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Reimagining Containment as Collection: Hegemonic Masculinity and Cold War Culture

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation analyzes the construction of Cold War gender identity. While scholars like Alan Nadel and Elaine Tyler May have analyzed containment culture and how it constructs American culture, they have yet to connect that containment culture to hegemonic masculinity that is structured by the hegemonic Cold War superpowers. Furthermore, the way that containment culture functions is through the theme of collection, something that has yet to be fully explored. Reimagining containment through collection leads to a greater understanding of how containment is reified and how power is structured. This dissertation analyzes disparate texts from the Cold War period – ranging from literature to poetry to manga and even early video games – and traces the connection between the Cold War policy of containment, the collection that results from that containment, and the hegemonic masculinity that is paired with capitalism and Christianity to further patriarchal norms during this period of national insecurity.

This dissertation uses the gender identity formulated by R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt as a lens to analyze the themes and gender identities in Cold War texts. A better understanding and deconstruction of how patriarchy functions can lead to more effective methods of resistance and a more egalitarian norming of culture and society. What starts in literature and film is replicated in familiar packages in later cultural texts like manga and video games. A thread can be traced of Cold War hegemonic masculinities that make complicit other masculinities to collect and contain various forms of capital and to ultimately exercise patriarchal power: James Bond, Goku from Dragonball, James Clavell's King, and Mario the plumber; these constructions of hegemonic masculinity resist containment through a lens of circularity. These all have their roots in the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. More importantly, this dissertation may explain how these versions of gender identities are still constructed in the 21st century, and it may further resistance to hegemonic constructions of power by studying poets and authors like John Ashbery, Bob Kaufman, and Sylvia Plath.

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Foreword

I am reminded of Carol Hanisch's essay – and the essays of many other feminists – that talks about the personal being political. In my lifetime, I have been forced to deal with and adapt to and ultimately run from a specific idealized masculinity. This hegemonic masculinity goes by a variety of names: big man on campus, Type A, alpha male, etc. As I see the patriarchal ways of the past being slowly undone by the work of courageous feminists, I wish to undo the patriarchy in my own life. This project is that desire come to life: to understand the political and thus the personal and to undo the patriarchy in my life by dismantling hegemonic masculinity. I can anticipate some voices asking if the academy needs another text talking about masculinity. Honestly, I do not know. However, instead of simply taking hegemonic masculinity to the junkyard and crushing it, society might be better defended and served by understanding how to take it apart and remodel it. Ultimately, the goal of this project is to convert masculinity-cars and to repurpose them into feminist-buses.

This project has three main goals in terms of scholarship. First, this dissertation will link the idea of hegemonic masculinity to Cold War geopolitical frameworks by connecting U.S. foreign and domestic policy to widespread cultural texts. Second, this dissertation will pair the paradigm of collection with the ideology behind Cold War containment culture. Third, this dissertation will highlight a number of texts that resist hegemonic masculinity and containment through the aforementioned paradigm of collection.

One other question I foresee being asked about my project pertains to the diverse range of genres being analyzed in this dissertation. Perhaps those questions speak to the ways containment culture has permeated even the academy. Elizabeth Wheeler concludes her book *Uncontained: Urban Fiction in Postwar America* with the following quote: "By emphasizing the ways Cold War logic shuts down diversity of thought, studies of containment culture can end up reproducing the containment of culture. By placing wildly disparate texts together, it becomes possible to see how segregation looks from both sides of the wall – and thus to detect movements beyond containment" (267).[1] This project aims to do exactly that.

[1] Wheeler, Elizabeth. *Uncontained*. Rutgers UP, 2001.

Introduction

Cold War Frameworks

[Cold War as Superpower Conflict]

The United States of America carrying the banner of democracy, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics waving the flag of communism: following their joint victory with the United Kingdom over Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, these two superpowers proposed very different visions for the world at the end of the Second World War. The disagreement over democracy and communism was not the only point of contention between these two superpowers; Marxism/capitalism and Christianity/state atheism (*gosateizm*) were ideological flashpoints just as hot as any Cold War proxy battleground. For this ideological dispute did not remain in the realm of theory but was applied time and time again across the continents: Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

Despite their vastly different economic and political philosophies, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. exercised power in very similar ways during the Cold War. Governance came about through hegemony, and that governance took on nearly identical formations. For instance, while the US utilized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to exercise power and to influence allied countries, the USSR controlled the members of the Warsaw Pact in much the same way. While hegemony has come to take on various meanings, Antonio Gramsci points out a helpful clause:

> What matters is that a new way of conceiving the world and man is born and that this conception is no longer reserved to the great intellectuals, to professional

> philosophers, but tends rather to become a popular, mass phenomenon, with a concretely world-wide character, capable of modifying (even if the result includes hybrid combinations) popular thought and mummified popular culture. (Gramsci 766)

Worldwide domination had been attempted by the Axis powers through brute force: armies, rockets, and tanks, culminating in a nuclear mushroom cloud and worldwide devastation. Global domination following the Second World War would come through soft power, and specifically through the export of ideological culture and political ideation.

For instance, one example from the 20th century is the American movie industry. While there was no explicit legislation controlling movie production companies (other than those controlling all other such entities), the companies were constrained in their content by codes like the Motion Picture Production Code, otherwise known as the Hays code, named after Presbyterian Elder Will H. Hays[2]. Movies produced during this period were self-censored so that hegemonic ideals would be properly presented and valued. During the Cold War, a movie where a Communist was the hero would be very unlikely to be made. While "the (Repressive) State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by *repression* (including physical repression)," Ideological State Apparatuses like the movie companies "function massively and predominantly *by ideology*, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only

[2] Hays had been serving as Postmaster General before resigning his cabinet position. During his tenure as Chairman of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Hays was called to testify about his involvement in the Teapot Dome investigation.

ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic" (Althusser 244). There is also the understanding that "there is no such thing as a purely ideological apparatus" (Althusser 244). The spectre of governmental repercussion hangs ominously in the background for those who do not follow the hegemonic order (e.g. the Hays code versus House of Un-American Activities Committee and the Hollywood Ten). Hegemony acts very much like the velvet glove hiding the iron fist.

Hegemonic practices can also be extrapolated from a micro to macro level. Althusser argues that "no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses" (Althusser 245). I would argue that this application can be made to the hegemony held by the US and the USSR over their respective subordinated allies. For instance, Japan is traditionally considered an Eastern country, closed to the West for many centuries and geographically much closer to Russian territory than the U.S. During the Cold War period, however, Japan became an economic powerhouse in the global capitalist system, and the cultural commodities and properties it produced were both ideologically Western and hegemonically constructed. Western values and American ideologies – like the aforementioned democracy and capitalism – became cornerstones for Cold War allies and subordinates, regardless of geography and history. In a different but similar situation, the Korean Peninsula –and the Cold War conflict still existing there – has two nations: one, famine-ridden[3] and isolated, while the other exports Kpop and television dramas.[4]

[3] This dissertation also acknowledges that for various parts of Korean history, North Korea had a higher GDP than South Korea (e.g. 1970-1971).

[4] Homi Bhabha's theoretical works on colonialism may be pertinent to note here when Bhabha argues it is "from this area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the

Raymond Williams also points out the distinction in Gramsci's writings between rule (*dominio*) and hegemony, arguing that:

> 'Hegemony' is a powerful concept which at once includes and goes beyond two powerful earlier concepts: that of 'culture' as a 'whole social process', in which men define and shape their whole lives; and that of 'ideology', in any of its Marxist senses, in which a system of meanings and values is the expression or projection of a particular class interest. (R. Williams 108)

I would argue that due to Western capitalism being a dominant force in the NATO alliance, various countries are classed and hierarchized based on actual and imagined forms of capital and resources. The terms First-World, Second-World, and Third-World have shaped global values of various countries based not on their original political definitions, but rather on a perception of economic power and influence (e.g., is China a First-World country in the 21st century due to its economic status and not a Second-World country due to its Communist alliance with the now defunct USSR). Rather than being "ruled" by hard power, capitalism uses hegemony as soft power to shape the emerging world order following the Second World War.

While the US and the Soviet Union were "geopolitical, ideological, economic, cultural, military, and sporting rivals," some scholars, like Robert Ayson, argue that the conflict between the two Cold War superpowers should be seen less as a conflict and

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displacing gaze of its disciplinary double, that my instances of colonial imitation come" (Bhabha 127). Heteronormative domesticity and romance are two of the cornerstones of Korean television dramas which distinctively mirror American texts made during an earlier historical chronology. Korean pop groups also usually are formed through a collection of members with a nominal leader, much like the hegemonic formation established in NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

more as a semi-cooperative pairing where one might "regard Soviet Russia and the United States as adverse partners" (Ayson 65). For economists like Thomas Schelling, the US and USSR were less like "two pure competitors that orthodox microeconomics suggested" and more like "two big oligopolistic firms whose every move depended on the move the other made, and whose self-interests did not include the disappearance of each other" (Ayson 67). Instead of a life-and-death struggle, these two superpowers were more like business competitors with shared interests in maintaining a global market and subordinating any newer entrants.

