically, the fact that he does not have any institutional presence arguably places him at a position, to take on different public identities that have more leverage in this kind of society. However, it is impossible for him to completely erase his past. To be successful at this game, he must imbibe the same rules of corruption that undergird the system. He can only be a successful interlocutor if he remains within this system, playing by its rules.

Quite early on in the book, Balram says, "My country is the kind where it pays to play it both ways: the Indian entrepreneur has to be straight and crooked, mocking and believing, sly and sincere at the same time"(Adiga, 6). Balram is laying the grounds for his self-fashioning as a 'successful entrepreneur' at the very beginning, inviting his readers to critique the new, 'shining' neoliberal India. By doing so, he complicates the *Times of India* advertisement where one India is 'poised' to fly while the other India is looking down from the edge of the precipice. He positions himself as someone who straddles both these worlds, which are not in dialectical opposition to one another – but rather exist as an extension of one another. His consistent emphasis on the fact that entrepreneurs are formed from 'half-baked clay' further elucidates this point. He is a half-life caught between both these worlds, not fully belonging to either. He embodies a specific form of entrepreneurial masculine subjectiv-

ity that is produced within this neoliberal discourse.

MASCULINITIES IN NEOLIBERAL INDIA

A close examination of this novel, reveals people as produced within the specificity of their lived experiences, as exemplars of unequal lives under precarious, uncertain situations. We also find people occupying liminal spaces, caught between tradition and modernity; between an old India and new, neoliberal India. It is in these interstitial moments that we see, moments of opportunity and possibilities for resistance, and modes of living and being that produce agentive subjectivities. This part of my paper foregrounds a close textual reading of Balram and Ashok in the novel. I intend to explore the construction of new masculine subjectivities that are produced within a neoliberal framework.

The inherent master-servant relationship between Ashok and Balram places them in homosocial spaces where we see manifestations of different forms of toxic masculine subjectivities. The reader is quick to interpret this space, as essentially coded within a stratified class structure, where servants like Balram are relegated to the inferior position of washing the master's feet. A passage in the novel reads, "I had to heat water on the stove, carry it into the courtyard, and then lift the old man's (Stork) feet up one after the other and immerse them in the hot water and then massage them both gently…"(Adiga, 60) The Stork, as the head of the family is representative

of the traditional idea of toxic hegemonic masculinity–the bullying, exploitative kind, who takes pleasure out of treating his inferiors in a cruel manner. His material wealth acts as an important component for him to be able to perform this role. Yet, we also see an instance where we see a subversion of his power, when he himself has to hold the spittoon for the political leader, who occupies an important position in the village. This is indicative of the fact, that power exists through different constellations and specific hierarchies that change in different social settings. In the village of Laxmangarh, the ultimate power resides with the politicians–the ones who mobilize public opinion by promising certain freedoms and opportunities that are never implemented after the elections. If someone like the upper class, higher caste Stork does not submit to his power—the politician has the power to destabilize his entire empire and livelihood. Hence, someone like the Stork who otherwise enjoys enormous material wealth also has to ultimately subjugate himself, in front of the politician who might or might not belong to an upper caste like him or enjoy the same kind of material wealth as him. Both Balram and the landlords are subservient to the politician's power. In the same scene, where Balram is shown washing the feet of the Stork, Ashok protests against the treatment meted out to him by his father, when the Stork hits Balram after the water had gone cold:

> "Do you have to hit the servants, Father?"

> "This is not America, son. Don't ask questions like that."
> "Why can't I ask questions?"
> "They expect it from us, Ashok. Remember that they respect us for it.""- comes the warning admonition from his father. (Adiga, 43)

This is a very telling scene, where we see Ashok embodying a subjectivity that is relationally positioned in opposition, to that of the one embodied by his father. He is shown to be more outwardly progressive about his beliefs than his father, who clearly performs the traditional role of toxic masculinity, which is aimed more at producing fear than commanding respect. Ashok however commands respect because of his approach even though his father is quick to point out, that people like Balram expect that kind of toxic behavior from them. There is also the suggestion that naturalized power dynamics within the society need to be sustained, for its smooth functioning. People like Ashok who dare to reason are presented as an anomaly here, at the risk of being feminised/being considered weak, which is traditionally considered to be the worst affront to one's masculinity in a heteronormative setting. A little later in the novel Balram writes, "I realized that this tall, broad-shouldered, handsome, foreign-educated man, who would be my only master in a few minutes, when the long whistle blew and this train headed off toward Dhanbad, was weak, helpless, absent-minded, and completely unprotected by the usual instincts that

run in the blood of a Landlord. If you were back in Laxmangarh, we would have called you the lamb." (Adiga, 120) This is one of the first instances, where we see Balram perceiving Ashok as weak–thus positioning himself as the 'white tiger' against the meekness of Ashok's 'lamb', in a jungle where natural laws of selection and survival of the fittest, work as governing determinants.

Ironically, as events unfold, we do see Balram increasingly disrespecting Ashok's authority which finally culminates in that climactic event, where Balram ends up killing his master. Ashok is perceived to be weak by Balram from the beginning which becomes very crucial to the change in power dynamics, within the novel. There is almost an indication that weakness need to be defeated, for the natural order of the jungle to prevail; and for the 'white tiger' to assert itself and claim its rightful place at the throne. Ashok's weakness is referenced many times in the text, which is further shown to be a direct product of his Americanization–which makes him unaware of the power dynamics encoded within this system. Initially, he is positioned at a distance from this murky world, having just come back from his stint abroad. As he gets increasingly drawn into this murky world, we see a reflection of the same kind of inherent biases that exist within his other family members. Even though, his performance of masculine subjectivity is shown to be antithetically positioned to the one performed by his

father; a closer examination of the text reveals, that his masculinity is nothing but an analogue or a variant to the one performed by his father and his brother (the mongoose). He embodies the same kind of toxic subjectivity as his other family members. However, his performance of masculinity is further complicated and produced within a neoliberal framework, which essentially peddles in the myth of fairness and equality, in a society that is undergirded by discrete class/caste divisions. Men in different cultural contexts respond to the exigency of neoliberal, cultural governance, in ways that defy a single, master narrative. What becomes visible, is more of a subtle process through which, we see a transformation of men's identities and ideas of masculinity, under changing material circumstances.

Ashok's lived experience in America, made him cognizant of a different kind of knowledge system, where dignity of labour existed and people, irrespective of their class background were valued to a certain degree, for the kind of work they performed. This kind of thinking presented itself at odds, to the general treatment meted out to servants in India , where they exist mostly tethered to the darkness, as invisible, voiceless citizens that have been both historically and systematically, institutionally silenced. There is a reference in the novel, to the corrupt election system in India, where a man is being shown forcibly dragged away from the polling booth. Balram also points out the irony of his existence,

a little later in the novel, when he says, that even though he is reported to be officially 'missing', there is still a vote that is religiously polled in his name, every year.

Ashok is produced within a specific neoliberal knowledge-system in America that expects him to be more conscious of his treatment towards other people. This knowledge-system is however rendered sterile, in context of his present lived experience in Laxmangarh, which is governed by a separate constellation of power systems, which are not so superficially visible in a place like America. By questioning, the authority of such malpractices (by his father), the master-servant relationship as coded within toxic, hegemonic homosocial spaces, is temporarily shown to be disturbed. However, the balance is restored by the Mongoose and the Stork, who continue to perform their roles as embodiments of toxic hegemonic masculinities. It is only when Ashok migrates to Gurgaon and becomes the direct master to Balram, do we see a formation of a new kind of homosocial space. This homosocial space can be read as a form of rupture from the previously existing homosocial space (the one occupied by the Stork, Mongoose, Ashok and Balram) with fixed power dynamics. It is crucial to our understanding of masculine subjectivity; to thoroughly examine this new space as a site of production of new variants of neoliberal, entrepreneurial masculinities. It is also important to interrogate how these masculinities are structured in this new, emerging space, in relation to the previous ho-

mosocial space in Laxmangarh. Are there new, emerging possibilities encoded within this space, which manage to circumvent the strictures of the previous space? As we see, the hegemony of the traditional, toxic homosocial space being destabilized, do we see emerging possibilities of newer ways of living and performing masculinities within a neoliberal discourse?

In an early scene in the novel, we see Balram driving Ashok and his wife in their Honda city, when Ashok asks Balram to pull over to the side. Balram writes, "Following this command, he leaned forward so close that I could smell his aftershave- it was a delicious, fruit like smell that day- and said, politely as ever, 'Balram, I have a few questions to ask you, all right?'." (Adiga 7) What follows, is a series of questions, where Ashok is trying to discern his level of education. Balram clearly does not have the right answers, which become a point of amusement for Ashok's wife, Pinky who ends up laughing about the whole incident. Balram then overhears, Ashok telling his wife, "'The thing is, he probably has…. what, two, three years of schooling in him? He can read and write, but he doesn't get what he's read. He's half baked. The country is full of people like him … And we entrust our glorious parliamentary democracy'—he pointed at me—'to characters like these.' That's the whole tragedy of this country." (Adiga 6, 7) Adiga, is working on many levels here. There is of

course a larger critique of the corrupt nature of the education system in India, which produces 'half baked' people like Balram. While Adiga is clearly involved in a consistent project to critique, the corrupt nature of the Indian society, he is also simultaneously involved in a critique of the modern, educated, upper-class neoliberal man. Ashok,with his education and genteel behaviour embodies a stunning degree of cultural elitism, which allows him to identify the problem– he is however, dismissive of the solution. Instead, he promotes the worst form of social hierarchy which enables people like him, who clearly occupy a position of power to institutionally silence people like Balram, whom he clearly believes should not be allowed to vote in this "glorious democracy". His idea of democracy is extremely classed and casteist which sustains itself, through the systematic silencing of 'half baked' people like Balram. His meditation on the corrupt nature of the society is essentially undergirded by his fear, that people like Balram have political power to determine the workings of the nation. Ashok is produced within a neoliberal discourse, which promises free-market economy, within a closed, classed system, with people like him as gatekeepers of this society. He is the well-dressed man, wearing fruity after-shave who represents a modern, seemingly liberal outlook, but is essentially governed by the same kind of toxic knowledge-systems that are deeply embedded within people like the Stork and the Mongoose. There is always a noticeable reference to his fashionable sartorial choices, in the book

which is meant to be seen in contrast to the Stork and Mongoose. Adiga is however engaged in simultaneously critiquing him by positing Ashok as another variant of the same kind of toxic, hegemonic masculine subjectivity, embodied by the other people in his family.

Balram, later that night remembers the conversation and admits to himself that Ashok was right, even though he did not like the way Ashok had spoken about him. He then writes, "The story of my upbringing is the story of how a half-baked fellow is produced. ...Fully formed fellows, after twelve years of school and three years of university, wear nice suits, and take orders from other men for the rest of their lives. Entrepreneurs are made from half-baked clay." (Adiga 8)

His self-identification as an entrepreneur is important here. By doing so, he posits a competing performance of entrepreneurial masculinity, which can be arguably seen in opposition to the kind of neoliberal, educated masculinity performed by his master, Ashok. There is also the suggestion, that this specific performance of entrepreneurial masculinity has possibilities that are eclipsed in the performance of neoliberal masculinity. There is an apparent degree of mobility associated with this kind of performance, which enable 'half-baked' interlocutors like Balram to navigate the interstices of an otherwise classed/casteist neoliberal society. Entrepreneurial masculinity becomes the conduit through

which people like Balram, write back to the casteist/classed neoliberal society. By embodying this specific performance, Balram is able to negotiate the interstitial niches of this society, where people like him can also be a mainstream participant in the larger neoliberal framework. Through this performance, Balram legitimizes himself as an 'authentic' narratorial voice, who writes himself into being as someone who has emerged from the 'darkness' into the 'light'. He fashions himself as the worthy interlocutor, who has straddled both these worlds and have intimate knowledge of the structural complexities of both these worlds. In fact, there are several moments in the novel, where he triumphantly announces that he has made it to the 'light' from 'darkness'.

However, his aspirational status in the India of light is inextricably linked to him being increasingly corrupt, as he tries to negotiate the interstices of this neoliberal world. It becomes difficult to read his physical mobility from the India of 'darkness' to the India of 'light' as a complete success story, even though Balram would want his readers to read his life as a 'success' story. To achieve this status, he has to murder his master and conform to the laws of the neoliberal jungle–replete with massive levels of exploitation and corruption. He has to bribe the police officers, in order to set up his business. Balram, as the legitimate interlocutor in this story, sees his identity as fluid but he cannot aspire to rise in the ranks, with his origi-

nal name. He takes on the name of his master, Ashok Sharma towards the end. By rejecting his own name—Balram Halwai-- which is indicative of his sweet-maker caste, he takes on a separate identity—one that automatically elevates him in the caste hierarchy.

Shetty et al therefore explain this entire process of Balram turning into Ashok Sharma as a neo-capitalist coup. The transformed individual becomes a representative of neo-capitalism who bristles with sophistication, dynamism, exhibition, make-belive and astute cunning (Shetty, Prabhu, Pratapchandra T., 2012, 277-87). His entrepreneurial performance cannot succeed in isolation. It is thus necessary for him, to locate himself in an upper-caste 'neo-capitalist' narrative, to succeed in the India of 'light'. His position as an interlocutor in this interstitial space can only work, if he manages to write himself in an upper class-caste narrative. In that sense, his journey can be inscribed within a tautological paradox. Even though, he sets out to disprove, the inescapability of his lived experience, as someone hailing from a lower class and caste background; he ends up reiterating the master narrative of a classed, casteist neoliberal world. In this world, 'half-baked' people like him cannot succeed without upending moral ethical codes and colluding in the greater web of corruption that governs this India.

Several critics have read the novel as an account of the

“greater process of self-examination.” (Jeffries 2008), while others have panned the novel for its bleak portrayal of neoliberal India. However as P. Sunnetha writes, “Adiga is at his best when he sharply portrays the glaring contrast of the life of darkness of the rural people with the light--the successful entrepreneurship--of the urban masses. (Suneetha 2012, 170) Prasannarajan further comments,“He sympathises with the lack of good manners on the part of the rural masses, and "[w]ith detached, scatological precision, he surveys the grey remoteness of an India where the dispossessed and the privileged are not steeped in the stereotypes of struggle and domination" (Prasannarajan: 2008). Adiga writes a nuanced description of this extremely fraught social moment, by stripping down the gloss and exposing neoliberal India, with its warts and questionable ‘subjects’.

There are shared moments of empathy between Balram and Ashok, which is inevitably subverted to conform to the laws of this neo capitalist, neoliberal vacuum, where possibilities of slippages are rare. There is a passage in the novel, where Balram writes, “From the start, sir, there was a way in which I could understand what he wanted to say, the way dogs understand their masters. I stopped the car, and then moved to my left, and he moved to his right, and our bodies passed each other (so close that the stubble on his face scraped my cheeks like the shaving brush that I use every morning, and the cologne from his

skin—a lovely, rich, fruity cologne—rushed into my nostrils for a heady instant, while the smell of my servant's sweat rubbed off onto his face), and then he became driver and I became passenger." (Adiga, 94)

Balram and Ashok share a strange moment of intimacy, which has been hinted at many other places in the novel. Balram wordlessly interprets Ashok's desire, to drive the car. This moment is described by him in a protracted manner, with highly visual and sensual imagery. There is also a shared sense of identification and acknowledgement of where Ashok is coming from alongside a hint of physical intimacy with the touching of their bodies, the exchange of scent and wordless communication. The imagined (by Balram) fluidity that exists between the master and the servant, is realized in this moment as an actual instance of symbolic physical exchange between them, as Ashok takes over Balram's position. Fernando Sanchez in his article, "Queer transgressions: Same-Sex desire and Transgendered representations in Aravind Adiga's *White Tiger*" reads this moment as an instance, where the homosocial space in the novel is effectively queered. Sanchez interprets a version of the word 'queer' as a desire for the same-sex, coded within a non-sexual moment while at the same time, being a critique of the oppressive nature of the social frame, in which it occurs.

While we see Balram identifying with his master,

during several instances, Ashok fails to do so. Ashok changes place with Balram, only to realize that the seat is uncomfortable. Similarly, later on in the novel, after Pinky leaves him, he asks Balram to take him to the place, where he eats his food, only to focus on the abject, decrepit nature of his surroundings. Even though, there are moments where you see a shared sort of empathy on Ashok's part, for Balram–he is never fully able to comprehend or identify with Balram's lived existence. As the story progresses, we find Balram, waking up to the hypocritical liberated front put up by Ashok. His twinned identification of the world as "darkness" and "light", makes him increasingly violent, as he sees through Ashok's blatant hypocrisy; designating him as a rival that must be defeated, in order for him to succeed in this world.

Adiga creates a hyper-masculine, homosocial space in the novel, where women are mainly reduced to being sex-objects. Their presence in the novel exist in tandem to the purported queering of the homosocial space, as if to serve the express purpose of eliding same-sex exploration of desire. Sex-workers specifically serve as a conduit, through which the male characters in the text, channel their desire, almost as if to direct the readers to channelize their gaze on the implicit, heteronormative structure of this homosocial space. Even when, there is a perceived queering of the homosocial space, between Ashok and Bal-

ram, an event almost follows it, where we see both the master and the servant, desiring a female body.

My reading examines how the performance of hegemonic masculinities (Connel 2005, 829-859) are reconfigured under a neoliberal framework through the production of new, complicated subjectivities. Balram and Ashok embody specific iterations of hegemonic masculinities that cannot be read in a linear way. By looking at this twinned pair, I do not necessarily see Balram and Ashok as instances of opposing masculine subjectivities but rather as variants that are produced within the same neoliberal discourse.

As James Ferguson (2010) points out, it is important to take into consideration the polyvalence of the term, 'neoliberalism'. There are many associated dangers to reading neoliberalism as a singular, monolithic category. Doing so, elides important, diverse and divergent ways in which neoliberalism affect the gendered nature of people's lives, in different social and cultural contexts. The first part of my paper critiques the idea of a neoliberal success story by drawing attention to the absent voices in the Times of India advert. I argue that by deliberately foregrounding megastar Amitabh Bachchan in the video, similar affective responses are invoked from diverse lived experiences in India to give credence to a seemingly shared neoliberal vision. I go on to argue that while this advertisement prom-

ises development across a broad spectrum, it is only a certain class-caste lived experience that is prioritized. However, the second part of my paper complicates this idea by throwing light to the multiple differently textured worlds that are caught in between the two ends of this spectrum (light and darkness)—where people like Balram who occupy a liminal space, can seek out ways to participate in this neoliberal fiction. People like Balram occupy an interstitial space between both these worlds and fashions a neoliberal 'success story' for themselves by simultaneously sustaining and subverting its rules. As this paper shows, Balram's specific performance of neoliberal masculinity is dependent on, "context and the specific and immediate relations between actors and audience." (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994, 10). His relationship with Ashok and the homosocial space that emerges out of that interaction is the pivotal setting, which provides the grounds for his self-fashioning as a neoliberal entrepreneur.

Entrepreneurial masculinity, as embodied by Balram, in a neoliberal framework is primarily undergirded by his natural instinct to survive and succeed. His masculine subjectivity is almost radically rooted in the present: in tandem with his zeal to survive in his immediate circumstance. Balram's uncertainty regarding his future existence and the precarity of his circumstances are encapsulated in the neoliberal moment. As part of this complex constellation of different kinds of

masculine subjectivities, we see a re-writing of traditional ideas of hegemonic masculinities in an India that is 'poised to fly'. There are moments when you see Balram, looking down from the 'edge of a precipice', or 'the black fort' in his case—and at other times, he is preparing himself for flight. Balram's story can be read as both the promise and plague of neoliberalism.

WORKS CITED

Adiga, Aravind. 2008. *The White Tiger*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.

Bhattacharya, Soumya. 2008. "*The White Tiger* by Aravind Adiga: Tales from the Shadowy Side of Boom-ing India." *The Independent*. Last modified. 26 Nov. <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/the-white-tiger-by-aravind-adiga-807509.html

Bose, Jaideep. 2007. "India Poised: Make 2007 the Year of India." *Times of India*. Last modified Jan1. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-poised-Make-2007-the-year-of-India.html

Cornwall, Andrea, Frank G. Karioris, and Nancy Lindisfarne. 2016. *Masculinities under Neoliberalism*. London: Zed. Web.

Connel, R.W., James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender and Society*, vol. 19, no. 6: 829-859, CrossRef, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27640853, doi:10.1177/0891243205278639.

Detmers, Ines. 2011. "New India? New Metropolis? Reading Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* as a "condition-of-India Novel"." *Journal of Postcolo-*

nial Writing, vol. 47, no. 5 (2011): 535-545, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17449855.2011.614790, doi:10.1080/17449855.2011.614790.

"Excerpted Interview with Aravind Adiga" Redroomlibrary.com. 2008. Red room library, 23 October 2008.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jeffries, Stuart. 2008. "Roars of Anger." *The Guardian*, 16 October 2008.

Joseph, Betty. 2012. "Neoliberalism and Allegory." *Cultural Critique*, Vol. 82: 68–94, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/culturalcritique.82.2012.0068.

Mattin, David. 2008. "*The White Tiger*, by Aravind Adiga." Rev. of *The White Tiger*, by Aravind Adiga. *The Independent* 11 May.

Mishra, Pankaj. 2006. "The Myth of the New India." *The New York Times* 6 July. <http://cwalocal4250.org/outsourcing/binarydata/July%2006.pdf>

Oza, Rupal. 2001. "Showcasing India: Gender, Geography, and Globalization." *Signs: Journal for Women in Culture and Society* 26.4: 1067–95.

Prasannarajan, S. 2008. “Books: Driving out of Darkness.” *India Today* 17 Apr.

Sanchez, Ferdinand. 2012. “Queer Transgressions: Same-Sex Desire and Transgendered Representations in Aravind Adiga’s *The White Tiger*.” Transcripts, vol. 2: 176-190.

Shetty, Praveen, Vishnumoorthy Prabhu, Pratapchandra T. 2012. “Changing Notes in the Voices beyond the Rooster Coop:A Neo-Capitalist Coup in Aravind Adiga’s *The White Tiger*.” *Text Matters*, vol. 2, no 2: 277-287.

Suneetha, P. 2011. "Double vision in Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*." ARIEL, vol. 42, no. 2: 163-75.

4

HOMOSEXUALITY AND POSTCOLONIAL IDEA IN KABELO SELLO DUIKER'S *THE QUIET VIOLENCE OF DREAMS*

IVES S LOUKSON

INTRODUCTION

The present article is a contribution to the issues raised by the authors of *The Aversion project* in South Africa which was to emphasize that reconciliation and healing could not occur in the absence of knowledge and understanding (Zyl 1999, 11). This article seeks to broaden the knowledge and understanding about homosexuality in South Africa today. Though homosexuality is enshrined in the 1996 South African Constitution, its understanding is never free from disgust and from aversion in South Africa. This situation is similar to how many Africans portray post-colonial theory, because of its subversive strategies. This paper examines both concepts in this paper as twin-con-

cepts. In fact homosexuality appears like the semiotic realization's ground of post-colonial ideal. Cape Town is considered as *shifter* (Jakobson 1971, 132) to the whole South African society for two major reasons: firstly, the historical symbolism of this city and secondly, the background role Cape Town plays in the narrative. In fact, Nelson Mandela was imprisoned in Robben Island, which is in Cape Town. Two years after the official dismantlement of the Apartheid regime, "Miscast" (Nutall, 1998 130) still took place there. Cape Town represents a colonial city in the history of South Africa. This symbolic Cape Town is reproduced in the fictional Cape Town where Tshepo, the main character evolving from the beginning of the novel, ends up before returning to Johannesburg.

There is a potent impetus which made this colonial Cape Town possible. Postcolonial theory names it the "dominant self". This "dominant self" has already given room to accusations made by critics since Rousseau had opposed liberty to happiness. They accused "western or modern thinking (features of that self) of having degenerated into a logic that enslaves man, ruins nature, and produces world wars and extermination camps" (Steinvorth 2009, 4). It is particularly the so called rationality that claimed its superiority over all other forms of culture that worsens the human condition. That "dominant self" has set its footprints all over so that South Africa in general, Cape Town in particular

has become one of its favourite playgrounds. This paper also looks for means to provide sovereignty to that "dominant self" (Nancy 2002, 169-170). This means to assure its subjects their independence from any type of domination or deamination in relation to homosexuality. In the final analysis, the paper discusses the conditions in which the subjects displaying the "dominant self" can become free from its engaging magnetism.

EVIDENCES OF HOMOSEXUALITY IN *THE QUIET VIOLENCE OF DREAMS*

Jean-Marc Moura (Moura 2000, 18) and Lydie Moudileno (Moudileno 2000, 9) insist that postcolonial readings which do not refer to the literary text lack rigor. This preliminary section briefly summarises the novel before discussing homosexuality as the central topic of the narrative.

When they came to Cape Town from Johannesburg, Mmabatho and Mark Tshepo believed they could find their way in this South African post-apartheid town. Mmabatho is forced to become a whore because all the black and white male partners she encounters deceive her. On the other hand, Tshepo missed four months of studies at Rhodes University, because of psychiatric troubles. He looked for jobs to save money for the next academic year, in vain. Adopting the nickname Angelo

for professional purposes, Tshepo finally finds a work as masseur at Steamy Windows, a homosexual industry located at Biloxi. With the money he made from Steamy Windows Tshepo finally decided to go back to Johannesburg where he takes care of street children in an orphanage, leaving Mmabatho alone in Cape Town.

Two principal elements validate homosexuality as the main object in the novel. The first is the focus of the novel on the homosexual Tshepo, which makes him play a special role in terms of Duiker's commitment to the narrative. In fact, considering his dark past, Tshepo acts like a tool through which his creator attempts a deep and serious diagnosis of the South African post-apartheid society. Tshepo's mother was killed by the father (143-44) in front of him when he was 17 years old. This trauma goes untreated because his friends deny him acces to treatment. An example is Zebron who contributed in killing Tshepo's mother, participating in the realization of evil project of Tshepo's father. Zebron and his friends even raped their victim before killing her. In search of a hypothetical rescue, Tshepo develops a clinical dependence on "zol", which is cannabis. He is later brought to Valkenberg, a clinical station for patients suffering from psychiatric troubles, because he is said to be suffering from "*cannabis induced psychosis*". His stay at Valkenberg instead establishes him among terrible characters who are unable to offer him love, concern, warmth and compassion of the kind that he seriously desires:

> Too much has been said about my condition, my illness, whatever it is…. I'm sick of the endless explanations that come with it, the lies and cover ups, the injustice and humiliation of it all. The indifferent nurses and that only communicate through prescriptions. Heavy prescriptions that dull your senses and seem to drain life force out of you. […] What does "cannabis induced psychosis mean"? There is more to it than that. This is what the medical profession will never understand. I'm looking for a deeper understanding of what happened to me, not an easy answer like cannabis induced psychosis. And why don't they just say it if they truly don't understand what happened? Why blame it on cannabis? (Duiker 2001, 9-10)

Almost two months after his arrival at Valkenberg, Tshepo is moved to Ward 2. This geographical movement is similar to his mental evolution according to psychiatrists. Meanwhile, he went back one day to deregister from Rhodes University, where he was supposed to appear since one month and a half. Two months of stay at Ward 2 gives the practitioner the occasion to attest Tshepo's health. He is thus discharged from Ward 2. Later, he moves into a small apartment which he shares with Chris Swart. The latter along with his friends rapes him.

One thing is obvious from the position given to Tshepo in the narrative. He functions as a radiance that the author moves in all "dark" places found in Cape Town in particular and in actual South Africa in general. Therefore, all the characters he mixes with, except those who

are already dead, like the late mother, carry some evil traits whose justification can easily be found in what Ndebele terms "the anonymity to which the oppressive system consigns millions of oppressed Africans" (Ndebele 2006, 15). This remark makes the narrative to appear as a radical attempt to record the psychological consequences of the apartheid system on today's South Africa. Because of its manichean nature, the apartheid system was progressively able to manipulate the thought and to paralyze the imagination, driving South Africans in a kind of eschatological environment in which the Tshepos and his set of people appear to be in their proper soil. The fact that Ayi Kwei Armah's fiction T*he Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* appears to be Tshepo's favourite novel (Duiker 2001, 177) clearly shows that he is fully aware of the misery Black South Africans still go through in the new context. But, like Sigmund Freud had shown the imagination of a whole community can never be paralyzed for long by moral laws imposed on them through education, because each human being involved in that community bears an "*unconsciousness*" which, Lacan perceives in the passion of knowledge or, simply put, the passion for freedom (Lacan 1986, 374). From the Freudian perspective, Steamy Windows appears to Tshepo as a manifestation of the "*unconsciousness*". In fact, it is in this homosexual industry that Tshepo finally finds an employment left for persons like him in his society. Its significance in terms of recurrence of the happenings that

take place there i is the second element that gives evidence of the centrality of the novel on homosexuality.