[**Christianity and Capitalism**]

One might wonder why a religion like Christianity that espouses fundamental principles like poverty and pacifism might be used to complement and buttress an uber-capitalistic and militant Cold War project. However, Christianity had become at that point in history divorced from orthodox and traditional interpretations: Christ himself had semiotically undergone a change to match the shift in public perception. Before the Victorian period, "religion had been women's domain, and the sentimental piety and obsessive moralism were experienced by men as a brake on manly exuberance and a constraining critique of marketplace competition" (Kimmel 117). Christianity was a counteractive force for those seeking masculinity and marketplace excellence. But ideologies like Muscular Christianity "imported from England through the novels of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes" changed Jesus from a "thin, reedy man with long, bony fingers and a lean face with soft, doelike eyes and a beatific countenance" into a

"revirilized Jesus" (Kimmel 117-118). These Muscular Christians "sounded a more militaristic tone, recasting Jesus as a kind of religious Rambo" (Kimmel 118). Christianity had gone from worshipping a peacemaker to a soldier, from a lover to a fighter. This would prove handy to hegemonic masculinity as a vector for deploying violence and intrigue: anything is allowed when on a mission to save the world.[5]

In addition to this change, Jesus became a scion of business. In Bruce Barton's bestselling book *The Man Nobody Knows*, the figure of Jesus "fused Muscular Christian images of Jesus with the persona of a modern corporate leader" (Kimmel 130). This change saw Jesus as the "founder of a modern capitalist enterprise, harnessing immense talents, organizational skills, and business acumen to create the first multinational corporation" (Kimmel 13). With this shift, Christianity completed its transformation, becoming properly utilizable as a Cold War ideology. Despite Althusser's claim that the "educational apparatus" is dominant, and that "the School-Family couple has replaced the Church-Family couple," one might think rather of the Church-Market relationship as one of particular importance (Althusser 250). Of course, these categories are not discrete and cannot be seen as such, but this noteworthy pairing of Christianity and capitalism seems at times more important than democratic or liberative objectives. Arguably, the idea – that exporting capitalism to cultural colonies would save them and the US – seems more like the underlying basis and motive for many of the U.S.'s actions and behaviors during the Cold War.

[5] While this dissertation does not overtly explore the messianic connections in Cold War Western texts, the notion of masculinity having to save the world has existed for centuries. Here we can see separate projects being used together: the messiah-like salvation in Christianity and spreading democracy-capitalism as a worldwide mission.

Christianity was also quite convenient in the fight against Communism. As far back as the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Americans were decrying communism and "defining anti-socialism as a manifestation of patriotism" (W. Williams 30). During the Cold War, religion was incredibly influential: "It is hard to emphasize adequately the importance of religion at the height of the cold war" (Nadel 90). Religion's essential and intrinsic role in American history and society should not be underestimated. Not a decade after the victory of the Axis powers, "In 1954 Congress created a Prayer Room for congressmen, and America became a nation – according to its newly modified Pledge of Allegiance – 'under God' thus distinguishing it from the totalitarian, atheist block of communist-dominated countries" (Nadel 92). Moreover, Communists (i.e. non-Christians) and the "Communist party did not stand for anything, only against sacred American principles such as God, motherhood, and true love" (Shaw 51). The early 20th century had seen the start of American anti-communism, and by the middle of the century, communism had become a byword for evil in America. With the addition of the nuclear bomb to the global arsenal in the 20th century, American democracy had to adapt, and Christianity was an important tool for America to utilize.

Paul Boyer notes that "the atomic age opened with prayer," giving two specific examples such as the chaplain on Tinian Island who "invoked divine blessing on the crew of the *Enola Gay* as it took off for Japan," and President Truman thanking God in his initial announcement that the bomb has "come to us, instead of to our enemies" (Boyer 211). It was divine intervention that had given the bomb to American hands, and thus a new paradigmatic divine mandate was born. For Americans in the Cold War, "nuclear

weapons developments went hand in hand with Christian evangelism in this period, particularly in the United States, as fears of thermonuclear destruction fueled apocalyptic predictions from well-known evangelical preachers like Billy Graham" (Shaw 112). Catholics were united with Protestants in the quest to root out communism for "Catholic anti-Communism has tended to assume particularly virulent forms in the United States" (Caute 108). One might substitute "violent" for "virulent" for an alternate perspective. Another dimension of world salvation had been added with this nuclear reality, with America being gifted the atomic bomb as part of its divine mandate.

For many scholars, Christianity is a destructive force, worth more bad than good. For some, it is the interpretation of divinity that is the problem: "For Judeo-Christian thought, God is a flaming fire who is terrible to look on. His pitiless love knows no bounds and is alarmingly unconditional" (Eagleton 27). For others, it is the disparity between the deity and the followers, with people like Bertrand Russell noting that he could not help but observe that one "general election was fought on the question of how desirable it was to turn away from his that would borrow of thee, so that one must assume that the Liberals and Conservatives of this country are composed of people who do not agree with the teachings of Christ, because they certainly did very emphatically turn away on that occasion" (Russell 12). Still other scholars see a difference between the different factions of Christianity. Some think the conservatives "believed that the United States had a divine mission to spread Christianity and democracy to the rest of the world, a mission that took on added urgency with the spread of communism and its atheistic stance," whereas the liberals "had a different vision of world missions. In contrast to the

practice of American churches sending missionaries to the rest of the world, they preferred a program of cooperating with religious leaders of other nations. The former strategy smacked of religious imperialism, they thought" (Lambert 147, 148). Regardless of one's estimation, one fairly obvious critique of mainstream Christianity is its ties to patriarchy and that "we sometimes hear talk to the effect that Christianity has improved the status of women. This is one of the grossest perversions of history that is possible to make. Women cannot enjoy a tolerable position in society where it is considered of the utmost importance that they should not infringe a very rigid moral code" (Russell 27). In addition, American Christianity during the Cold War has been devastatingly cruel in its efforts to deprive gay Americans of their civil and constitutional rights. American Christianity's stance on race is only slightly better.

Suffice to say, Christianity and capitalism become preternaturally intertwined under American and Western democracy during this time period, while the nuclear threat hangs like a toxic fog over the world. Walter Benjamin's thoughts on capitalism and religion may shed some light on the power of these two synergetic and interdependent ideologies. For one, "capitalism essentially serves to satisfy the same worries, anguish, and disquiet formerly answered by so-called religion," and that "capitalism is a pure religious cult, perhaps the most extreme there ever was" (Benjamin 259). Walter goes on to claim that "Christianity in the time of the Reformation did not encourage the emergence of capitalism, but rather changes itself into capitalism" (Benjamin 260). If so, then by the 20th century, these two ideologies have had centuries to reciprocally intertwine and grow.

[**Containment Policy and Containment Culture**]

Containment policy originated sometime early in the Cold War as one of a few dominant methodologies in dealing with the Communist threat. American politicians saw containment as one paradigmatic model as Communism slowly encroached on former Western satellites and colonies. Containment "was a strategy," along with models like "appeasement, engagement, rollback, and nonentanglement," in addition to deterrence and brinksmanship, and containment was "formulated as a way for the United States to achieve its political aims in competition with the Soviet Union, a way for the U.S. government to pit American strategic advantages against the propensities of the Soviet political system" (Mahnken 134, 135). In addition, containment "proved to be a flexible approach, one that could accommodate both more forward-leaning and more circumspect approaches" (Mahnken 135). American politicians in both parties pieced together fragmented approaches at different times, and "during certain periods the United States emphasized the military instrument of national strategy, while in others it emphasized diplomacy" (Mahnken 135). While containment was often the dominant narrative, other options existed and often replaced containment. Nonetheless, the importance of containment culture on American Cold War society should not be understated.

There was a national narrative during the Cold War, and Alan Nadel claims that "the central motif of that narrative was 'containment,' in which insecurity was absorbed by internal security, internationalism by global strategy, apocalypse and utopia by a Christian theological mandate, and xenophobia – the fear of the Other – by courtship, the activity in which Otherness is the necessary supplement to seduction" and that this

foreign and domestic policy also names a “rhetorical strategy that functioned to foreclose dissent, preempt dialogue, and preclude contradictions” (Nadel 14). The United States was “to become the universal container” being “empowered by the binding energy of the universe” (Nadel 14). Nadel claims that it is a binding power, a connecting power that supposedly gives energy and force to the United States.

While containment was a strategy deployed against the spread Communism, it was also a way of American domestic life. For while “containment was the key to security,” the term also “describes the response to other postwar developments” (May 13,14). Elaine Tyler May claims that “in the domestic version of containment, the ‘sphere of influence’ was the home,” and more importantly, that “domestic containment was bolstered by a powerful political culture that rewarded its adherents and marginalized its detractors” (May 14). Women were forced into heteronormative domestic roles, shut out of an overwhelming number of labor positions or taught that the dual roles of parent and regular employee were equally important. For containment was “more than a metaphor for the cold war on the homefront, containment aptly describes the way in which public policy, personal behavior, and even political values were focused on the home” (May 14). Fear played an important part in the Cold War; building a standardized and formulaic fortress of solitude was vital in creating and maintaining security, both abroad and at home.

Abroad, this need for containment meant designating countries as First-World (allies), Second-World (enemies), and Third-World (neutrals). But not all First-World countries were created equal, not all locations were vital to Western democracy, and

some countries were simply beyond help. This meant that certain areas saw much more resources poured into the fight against surging communism. For example, in Asia, the Korean War saw large numbers of countries, military equipment, and soldiers engaged in the battle between democracy and communism. The United States committed similar war materials in Vietnam. But in the Chinese Civil War between Chairman Mao Tse Dong and General Chiang Kai Shek, the United States did not commit the same kind of human resources, for a number of possible reasons to be sure, but no US soldier directly fought in that engagement despite the massive financial aid given to the Republic of China and Chiang Kai Shek. Similarly, certain European countries were seen as vital, and saving those countries became paramount in determining the outcome of the war. Greece and Turkey are two such nations, in addition to the Cold War conflict that existed throughout post-WWII Germany.[6] In 1952, the United States "surprised its allied partners by claiming that Greece and Turkey should be allowed to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty" (Sayles 22). Not all nations are created equal, and neither are all allies treated as equal.[7]

[6] It might be important to note here that racial and Anglo-centric biases also played a part in determining how aid and arms were doled out. While America often took the view that capitalism would lead to democracy, the democracy aspect was often left out (for example, the VietMinh were initially engaged in a colonial revolt against the French, and the Iranian Revolution was against an undemocratic Shah). Despite the claims by some scholars that "in the context of the modern capitalist world-economy, wherein the less-developed countries of the Latin American, African, and Asian periphery are linked by relations of financial dependence to the highly developed countries of the Anglo-European core," I would claim that rather capitalism and financial advancement are the goals of the United States on the Cold War geopolitical stage (Muller 446). Theorists like Edward Muller contend that "dependence theory holds that in the environment of the periphery capitalist economic development and political democracy are no longer compatible" (Muller 446). I think one might argue one step beyond that idea: that the compatibility of political democracy was rarely a primary goal, simply an excuse to exercise hegemonic power and influence.