At Steamy Windows, Tshepo disappears under the name Angelo. His colleagues are Storm, Samuel, West, Carrington, Francois, Adrian, Cole and Sebastian. Shaun is their boss to whom they pay R90 daily for studio fees and R60 fees weekly. He engages in sexual acitivties exclusively with white males and scarcely white female clients. The choice of Tshepo's job enables Duiker to shed a broad light on the type of personalities involved in the homosexual industry. All the clients are very rich people from South Africa or from abroad. They are:

> bankers, businessmen, lawyers, stockbrokers, analysts, chartered accountants, pharmacists, engineers, doctors, surgeons, architects, editors, journalists, writers, poets, artists, academics - generally people with serious education, money and influence. (Duiker 2001, 299)

More than the half of the whole volume of the narrative is devoted to highlighting what happens indoors at Steamy Windows. Also, terminology common to the gays' customs appears in this second part of the narrative with more emphasis. Not only names like Oscar Wilde, James Baldwin, Martina Navratilova, George Micheal, David Geffen, Michel Angelo, Alexander the great, da Vinci (253) are mentioned as ancestors for the employees at Steamy Windows, but also terms like "*blow job*" (Duiker 2001, 237), "*Gay SA. Magazine*"

(Duiker 2001, 233), "*big cocks*" (Duiker 2001, 303), "*KY jelly*" (Duiker 2001, 333), and "*wank*" (Duiker 2001, 335) are used many times by characters in the narrative. This is a visible testimony of the serious lexical fieldwork the writer must have carried out before or while writing the novel.

It is important to insist on the fact that Tshepo himself gets into the homosexual industry at Steamy Windows desperately. This is justified by the answer Tshepo gives to Alex, one of his clients, when he asks him whether he couldn't take the "*massage thing*" further so as to open his own studio: *"No thanks. This is just a stop-over job. Who knows maybe I'll pursue journalism after all"* (Duiker 2001, 277). Tshepo's answer in this relation clearly suggests that the success of homosexuality in South Africa has social quantifiable origins. Poverty and unemployment of many black South Africans, which has also been portrayed by an author like Phaswane Mpe (Mpe 2011, 122) as an excuse for the animosity black South Africans reserve to black *Makwerekwere* [1] in their country, explain why these black South Africans, like Tshepo in the narrative, engage themselves in the homosexual underworld. Tshepo's feelings when he returns to to Johannesburg confirm that he is not just a simple character, but he is more of a tool that the writer uses to mediate a serious discussion on the phenomenon of homosexuality which excels particularly in Cape Town:

> In Jo'burg everyone knows me as Tshepo. I left Angelo behind in Cape Town, still roaming its streets and exploring the underworld. I don't think I will go back there for a while. I have too many wounds that need to heal. (Duiker 2001, 452)

To conclude this preliminary section, it clearly appears that homosexuality is of major concern in Kabelo Sello Duiker's narrative *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. As a central topic of the novel, each character is given the occasion to display their own perception on homosexuality. Homosexuality is therefore another aesthetic device which helps the writer to portray the various cultural behaviours associated to this issue not just in Cape Town but in South Africa as a whole.

CULTURAL BEHAVIOURS ASSOCIATED TO HOMOSEXUALITY IN *THE QUIET VIOLENCE OF DREAMS*

The Quiet Violence of Dreams displays many cultural mind-sets which give homosexuality its specific nature in South Africa. Firstly, Homosexuals are labelled as "moffies" and "faggots" by black South Africans. The denomination 'moffie' is an Afrikaans term used by South Africans to denote a homosexual person (Zyl et al. 1999, 51). By calling homosexuals so, they see

themselves as pure while portraying homosexuals as deviants. By so doing, they fail to acknowledge some fundamental truths which the novelist highlights:

> The first universal human beings were born of three sexes from the Sun, Earth and Moon. There were men, women, and hermaphrodites, each of the three sexes doubled over and united as a whole. At some point in the unknowable past they were brutally cleaved in two, doomed to go through history suffering the violence and anguish of separation, constantly longing to be reunited with the lost half of the self, the better self. Being cut in half resulted in the forms of heterosexuality from the hermaphrodites and homosexuality in both female and male forms, the amnesia of the brutal separation mutating into bisexuality in others. And since then, we have all suffered the same fate. That is why some of us are what we are. That is why we are called moffies and faggots. Perhaps we took secret oaths with ourselves before we got separated, so that we would stubbornly remember that we were incomplete, the clue being that it is someone of our own sex. Perhaps we are the coarse self searching for the refined self, or vice versa. (Duiker 2001, 380)

When Tshepo monologues with his dead mother, he tells her how the evil father has left him looking for himself in "a world of vampires" (379). This association of Steamy Windows to the world of vampires by Tshepo, gives a clue as to how the black community represents homosexuality. Like the devotees of the "aversion therapy" would have said, homosexuals are just sick patients that need potent treatment for conversion to heterosexuality (Zyl et al. 1999, 80-82).

Secondly, for whites Afrikaners, homosexuality finds its origins in what Dorrit Cohn terms "the inner life" of the human being. This particular level of human life is hidden under the deep darkness of the human flesh and blood (Bony 1981, 15). Homosexuality appears in this relation as some natural disposition that surfaces from the lacks, or troubles that the characters practicing it today had gone through in their earlier tribulations. A good example is West whose father divorced the mother when he was still a little boy. This father attached himself to homosexuals who taught the son:

> to dress properly, to use roll-on instead of tonnes of cologne and nothing under the armpits… to hold a magnum of champagne properly, to serve wine, to carve duck, to eat a lobster, to be a considerate guest, to jump-start a car, to introduce [him]self with a firm but gentle handshake (Duiker 2001, 295).

These are little things that his poor mother never could have taught him. West further believes that homosexual industry makes him understand that human being can get spoiled any time they do not find some external consideration or attention from the internal wounds such as the ones he himself had been prey to. For desperate people like him, Steamy Windows implies the chance to avoid self-destruction as evident in his words:

> Perhaps me landing up in Steamy Windows was life saving me from self-destruction. I was going nowhere. I was drinking. I was clueless. I'd like to think that I'm a different person now that I've grown up a bit. Certainly, my worldview is wider. Life has many possibilities. We will never run out of options, of different ways of being, living, surviving. (Duiker 2001, 297)

This explanation unmistakably shows that homosexuality from West's point of view pertains to more of a strategy for survival.

Also, Tshepo, representative of the poor Blacks (203), sees homosexuality as a wonderful opportunity to make money. In the preselection interview with the owner of the sex industry, Tshepo is asked whether he is able to perform sex with same sex clients. The following is his reaction: "Ja, I'm keen. I can do this. I say, excitement up at the prospect of all the money I can make" (206). Tshepo's reaction is a convincing evidence of the fact that for him, it is the lack of money that propels him to the homosexual industry and to homosexuality. The reason behind this choice is to save money so that the following year, he could study and become "a someone" (Duiker 2001, 270).

Finally, some of the clients come to Steamy Windows because their spouses or husbands starved them sexually. The industry owner is profoundly aware of this

situation. That is why he advises the newest colleague to bathe the client himself, to treat him/her well, talk to him/her, and make him/her feel special if he wants to make real money (Duiker 2001, 236). West tries to imagine why this set of important personalities always come to Steamy Windows. It is because, at their marital places, they lack what is offered to them at Steamy Windows:

> I think they come here because they know they will be appreciated, held in esteem. At home I imagine they are unhappy with their wives. They don't seem to understand what they really want, or if they do it is of no interest to them. This is what I see when I look at these men. (Duiker 2001, 293)

While discussing the female clients who visit Steamy Windows, West makes it clear that they "usually want a genuine escort to take them somewhere nice while their rich husbands are overseas on business or they are in desperate need of a fuck, [or because] a cruel husband cheats them or starves them sexually" (Duiker 2001, 293).

Even though West speaks on behalf of their clients, homosexual industry at Steamy Windows appears like a kind of dustbin which retains all the odd deeds or mistakes derived from frustrations and starvations faced by individuals in the society. It is an essential resting place where the worried or computerized psyche finds

instantaneous peace. This is the reason why Duiker views the homosexual industry as a very serious issue from which better future in South Africa is possible. This point of view is voiced when West says: "What we do, it is very serious, you know. We are not just fucking these men for money. That is what I wanted to tell you. We are doing important work here. You will see that. They are showing us things, telling us things for the times ahead" (Duiker 2001, 244).

This means that the Post-Apartheid South Africa has to take in to consideration that aspect of homosexuality if something great is to be achieved in the building process of the rainbow Nation. In such conditions approaches similar to the monolithic aversion therapy which was implemented on homosexuals in South Africa ascertain a kind of fixity regulating the mind-sets of South Africans when they deal with homosexuality. Unable to valuably take part in the "semiological revolution" (Herman 2004, 119), they fail to make good use of the various possibilities any denomination, situation or labels always offer. They enter into a process of the shocking coagulations of the being (Glissant 1997, 25) to become vulnerable and easily malleable like objects or tools in the hands of any kind of internal or external stream. Analysing this terrible approach which has subjected humanity to many years of slavery and colonialism, Edward Said comes to the conclusion that the semiological revolution needs to go its way and reach labels like identity, woman, nature or culture some-

times taken for granted. These labels need to undergo that revolution because:

> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. (Said 1994, 336)

From the elucidation of the various cultural behaviours associated to homosexuality in Duiker's narrative, it appears that homosexuality is used by characters involved as a means either to mediate or to articulate their own "self". As a single concept, homosexuality finally unite at the symbolical level very diverse and even conflictual believes, feelings and ideologies. Before coming to the characteristics of that "self" the discussion of how South Africa corresponds to the present global world guarantees a wider contextualization of that so called "self".

DISPLAYED POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A MICROCOSM OF THE PRESENT GLOBAL WORLD

In *Critiques et Vérité* Roland Barthes suggets that fiction writer deserves to be seen as a thinker because to write a work of fiction is already to organize the world (Barthes 1966, 33). Barthes' position in relation to

the act of writing gives way to very diverse models of reading, on condition that the models used bring out the world organized by the writer. The actual global world is made visible through the fictional post-apartheid South Africa displayed in the narrative. Situated in the postmodern era, the actual global world is characterized by telecommunications, world market, numerically and digitally controlled tools and aesthetically intensified marketing tactics. According to Philip Wexler, all these postmodern elements validate the idea of the present world as being typified by dedifferentiation, blurring of boundaries and disintegration of separate domains (Wexler 1990, 168).

In the novel, the diversity of people working towards the prosperity of the homosexual industry at Steamy Windows is a valid argument to consider this microcosm like representative of the whole world in its contemporary constellation. One can conclude that at Steamy Windows, not only skin but also national boundaries are blurred. Not only Blacks and Whites work in Steamy Windows together, but also the customers come from all over the world. Tshepo makes it clear to Mhabatho who thinks he is a racist:

> I work with a guy from Senegal. (...) I mean just because the Germans and French and all the other white nationalities that come here blend into the background I don't hear you saying anything about them. There's an influx of people from ex-Eastern Bloc countries to Cape Town. A lot of Russians and Czechs. (Duiker 2001, 263)

In relation to the marketing tactics, workers at Steamy Windows are labelled in such a way that they attract as many clients as possible. West for example is labelled as follows: "Kalahari West, dark hair, blue eyes, rugged marine looks, 1.75 m, 85kg, 8 inches uncut" (Duiker 2001, 292). Essential details are given on him so that even clients, who may be reluctant to long descriptions, could be attracted by him. In Steamy Windows as described in the novel, the market is exposed to any reader. In fact, not just the whole industry is a market place, but also the workers there are given the identity of goods whose utility depends not on them, but on their various clients. When for example it is said about Sebastian that a client *booked* him (Duiker 2001, 270), it means he has lost his status as human being and has become a simple tool for sexual release of their customers.

These few examples clearly show that the fictional South Africa displayed in *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* is a credible reproduction or representation of the actual world. But that world is not just a postmodern world. It is also a globalized one. In his book entitled *La création du monde ou la mondialisation*, Jean-Luc Nancy discusses two different approaches of globalization. Underpinning his discussion upon Foucault's concept of "biopolitics", Nancy views globalization firstly like a process that over-empowers technology and limits or progressively kills life's possibilities in human beings

(Jean-Luc Nancy 2002: 143). Secondly, globalization is a shared or a mutual exposure (in terms of making them visible) of cultural particularities to the whole world. This type of globalization sustains diversity and even protects oppositions and differences (Nancy 2002, 173).

The South Africa reflected in Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* illustrates both types of globalization validating the idea of South Africa as being a microcosm of the globalised world. In a monologue at Steamy Windows, Tshepo shows how white South Africans, even in the context of the Rainbow Nation consciously refuse to abandon their superiority complex of those Apartheid days:

> South Africa doesn't give you a chance to feel good about yourself, if you're not white, at least historically. Having gone to multiracial private schools made a difference, but my journey into myself and the true nature of people has been no different from that of township blacks, trying to find their place, their voice. I'm black and I'm proud of it, even if it is a bit silly to remind myself…Even when I have looked my best and spoken in my best private school accent, I have confronted the harshest, the crudest prejudice from whites. They probably felt it their duty to remind me that I'm nothing but a kaffir who talks like a larney. That is how it feels when people are rude to you for no reason other than your different complexion. We still have a long way to go. (Duiker 2001, 419)

As Nancy would have said, "life's possibilities" of these white South Africans have already been killed off. That

is the reason why they keep on reminding Blacks that they are not human beings, or if they are accepted as human beings, it is on condition that they help Whites prove themselves that they are of a superior nature.

The other aspect of globalization is reflected in the novel in many ways. Homosexuals and heterosexuals move for example together in the narrative. The relationship between the heterosexual Mmabatho and the homosexual Tshepo is a vibrant illustration. They are both from Soweto and from the same African tribe. Although they have different sexual orientations, they evolve peacefully in the same environment. In Angels, a gay bar near Biloxi (another famous gay bar), where Tshepo goes on a Saturday, what he finds there illustrates the diversity in which each culture shows off freely:

> In Angels I find familiar black and coloured faces [….] I sashay to the dance floor when a groovy R&B number by Janet Jackson comes on. [….] In the middle of the dance floor the guys have formed a small circle while two people dance in the middle. It is a coloured and black thing. White guys in Biloxi like to dance in their own galaxies. I lounge in a chair and watch people. Two black guys French kiss next to me. […] They are my age […] They go to the dance floor. I watch them dance kwaito style. I watch them dance and probably think of home Soweto. (Duiker 2001, 417-418)

Not only coloured people, but also westerners with

their respective cultures meet each other in the above quotation. Western culture shows out through some music appliances used in the dancing bar or through Janet Jackson. As descendant of the Negro Blues, the groovy R&B played by Janet Jackson here betrays the culture of the oppressed Black slaves, which also displays itself in the same environment. The passage above also outlines a parallel between the music played by Janet Jackson and the kwaito music the two young black guys next to Tshepo enjoy.

In fact, being a South African popular music style consisting of a rowdy mix of local rhythms like bubblegum, and international ones like hip hop, R&B and raga, the kwaito music in the passage is given a similar identity to the music played by Janet Jackson. In such conditions, differences are erased and music is given an impersonal status that can lead to unusual confusions about who among Westerners or Africans has the control over those two music styles played in the same bar and at the same moment. In making the oppositions invisible as evident from both kwaito and groovy R&B, the globalised world as displayed in T*he Quiet Violence of Dreams* does nothing other than protecting only those oppositions and disparities.

Furthermore, the various identities associated with South African towns finally establish South Africa as a place where oppositionalities and disparities are pro-

tected. An example is given in the following paragraph:

> Cape Town is very white, the influence of European traditions like coffee shops and bistros is inescapable. In some places in Cape Town you don't feel like you're in Africa. And this is what they call progress; obliterate any traces of the naive cultures. Jo'burg is different, the other cultures more aggressive to the domination of white culture. [...] In Cape Town there are certain places where you know you are not welcome and the patrons make you feel like an outcast. The culture of having a good time, of jolling is different in Gauteng. In Jo'burg people hang out. In Cape Town people go out. In Cape Town people are into drumming, doing their charts and doing drugs. Cape Town tries too hard, it looks too much to the West for inspiration when there is enough inspiration in Africa. (Duiker 2001, 420)

In the same country, cities do not have same identities. Johannesburg's identity is even contrapuntal to Cape Town's in the above quotation. While Cape Town illustrates the first aspect of globalization, Johannesburg displays the characteristics of the second aspect of globalization. These evidences of globalization in the fictive South Africa highlight the fact that, South Africa in Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams* could be considered as a microcosm of the globalised world of today, where very conservative cultures cohabit with rather innovative approaches or cultures. This ambivalent situation will be discussed in the following section.

MULTIPLICATION OF HYPOTHETIC NEW IDENTITIES: A COUNTER POWER TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE "SELF" AS SUGGESTED BY HOMOSEXUALITY AND POST-COLONIAL IDEA

Many critics have legitimately chosen to set themselves against post-colonial discourse. Jeremy Weate (Weate 2003, 27-56) and Stephen Ellis (Ellis 200, 670-671) for example condemn Mbembe of cynicism, because the terminology he uses in his seminal book *On the Postcolony* does not match the standard terminology of the so called radical authorized tradition of thought (Mbembe 2000, XXI). What these critics fail to perceive in relation to post-colonial theory is that, this theory constitutes a set of concepts and attitudes orientating the individual towards a concrete transformation of him/herself like that of his/her immediate environment. Applied to literature, post-colonial theory explores the various antagonist interactions between the "self" and the "other" and insists on the hybrid or open nature of identities or cultures. This conception of post-colonial literary criticism is also advocated by the authors of *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism* when they posit that:

> Postcolonial literary criticism focuses specifically on literatures produced by [writers] in the context of colonial domination, most notably in Africa, Asia and the

> Caribbean. Building on knowledge of the institutions of western education and the hybrid nature of culture, post-colonial analysis explores the complete interactions and antagonism between native, indigenous, or 'pre colonial' cultures and the imperial cultures imposed on them. (Cain et al. 2001, 26)

By analysing the complete interactions and antagonism between native and imperial cultures, postcolonial criticism elaborates many concepts, which enable the postcolonial critic to name or to locate the various faces of domination, which are shaped by the hegemonic and very innovative "dominant self". Mimicry (Bhabha 1994, 102-22), binaries of black skin and white mask (Fanon 1974), or master and subject (Harraway 1991, 183-201), or rearticulating the archaic (Bhabha 1994, 123-138) are some significant terms developed by postcolonial scholars to identify the various manifestations of that hegemonic and innovative "self". Each terminology finds an illustration in Duiker's narrative though in a challenging relationship to the other "self" that gives the issue of homosexuality its relevance. A glaring illustration is that homosexuality at Steamy Windows permits Cole to discover that black South Africans do not really have the power in the actual configuration of their society. Speaking to his black colleague Tshepo, he comes to the conclusion that:

> This whole brotherhood is a clever gimmick. Very convenient because it works. […] You're only useful as long

> as you bring in money […] This thing is about power and about who has it and who doesn't. We don't have it. They come here, they pay. Okay, so we choose what we want to do with them, but we don't really have any power. It's just sex cleaned up, given a better look. You see that, don't you? (Duiker 2001, 346)

Cole validates the statement sustained by many young black South Africans that the few nouveau riches who have taken over the power in South Africa are just constructions of the dominant "self" who mislead many naïve observers about the real owner of the power in today's South Africa. In fact, they are kind of "Black Skin White Masks" or "Coconut" as Kopano Matlwa (2006) terms it.

Many black people are irritated with the idea of homosexuality. According to Angelo, this is because Blacks' culture exerts much pressure on them. This situation does not enable them to feel free or to be on their own, because the culture generated by their ancestors is taking control over them so that Angelo sees them like schizophrenic dancing queens by night who are rigid grey suits by day (331). The comment he makes on black men in the street brings out the various clichés attached to the perception of homosexuality in Africa:

> The ones that recognize me look away. Or they give me a dirty look so that I mustn't come by and say hi. I wouldn't anyway. But I'm always struck by how angry they seem to feel about liking men. (Duiker 2001, 331)

Even though the anger mentioned here can refer to Monga's idea of anger (Monga 1996), the problem with this specific anger is that black men's anger here is not fully assumed by them, but borrowed from a past that doesn't meet their present-day realities. Anger chains them down to become means to the attainment of their ancestors' wills. Therefore what they do is simply a rearticulation of the archaic like Bhabha terms it. What they fail to understand is that if a (gay) man marries to satisfy society's prejudice, he is not the only one who is unhappy, but spreads unhappiness to his wife and children too (Zyl et al. 1999, 52). One of the challenges for freedom from domination in the future is for the colonial "dominant self" to move to a "sovereign self" that is rational in the sense that it is always opened to difference or to the movement (Nancy 2002, 169-170). It is never fixed on any kind of absolutism. In the words of Glissant, it is a "self" which "ne saurait se figer, s'arrêter, s'inscrire dans des essences, dans des absolus identitaires" (Glissant 1997, 26).

Tshepo's experience from his professional homosexuality permits him to point out significant questions in relation to this new "self":

> […] Is it possible to draw a sincere meaning from all the things that I have known from black and white culture? […] Is it possible to feel South African and not to always source my culture to a particular race group? Can I claim Afrikaans, Coloured tsotsitaal, Indian cuisine or English sensibilities

> as my own? Am I a sell-out, an Uncle Tom? […] Isn't that a bigger transgression than going beyond the boundaries? Will whites ever really hear us? And will we blacks always be on the defensive? Is it possible to be comfortable with each other as we are, not wanting to alter each other?[…] And us blacks, do we still look up to them instead of standing as equals? […] Do we steal and pillage from whites because we are getting revenge or have become victims of our own bitterness and anger? […] Perhaps we are moving into the territory of the oppressor. Perhaps one day whites will also speak about us with the same despicable nostalgia that we reserve for apartheid and its days. When blacks were in power, they might say. (Duiker 2001, 347-349).

In the same line with Tshepo here, Lacan (Lacan 1986, 208) and Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1994, 107) conceive artificial boundaries, necessarily provisory morals or laws like very important sites for they offer any individual or any society the possibility of transgressing them. Postcolonial critics underpin this ambivalent situation of boundaries when they keep insisting that imperialism (consequence of boundaries in a broader sense) has consolidated the hybrid nature of culture on a global scale. Homosexuality as a notion, which gives room to various understandings in South Africa is therefore a perfect exemplification of the postcolonial cultural hybridity. The awareness of this hybridity guaranties understanding of all types of different cultures or identities and reinforces the vigilance of the strong or perfect person on the meaning of survival in the actual context where the world is becoming or

has become everybody's soil. As the twelfth-century's monk from Saxony Hugh of St. Victor puts it, the strong or perfect person achieves independence and detachment by working through attachments, not by rejecting them (qtd. in Said 1994, 336). South Africans in general, Blacks in particular must therefore learn to attach themselves to homosexuals and stop giving them a dirty look (Duiker 2001, 331) because they are an illustration, among others, of the hybrid and open nature of human identity.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to investigate what gives the post-colonial theory its insight in a globalized world. Underpinning on the phenomenon of homosexuality in Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams,* the study validated the focus of post-colonial theory on processes of domination not just to expose its paradoxical creativity, but also to highlight the hybrid and open nature of all cultures. Homosexuality, by cutting across boundaries reveals itself as a visible sign of the subversive strategies employed by post-colonial writers (Ashcroft 1989, 33). By displaying around its meaning very divergent conceptions, reprimanded homosexuality under study has illustrated how "marginality... becomes an unprecedented source of creative energy" (Ashcroft 1989, 12). In a globalized world, the above

study can contribute to sharpening our awareness of the many possibilities that the human nature encompasses in order to realize oneself everywhere, or in any situation one finds him or herself. Any subject living in this globalized context therefore has to see him or herself like a literary discourse with its ”virtualités"[4] or simply put, its many possibilities for survival. To consider oneself like the literary text is to empower oneself and to be ready to carry out a new “grand narrative”, completely the opposite of the one Edward Said deconstructs in *Culture and Imperialism*. It is only from that strategic site, that the self translates into practice Zakes Mda's condition for the liberation in the future which he puts in the mouth one of his character's: “everyone … comes from somewhere else” (Mda 2000, 39).

NOTES

1. South African slang which means foreigners or strangers.

2. Cohn, Doritt. (1981) Foreword to *La Transparence Intérieure. Modes de Représentations de la Vie Psychique dans le Roman* by Tzvetan Todorov. Trans. Alain Bony. *Paris, Seuil.* 9.

WORKS CITED

Ashcroft, Bill. 1989. *The Empire Writes Back.Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures.* London and New York: Routledge.

Barthes, Roland. 1966. *Critiques et Vérité.* Paris: Seuil. Coll. Tel Quel.

Bhabha K., Homi. 1994. *The Location of Culture.* New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994. *Raisons Pratiques. Sur la Théorie de l'Action.* Paris: Seuil.

Cain, William E. et al. eds. 2001. *Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism.* NewYork: W.W. Norton.

Cohn, Doritt. 1978. *Transparent Minds.* Guildford & Surrey: Princeton University Press. Trans. Bony, Alain. 1981. *La Transparence Intérieure. Modes de Représentations de la Vie Psychique dans le Roman.* Paris: Seuil.

Fanon, Frantz. 1974. *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs.* Paris: Seuil.

Glissant, Édouard. 1997. *Le Traité du Tout-monde.* Paris: Gallimard.

Harraway, Donna J. 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women.The Reinvention of Nature.*New York: Routledge.

Hermann, David. 2004. *Story Logic. Problems and Possibilities of Narrative*. Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press.

Jakobson, Roman. 1957[1971]. "Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb". In *Selected Writings, vol. II, Word and Language*. The Hague: Mouton. 130-147.

Lacan, Jacques. 1986. *Le Séminaire. Livre VII. Éthique de la Psychanalyse. 1959-1960.* Paris: Seuil.

Matlwa, Kopano. 2006. *Coconut*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Mbembe, Achille. 2000. *De La Postcolonie. Essai sur l'Imaginaire Politique dans l'Afrique Contemporaine. Paris: Karthala.*

Mda, Zakes. 2000. *Heart of Redness*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Monga, Célestin. 1996. *The Anthropology of Anger. Civil Society and Democracy in Africa.*Trans. Linda L. Fleck and Célestin Monga. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Moura, Jean-Marc. 2000. "La Critique postcoloniale, Étude des Spécificités". *Africultures* (28): 16-25.

Mpe, Phaswane. 2001 [2011]. *Welcome to our Hillbrow. A Novel of the Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Athens and Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. 2002. La Création du Monde ou la Mondialisation. Paris: Galilée.

Ndebele, Njabulo S. 2006. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary.Essays on South African Literature and Culture*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Nutall, Sarah and Coetzee, Carli. 1998. *Negotiating the Past. The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Said, Edward. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. London & New York: Routledge.

Sello Duiker, Kabelo. 2001. *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Steinvorth, Ulrich. 2009. *Rethinking the Western Understanding of the Self*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Van Zyl, Mikki. et al.1999. *The Aversion Project. Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the South African Defence Force by Health Workers During the Apartheid Era.* Cape Town: Simply Said & Done.

Wexler, Philip.1990. "Citizenship in the Semiotic Society". In *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* edited by Bryan S. Turner. London: Sage Publications.

5

MOVING BEYOND HEART & HEARTH: FINDING WOMEN IN IRISH LITERATURE

DIMA M.T. TAHBOUB

Although women have reaped the suffering caused by war, they gained none of its glory or remembrance, in much of the recorded history, and in public memory. In public consensus, women and war were discordant elements and the arena was viewed as purely masculine. The world of women was restricted between heart and hearth and any extension of this female space had to be socially defined and accepted. This forced absenteeism on women was echoed in literature where women mostly served as stock characters or catalysts to the main male protagonist. The presence of women in the literary heritage of war was governed by extremes: either total denial and shadowing of their roles or shy acceptance and foregrounding. Nevertheless, as war progressed, this situation of marginality changed and women forced their way into the front appearing in a variety of literary images, ranging from imagina-

tive and mythical to actual and active characters, such as: Mother Ireland, the auxiliary, the victim, the fanatic and terrorist.

C.L. Innes in *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* argues that only a small proportion of literary studies focus on the struggle of Irish women: "Irish historians and literary scholars have generally given at best a passing mention to those women most actively involved in the political and literary movements, and have found it difficult to include them in their overall narratives of the nation." (Innes 1993, 2-3) Some critics claim that men have written women and their causes out of the Irish history and women did not put up a fight to claim their position (Ward 1991, 4-7). Their attitude was reconciliatory and their presence developed through the years from symbolic to actual presence. Maud Gonne, the famous Irish feminist and founder of *Inghinidhenah Eireann* (Daughters of Ireland) in 1900 as the female counterpart of the Gaelic League wrote her play "Dawn" in 1904, presenting Irish femaleness in the cloak of motherhood in need of protection. The representation of female receptiveness of male sacrifice is not any different from that of Yeats in *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, in which the bridegroom sacrifices his life for Mother Ireland. "Dawn" is the story of a wife whose husband is killed by the English, and whose son plans to avenge his death. The leave-taking scene emphasizes the sacrifice of Irish men for the

sake of their mothers, the symbolic Mother Ireland. Gonne's feminist stand did not contribute to altering the national representation of women and their roles.