[7] Location, location, location.

Gender Identity Through Cold War Geopolitics

[**Hegemonic Masculinity**]

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has undergone changes since its original theoretical formulation. The original definition of hegemonic masculinity supplied by R.W. Connell in the 1980s was that of a "pattern of practice … that allowed men's dominance over women" (Connell and Messerschmidt 832). Furthermore, Connell originally states this about hegemonic masculinity:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. Men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. (Connell and Messerschmidt 832)

This definition is extremely helpful in understanding the texts during the Cold War, but legitimate scholastic critiques about this understanding exist. For instance, it is "desirable to eliminate any usage of hegemonic masculinity as a fixed, transhistorical model" because it may take on different forms in time and space (Connell and Messerschmidt 838). In addition, some scholars claim that "the concept of hegemonic masculinity reduces, in practice, to a reification of power or toxicity," with a counterclaim made that

it is indeed a “mistake to deduce relations among masculinities from the direct exercise of personal power by men over women” without factoring in the “institutionalization of gender inequalities, the role of cultural constructions, and the interplay of gender dynamics with race, class, and region” (Connell and Messerschmidt 839). While keeping those critiques in mind, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is helpful in deconstructing the gender formations offered in a wide range of texts across the spectrum of popular culture.

We begin to see how hegemony functions on a number of levels: at the level of nations, classes, individuals, and even gender identities. This then engenders a tangential question. Is it the individual level of hegemonic masculinity that forms the governmental policies behind hegemonic formations like NATO and the Warsaw Pact or is it those larger global formations that then shape hegemonic masculinity at the individual level? This seems very much like a chicken-and-egg question, one where one might have to reach back into the annals of time to think of how hegemonic masculinity shaped governmental formations (like King Arthur of the Round Table). What is of greater importance is seeing the connection between those various levels and thinking about how they function beyond simply just containment. How does hegemony and hegemonic masculinity take on form during the Cold War? Is it simply a matter of race and gender (i.e. white patriarchy)? Does class matter? Does sexuality? Does ownership of capital matter in the formation of hegemonic masculinity? While there may not be singular answer to these questions, looking at certain cultural texts reveals a reoccurring gender type. In a field where there is great debate about the definition of “masculine” and

"masculinity," there may be some connecting threads in how "hegemonic masculinity" is thought of in discrete spaces, chronologies, and texts.

A valid question here might be to ask why another study on masculinity, hasn't that been done too much? Jack Halberstam points out that "all too many studies that currently attempt to account for the power of white masculinity" when looking at articles discussing and critiquing masculinity (Halberstam 2). To combat that kind of bias, overseas formations of gender identity are worth consideration to think about how masculinity is transformed while maintaining the core capitalism, collection, and containment model. Because "masculinity in this society inevitably conjures up notions of power and legitimacy and privilege" as well as "symbolically refer[ring] to the power of the state and to uneven distributions of wealth," understanding how masculinity is formed, how it's applied, and how it affects others is necessary, especially to undo patriarchal attitudes of the past.

[**Uncontained Collector of Capital**]

One obvious marker of Cold War hegemonic masculinity in America was the ability to exist outside of containment culture and the containing structure that trapped so many other Americans. For example, Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road* discusses the fellaheen lifestyle, and on closer examination reveals how even that working-class male identity is able to achieve some resistance to the dominant mainstream ideologies that demanded containment as security. This ability to resist containment and to live out an "uncontained" existence is an important distinction from the kind of idealized,

heteronormative father-figure often portrayed in conventional literature and film. This paternalistic lens might be viewed in a couple of disparate ways. Barbara Ehrenreich mentions the common viewpoint during the Cold War that "if adult masculinity was indistinguishable from the breadwinner role, then it followed that the man who failed to achieve this role was either not fully adult or not fully masculine" (Ehrenreich 20). In this line of thought, the mature bachelor is a figure of derision, or perhaps a pathetic figure, because "a single man over thirty is now regarded as a pervert, a person with severe emotional problems, or a poor creature fettered to mother" (Ruitenbeek 12). How then does this explain the popularity of figures like James Bond who may not be a pervert but is a wanton lecher, definitely not a father figure, and probably dealing with severe emotional problems? Does fatherhood factor into hegemonic masculinity? Is it rather paternalism? Patriarchy? Perhaps it is all of these at different times.

Another obvious marker of hegemonic masculinity is capital and the ability to collect capital. Within a capitalistic system – one that would increase into hypercapitalism and eventually neoliberalism – this may seem like too simple a suggestion. But how is capital defined? How does the "division of labour" described by Adam Smith operate during the Cold War in the formation of hegemonic masculinity?

A shallow view of the world might think of the capital as simply the dollars one sees in one's hand or in a bank account, or perhaps even to go so far as to think of capital as yachts and fine paintings.[8] But if "economics deals only with practices that have

[8] "Bourdieu's purpose is to extend the sense of the term 'capital' by employing it in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields. He is attempting to relocate the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which

narrowly economic interest as their principle and only with goods that are directly and immediately convertible into money (which makes them quantifiable), then the universe of bourgeois production and exchange becomes an exception and can see itself and present itself as a realm of disinterestedness" (Bourdieu 47). This suggests some kind of egalitarian or meritocratic system whereby any individual, meeting the right circumstances, could happen upon wealth and capital. Rather one can think of capital in three "fundamental guises" (Bourdieu 47). These are the three types of capital as elucidated by Bourdieu:

> As *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form or property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu 47)

This project is more concerned with how cultural and social capital – i.e. symbolic capital – function in the making of hegemonic masculinity than in the direct examination or accounting of economic capital.[9] While class is certainly one aspect of hegemonic masculinity, simply being rich is insufficient in the making of the hegemonic male. This

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the economic is only one (though the most fundamental) type. It is important to note, however, that other forms of capital such as cultural and social can be seen as 'transubstantiated' forms of economic capital" (Grenfell 101).

[9] "The broad distinction that Bourdieu develops is that between economic capital (or 'mercantile exchange') and symbolic capital, that includes sub-types such as cultural capital, linguistic capital, scientific and literary capital depending on the field in which they are located" (Grenfell 103).

is due to the fluid nature of cultural and social capital and the inability to directly quantify how much cultural and social capital exchange into economic capital.

In addition to Bourdieu's three forms of capital, the concept of the habitus appears in Bourdieu's writings, a concept that may be at the core of what makes a hegemonic male what he is. Just as Marxism dictates a superstructure and a base that continually constructs the other half, Bourdieu describes a system that structures subjectivity itself from within through praxis and that "the theory of practice as practice insists, contrary to positivist materialism, that the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of the structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu 52). The habitus remains rooted in the so-called real world and is formed and continually pruned through actual practice and praxis. Furthermore, Bourdieu describes the habitus in the following way:

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu 53)

Not only is the habitus grounded in reality and practice, Bourdieu imagines the habitus as a self-guiding but guideless structure in that there is function and form but no hand or

conscious motive that sets that form and function in motion. There is no handbook with one set way that defines how hegemonic masculinity is identified or performed. Rather, it is a set of principles and inwardly guided "predispositions." There exist in society already a number of structuring and structured structures that one can select. Michael Grenfell argues that the choosing is like that of a shopping experience and that "it is *habitus* that provides the principle for the logic of selection. The shoppers select as they do by virtue of the *structured and structuring predispositions* that they bring with them into the shop" (Grenfell 108). This is no level-playing ground with equal access for all regardless of race, gender, class, sexuality, etc. Rather, this is a reification of the inequalities that traditional America deemed moral and valuable through the lens of capitalism.[10]

Habitus is what allows hegemonic masculinity to operate and cooperate with other forms of gender identity present in that specific society during this time period through not only containment ideology but with what I would argue is a motif of collection. Habitus shapes those relationships through predispositions, guiding silently the behaviors and choices that allow the structure of hegemonic masculinity to continue to exist and remake itself as the idealized form of masculinity. And that guiding during containment culture leads hegemonic masculinity to collect and collectivize both material capital and human capital. In this way hegemonic masculinity subordinates and makes complicit others in its project of democracy through capitalism and Christianity during

[10] "The inequalities associated with cultural capital reflect inequalities in capacities to acquire capital which themselves reflect prior inequalities in the possession of cultural capital" (Grenfell 109).

the Cold War. Simply put, habitus enables hegemonic masculinity to contain and collect others.

Adam Smith argues in *Wealth of Nations* that there is an "invisible hand" by which the freeman is controlled by the free market. And that argument may hold true to those who can access, hold, and deploy capital (Smith 593). But not all subjectivities have that right in any number of societies and chronologies. So how does this invisible hand then operate and function in terms of constructing and maintaining the hierarchical system that is based on a variety of intersectional identities? For instance, a working-class white man in 1700s America would undoubtedly have a difficult time trying to create and own a company. But how much more would a Native American or a black woman? What does the invisible hand do for those kinds of subjectivities? There may be a way to think of these two terms – habitus and the invisible hand –working either in unison or perhaps as the two faces of a single coin. Because predisposition and being guided by an invisible hand in a capitalist market must encourage the act of collection and containment (at the very least of capital, but moreover, of humanpower, resources, ideas, strategies, etc.). These two functions serve the same master.