> "Mother, forgive me," he begs.
> let me too die for you…
> I have vengeance to take for all that you suffered." (Gonne 1970, 73-84)

Her play was a joinder to Yeats' play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902) from the female point of view. The play is inspired by a woman icon, co-written by Lady Gregory, with Maud Gonne, the famous female politician, cast as the heroine. The play pictures Ireland as a poor old woman calling on a peasant family preparing for their son's wedding. She complains of her lost fields and killed sons. Her words bewitch the bridegroom into following her and abandoning his bride. As she leaves the house, she is transformed into a beautiful young woman, rejuvenated by the blood of that youth. Although this image of Ireland as a devourer, a 'vampira' thriving on the blood of her sons, is not emotionally and visually appealing, the play had a massive propaganda effect on prospective fighters.

Yet another critical trend argues that Irish women are presented as the core concept of Irishness claiming that Ireland has always been a woman (O'Brien 1976, 11). Irish women are always present but their presence

oscillated between reality and myth, static and dynamic roles, self immolation and self emulation.

In the native Gaelic Irish tradition, the basic concept of sovereignty is seen to be passed on to an Irish king by a sovereignty goddess: “The documentation suggests that in pre-Christian Ireland, the goddess was conceived…as the centre of an elaborate ritual…surrounding the validation of the king…The ultimate phase in the archaeology of this figure, from the seventeenth century on is the appearance of Ireland allegorized as a woman in literature.” (Johnson and Cairns 1991, 3) In relation to literary inspiration, women serve as muses and Ireland is pictured as a celestial figure in the image of the 'spearbhean' (*spéirbhean*) woman (literary, the skywoman), evoked by poets as a symbol of dispossession and loss (Mills 1995, 69-88). Moreover, typical de-sexualized femininity and motherhood is made divine and religious in the Irish wars against the British. Ireland is pictured as Motherland, Virgin Mary waiting at the hearth of her home to be freed by her sons from British occupation - "'Shrieking Viragoes" and 'aggressive Amazons' are specifically discouraged, and it is emphasized that Irish women are not required to plunge into the vortex of public life" (Ap hywel 1991, 24-25). This image of women as ‘lacking but special,’ is highly criticized by feminists for being a means of further female subjugation.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Irish women have mainly been domesticated and confined to performing household chores and family nurturing. At this stage, the image of the mother is coupled with religious sacredness. The veneration of mothers and motherhood and the notion of the sanctity of women come as a social reflection of the religious esteem devoted to the Virgin Mary in Ireland. Mothers are expected to follow in her footsteps sacrificing their sons to redeem Ireland from occupation. The Virgin Mary is seen as yielding, gentle, receptive, tolerant, and the symbol of celibate devotion. This modesty and piety are expected of women only within their societies, but in relation to war, they are expected to be dogmatic, prejudiced and raise their children to be so. The concept of the 'Marian-type' and image of the Virgin Mary has been adapted into a closely related image of Virgin Ireland linked to Mother Ireland. The connection is the subject matter of numerous epics showing that "while Virgin Ireland gets raped and pitied, Mother Ireland translates pity into a call to arms and vengeance…Traditionally, it is her sons whom Mother Ireland recruits and whose manhood she tests (Cahalan 1999, 180)." On an official level, there also developed a national preoccupation with the maternal, culminating in the female recognition in the 1937 Irish constitution that a woman's natural and proper place is in the home as a full time wife and mother.

This tendency of personifying Ireland as a woman enlarges to accommodate a number of vulnerable female figures, maidens as well as mothers. The most renowned and publicly adored are *Cathleen ni Houlihan, Dark Rosaleen*, and *Shan Van Vocht (*Johnson and Cairns 1991, 4). The choice of the female sex as emblem of the national Irish struggle has been intentional to incite the typical male instinct of the protector.

This technique of viewing women as special and mythical is judged by feminists as crippling to the status of women, an appropriation of femininity to enlarge on masculinity, a strengthening of the patriarchal stranglehold, and a sign of their invisibility, since it renders them unsuitable to claim power or perform roles other than those permitted to them. As Johnson and Cairns note, "the notion that myths are timeless does not relieve the anxiety caused by such mythical female figures to feminists who wish to claim the right to shape, reshape society, and put an end to repetitive variations that are reductive to women (Cahalan 1999, 162)." Nonetheless, women's emancipation is delayed and retarded because "not all Irish women resisted these patriarchies. And for some, mainly from the North, *Cathleen* flourished abundantly (Innes 1993, 9)."

Women did not join the operational scene as fighters in the early stages of the Irish revolution, primarily be-

cause of the nature of the Irish war. Battles took place not in a defined open war zone; it was mostly based on guerrilla fighting. Men had to travel to remote places to carry out attacks or meet the enemy on their grounds. Victorian mannerism and religious morality also discouraged women from attaining physical bodily strength that would make them look or act as men. The image of the 'warring' woman was specifically discouraged by society in favour of another image, which is the Girl at the Gaol Gate . The sole war effort required of women is to care for, honour and obey their men folk and produce more male warriors. Irish men made sure that women would be kept at bay away from the war field. They were subconsciously responding to allegations of being a feminine and childlike race, thus suitable for control by the masculine Englishmen. The Irish hostility to the foe helped develop the resistance to militarized femininity (Innes 1993, 9).

With the escalation and militarization of war, and the appearance of military organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, nationalism and war support became *asensuscommunis*. Women started their revolutionary involvement on a community service basis. That women were committed to the revolution was popularly non-negotiable. Lady Morgan testifies to this state by stressing that "politics can never be a woman's science, but patriotism must naturally be a woman's sentiment (Sydney 1960, x)." The

absence of men from the household has been exploited as a pretext women use to get involved in the political struggle. Monica McWilliam uses the term "accidental activism" to describe the relation of Irish women to war. This activism "is born of immediate experience of social injustice, rather than a consequence of pre-existing ideological belief" (McWilliam 1995, 13-15). Women's participation is seen as a sign of loyalty to their men, not valued for its own worth, but as a compensation for the genuine roles of men.

Even under Sinn Fein and *CummannamBan*, the female branch of the IRA, women remained the underdogs assigned minor jobs including being scouts, dispatch riders, intelligence workers and nursing aides. *Letters to Nora* published by Sinn Fein, as a part of its literature directed to Irish women, chose what it thought to be an objective frame in the form of female exchange of experience and defined women's patriotism in relation to domesticity. An elder lady addressing Nora, a representative of the younger generation, says that "no Irish woman can afford to claim a part in the public duties of patriotism until she has fully satisfied the claims her home makes on her (Banerjee 2012, 47-48)". Another letter describes Irish women as no more than "fit helpmates" (Ibid) to strong willed Irish men.

The address by Agnes O'Farrelly, a founding member of the organization, states that "each rifle we (women) put in their (men) hands will represent to us a bolt fastened behind the door of some Irish home to keep out the hostile stranger. Each cartridge will be a watchdog to fight the sanctity of the hearth" (Ward 1980, 101).

The noticeable development in women's roles came during the Troubles. Men were killed, arrested, and interred for years which forced women to the fore of the resistance. "The visible face of republicanism, at that time, was often female" (Ryan 2004, 46). Females and femininity became an asset rather than a liability to the revolution. '[F]emaleness' was made use of by the male leadership as a decoy, a camouflage for men's operations, a seductress and a caterer. Some revolutionary roles are simply an outgrowth to domestic roles. E. MacDonald in *Shoot the Women First* gives an account of the success of the "female-equals-innocent" (MacDonald 1991, 21) strategy, when women in the nineteen seventies smuggled bombs into a fortified Belfast city centre by placing them underneath babies' prams. Women also provided "much of the material support necessary to any guerrilla army … women and children often accompanied male rebels to insurgent camps … While encamped, women cooked for the rebels and sewed their uniforms and ammunition pouches" (Cannavan 2004, 33). However, this rise in responsibility occurred with the permission of the war

patriarchy. Other suffrage projects concerning women's equality were accused by nationalists as unpatriotic, while Ireland was still under British rule. Women were quieted and the suffrage was postponed until liberation, so that an Irish male parliament would grant Irish women their rights.

This unfavourable attitude towards the militarization and politicization of women created Irish and British stereotypes of women. Patrick Magee surveys over one hundred novels in his book *Gangsters or Guerrillas?* (2002) proving that the bulk of the Irish literary output promotes, conforms, and is informed by a view of the leading political discourse, in this case, the male leadership of the Irish war. The image of Irish womanhood was doubly victimized, when the British also churned out clichéd figures "to portray Northern Ireland women as passive victims of paramilitary mobsters or bomb throwing viragoes and godmothers of hate" (Steel 2004, 55) However, the reported and recorded accounts of women's roles during the Irish war, from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century, do not do justice to their actual performance. Louise Ryan and Margaret Ward explain that due to the inconsistent nature of guerrilla fighting and the constant raids on houses of activists, war supporters and civilians, many valuable documents were destroyed sometimes by women themselves to avoid incrimination and persecution. There was a persistent awareness of patriarchal

conspiracy and of men's reluctance to emphasize women's experience out of fear that women would not be content to act as mothers and wives after the war.

WOMEN OF THE TROUBLES: FROM HEROIC TO PATHETIC

The literature of the Troubles is rooted in social realism unlike the revivalist literature of the Easter Rising and Anglo-Irish War. While the latter reverts backward to Irish history and mythology to establish the unique Irish character and country, the former adopts a writing technique of communicability and identification by relating real life incidents, familiar to the intended audience nationally and the informed audience internationally, such as the Falls Road Curfew, the Derry human rights marches, the Belfast bombings, the Bogside Battle, the Shankill Butchers etc. By highlighting such incidents, the literature of the Troubles seeks to enliven the memory of the audience regarding their bloodiness and anarchism to guide the readership to further rejection and opposition to their possible regeneration in the future. The characters of the literature of the Troubles are not the epic heroes and heroines of the revival with supreme power, intellect and determination. They are mostly working class citizens trying to battle with everyday life, and come to terms with their own personal war tragedy. In the literature of the Troubles, republican and warring women are

sometimes depicted with ridicule and belittlement and accused of terrorism and fanaticism. The literature of this period tries to promote the model of Irish women free from the shackles of the nationalist ideology and imagery, which are pictured to have contributed to their victimization and delay of emancipation.

In *Give Them Stones* by Mary Beckett, the authoress changes the pathetic female situation into a heroic one where women claim agency as initiators of action rather than recipients. The novelist calls for empowerment and emancipation. Martha, the heroine of Beckett's novel, whose early life lacks political interest, changes to become a member of an unorganized resistance by house wives in her area. A member of the working class, she grows to witness a case of gender role reversal right in her own home, where her mother is the bread winner of the family, while her father takes care of the children before being interred in prison, prior to his death. Early in her childhood, she notices how the Catholics suffer from social and economic discrimination. At school, being a Catholic, she finds difficulty gaining a scholarship. She has grown to feel that "Catholics were only fit for back streets and bog lands...I didn't think we were inferior except in wealth and opportunity" (Beckett 1987, 46).

Martha's character defies definition or branding. She is a character in the making, developing until the last

page of the novel. She, like many women, suffers from an identity crisis unable at first to associate herself with any of the social or political trends. Through her, Beckett argues that women can be nationalists and true to their country and people, but their nationalism should be founded on respect for women's roles and characters, through which women can maintain their views and independence. Martha dreams of a united Ireland and changing the living conditions of Catholics, but she detests violence and bloodshed. She refuses the dictation of any party and the image of heroism, and insists on being identified as a female worker, with an independent entity (Sullivan 2000, 227-49). Responding to the British soldiers on her republican loyalties, she says: "I shrugged. I was going to be a heroine but instead I said, 'I am a home baker" (Beckett 1987, 144).

The importance of Beckett's novel is that it essentially describes Irish women as peace loving home makers, and justifies their involvement in violence as retaliation for prior violence and injustice. Beckett uses real life situations such as the Falls Road Curfew in 1970 Belfast, when houses were searched and destroyed, with men killed and arrested to explain to the audience the resistance actions that may seem to them as unfounded violence, to explain that Irish women had the right to believe and behave the way they do. Martha describes how she could not believe that Protestants could burn Catholics out of their homes: "I tried not to

believe it. I said it was a carried story…Then we saw the fighting in Derry and had to believe it…I saw all those houses going up in blazes and children crying and women screaming…I was in a rage…I was crying, first with vexation and then with pride when a whole army of women with bread and milk came marching down from other streets …pushed the soldiers away, shouting at them to go home to England and learn manners. They handed the food into the besieged houses" (Beckett 1987, 118-21). Still, she turns her back on the IRA, and refuses to pay protection money in protest at some bloody actions, after which her home and bakery are burned by IRA members. At the end, the heroine asserts her heroism verbally by saying: "When they ask for bread, don't give them crackers as does the church, and don't like the state, tell them to eat cake, explain that man cannot live by bread alone and give them stones" (Beckett 1987, 148).

Martha tries to achieve economic independence from her family and husband by opening her own home bakery to cater for the needs of her family without asking her idle husband for a penny. She is a diligent worker; aware of the value of money and despite her need, she chooses to give her neighbours free bread. Her national solidarity gets mixed up with her financial project. She boycotts British soldiers, refusing to sell them bread, and refutes accusations of affiliation with the IRA. This lack of a clear-cut ending on the

part of the authors, these mercurial characters, and justification of the challenges facing them are a call on readers to be non-judgmental and non-critical about women in war and at war.

In this novel, there appears to be a systematic representation of the Troubles as a ruthless and unjustified carnage, victimizing both men and women. The repressive nature of war and its social reverberations are seen to have spared no one. It shaped the modern Irish character with the contradictory effect of emancipating and frustrating the efforts of Irish women and men towards recognizing selfhood outside the boundaries of nationhood. Women were doubly victimized by men and male orchestrated wars and their literary representations.

CONCLUSION

Albert Camus in the title of a collection of essays on revolution divides the roles of humans in such times either into victims or executioners (Camus, 2008). While much of the identity and characterization of women identify with the first, they rarely act in the capacity of the latter.

In Irish literature, men writing the war story present women in religious, mythical and sacrificial nature, the symbol for which men fight. The female image written by men is that of the saint or the Satan praised endless-

ly for acting as mothers, wives and war supporters, or condemned limitlessly if they breach the social norms. The picture is less detectable in the female story. Some Irish female writers do not defend the position of their female ancestors, but turn their back on all the heritage of war history and concentrate on writing the women's plight as war goes on.

Irish literature promoted a familial and maternal ideal of Irish women. The position of Irish women in war and literature is contested between emphasizing women's agency in war and stressing their marginality. The recording of Irish war literature has remained as patriarchal as war itself. Men articulate women's war experience and participation as befitting to the maintenance of the social order of men leading the war arena and women as followers. In the later stages of Irish revisionism, the roles and images of women are even harder to investigate. Irish women writers renounced nationalism and its package of 'ready to comply' women characters. They developed a sense of irony towards the cult of the hero and heroine. Mythical icons as *Cathleen ni Houlihan, Shan Van Vocht, Dark Rosaleen*, and the early feminists like Maud Gonne and Constance Markievicz were either ignored, criticized or replaced by the image of the ordinary Irish women, suffering from social injustice inflicted upon them by the patriarchy and the bloody inheritance of war.

NOTES

1. *Dark Rosaleen* (Roisin Dubh, Black Rose) symbol of the beautiful Irish Maiden, an Irish poem translated by James Clarence Mangen in 1902, in which Ireland is addressed in the feminine. The poem is an allegory in which Red Hugh O'Donnell calls on the Pope in Rome and King Philip of Spain to come to his aid. The feminization of Ireland was meant to divert attention from the call to arms which was punishable by death.

2. *Shan Van Vocht* (old Irish woman) an anonymous poem traced back to 1798, envisioning an old Irish women, symbol of Ireland, waiting by the sea for the French army to free her.

3. Girl at the Gaol Gate, a mythical persona of a maiden serving the men actively engaged in fighting, waiting at the gate of prison for their release.

4. Irish writer and poetess, Sydeny Lady Morgan (nee Owenson), was born in Dublin in 1780, and was the daughter of the actor Robert Owenson. *St. Clair* and *O'Donnell* are two of her famous novels. She died in 1859.

5. The Irish Troubles of 1968-1997 were sectarian violence between Catholic Republicans demanding total separation and independence from Britain for the es-

tablishment of a united Ireland and Protestant Loyalists in Northern Ireland holding on to unity and loyalty with Britain and the British crown.

WORKS CITED

Ap hywel, Elin. 1999. “Elise and the Great Queens of Ireland as Constructed by Sinn Fein and the Abbey Theatre, 1901-1917”. In *Gender in Irish Writing*, edited by Toni Johnson and David Cairns. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Banerjee, Sikata. 2012. *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence and Empire in India and Ireland, 1914-2004*. New York: New York University Books.

Beckett, Mary. *Give Them Stones.* London: Bloomsbury, 1987.

Cahalan, James. 1999. *Double Visions: Women and Men in Modern and Contemporary Irish Fiction*. Syracuse, New York Press.

Camus, Albert. 2008. *Neither Victims nor Executioners: An Ethic Superior to Murder.* Oregon, Wipf & Stock Pub, 2008.

Jan Cannavan. 2004. "Revolution in Ireland, Evolution in Women's Right: Irish Women in 1798 and 1848" in *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags,* edited by Louise

Ryan and Margaret Ward, 30-44. Dublin: Academic Press.

Gonne, Maud. 1970. "Dawn". In *Lost Plays of the Irish Renaissance*, edited by Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, 73-84. New York: Proscenium Press.

Innes, C.L. 1993. *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935*. Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Johnson, Toni and Cairns, David, ed. 1991. *Gender in Irish Writing*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Longley, Edna. 1994. *The Living Stream: Literature and Revisionism in Ireland*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe Books.

MacDonald, E. 1991. *Shoot the Women First*. London: Fourth Estate.

McWilliam, Monica. 1995. "Struggling for Peace and Justice: Reflections on Women's Activism in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Women's History* 6 (4): 3-35.

Mills, Lia. 1995. "I Wont' Go Back to It: Irish Women Poets and the Iconic Feminine." *Feminist Review*. No. 50: 69-88.

O'Brien, Edna. 1976. *Mother Ireland*. Dublin: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Ryan, Louise and Ward, Margaret, eds. 2004. *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags.* Dublin: Academic Press.

Steel, Jayne. 2004. "Politicizing the Private: Women Writing the Troubles," In *Representing the Troubles: Texts and Images 1970-2000*, edited by Brian Cliff and Elizabeth Walshe, 55-66. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Sullivan, Megan. 2000. "Instead I Said I Am a Home Baker": Nationalist Ideology and Materialist Politics in Mary Beckett's Give Them Stones," In *Border Crossings: Irish Women Writers and National Identities*, edited by Kathryn Kirkpatrick, 227-49. Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Ward, Margaret. 1980. "Marginality and Militancy: Cumannnam Ban, 1914-36". In *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class*, edited by Austen Morgan and Bob Purdie, 96-110. London: Longwood Pr Ltd, 1980.

..... 1991. *The Missing Sex.* Dublin: Attic Press.

6.

IMAGES OF WOMEN UNDER THE SHADOW OF CULTURAL PREJUDICE IN MALE COMMUNICATION

JOSHUA AGBO

INTRODUCTION

> Heaven and earth are opposites, but their action is concerted. Man and woman are opposites, but they strive for union. All beings stand in opposition to one another: what they do takes on order thereby. Great indeed is the effect of the time of opposition.
>
> (Wilhelm: 1979, 35)

This paper is the study of a gender-based discrimination through proverbs, and it demonstrates how language is deployed as an instrument of power/gender relations in Nigeria. It analyses the notion of

subjectivity – a concept stamped as a male ideology. But the new ground to explore here is framed in what Carole Dely calls the "Coming of the Otherwoman," (2017, 1), which means, the focus must be on women as objects of socio-cultural abuse, but who resist patriarchy, the very system that abuses them in the Idoma culture, but which is rarely talked about in Gender Studies elsewhere. Jacques Derrida foregrounds the notion of abuse as something "full of proverbs, pieces of words, suspended outcries, echoes to inflect or let float. Made full like a pregnant woman or the cargo of a ship about to sail" (Derrida: 2004, 13). Derrida's view shows how topical and relevant the issues of women's subjectivity are to us because these issues are not peculiar to Africa alone, but universal. Framing the male domination in the context of linguistic construct, Spender Dale adds to the debate by saying that, "Language helps form the limits of our reality. It is our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world" (Dale: 1980, 3). In most cases, men manipulate language to suit their interests while dominating women. How men use language is always perceived differently from how women use it. How language is used affects the way women are being talked to, as well as being talked about by men.

Language, on the one hand, depends on culture and, culture, on the other hand, depends on language. Both language and culture mould our thinking, our behaviour, our thought processes, and our worldviews. They regulate the workings of the human mind

along with social conventions. But, sometimes, our inability to communicate effectively – or perhaps, to understand one another could lead to the making of snide remarks on other people's opinions and cultures. Therefore, this paper also concentrates on the verbal communication styles, variant/cultural meanings, and the adaptive functions of language that pose the prejudice in male communication against women. Verbal and non-verbal cues of communication are combined to analyse gender-based discrimination in the Idoma cultural context.

Therefore, our understanding of culture varies from society to society, and from context to context. However, language, which is at the centre of human communication, offers itself as a unifying bridge across cultures, races and societies throughout the world. Culture then becomes the first border we cross by entering into the understanding of a people's way of life – which consists of their tradition and civilisation. It embodies the total existence of a people. While, language as the chief instrument of human communication, presents itself as a paradox of understanding and confusion, of conflict and resolution in human affairs. So, this paper hopes to reveal how women's suppression has been carefully and neatly tucked under the bed-sheet of patriarchal power in the guise of tradition and culture, particularly in Nigeria, and in Africa as a whole.

To begin, volumes of literature have been chronicled on non-verbal communication. However, communication scholars have treated male and female communications in binary oppositions, and in this case, the female communication is that of subservience, more polite and civil, while the male communication is seen as a reflection of supremacy and domination. This tradition has a long-standing deposit of patriarchal hegemony. Male communication, more often than not, has always deployed the rhetoric of force rather than of reason. Consequently, it robs the women of the willingness, the desire and the courage to communicate effectively in some cultural domains. This occurrence, owing to the worldviews of the people, in turn, is a function of their culture, as it relates to their social perception. This tradition is anchored on a man-centered view, built by men themselves in line with their wishes, and also in an attempt to control nature as much as they can, but when they are displeased, they tear the whole processes down and start all over again. The people's world-views, no doubt, give them a perspective from which they shape and form their attitudes and behaviour.

For example, in cultural communication, what we use as effective communication symbols in our cultures could be regarded as obscene gestures in other cultures. That is, the communication symbols or techniques that make a man successful in his cultural domain could

as well kill him in another cultural recess. This is so because, according to Samovar and Porter, "Culture is a communication problem because it is not constant, and it is a variable. And, as cultural variance increases, so do the problems of communication" (Samovar and Porter: 1967, 35). Culture, however, varies along different dimensions, and this leads us to the aspect of non-verbal communication patterns.

AFRICAN KINESICS IN NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION:

Much research has been done on verbal communication patterns of the Nigerian people; but little research has been devoted to their non-verbal communication patterns. Men use some form of kinesics to discriminate against women in Nigeria, Africa, as well as other parts of the world. This discriminatory tendency by men against women is born out of stereotype. Larry and Richard have this to say of prejudice against the Black Negro, which is in direct tandem with women's experience in Nigeria. They argue that:

> A prejudiced person perceives selectively certain aspects of the Negro; those that fit in with his preconceived ideas concerning the Negro. This he observes and notes behavior incidents that demonstrate stupidity, laziness, irresponsibility, or superstition; he overlooks other incidents that might contradict his prevailing ideas. The behavior of the Negro as he observes it thus supports his prejudicial beliefs (Larry and Richard: 1967, 67).

This strong worded-notion of prejudice works in various ways and forms that affect human communication. The typical Nigerian men, like most African men, hold a very strong cultural prejudice against their women. We see this sentiment popping up in the use of metaphors, proverbs and cultural idioms to run down women on daily basis. Some of these non-verbal patterns, labelled as kinesics by Richard L. Birdwhistell, refer to how people send messages with their bodies through movements, expressions, gestures, etc. Birdwhistell Larry avers that, "these non-verbal patterns are a learned form of communication which is patterned within a culture, and that they convey a particular message" (Birdwhistell: 1952, 68). With a clear reference to how men view women through non-verbal communication patterns in Nigeria, some examples of the non-verbal cues are as follows:

Rolling the eyes: this act of rolling the eyes exhibited more by women is considered insolent; a hostile disapproval of the man who is traditionally in the authority role. It is impudent. Larry and Richard dwell more on the rolling of the eyes in a vivid and descriptive manner such that:

> Rolling the eyes is a non-verbal way of expressing impudence and disapproval of the person who is in authority role and of communicating every negative label that can be applied to the dominant person. The movement of the eyes communicates all or parts of the message. The message is hostility (Larry and Richard: 1967, 69).

We could further describe the movement of the eyes-rolling as performed thus: first, the eyes could move from one location of the eyelid to the other side, slowly and deliberately in a way and manner, which, again, to Larry and Richard, "usually, the gliding of the eyes is preceded by a look at the other person, but not an eye-to-eye sort of look" (Larry and Richard: 1967, 69). The eyelids could be slowly reduced when the eye sockets move in the small curvature. The eyeballs are always shifted away from the other person. Henslin James argues that the "Gestures are movements of the body to communicate with the activity of others" (James: 2010, 4). Within a theoretical framework, Ngai Bo-Yuen argues that "Each culture uses nonverbal gestures which may differ from those of other cultures" (Bo-Yuen: 2000, 5). In a similar way, Lustig and Koester, in their opinions, hone the idea of non-verbal behaviour as obviously a part of the human communication processes in a way that: "When someone intentionally tries to convey a message or when someone attributes meaning to the nonverbal behaviour of another, whether or not the person intended to communicate a particular meaning" (Lustig and Koester: 2003, 176). Conversely, however, Burgoon, Buller, and Woodall make a valid argument that "Nonverbal communication can lead to misunderstanding as well as understanding" (Burgoon, Buller, and Woodall: 1996, 5).

The misunderstanding that emerges from nonverbal communication could be because of cultural differences. Anderson, Hecht, Hoobler & Smallwood, therefore contend that "Cultural differences are not random events; they occur because cultures develop with different geographies, climates, religions and histories, each exerting unique influence" (Anderson et al: 2002, 90). It is on the basis of similarities and differences that people understand and misunderstand the use of gestures in non-verbal communication. Both the understanding and misunderstanding of gestures play an important role in forming people's opinions and judgements in non-verbal communication. Next is the maintenance of eye contact.

Maintenance of eye contact: women are either overtly or covertly not to look at men in the eye because the act communicates impudence and in some cases or contexts, it means equality with men. What is expected of women here is avoidance of eye contact, which is interpreted to mean that human beings, especially the female ones are in a subordinate role, and they have to respect the authority of men over them. Avoidance of eye contact communicates respect and acknowledgement of their being in a subordinate role in the Idoma culture. Another instance of non-verbal cues is the idea of the woman walking out on the man, as explained below.

Walking away: this is one act that is highly intolerant of the Idoma men, and in general, the Nigerian men. For example, when women walk away from them in conflict situations, their behaviour is described by dirty adjectives such as disrespectful, hostile, nasty, and uncultured. Women in this case are perceived as culturally unpolished. It is a cultural taboo for women to put up such a behaviour. Nevertheless, the woman conveys a message that the man normally fails to understand. The woman is a weak being, who possesses all the qualities of femininity (or weakness), and she deserves to be handled with care and respect.

Genuflection (knee-bending): knee-bending is a sign of respect that is associated with women. If a woman does not genuflect before a man, who is older than she is, such a woman is said to be disrespectful. It means that she lacks good up-bringing, and the insult is thrown back to her parents. Men are only expected to bow and not to genuflect like women. A man who genuflects is said to be inefficient and not smart at all. These kinesics and many more are used in communication as derogatory and offensive in non-verbal communication patterns.

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF MALE COMMUNICATION:

Communication takes place in many forms. The words or the non-verbal cues people use may either give a clear or an unclear message to others. The use of certain terms to discriminate against people, either on the basis of sex, race, tribe, class, or gender, and whether designedly or undesignedly, could refer to the psychological disturbances in the life of an individual, which could as well encourage alienation, especially women. Prejudice may affect different groups based on some socio-political factors. Such factors may include age, disability, gender, race, colour, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation. This savage form of behaviour creates a very hostile, low, and shameful environment, which, in turn, constitutes unlawful discrimination, and harassment of deprived, and vulnerable human beings.

Broadly speaking, every natural language has discriminatory terms used against women in male communication. The paper surveys some proverbs, metaphors and idioms as an integral part of the Idoma language, which are embodied in their culture. Discriminatory terms against women are captured in the use of some select proverbs as cultural and social codes of conduct – a deep-seated credo of male-oriented ego, found in

almost all of African cultures. Placed side by side with social conventions, Wang Shifeng posits that, "Social views and attitudes of people can be seen in language, and social phenomena as reflected in language. So language reflects different attitudes toward women" (Shifeng: 2012, 150). Male communication shows how much women seem to be abused, and subjected to male supremacy with the use of proverbs. It sums up the total inventory of their values, norms, and beliefs. Again, Wang argues that:

> Proverbs are representatives to be used to make a research on sex discrimination. They are short, well-known phrases or sentences, which are usually the reflection of life. They are also a part of language and a kind of idiom, which spread among folks with popular image and rich significance (Shifeng: 2012, 150).