Collection/Containment and the Circle

[**Collection/Containment**]

So why then collection, and why should that term be paired with containment culture? One metaphor that might explain the relationship between these two ideologies

is the act of eating. To eat, one must chew the food and then swallow; eating is a process made up of other intrinsic parts. So too is containment a process made up of other intrinsic parts, and collection is one part of the containment process.

Collection as a motif and ideology should not be limited to its grammatical limitations. Raymond Williams productively breaks down productive – *produce, product, production, productive* – in terms of its "specialized development in the course of the development of capitalism," and also argues that "thus to analyze capitalism was at once to see it as a distinct process of 'production' and to refer to it as a general process" (R. Williams 90). Collection as well can be broken down into a variation of grammatical terms that may be more helpful dependent on space and strata. For instance, the term 'collector' has a very specific meaning in the second chapter of this dissertation in that a white, Christian, Anglo-Saxon, male is given a particular license by hegemonic masculinity to enact a certain role as a collector and to thus become uncontained in a way that is denied to other subjectivities.

Collection then might be thought similarly through some of its related terms: collector, collection, collectivization, and collectivized. Just as collector has a specific term, collectivization also has a specific meaning within this Cold War framework. Due to the collectivist nature of Soviet Communism, the individual nature of society lessened in importance; the West, however, went the other way with democratic capitalism, opting to hail the excellent individual, the exceptional, as the model which others should follow. So, while Western democracy nominally preached individualism at different strata of American society, subjectivities dominated by hegemonic masculinity were often and

continuously under threat of also being collectivized. All of these, I would argue, are part of the process of containment – either in breaking free of it or reinforcing/being reinforced by it – and should be thought of together with that process and engendered culture.[11] Collection and containment together also make up much of what makes the idealized state of hegemonic masculinity, especially in popular cultural texts across a range of genres.

A few scholars have commented on the nature of collecting but few, if any, have connected that paradigm to containment, although the two concepts are closely linked through the process by which they are reified. Walter Benjamin comments on the nature of collection and ownership:

> There is in the life of a collector a dialectical tension between the poles of disorder and order. Naturally, his existence is tied to many other things as well: to a very mysterious relationship to ownership, something about which we shall have more to say later; also, to a relationship to objects which does not emphasize

[11] A dive into the Latin etymological roots of both words show some old connections between the two terms, especially those relating to capitalistic or religious frameworks. To contain comes from "contenere" or possibly "contenementum" and to collect comes from the term "colligo." Jerzy Linderski argues that "although augury and extispicine formed two separate branches of divination, *exta* and *aves* appear frequently juxtaposed, and the term *auspicial* was occasionally used with respect to the inspection of entrails. The term *colligo* also appears in connection with the interpretation of *exta*" (Linderski 214). J Rufus Fears argues that "*colligo* means neither'to deduce, to infer' nor 'to collect, to accumulate over time,'" but rather means simply "to obtain, to acquire, to get" (Fears 151). As for "contenementum," that is a term that has caused debate among Latin scholars, with James Tait arguing that "in Magna Carta *contenementum* must have its common sense of position, standing, and not its rare meaning of tenement, freehold" (Tait 726-727). A.F. Pollard states that Tait "hesitates to re-translate 'contenenmentum' into the English 'countenance,'" and Pollard also makes note that other scholars like Hales uses the word 'countenance' when "speaking of gentlemen and leaseholders, in just the same way that 'contenementum' of the 'liber homo' in Magna Carta is distinguished from" the merchant and the villein" (Pollard 118). This point –that *contenementum* might be associated with either land or standing – leads us to the reality engendering an environment in the 20th century where hegemonic masculinity can thrive, with the desire for both capital acquisition and cultural capital.

> their functional, utilitarian value – that is, their usefulness – but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage, of their fate. (Benjamin 60)

To be a collector is to take possession, physical or metaphorical, and then to own them, to possess them, to contain them, for how is something collected without becoming an "object" with either "functional, utilitarian value" or beloved for some other intangible quality like "the scene" (Benjamin 60). Benjamin also notes the emotive temperament of the collector in that "the passion of the collector borders on the chaos of memory" (Jameson 62). In some ways, Benjamin sees the collector through the lens of the child[12]. Moreover, for Benjamin, "collection is an act of renewal rather than possession" (Benjamin 88). To collect something deals not only with acquisition but also memory, passion, and a childlike state of renewal.

The state also plays a role in the collection and containment of populations as well as the emerging biopolitical nature of governance following World War II. Michel Foucault discusses how there are "collective phenomena which have their economic and political effects, and that they become pertinent only at the mass level. They are phenomena that are aleatory and unpredictable when taken in themselves or individually, but which, at the collective level, display constants that are easy, or at least possible, to establish" (Foucault 246). Governments must think about the burgeoning (and bourgeoisizing) population and all of the attendant ways of managing and containing various parts of society. Biopolitics serve as a handy tool for Western governments like

[12] Walter Benjamin argues that ""The child is the urban archaeological *par excellence*, an image of redemption (a reconstitution) of lost times, a recollection of the collector, a redemption of the figure of redemption" (Benjamin 89).

the United States in controlling the people that wish to remain uncontained dealing with "the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power's problem" (Foucault 245).

Foucault uses the model of the panopticon, originally proposed as a prison solution by Jeremy Bentham, with the population acting like inmates. In this prison-like society, containment and collection are easily enforced:

> The crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities. From the points of view of the guardian, it is replaced by a multiplicity that can be numbered and supervised; from the point of view of the inmates, by a sequestered and observed solitude. (Foucault 201)

The collective nature, that which enables groups to maintain solidarity and evoke action, crumbles beneath the gaze of the center.

[**The Circle**]

If there is a center, then the implication is there is a shape: when it comes to hegemonic masculinity functioning as the center, the shape is a circle or related to some circular motif (e.g. spheres and globes). This includes how syntax is postulated, and through those ideas the reification of images and structures. When Cold War containment and collection are being deployed as ideologies, the circle foregrounds the presence of hegemonic masculinity, often with this gendered identity at the center and core. As the Cold War progresses, surveillance in various forms also collides with the circular motif

(e.g. the camera lens in the intro of James Bond films). When Connell and Messerschmidt discuss the "matrix" and the "power structure research in political sociology," there is an inherent implication that there is an underlying structure, some formulation of a visual model that allows for easier understanding and application.

John J. Curley argues that "the Cold War provide[s] a vital context for the conceptualizing the production and reception of postwar art, but paintings – and images more broadly – were crucial to the actual waging of this largely nonmilitary conflict" (Curley 4). While this dissertation will explore at large the Cold War texts and images that use this circle-based motif, there are some historical artifacts and connotations that come into play before the Cold War begins, particularly in how masculinity and privilege (i.e., hegemonic masculinity) are constructed and understood by a mass-culture Western audience. Some scholars, like Norman Bryson, see vision as "corrosive -- to subjectivity," and that while vision "decenters the subject … the centered subject remains residual" (Foster xii). Exploring the space between the image/text, vision, and the "Western metropolis of sexist, heterosexualist, and racist gazes" through the framework of containment and collection might reveal the inherent connections between the circle and hegemonic masculinity (Foster xiv).

One folkloric myth that emphasizes hegemonic masculinity, collection, and the circle is that of King Arthur and his Round Table. Collecting and containing the best of masculinity across all of England, King Arthur uses the motif of the circle to imply equality; however, this circular imagery should also be thought of as an early forerunner of how hegemonic masculinity collects and contains in its quest for dominance. There are

clear distinctions in the ranking of the knights, with Lancelot and Galahad placed in positions of power and authority. Moreover, a modern lens might see Arthur's collection and containment of knights not as a collection of personalities but as a collection of military assets brought together under the umbrella of the state and the church, a proto-linking of Christianity and democracy-capitalism. King Arthur, a quasi-historical figure from the 5th century, has appeared in legends and stories since then, well over 1400 years ago, and still generates movies based on his life into the 21st century. This popular appeal suggests a few possibilities, but the primary one being that this mode of masculinity has been continually passed down, perhaps due to the ever-present ideology of patriarchy. Arthur then becomes the figure that "merge[s] the warrior past with the Christianized present, the authority of a single ruler with the prowess of individual knights, and not incidentally, the sanction of local pride with the universal claims of the Church," all things that mirror the ideologies of the West in the Cold War. Ultimately, it serves as a primary example of a historic hegemonic masculinity.

Another historic image that exemplifies the connection between hegemonic masculinity and the circle is Leonardo's Vitruvian Man. This familiar icon places the perfected male shape into that of a perfect circle, conflating the two disparate ideas into one. While the original image by Vitruvius used both the square-diamond and the circle in relation to its depiction of the male body, Leonardo shifts the male body directly into a circle with the human proportions fitting perfectly within that circular container.

Over and over again the image of the circle combines and connects to hegemonic masculinity, especially one built on containment and collection and often sanctioned by

the dominant religion. This pattern is repeated in popular culture in America in the way identity is constructed in various genres and mediums. This relationship is built on previous ideologies that are passed on through history and epistemology; ontology itself identifies itself through these familiar markers, and to undo hegemonic masculinity requires a clear understanding of how it is shaped and shapes others.[13] There is also something to be said about the pseudo-blessing given by religion to capitalism and masculinity: the halo as a circular marker for the divine and Christianity itself built around a foundation of a hegemonic masculine figure (Jesus) collecting and containing other masculinities (the Twelve Disciples and Paul the Apostle).

The circle has many connotations and not all of them apply, but it is necessary to point out the ones who abductively have use, at least in terms of semiotic meaning. For as long as medals and coins have existed, the image of the circle representing honor and wealth and power has also existed. Crowns are placed upon the heads of kings and queens, and circular wreathes of laurel are placed on the heads of heroes and champions. Military ideology is also based on circular modes of thought. Historically, the idea of "circling the wagons" has denoted the idea of safety within the circle, with that of importance being placed in the middle (as a place of safety and strength). Military doctrine during the Cold War and the wars before that stressed the importance of "encirclement" and the prevention of encirclement by the enemy force. Even the way American males proved their manhood during childhood is perhaps connected to the

[13] "But most importantly, Gramsci's work, and what might be referred to as his theory of hegemony, saw this politico-economic and dominative understanding as negativity from which the imperative was to develop strategies for its breakdown. This is achieved through self-knowledge, which can only develop and operate within and through culture" claims Richard Howson (Howson 4).

circle: “somebody around the circle will pull the guy off the other guy when he a good enough beatin’,” and that fighting within a circle on the schoolyard “conveyed a message of physical superiority consistent with hegemonic notions of masculinity” (Morris 745). For Americans at least, and perhaps other Western cultures, masculinity is formed through dominance in the circle.

Some other important connections to the image of the circle are the connection to time and the connection to the panopticon. The clock face operates on a circular format, and the ancient image of the serpent eating its own tail, aka the Ouroboros, has historic roots in both Egypt and Greece. In addition, the panopticon is vital to understanding how hegemonic masculinity uses surveillance, collection, and containment as a neoliberal manufactory, especially in the end stages of the Cold War, leaving delible marks in how identity and capitalism work in the 21st century. Relationships, especially during the Cold War, were defined by circular metaphors. C. S. Lewis’s short work *The Inner Ring* speaks of circles as “the phenomenon of an Inner Ring” (Lewis). These Inner Rings were often connected, collecting and containing the particular identities desired by hegemony, and “when you had climbed up somewhere near it by the end of your second year, perhaps you discovered that within the ring there was a Ring yet more inner, which in its turn was the fringe of the great school Ring to which the house Rings were only satellites” and “you were beginning, in fact, to pierce through the skins of an onion” (Lewis). Relationships and hierarchies during the Cold War often relied on world leaders, dictators, and their inner circles.

Perhaps the two most important ideas to discuss are the ones that directly correlate to many of the texts used in this dissertation. Popularly depicted early on as a central circle perpetually circled by smaller circles, the nuclear atom ushered in the atomic age, one that created the basis of the Cold War and the mutually-assured destruction that would result if either side used nuclear weapons.[14] Thus in some ways, the nuclear weapons themselves are symbolized by the circle.

Another important idea is that of the plasma globe. Often purchased as a popular novelty item during the 80s and 90s, the plasma globe is a circular glass sphere encompassing a mixture of noble gases and a high-voltage electrode in the center. If hegemonic masculinity is the power represented within the electric power of the center electrode, the noble gases represent the rest of the non-hegemonic identities (complicit, feminine, etc.). Only by being fueled by hegemonic masculinity and the center can any of the non-centric identities gain shape and power, but this formulation is ephemeral and temporary, and it is limited to the glass sphere on the outside. This metaphor might help understand how hegemonic masculinity continually shifts, resulting in ideologies like female masculinity and Asian hegemonic masculinity.

[14] The mushroom cloud created by a nuclear explosion is also circular when seen from the top down.

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Capital and Masculinity in Cold War Films: *From Russia, With Love; Ben-Hur, The Robe,* and *In Like Flint*

[**Introduction**]

The religious epics of the 1950s and the espionage films of the 1960s are a part of Americana, with both genres enjoying an immense popularity and having a tremendous influence on American culture. Despite the widely vaunted belief in their demise, modern films like *The Passion of the Christ* and *The Bourne Identity*, among many others, speak to the staying power of both of these genres. Biblical epics, already having a storied history under directors like Cecil B. DeMille and Enrico Guazzoni in the first half of the twentieth-century, were revived after the Second World War and remade with developing audiovisual and cinematic technologies.[15] These films not only performed well at the box office, but they were critically acclaimed, regularly winning Academy Award nominations.[16] The James Bond film series also did well at the box office too, regularly placing first, second, or third in total revenue every year from 1962-1967, with continued success into the early 1970s and beyond.[17]

The theme of Cold War *containment* has been studied extensively by scholars such as Alan Nadel and Elizabeth Wheeler. Deriving initially "from foreign policy concerns about the spread of communism," containment also "described a more general

[15] American audiences were "offered rich production values, high esthetic standards and sophisticated technological innovations" (Marsh 116).
[16] *The Robe* had five Academy Award nominations (two wins), *Quo Vadis* had eight nominations, and *Ben-Hur* had twelve nominations (eleven wins).
[17] *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* was the second highest revenue earner in 1969, *Diamonds Are Forever* the top earner in 1971, and *Live and Let Die* the third highest earner in 1973.

attitude toward personal and domestic life" (Davidson 5). Originally constructed through "a series of national security documents … during the late 1940s," containment by the 1950s had become a way of life for many Americans, especially for those that had ontologies deemed less valuable or evolved (Davidson 55). Depending on one's race, gender, class, and sexuality, individuals felt differing amounts of pressure to conform and freedom from compliance. I would like to pair the theme of *collection* to that of containment, using that idea in a number of different variations. Similar to how the term *produce* "went through a specialized development in the course of the development of capitalism" in stages such as "*produce*, *product*, *production*, *productive*," thinking of the term *collect* in different stages provides a constructive clarification of how containment is strategically arranged in the Cold War, specifically in the creation of hegemonic masculinity that upholds a patriarchal, capitalist system (Williams 90).

Stages like *collect*, *collection*, *collective*, and *collecting/collectivizing* offer differing ways to view how human individuals socially relate to others in Cold War America, leaving some to the role of collector and leaving others to the role of collected and collectivized, essentially narrowing down to issues of power and control. When I mention a hegemonic masculinity, it is vital to remember that hegemony "goes beyond 'culture' … in its insistence on relating the 'whole social process' to specific distributions of power and influence. To say that 'men' define and shape their whole lives is true only in abstraction. In any actual society there are specific inequalities between classes" (Williams 108). While all men may be created equal, they are not equally interpellated as subjects. Furthermore, in addition to inter-group advantages obtained through economic

and symbolic capital, symbolic capital is "significant not just for exegetical reasons, but because it points to the possibility of opening new avenues of analysis by examining the effects (for example, in education) of *intra*-group variance and complementarities *between* class fractions rather than simply inter-group differences and the associated tendency to class essentialism and reductionism" (Grenfell 103). To think simply that all white males were privileged over all non-white males would be reductive in the real world, and any film working effectively within the 'superstructure' initially described by Karl Marx would need to reflect intelligently on those irregularities. The superstructure here is not merely "explicitly qualified as 'legal and political'," but as the "whole 'ideology' of the class: its 'forms of consciousness'; its constitutive ways of seeing itself in the world" (Williams 76). Other analogous conclusions can be drawn about disparate social groups: all males are not privileged over all females, all bourgeoisie are not privileged over all proletariats, etc. By examining the films' symbolic capital – which Pierre Bourdieu argues is always essentially convertible in some form into economic capital – and the gendered character's ability to *collect* and *acquire*, the films reveal a structure in which the acquisition of social and cultural capital becomes imperative in saving the male protagonist's own self, his family and friends, and his people; an adeptness at acquisition sanctions the male protagonists to manufacture control in an environment which would otherwise strip the individual of sovereignty.[18] Boundaries of time, space, and social conventions are permeable by pairing this superior ability to

[18] "It is important to note … that other forms of capital such as cultural and social can be seen as 'transubstantiated' forms of economic capital" (Grenfell 101).

"collect" with some traditional outlets for male authority: violence, sex, politics, and law.[19]

Maria Wyke claims that since "film needs a public, it addresses itself and appeals to a heterogeneous mass audience whose desires it must satisfy" (Wyke 24). In both the aforementioned religious epics and the espionage films, favored male protagonists are allowed free reign to navigate, and not by chance, but by design. Through their ability to collect various things like identities, skills, commodities, epistemologies, class signifiers, information, debts, payments, oaths, individuals, and people, the films construct characters signifying a hegemonized masculinity used to buttress American patriarchy in the Cold War through culture, couched in safe and comforting themes like spirituality, morality, romance, democracy, and freedom, while existing primarily to uphold the base. Because of the internal constructs structured by Cold War themes, I argue that the biblical epics of the 1950s and espionage films of the 1960s – as genres – mirror one another, and the espionage films of the 1960s take on themes that hearken back to the earlier religious epics.[20] In addition, the religious films are steeped in espionage, paranoia, secret identities, and revolution, while the espionage films broach topics like confession, morality, capitalism-as-religion, and salvation. The role of the male protagonist in the religious films interacts with secret societies, layering on the additional identity of radical activist and political dissenter. Likewise, the role of spy transforms

[19] Regarding space and its relation to time, Foucault theorizes "space itself has a history in Western experience, and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space" (Foucault 1).
[20] Luce Irigaray states "Other places function in the same way as the family: the State and the Church" (Irigaray 225). This may be one reason why these films blend these institutions and their proxies repeatedly.

from an agent of the state into a clergyman for capitalism (cleric, confessor-priest, and converter-missionary). In addition, both the spy and the religious protagonists retain a resistance to Western collectivization – historically known as a Soviet domestic agricultural policy to maximize productivity – which is arguably levied on diverging global (and domestic) populations by American imperialism.[21]

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital – the embodied, the objectified, and the institutional – as it relates to the habitus, field(s), and practice is that of collecting (or acquiring), and being allowed the time and space to accumulate such capital.[22] Michael Grenfell commenting on Bourdieu notes that unlike economic capital, "there are two distinctive features that affect the manner in which forms of symbolic capital can be acquired. The first, from the point of view of acquisition, is that they cannot be divorced from the person (they presuppose embodiment), and the second is that they can only be acquired over time (they presuppose duration)" (Grenfell 109). Authority is granted through a process, not by chance nor by the hand of destiny, to those who have had the opportunity in field and practice to gather the prerequisite qualities necessary for authority, at least according to a patriarchal standard.