The representation of womanhood in most Nigerian languages is largely jaundiced and absurd. Women are often depicted as either unwise, evil, or fickle. They are perceived as the foundation of all disasters, elements of inferiority, as well as the worthlessness of a childish or weak human being. This is hugely so because of the male-oriented, chauvinistic rhetoric towards women in social, political, and cultural discourses. The derogation of women through the male-cultural orientation affects both the use of language in the Nigerian cultures and men-women relations as a whole. Yusuf Yisa Kehinde, for example, makes a comparison be-

tween the semantic interpretation of the English language and the Yoruba language, and finds out that:

> The English language ignores women by allowing masculine terms to be used specifically to refer to males and generically to refer to human beings in general. Yoruba is like English sexist in some respects, and sexism in English has been imposed on some otherwise non-sexist aspects of Yoruba language, and that contact between the languages may have prevented the transfer of some sexist features of Standard English into Nigerian Pidgin English (Kehinde: 2012, 2).

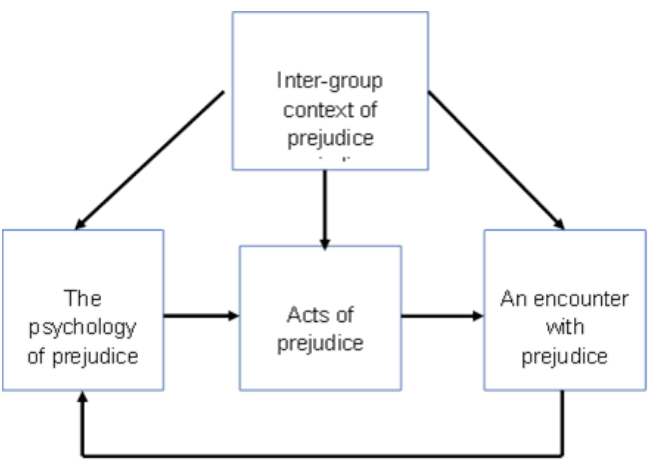
In a similar vein, Oladele Abiodun Balogun also argues that "there are elements of semantic derogation in some Yoruba proverbs which refer to women and violate their rights and that these proverbs are indicator[s] of discrimination against women in Yoruba culture" (Balogun: 2010, 3). For example, most of the elements in Yoruba proverbs obviously portray women, as oppressed subjects in society. This portrayal of women in a derogatory picture is very abusive, suppressive, and more. The women, perceived as the abusive referents, feel debauched by their male oppressors. This assertion is evident even in the ideographical and non-gender language such as Chinese. Shen Dan however states that:

> This language expresses gender-related messages linguistically. Through analysis, one can see that many Chinese metaphors bear negative sexual and moral overtones to

describe women. It is noted that women are called (bird) or (chick) when they are young and attractive, but when they are old, they are referred as (pig) or (dog). In contrast, male counterparts don't have such referring terms. It is obvious that linguistic discrimination still prevails in the current Chinese society (Dan: 2013, 2).

There is no doubt that male communication is overtly prejudicial and below is a diagram used to illustrate how prejudice works as a psychological, and cultural thing than anything else in human society. It is borne out of the workings of the human mind and manifests openly in context that is cultural, social, and political.

UNDERSTANDING THE FRAMEWORK OF PREJUDICE



There is no human society that exists without one form of prejudice or the other. Prejudice can as well distort

human social relations, self-worth, motivation and the verytryst an individual maintains with the larger community of fellow human beings. The context may not necessarily be inter-group, but let us assume a general context that may be given for the existence of prejudice, and howits embodiment takes place in human society.Within the psychological context, different scholars have attempted to define prejudice. Crandall and Eshelman, for example, note that "prejudice cannot always be described as irrational or unjustified," and that it is better to define it as "a negative evaluation of a social group or an individual that is significantly based on the individual's group membership" (Crandall and Eshelman: 2013, 414). This however makes many of us shifts lightly in a way that does not clearly rebuff prejudice as a notionthat involves negative evaluation of others. The term prejudice is quite often defined, as the negativity of the other person, which is an anomaly that originates in the inter-group community of people. According to the "social identity theory," Tajfel & Turner categorise people into social groups, and show how they locate themselves within a category of other people. To them:

> The basic premise of social identity theory is that we are motivated to maintain a positively valued social identity and we may do so by creating or taking advantage of favourable comTparisons with other groups. The need to maintain a positive distinction between our own group and others can lead to behaviour and attitudes that are

> biased in favour of our group and against other groups (Tajfel & Turner: 1986, 177).

Based on their opinion, prejudice framed in the context of inter-group conflict of interest and stereotype, can cause existential crisis to spring up from the struggle to either achieve or maintain a superior or positive social identity. Therefore, prejudice in this context is viewed as a sort of parti pris, which could be political, psychological, social, economic or even environmental and as a factor, which denies a group of people their perceived membership, either in the communal or kinship sense of it. Language is therefore deployed in the service of prejudice to act as the thief of honour, the shaper and conductor of lies. Cameron further contends that:

> Sexist language [for example,] cannot be regarded as simply naming of one world from another, masculinist perspective; it is better conceptualized as a multifaceted phenomenon occurring in a number of quite complex systems of representation, all with their places in historical traditions (Cameron: 1985, 14).

Cameron simply tries to explain that language is quite a complex system, a system of representation with reference to historical traditions – which means that thesexist character of human language is deeply rooted in the historical traditions of a group of people. This historical tradition of women's oppression by men sparked off the idea of subalternity in the twentieth century.

FRAMING WOMEN'S RESISTANCE IN THE SUBALTERN CULTURE:

The term "subaltern" was first used by the Italian Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks.* Today, it is widely applied in post-colonial studies, cultural history, literature, anthropology and so on to invent a radical re-thinking of knowledge production in resistance struggle. To Giorgio Baratta, a devoted student of Gramsci refers to the subalterns as the "more marginal elements and peripheral of these classes, who haven't attained class consciousness for themselves" (2007, 120-2). It is chiefly a case of subordination, with reference to class, gender, language, caste, and culture. This is well argued by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, as she writes in her influential essay called, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

> The Subaltern cannot speak. There is no virtue in global laundry lists with woman as a pious. Representation has not withered away. The female intellectual has a circumscribe task which she must not disown with a flourish (Spivak: 1994, 308).

The "subaltern," in this case, refers to the woman as the oppressed subject, who is confronted with the uphill task of resistance. Spivak suggests that women "must not disown [the idea of their oppression] with a flourish" (Ibid). However, they are encouraged to stand up to the slaughter of hope and fear. The coming of age

of the Subaltern Studies in the 20th century established a defiant tradition of resistance, the recovery of lost voices of women, who wanted to build a different way of existence. The resistance of the Idoma women manifests in their use of proverbs in a way to embattle their men. The analysis of those proverbs in this paper shows how women portray men as perverts and absolutists. Talking back in proverbs or in words is their own form of resistance against men, not a violent approach. Women question and challenge male domination through their acquisition of education, and civil rights awareness campaigns.

ANALYSIS OF SEXIST PROVERBS:

These proverbs are drawn from the collective resource materials belonging to the Idoma community, not to a single author. The study takes into cognizance the experience of gender/cultural inequality by interpreting the semantics of proverbs, metaphors and idioms. Conceptually, Obododimma OHA defines "proverbs as forms of figurative communication with didactic-functions in studied conversations, which were found to possess evidence of male attempt at maintaining control over discourse in society" (Obododimma: 1998, 4). This suggests that the degree of rhetoric in society has been masculinised. Though women, too, have their own language, which they use in discriminating against men because most African languages are gender-based languages.

As already established, there is a clear distinction between those proverbs that discriminate against women and those that spite men, as well. The distinction is not only established linguistically, but it is culturally and ideologically established in their community. It is the belief of the people that in fixed utterances such proverbs are surely those expressions that embody the collective belief-systems, customs, thoughts, norms, and stereotypes in their community. It remains a well-known fact that men are culturally considered as important; women are only imagined as subordinate to men. Culture and society may have a direct impact on the use of sexist language. Language is seen as an organically sexist instrument used in favour of men to denigrate women. It fosters gender inequality, and conveys bias at the same time. For example, men who cheat on their women usually deploy the key-and-padlock metaphor to justify their act of promiscuity. They believe that if a key can open many padlocks, it is called "master key," which must be kept, hon
oured and valued (in the case of those men who flirt around). But, if a padlock (which is a representative of women in this case) can be opened by many keys (i.e., by men), it is regarded as useless – and so it must either be destroyed or rejected or thrown away. This is another way of men subjecting their women to the tyranny of culture. While men's promiscuity is encouraged and valorised, women's act of infidelity is highly condemned as a cultural taboo.

Culturally, in Africa and as it may be in elsewhere, women are the custodians of home, which invariably means, they are in charge of the housework, while men work outside the house. The select proverbs in the analysis portend obvious discrimination, which foreground abusive expressions and meanings. Below are some proverbs, metaphors and idioms analysed for both emphasis and clarity.

Idoma Language	**(trans.) English Language**
Ach'enya we'mbli mla elo'kpotuche'n:	Evil and capricious (= women are devilish and quick to change their minds or emotions.)
Ach'enya we'gbla ko'do-bobi:	The root of all disasters (= they are the causes of all evils.)
Al'onyan, al'otunobi'n:	Wife not have, grief not have (= this considers women as the sources of grief and sorrow in men's lives.)

Ene ko anya le bo ena och'oche no yokwu ki'poto	The mother-in-law is called or referred to as a scorpion under the carpet (= this means rascality and sedition.)
Odoje ka'chenya ofu we'ta jonjile mla ku'gwu nobi'ye:	The foresight of sixty women is as low as that of a black hen's intelligence. (= this shows the low level of women's reasoning in general.)
Ogbenene ka'chenya le ben ko'n ogbe ko'nyaklumi:	Women's kindness is like the donkey's tail (= it literally means women are unkind or they show only little act of kindness. It is a male-oriented language of prejudice not to acknowledge women in all they do.)
Ach'enya lo'kpotuche'n: Women don't have dog's loyalty:	Women don't have dog's loyalty (= this portrays women as unaffectionate, unkind and unfaithful human beings.)

Because the Idoma language is a gender-based language, the women, too, have what we may call discriminatory terms in female communication. A language used by a group of people as laid down in their culture is a proof of their values, norms, and beliefs. Derogation and discrimination against men are reflected effectively in the use of proverbs, idioms and metaphors much as we could see in the male communication system. This derogatory language portrays women as people who possess qualities such as: evil, capricious, the foundation of all disasters, inferior, as well as beings of low self-esteem, while men are described as greedy, absolute dictators and cruel fellows. Men use language in this regard to simply devalue women in society. Language, no doubt, is sexually prejudiced against women and this prejudice is the interconnection of language itself and social reality in life. Arguably, we may wish to say that no human language is sex-blind enough to avoid gender inequality, prejudice, stereotype, and discrimination.

Idoma Language	**(trans.) English Language**
Ai'nu wa'bo no l'igbo:	It is teeth that possess the bread (= man is the bread-winner of his household. And because he is the bread-winner, who provides for his family, it, therefore, means that he owns his family.)
E'ko n'ikake ko'chenyilo gbo piepa, ogbo do'ka onya ome'pa:	When a man's pair of trousers doubles, then he begins to think of a second wife to marry (= this proverb grants absolute authority to men to do as they wish and impose easily their decisions on women. This metaphorical expression means that when a man becomes rich, he thinks of re-marrying a new wife and, women, in turn, shows aversion, disgust and critique of this imbalance and unfairness.)

Och'enyilo no le'l'abohinu ma le bo'chenya:	A man who lacks self-opinion is inefficient (= this expression means that most men function as dictators. They often neglect their wives' views and never consult with them in anything they do. They take unilateral decision in order to avoid being called effeminate, in other words, someone who is under his wife's control.)

Based on the analysis of the select proverbs, we see how men are projected through the use of language as absolutists. These proverbs demonstrate how power structure is constructed through language to dismiss other people, namely women, as a minority, and render them as an appendage to humanity. Also, the male supremacy is reflected in the use of proverbs and cultural metaphors. Such proverbs and metaphors demonstrate the power of masculinity as an embodiment of a patriarchal society. By way of interpretation, they imply that women are dregs of humanity, even though it is statistically obvious that women constitute more than half of the world's population. That is notwithstanding, as M. Karl puts it:

> The primary responsibility for their families' health and for provision of food, water and fuel and their work is not only unpaid, but largely un recognized as well. Their major responsibil-

> ities for the households' well-being do not always mean decision-making power within the family (Karl: 1995, 3).

Culturally, the proverbs somewhat present women as a subset of humanity through gender masculine terms, which portray them as objects of male verbal abuse. This form of cultural discrimination against women has been defined by the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), as in:

> [Any] distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of the marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Political, Economic, Social, Cultural, Civil or any other field (United Nations: 1979, 2).

The stress of the 1979 convention was on elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women because they are mostly at the receiving end. 168 countries had ratified the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Among these 168 countries, 46 of them were African nations, and Nigeria was one of them. This document

has helped to a large extent by reducing the gender gap that exists in most society and bringing into existence a new phase of civilization that recognizes women as equal partners in progress.

CONCLUSION

To close, this paper asserts that any language that poses a threat to the respect of others should not be encouraged. If we, as human beings, sincerely want to show some dignity, fairness, understanding, then, we must dismantle the structures of oppressive and exclusionary politics of gender inequality. We need to ensure that the language we use is consistent with these intentions as established in liberal conventions of "civilised" societies. Therefore, we need not only avoid the abusive use of language that offends, but also to use a language that is all-inclusive of other human beings. We need to respect the points of views, emotions, and feelings of others, and use the language that neither denigrates, offends nor discriminates. We have to be sensitive to the issues of equality, and the possible offence that language can generate is unthinkable.

Equal opportunities can be strengthened if we carefully examine the language we use and the way we use it as a daily tool of communication. The paper tries to demystify the male supremacy, and blur the extant boundaries of oppression. Sexism in the Idoma lan-

guage is clear and its semantic interpretation is found in the use of proverbs. To get things right, we may need to send a strong and powerful message to re-awaken the awareness of equality of women in our society. Our respect for gender differences and preferences could strengthen our sincere commitments to the all-inclusive space of human beings, as this paper envisages. In pushing beyond the social and cultural boundaries that restrict the gender balance of power, no one, in my own thought, captures it better than Meer Shamim does. Shamim frames it this way:

> There is more talk and more contestation around gender identity, in urban and rural areas alike, to the point that we are now compelled to deal with the question of masculinities in crisis, as men wrestle with new realities where femininity is no longer synonymous with dependency and subordination (Shamim: 2011, 14).