Walter Benjamin's work on the collector proposes a connection between collector and child. Graeme Gilloch notes in Benjamin's work "the child is concerned with the

[21] Arguably, in the way the Soviet state wanted to consolidate rural and agricultural farms into larger collectives ("kolkhozes") for greater market efficiency in the first half of the twentieth century, the American state wanted to consolidate rural and racialized individuals into larger collective populations in order to increase efficiency in population and social control in the second half of the twentieth century. Industrialization demanded an increase in automated work, and, therefore, classed, gendered, and racialized bodies were viewed as possible sources of repetitive, machine-like, low-paid manual labor.
[22] Grenfell gives Bourdieu's formal equation as [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice. (Grenfell 51)

byproducts, the unwanted and discarded objects found in the urban landscape," and, "the child gathers up and saves the fragments found in the modern metropolis, and reassembles them in new constellations" (Gilloch 88). Both *Ben-Hur* (1959) and *From Russia, With Love* (1963) have male protagonists who within their respective diegetic settings and standards exist in a non-adult state, either from a failure to have sex (Ben-Hur) or a failure of having too much sex (Bond). For the purposes of this chapter the binary is not between the child and the adult (as it is for Benjamin), but a state of adulthood versus a state of non-adulthood. The collecting and collectivizing skills gained and utilized in non-adulthood are vitally important in the films' creation of a hierarchy of masculinities. There is an additional codicil to Benjamin's notes on the collector when he points "to a very mysterious relationship" between collecting and ownership (Benjamin 60). By dealing in collecting, relations between individuals and groups either become unequal or a pre-existing inequality is exposed.

[***Ben-Hur* (1959)**]

For instance, *Ben-Hur*[23] begins with the biblical narrative of Jesus's birth. Joseph and Mary are among the many disparate peoples who are collected in contained spaces (according to patrilineal place of birth) for a Roman census.[24] The focus is on the

[23] William Wyler directed *Ben-Hur*, which won eleven Academy Awards and was selected by the National Film Preservation Board in 2004 for preservation in the National Film Registry in the Library of Congress.
[24] In Michel Foucault's "Society Must Be Defended" he states "After the anatomo-politics of the human body established in the course of the eighteenth century, we have, at the end, of the century, the emergence of something is no longer an anatomo-politics of the human body, but what I would call a 'biopolitics' of the human race" (Foucault 243). He also mentions that biopolitics is centered on "a set of processes such as the ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population, and so on. It is these processes – the birth rate, the mortality rate, longevity, and so on – together with a whole series of related

racialized bodies who are unable to resist a process of collectivization by an imperial power: a collectivization in which individuality is lost, and humans are categorized into orderly spaces that allow for quick and efficient data accumulation. Linking Michel Foucault's "enclosure" with containment, "this machinery works space in a much more flexible and detailed way. It does this first of all on the principle of elementary location or *partitioning*. Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual. Avoid distributions in groups; break up collective dispositions; analyse confused, massive or transient populations" (Foucault 143). The film's opening scenes depict the march of racialized and classed bodies under the martial gaze of the state, showing the difference in taste and capital by equipping the Romans with horses, while the "transient" and "confused" populace walks or rides on camels.

The theme of collection appears in the way each individual is 'partitioned' from the group. Each male individual, as representative and metonym for the family group, is asked "name, family, city" and then placed in a field in relation to other individuals based on a value system. The census gathering and enforcement falls on the imperial armed forces, an act where the state wields officially condoned violence for the theoretical good of the people.[25] There is an equivalence in the motives of the state similar to the "systematic denial of the fact that symbolic capitals are transubstantiated types of

economic and political problems," which "becomes biopolitics' first objects of knowledge and the target it seeks to control (Foucault 243). Both census-taking in *Ben-Hur* and the data collection on the space platform in *In Like Flint* point to the increase in surveillance and information-gathering during the Cold War and the increasing neoliberalism penetrating traditional American hegemonic thought. Aihwa Ong comments, "As a new mode of political optimization, neoliberalism – with a small n – is reconfiguring relationships between governing and governed, power and knowledge, and sovereignty and territoriality" (Ong 3).

[25] "The formal presentation of the principle of social capital is that of altruism." (Grenfell 104).

economic capital involv[ing] the process that Bourdieu calls *misrecognition*" (Grenfell 104). The chaos of collectivization is stopped with the shift to the nativity scene; although contained in classed space, as the 'perfected masculinity' the baby Jesus has already collected a heteronormative family, valuable commodities, worshippers, and a collection of complementary masculinities, and all in a state of non-adulthood.[26] The nativity scene ends with the framing of the heteronormative family, emphasizing the power of the patriarchal reproduction and the suburban flight which contained traditional American families into a domestic and domesticated space.

As for Judah Ben-Hur, the title character is a collector of unparalleled ability, the collector *par excellence*. It is this skill that allows Ben-Hur diegetic freedom and happiness in a satisfactory ending that remakes a domestic home-space grounded in heteronormative reproduction. He is a collector of identities: Jewish patriarch, prince, businessman, prisoner, slave, Roman, sportsman, nobleman, fellaheen-wanderer, social revolutionary, and Christian patriarch. He is a collector of skills: hunting, fighting, rowing, swimming, chariot-riding, and investigating.[27] He is also a collector of masculinities but only those suitable to be placed in a subordinate position to the bourgeoisie, WASP male. In addition to the romantic lead, Ben-Hur's primary identities, I would argue, are those of athlete and wealthy patriarch.

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[26] In an early scene between Joseph and a neighbor, the discussion leads to questions of neglected work. Joseph replies that Jesus is performing the proper labor by wandering outside the containing space of domesticity (and home). Jesus' reply, "I must be about my father's business," may be drawn from scripture but is using religious authority to re-enforce patriarchal authority and class positions.

[27] Ben-Hur's muscularity and athleticism is no coincidence, with nearly all biblical epics showcasing the lead actor's physicality. In addition, the "fellaheen-wanderer" might have connections to Kerouac's model of the working-class masculinity that resists conformity through a vacillation of spaces.

The Muscular Christian is a visible symbol of a reversal in how religion is adapted to contemporaneous sociopolitical needs in America. Michael Kimmel argues, "Religion had been women's domain, and the sentimental piety and obsessive moralism were experienced by men as a brake on manly exuberance and a constraining critique of marketplace competition" (Kimmel 117). No longer was Jesus depicted as a "thin, reedy man with long, bony fingers and a lean face with soft, doelike eyes and a beatific countenance," but instead a "revirilized Jesus" that was "remarkably adaptable to other political agendas. Some Muscular Christians sounded a more militaristic tone, recasting Jesus as a kind of religious Rambo" (Kimmel 118). Throughout the film, Ben-Hur must use violence for "good": to discover information about his family, to escape the ship and save the consul, and to defeat Messala in the Circus. Brute strength used unhesitatingly for diegetic justice mirrors the religious ideology that saw God as "the angry and vindictive God whose wrath was boundless against his enemies" (Kimmel 248). The Cold War needed a masculinity that connoted a fearless, physical violence against a godless, authoritarian state intent on malicious growth.[28] The excitement generated by Ben-Hur's exceptional athleticism and his ability to excel in sport gives him an advantage in controlling the desires and passions of the mob; Ben-Hur's win ignites a collective

[28] By the end of the film, Ben-Hur shifts from the unforgiving male to the merciful Christian, perhaps giving filmic form to Terry Eagleton's claim, "For Judeo-Christian thought, God is a flaming fire who is terrible to look on. His pitiless love knows no bounds and is alarmingly unconditional. What repudiates all compromise here is not power but mercy." Of course, Ben-Hur's mercy is that of an oppressive patriarchy.

response detrimental to the ruling power. A sportsman's victory is preferable to a soldier's victory.[29]

In addition to muscularity, "the Jesus who really caught the public's attention … was a businessman. Bruce Barton's *The Man Nobody Knows* (1924) fused Muscular Christian images of Jesus with the persona of a modern corporate leader" (Kimmel 130). Barton's (re)visions of Jesus included him as a rugged woodworker and as a founder of modern business.[30] With the template laid, *Ben-Hur* is the definitive apex of a cultural product that merged these two identities together into a Barton-esque model. In the scene introducing Simonides, he and Ben-Hur share a moment in which they verbally acknowledge the financial boon that comes from their mutual association. Simonides is an important part of Ben-Hur's household, and his position as steward to the House of Hur brings valuable goods like amber, jade, silk, and Iberian wine, but the most valuable good in Ben-Hur's possession is Simonides himself.[31] Simonides is entrusted to deal in trade, requiring a set of skills that are highly valued and difficult to gain. Moreover, his skill in accounting is paired with a skill for politics and diplomacy, telling Ben-Hur at one point in their conversation, "the trade route is ours, guaranteed by treaty with the king" (*Ben-Hur*). Ben-Hur has a keen eye as a collector, and an important part in maintaining power is collectivizing individuals and groups and converting them fully to his cause.