This is exactly the summary of this paper, as it tries to argue in favour of women's liberation from cultural subjectivity. Even where the women's struggle for equality is jested by some men, or imagined as a threat to the patriarchal world, especially within the family unit, the fact remains that there is a massive conceivable possibility in the heightened awareness of women's struggle that challenges the male power, and desta-

bilizes the dominant narrative of hegemonic discourse. With the empowerment of women through education, the male suppression of women seems to be a myth of the past, and it is no longer what it used to be.

WORKS CITED

Balogun, Oladele Abiodun. 2010. "Proverbial Oppression of Women in Yoruba Culture: A Philosophical Overview," *Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya* (PAK). New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1: 1-36. Htt://ajol.info/index.php/tp/index.

Baratta, Giorgio. 2007. *Antonio Gramsci in contrappunto* [Antonio Gramsci in Counterpoint]. Rome: Carocci. 120-2.

Birdwhistell, L. Richard. 1952. *Introduction to Kinesics: An Annotation System for Analysis of Body Motion and Gesture.* Washington, D.C: Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.

Ngai Bo-Yuen, Phyllis. 2000. *Nonverbal communicative behaviour of professional administrators from Ethiopia, Tanzania, Hon Kong, and the China in negotiations with U.S. negotiators: Cross-cultural perspectives.* Montana: The University of Montana.

Burgoon, K. Judee, Buller B. David, & Woodall G. William. 1996. *Nonverbal communication: The Unspoken dialogue*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Cameron. Deborah. 1985. *Feminism and Linguistic Theory.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Crandall, C.S. and Eshelman A. 2003. "A Justification-Suppression Model of the Expression and Experience of Prejudice." *Psychological Bulletin*, 129. 414-46. Doi:10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.

Dan, Shen. 2013. *Gender-Specific Asymmetries in Chinese Language*. Department of English: Center for European and American Literature, Peking University, China. 1-34.

Dely, Carole. "Jacques Derrida: The Perchance of 'Phallogocentrism' from Duel to Duo." *International Web Journal.* 1-15. www.sens-public.org. 12/11/2017.

Derrida, Jacques. 2004. "Pregnances." In *Wash Paintings*. edited by Colette Dedlé. Mont de Marsan: L'Atelier des Brisants. 5-20.

Fall, Bilal. 1987. *L'Action dans le Cinema Africain: le Senegal*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Paris: Universite de Paris IV – Sorbonne.

Henslin, M. James. 2010. *Sociology: A down-to-earth approach*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Karl, M. 1995. *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making.* London: Zed Book Ltd.

Lustig, W. Myron & Koester, Jolene. 2003. *Intercultural Competence: Interpersonal Communication across Cultures.* Boston: Pearson Education.

Millett, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. 1970. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

OHA, Obododimma. 1998. "The Semantics of Female Devaluation in IGBO Proverbs," *African Study Monographs.* Department of English: University of Ibadan. Vol. 19 (2): 4-67.

Peter A. Anderson, Hecht, L. Michael, Hoobler, Gregory D. & Smallwood, Maya. 2002. "Nonverbal Communication across Cultures." In *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*, edited by William B. Gudykunst, & Bella Mody. London: Sage Publications. 65-120.

Samovar, A. Larry and Porter, E. Richard. 1967. *Intercultural Communication: A Reader.* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing. 3-69.

Shamim, Meer. 2011. *Struggles for Gender Equality: Reflections on the Place of Men and Men's Organisations*. Johannesburg: Open Society Institute of Southern Africa.

Spender, Dale. 1980. *Man Made Language*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Spivak, Chakravorty Gayatri. 1994. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf. 308-403.

Tajfel, H & Turner J.C. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, edited by S. Worchel, & W.G. Austin. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 177-200.

United Nations. 1979. "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women." General Assembly Resolution 34/180 of 18. (December): 1-13. www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm.

Wang, Shifeng. 2012. "On Sex Discrimination in English Proverbs and their Translation." *International Conference on Education Technology and Management Engineering Lecture Notes on Information Technology.* China: Vols. 150. 16 – 17.

Yusuf Yisa, Kehinde. 2012. "Sexism, English and Yoruba," *Linguistic Online Journal of Language and Gender II*. Botswana. 1-17.

7.

REVIEW: *THE EMERGENCE OF IRANIAN NATIONALISM: RACE AND THE POLITICS OF DISLOCATION* BY REZA ZIA-EBRAHIMI (2016)

[COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS 2016, 312 PAGES. HARDCOVER, USD 60, KINDLE USD 42.14]

AHMAD MOHAMMADPOUR

Over the last two decades, the official Iranian nationalism has been critically revisited by a number of Iranian scholars such as Mostafa Vaziri, Abbas Amanat, Farzin Vejdani and Afshin Marashi, among others. The Emergence of Iranian Nationalism by Zia – Ebrahimi marks another courageous and groundbreaking scholarly enterprise that problematizes the meaning of Iranianness through a meticulous examination of the ideological cornerstones of nationalist intellectuals in the Qajar period. Zia – Ebrahimi aims to interrogate the dominant Iranian historiography, whose mission has been forging a myth, which privileges the Aryan race and at the expense of an otherizing non-Aryans. What makes Ebrahimi's work a substantial intervention is its challenging of the ideological currents that have sanctified a certain construct for centuries. His work casts a shadow over both the contemporary Iranian academic and ideological productions of the statist historiographical approach to 'the national past.'

The book consists of eight sections, starting with a well-crafted introduction, and ends up with a bold conclusion. In the introduction, Zia – Ebrahimi lays out the primary concerns of his work by situating ahistorical concepts, such as Cyrus and Persianpolise, that surface persistently in everyday discussion on Iran. There he begins to dislodge the reality of an imagined past that, in his words, carves itself into almost every dimension of Iranian life, ranging from Persian rugs

to jewelry and cyberspace. The ramifications of the Aryan myth, Ebrahimi argues, have to be examined in order to reveal the ultimate ideological tendencies utilized to foster primordial Persian nationalism. By deploying a paleontological approach, Zia– Ebrahimi casts light on the primordial nationalist desires that tend to portray the imagined Iran as a nation whose existence is assumed to have been "uninterrupted" for more than 2500 years. In a sense, Persian nationalist historiography, through the erasure of historical events and changes from the ancient times to this day, is forced to consciously deny the very history that it aims to present. Through the glorification of the enigmatic pre-Islamic golden age, Persian nationalism presents Islam as a source of decadence and an Arab imposition on Iran with a sword. Inspired by the Eurocentric model of historiography that emphasizes the civility and nobility of western subject over the non-western others, the Iranian nationalists formulated a collateral ideological discourse centered on the Aryan race as a pure ancestral lineage that had flourished during the pre-Islamic period. This discourse, according to Zia–Ebrahimi, "has for too long escaped serious analysis in spite of its relevance to any rigorous assessment of modern identity or political and historical thought in Iran" (148).

The idea of "dislocation nationalism" appears to be the core claim of Zia– Ebrahimi's book upon which a modern ideology is evoked and prevailed without

antecedent before the nineteenth century. The term "dislocative" in his account of Iranian identity is very controversial but illuminating. In what sense could nationalism be dislocative? Zia– Ebrahimi does not employ the dislocation in its conventional sense which resonates with refugee studies or geographic displacement. Rather, in a way reminiscent of Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined community, he uses the dislocation in its metaphorical or imaginary form: when an idea is abstracted from its empirical texture, disembedded from its historical context to bridge certain occasions or entities regardless of its constituents in reality. In the case of Iranian Nationalism, as Zia–Ebrahimi implies, the Aryan race that had appeared in pre-Islamic period is consciously tied to the modern Iran, and in so doing, the enormous impacts that Islamic periods and dynasties had on Iran are thoroughly neglected or remain undiscussed.

Zia– Ebrahimi describes how the Aryan race hypothesis was drafted to draw an identical boundary between the Indo–European and Semitic races. Having rejected those historiographical accounts that portray the Iranian embracing of Islam, the Iranian Intellectuals attempted bridge between modern and pre-Islamic periods, showing an aggressive and violent face of the Islamic time. The Iranian nationalist thinkers appealed to Aryan race theory as a common ground with European civilization to invent an intellectual

history. However, they were aware of the fact that Iran has never been recognized as a qualified member of the Aryan race. Hence, the politics of dislocation were implemented to overcome the intellectual and mental trauma Iran had in its encounter with European countries. On the other hand, these scholars believed that the Iranian ethos of civilization had become historically contaminated with Semitic culture and should be purified by turning to the magnificent past of Iran. Therefore, the dislocative nationalism could offer an antidote in either finding a shared ground with the advanced western nations or differentiating Aryan culture from the Semitic culture perceived as uncivilized and backward.

While some believe that modern Iran emerged under Pahlavi dynasty and its modernization policies, which eventually led to the modern political system with the evocation of the pre-Islamic notion of identity, Zia–Ebrahimi traces the emergence of dislocative nationalism back to Qajar period between the 1860s to 1890s. The Pahlavi State integrated this ideology into its official discourse of identity and made use of it to assimilate the multi-ethnic Iranian culture. This doctrine became the pivotal discourse of secular opposition in Iran against the Islamic Republic, which is centered on the Islamic interpretation of the Iranian culture and politics.

Using a textual approach, Zia– Ebrahimi argues that the footprints of dislocative nationalism were for the first time left in the texts of Akhundzadeh and Kermani, two intellectual thinkers in Qajar period. Their thoughts and writings lucidly reflected the socio-political turbulence of Iran stemming from the Iranian colonial encounter with the Russia and British imperialism. They, like many people of their generation, were desperately trying to understand how European modernity emerged and expanded, and how to emulate their pattern towards the modernity. Thus, Zia– Ebrahimi grants Akhoundzadeh and Kermani as the founding father of Iranian nationalism, whose personal encounters with imperial Europe on the one hand and downgrading the Islamic societies as backward and uncivilized on the other hand, urged them to devote a great deal of their life to formulate the discoursive underpinning of Iranian nationalism. However, Zia– Ebrahimi is well aware that Akhundzadeh and Kermani's primary accounts were to offer an imaginary narrative rather than an objective factual understanding of pre-Islamic Iranian history. By delving into the life and time of Akhundzadeh and Kermani, Zia– Ebrahimi gives an incredible account of the emergence and justification of the dislocative nationalism during the Qajar period and how the historiographical sketches are developed or manipulated in favor of the Iranian nationalism. At this point, racism became an essential part of Iranian nationalism in its effort to build a myth-

ical identity regardless the negation of empirical facts. These thinkers, haunted by the Eurocentric model of thought, even went further than their European counterparts and made a subtle division between Iranian identity and its Islamic heritage; However, the racial theory never overcame the lack of the historical facts and the historical complexity of the rise and expansion of Islam in Iran.

Zia– Ebrahimi challenges the Orientalist idea that Iran was violently forced to adopt Islam and that Muslims destroyed the pre-Islamic texts and literature. Instead, he argues that "aversion to miscegenation" constitutes the heart of Iranian dislocative nationalism, whose urge for differentiation and demarcation comes at the price of a denial of Islamic legacy from its very beginning to the present time. Even the rise of enormous territorial empires such as Safavid empire in Islamic Iran was not sufficient to quench their thirst for an old golden age as racial purity for them preceded the size of territory. For these thinkers, the ancient Iran was the root of all possibilities, a period that had been invaded, destroyed and replaced by the Arabs; now, their task was to exonerate the pre-Islamic legacy through revisiting the past. However, in spite the dearth of evidence to investigate the remote past in this vein, the dislocative nationalism was praised at least as a tentative endeavor by Orientalists.

The nationalistic project offered by Akhundzadeh and Kermani revolved around three ideological ingredients: pre-Islamic archaism, anti-Arabism, and hybridized-despotic approach to Europeanization (147). Zia– Ebrahimi argues, however, that the Akhundzadeh and Kermani dislocative nationalist account is historiographically unfounded and suffers from several failures: It is excessively romantic, characterized by a historical desire for the exaltation of an ambiguous past. It also has authoritarian tendencies that contain elements of elimination and denial of diversity and the rights of other cultures. Finally, as a failed imitation of European Enlightenment, it grapples with the lack of reliable historiographical evidence. Critically dismantling the rise and prevail of nationalism in Iran, Zia– Ebrahimi reveals the calamitous nature of Iranian dislocative nationalism and its impacts on Iran as a multi-cultural country. Therefore, he advocates the multiplicity of nationalist ideologies that celebrates the cultural diversity within a political system, one which he termed civic nationalism rooted in law and legislation. Ultimately, Zia– Ebrahimi's book makes a tremendous contribution to the field of Iranian Studies, Political Sociology, Historiography, and Postcolonial Studies by shedding light on how a historical discourse can emerge and develop, and what socio-political impact might it have on a multi-ethnic society.

NOTE ON CONTRIBUTORS

(in order of appearance)

Madina Tlostanova: Madina Tlostanova is professor of postcolonial feminisms at the Department of Thematic Studies (Gender studies) at Linköping University, Sweden. She focuses on non-Western gender theory, contemporary art, decolonial option and post-socialist studies. Her most recent book is *Postcolonialsm and Postsocialism in Fiction and Arts: Resistance and Re-existence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Lukas Müsel: Lukas Müsel is a Graduate student of English and German literatures and cultures with a special focus on Postcolonial literature and is pursuing a PhD in said field in the end of 2017. He is currently associated with the Global South project of Tübingen University.

Amrita De: Amrita De is 3rd Year doctoral student at the Department of Comparative Literature, SUNY, Binghampton. Her proposed dissertation topic focuses on a critical examination of different forms of hegemonic masculinities existing in South Asia. She also intends to explore how the idea of the heteronorm is

given political and almost institutional legitimacy, in the workings of the present right-wing government in India. The timeline that she focuses on ranges from post partition India to more recent envisioning's of neoliberal India.

Ives. S. Loukson: He is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Anglistik, University of Bayreuth, Germany.

Dima M.T. Tahboub: He is an Assistant professor in Arab Open University, and member of Postcolonial Studies Association. He is also a member of Jordanian Parliament. His areas of interest are Postcolonial literature, the Literature of War, Palestinian Literature and the School of Commitment.

Joshua Agbo: Joshua Agbo is a Lecturer in the Department of Languages and Linguistics, Benue State University, Nigeria. He is currently doing a Ph.D. at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge. He is the author of *How Africans Underdeveloped Africa: A Forgotten Truth in History* (2010) and *Dead Wood* (2015), and the co-editor of the book: *Linguistics: An Introductory Text.*

Ahmad Mohammadpour: Ahmad Mohammadpour is a researcher at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.