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[29] The "cult of machismo … satisfies the Protestant work ethic at the same time that it glorifies leisure; it reconciles the deepest and most life-giving impulses towards wholeness with a status quo in which only sports allow you to feel alive and undamaged" (Jameson 412).

[30] Barton believed that "Jesus was the founder of a modern capitalist enterprise, harnessing his immense talents, organizational skills, and business acumen to create the first multinational corporation" (Kimmel 130).

[31] If human slaves are a marketable commodity, the most valuable commodity is the slave that generates income and wealth by accumulating and trading in other commodities.

Peter Sedgwick notes the historical conditions underlying these biblical films: in the late twentieth-century "in western capitalism … masculinity and consumption are intertwined" (Sedgwick 111). Moreover, "in a consumer-oriented economy, Hollywood films became showcases for the display of commodities," and merchandising tie-ins related to "fashions, furnishings, accessories, and cosmetics" were displayed in the film to "train the view and orient the material aspirations of their consuming subjects" (Wyke 27). Ben-Hur merchandise like "toy swords, helmets and armor, model chariots, wallpaper, jewelry, sandals, and even raincoats and umbrellas" were sold and made up a "substantial part of the enormous profit made by MGM studio" (Wyke 27). Religion and capitalism are connected through this film – both a cultural product and a material commodity needing significant economic capital invested and years of labor to construct – in a relationship as equally profitable as that of Ben-Hur and Simonides. Intra-group complementarities between men show a reciprocal advantage within this patriarchal, capitalist system. By merging other iterations of patriarchal masculinity into the hegemonic structure, the male protagonist is able to wield the kind of control lasting beyond violence and law: without Ben-Hur's presence, Simonides is relegated to existing in a domestically contained space. Metaphorically, and perhaps literally, Simonides has had his legs taken out from under him due to Ben-Hur's capture. Learning to adapt, he collects Malluch, a physically strong mute with whom he develops another mutually beneficial homosocial relationship.

Simonides is simply one of the masculinities that Ben-Hur collects to navigate social spaces inaccessible to other classes, genders, and ethnicities. After Ben-Hur is

taken to the galleys, he meets Quintus Arrius – Ben-Hur the galley slave, and Quintus Arrius consul of Rome and leader of the Roman forces, the master and commander. Arrius imposes a military exercise to test the rowers, and Ben-Hur singles himself out under Arrius' panopticon-like gaze, both for the physicality embodied and the "good sense" to hold his temper when provoked. Reporting an accurate accounting of his time served, Ben-Hur further impresses Arrius with his knowledge: the symbolic capital Ben-Hur has acquired leads to his unchaining. After Arrius' is rescued from drowning by Ben-Hur, he is immobilized by the same kinds of chains used on the galley slaves. Ben-Hur shows a more valorous masculinity, one which Arrius acknowledges, and Ben-Hur is able to incorporate Arrius – and more importantly all the capital Arrius represents – into his life. By acquiring another patriarchal power into his collection, Ben-Hur breaks free of the physical and economic containment slavery compels. In his time in Rome, Judah Ben-Hur becomes Quintus Arrius the younger and shows his exceptional ability to acquire once more. If Rome is the field as social arena, with capital represented in what he has already acquired and what he acquires as a "son of Arrius," then I argue it is his predisposition to collect – his habitus as collector – that identifies Ben-Hur as an exceptional subject.

This pattern is repeated once more when Ben-Hur meets Sheik Ilderim. Ilderim is a collector of wives, gods, and his "beauties", the Arabian horses with Greek stellar names: Antares, Altair, Aldebaran, and Rigel. They are without equal but can only excel when driven by an athlete embodied with the correct set of skills. For the Sheik, horse-racing represents a variety of manly enterprises: breeding, investing, gambling. Even

personal and ethnic pride are drawn into the equation. Despite his wealth and acquisitions, Ilderim does not have the symbolic capital that Ben-Hur has amassed. Only by subsuming his cause into Ben-Hur's desire for national liberty is Ilderim able to fully maximize his investments financially. Furthermore, since the "racetrack is at the same time a theater," it can serve as a place of spectacle in which to stage political messages normally unsayable (Benjamin 120).

Messala, a tribune of Rome, is Ben-Hur's foil, creating an interesting binary. Both he and Ben-Hur are from classed families: Judah a Jewish prince, Messala the son of a provincial governor. They both have spent time accumulating symbolic capital, with Messala's masculinity centered on soldiery and Ben-Hur's masculinity centered on business. This dichotomous representation of two different masculinities can be interpreted as a way for the film to try and emphasize the physically powerful but non-lethal manhood that Muscular Christianity offered. Messala's armed authority is made clear from the beginning of the film. He is handed military power in front of collections of soldiers (replicas and reproductions of one another), and the men he collects are all those that have identities tied to the military (e.g. Drusus).[32] Messala is a signifier for the kind of authoritarian government that existed in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Specifically, the language he deploys when trying to collect on a debt mirrors the language of the Cold War conflict. Having saved Ben-Hur's life, Messala asks Ben-Hur to repay him by giving information about political dissenters. Messala's conversation reveals his motives are less about duty and patriotism and more about power. When he

[32] In his initial reunion with Ben-Hur, Messala exclaims, "Down Eros, up Mars!"

tells Judah, "The emperor is watching us, judging us," there are traces of the surveillance and hegemony wielded by governmental forces in seeking out social and political dissent. Messala also exclaims, "This is the moment… I swear, this is the time," showing a chronological urgency in the creation of an uncontained martial masculinity. Arguably one of his fatal flaws (with another being his rejection of Tirzah and a heteronormative domestic environment) is Messala's inability to manage and control time. One prime example would be his strategy in the chariot race. Instead of leading at the end of the race (i.e. the right time), he leads during all of the unimportant parts (i.e. the wrong time). Messala perishes in a gruesome death, a death befitting a supervillain.[33]

Ben-Hur ends reconnecting Miriam and Tirzah with the new 'perfected masculinity'. The film articulates gender in an inequitable manner (unsurprising in a film that underpins patriarchy). While Ben-Hur escapes his containment, Miriam and Tirzah are unable to escape their prison. In their captivity, the females are made unfit for human society, and they are forced to live in the Valley of the Lepers. One can view that space as an extreme form of containment, with ingress and egress firmly discouraged. Miriam and Tirzah are restored to normal society only through Ben-Hur's ability to re-collect their bodies and the power of Christianity. They are then allowed to rejoin the heteronormative family, with the film ending with a frame of Ben-Hur wrapping his arms

[33] Even at the moment of death, Messala fails to properly deal with time. He refuses a life-saving amputation, while the physicians insist on the lack of time, so that he could meet Ben-Hur with an ontologically whole body. To do otherwise would be to lose the masculine ideal that sustains his patriarchal world.

around the three women.[34] Esther has already proven her worth to the patriarchy and to capitalism by acquiring the right oath from Ben-Hur years before (the ring as objectified material symbolizing her own reciprocal allegiance), as well as her ability to maintain a domestic space despite tragedy.[35] This sentence to a quasi-life in a no-space, and the unfair ontologies demanded of women, reminds the critic of religion's insistence on saving women by containing them.[36]

[***From Russia, With Love*** **(1963)**]

Having noted the ways that collection and containment guide the creation of masculinity in *Ben-Hur*, let us turn our attention to the James Bond film *From Russia, With Love*. Just as the biblical epic mimics the themes of espionage, the spy film mimics the themes of religion. Confession, conversion, morality, and salvation are all present, arguably due to a spiritual belief in capitalism. Capitalism-as-religion changes government agents into clergy, and the spy films have the spy-priest going into foreign spaces and converting individuals to his cause (missionary), confessing them for information (priest), and securing and exporting the proper papers (cleric) in order to fulfill his mission. Similar to the biblical epic, the spy film also depended on an

[34] This is an interesting contrast to the kind of maternalistic desire shown in *The Manchurian Candidate*; perhaps it is a Christian response to the claims of "Momism" emasculating men and keeping them in a state of childhood.
[35] The ring also has significance to the collector and collected since "the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them" (Benjamin 60).
[36] Bertrand Russell notes, "We sometimes hear talk to the effect that Christianity has improved the status of women. This is one of the grossest perversions of history that is possible to make. Women cannot enjoy a tolerable position in society where it is considered of the utmost importance that they should not infringe a very rigid moral code."

exceptional masculinity relying on acquired skills and identities to navigate perilous lands and saving his people by defeating the supervillain. As the golden age of the biblical epic slowed entering the 1960s, arguably the spy film, with capitalism as its new belief system, took primacy for an increasingly secular audience. Benjamin claims, "Capitalism essentially serves to satisfy the same worries, anguish, and disquiet formerly answered by so-called religion. The proof of capitalism's religious structure – as not only a religiously conditioned construction, as Weber thought, but as an essentially religious phenomenon – still today misleads one to a boundless, universal polemic" (Benjamin 259).[37]

James Bond[38] is also a collector of identities. His disguises are very much classed (unlike other spies in cinema like Derek Flint); the Bond viewer would never see this iteration of Bond disguised as a janitor or a handyman. Alan Nadel makes a connection between the James Bond character and the type of identity represented by the readers of *Playboy* magazine. He argues that the James Bond character is taken from the *Playboy* prototype and reproduced into a model more fit for capitalism. The Bond films strip the spy of "its liberal, libertarian, antiestablishment values" and replaces them with a "conservative, repressive, pro-establishment movie image" (Nadel 143). One way the character of Bond intersects with Ben-Hur is by their complicity in codes of

[37] In certain ways, a secular world and religious world operated similarly: labor occurs on the weekdays, but instead of going to church on Sundays, one goes to watch a football game.
[38] This film was a sequel to *Dr. No* (1962), with both films being directed by Terence Young. *From Russia, With Love* brought in $78 million at the box office on a $2 million budget. It also won a Bafta Award for Best Cinematography.

consumption.[39] Like Ben-Hur, James Bond is initially classed in the opening scene of *From Russia, With Love* as a member of the high bourgeois; he spends time with an unnamed female companion in a grounded yacht and speaks to the 'office' from the technologically advanced car-phone in his luxury car.

Like *Ben-Hur*, *From Russia, With Love* is a film that appeals to a patriarchal, capitalist audience. In addition to his class signifiers, two of Bond's most familiar guises mirror those of Ben-Hur: the businessman and the athlete. The secret weapons he carries are packed away in business merchandise and is issued to all "double 0 personnel." The "ordinary black leather case" hides within it twenty rounds of ammunition, a throwing knife, a foldable sniper's rifle, and a camouflaged explosive. This particular collection of objectified military capital needs the right embodied subject to utilize the materials successfully. The representation of espionage technology displayed on-screen mixes the normal consumption of commodity goods with the destruction of military armaments. Some critics argue the technology in Bond films are "a fetishized end in itself, a point that becomes clear in the format of the films which present Bond at near the beginning with special devices that he does not so much use as use up" (Nadel 143). In one way, this inclination of Bond to destroy commodities instead of utilizing them might signify his ultimate position within capitalism: having reached a certain level of classed distinction, excess for itself marks the ultimate male consumer (e.g., Aqua Net-styled hair in the 80s and Puff Daddy rap videos in the 90s).

[39] Instead of seeing Bond as an operative, he is "a consumer, one whose interest is not in acquiring but, as Jean Baudrillard would say, in participating in codes of consumption" (Nadel 143). Rather, Bond is less interested in acquiring upper-middle class luxuries, and more interested in acquiring a positive mission outcome.

From a different perspective, the act of participating in codes of consumption – but with excess and irregularity – may signify an allegiance to American hegemony, beyond ideology, beyond culture, into 'faith'. Spies operate in liminal spaces and are ruled by a different set of rules. Some priests take monastic vows of celibacy and poverty to serve their faith; the James Bond character takes a vow of sexual rigor and opulence. One might read Bond's destructive excess as another signifier of his special institutional position within the church of capital. In these films, it should not be surprising economic ideology reproduces structures similar to those constructed by religion.[40] Frederic Jameson comments that Marxism's "intellectual instruments" copy medieval hermeneutics which serve "two essential functions: a doctrinal one, designed to satisfy the intellectual and philosophical needs of the believers themselves, and a missionary one, for the purpose of absorbing the cultural or religious attitudes of those outside the church" (Jameson 117). This process is reversible; the capitalism structured by Bond's business identity simulates Christianity in its creation of a masculinity placed higher on a hierarchy than other social groups. The spy becomes a missionary in search of converts, but this raises the question, converts to what? James Bond, a servant of the British crown, has tenuous ties to democracy, and his brutish sexuality and classed status rule out an egalitarian position. His allegiance lies in theory to the state but in practice to capitalism and patriarchy.

[40] Frederic Jameson comments about Christianity and Marxism, "It is therefore not at all surprising that [Marxism's] intellectual instruments should bear a structural similarity to those techniques (among them figural analysis) with which Christianity assimilated populations of differing and wholly unrelated backgrounds (Jameson 117).

James Bond and Judah Ben-Hur are constructions of masculinity that draw upon collection to resist the conformity brought by containment. Bond collects women as sexual conquests, but, more importantly, he can collect people the way Ben-Hur does. Kerim Bey is the station head in Istanbul, Turkey. *From Russia, With Love* uses racial identities not only to create a hierarchy, but also to highlight the Cold War proxy nations necessary for America to exert influence and force. There is a correlation between the way Simonides buttresses Ben-Hur's power and the way proxy nations like Greece served America in the global conflict.[41] Sheik Ilderim symbolizes the Arab and Middle Eastern countries caught in the Cold War conflict, especially the non-aligned countries that strove for a political neutrality. Countries that rejected NATO were often portrayed in western films in a negative or bumbling light. The government agent hired by the Russians to follow the Beys is Bulgarian: his gruesome demise is a diegetic commentary on the future demise of Communism in the Soviet Bloc nations.

Kerim Bey is a masculinity that Bond can incorporate within the Western model: patriarchal and capitalistic, and moreover, entrenched in heteronormative reproduction with "many sons" who provide literal and symbolic security in the violent, male-dominated world. Turkey had been, like Greece, a pivotal battleground in the Cold War conflict. *From Russia, With Love* was released in 1963, a year after the Cuban Missile Crisis, a geopolitical event with huge ramifications for huge human populations. Turkey was a major piece in the political chess game, and the removal of nuclear weapons from Turkey was a condition of the peace proposal. Kerim Bey is a racialized masculinity

[41] In the Lew Wallace novel, Simonides is described as a Greek in name but an Israelite in ethnicity.

collected by James Bond to complete his mission and successfully defeat the Russians. Moreover, the scene in which Bond and Bey are under surveillance, Bey's knowledge of his city and his enemy gives him a way to avoid detection and still penetrate enemy space by navigating secret, subterranean spaces. The installation of a periscope under the Soviet embassy enables him to contain his adversaries within his gaze, giving him more control in a volatile situation. Bey is able to effectively collect information while resisting containment due to a heteronormative power born from reproductivity. His sexual liaisons with women firmly cement Kerim Bey as a homosocial colleague worthy of James Bond.

One interesting piece of information present in Ian Fleming's novel is missing from the film: Colonel Rosa Klebb is a lesbian and her identity as a queer character is made implicit in the film rather than explicit like the novel. Her violent and physical domination signify a female masculinity that is considered not only malevolent but unnatural in a way that violently disrupts the hegemonic social order. Klebb interrogates Tatiana, like an abbess confessing a nun, and Klebb converts Tatiana to Spectre's cause. In the final scene, Klebb uses a false disguise to enter Bond's hotel room. Dressed as a hotel maid, she disguises herself as a form of paid domestic labor and is killed by Tatiana (the proper feminine domestic labor). Her demise removes the final obstacle; Bond and his love interest Tatiana are able to progress with their heteronormative love.

The mirrored characters extend to the foils and supervillains. Donald Grant (of German and Irish heritage in the Fleming novel) wields a garrote rope in a wristwatch,

suffocating them into a fatal chronology.[42] Whereas Bond wields the kind of mercy mentioned by Terry Eagleton, and could be considered a sportsman in his non-lethal violence, Donald Grant collects murders without remorse. Although having a brawny physicality akin to the Muscular Christian, the only loyalty Grant has is to money. His greed might be read as a bourgeoisie critique of the lower-classes to climb in status through wealth (e.g. with Grant as a gauche, nouveau-riche masculinity). While posing as Nash, a fellow government agent, Grant demonstrates his lack of cultural capital when he orders red wine with the fish course at dinner, which tips Bond off as to his true identity. In addition, his greed, and his desire to exchange a cigarette for some gold sovereigns, allows Bond the chance to escape. Unlike Bond, who sees commodities and wealth as non-essential, Red Grant desires too much and is put to death.

Grant and Klebb both work for SPECTRE and Number One, who is later revealed as Ernst Stavro Blofeld. Blofeld comes from Polish and Greek heritage, emphasizing a liminal nationality being squeezed by the major superpowers. If the Soviets and the West are represented as they are, then what space does SPECTRE occupy? I posit that SPECTRE, rather than being some evil terrorist organization, should be read as a hyper-capitalist, multi-national corporation.[43] Based on a meritocracy, each individual is stripped of identity and made into a cog in the corporate machine. The film posits the

[42] Donald Grant, like Messala, has a problem controlling time: Grant toys with his victims, drawing out the chronological space and creating room for mistakes.

[43] Jacques Derrida mentions that "The first noun of the Manifesto, and this time in the singular, is 'specter'" (Derrida 4). As a general understanding, "Neoliberalism is often discussed as an economic doctrine with a negative relation to state power, a market ideology that seeks to limit the scope and activity of governing" (Ong 3). SPECTRE Organization seeks to create a power structure outside that of formal governance that is related to the accumulation of wealth and consolidation of power.

SPECTRE organization as a neoliberal institution run amok, but it does so to veil how capitalism drives the ethos of the film and the film industry.

[***The Robe*** **(1953)**]

These two films are not unique in their creations of a masculinity centered on resisting containment through collection. Other films in these two genres construct similar structures. Marcellus Gallio in *The Robe* has to delve into a secret world of religious cultists disguised and under the direct authority of the emperor and the state. As the son of Senator Gallio, Marcellus has the kind of social capital embodied by Ben-Hur, but he also has a military authority earned of his own accord. In a scene with his father, Marcellus receives epistemology of his new posting through his father's collection. There are quite a few scrolls, all presumably giving epistemological capital for the collector (or archivist) but valuable and utilizable only to the masculinity embodying the right intellectual capital.

In the opening scene, the camera pans over slaves brought from different parts of the world to Rome: the racialized bodies are on display, already sexualized by their non-white bodies. These peoples, from Syria and Egypt, have been collectivized and contained, analogous to the opening scene in *Ben-Hur*. The female slaves in the opening scene are displayed as a spectacle, and "the woman, fixed in the position of icon, spectacle, or image to be looked at, bears the mobile look of both the spectator and the male character(s)" (Lauretis 44). A comparison of this opening to the credits scene in *From Russia, With Love* shows sexualized, exoticized female bodies on display, literally

treated like the landscape or a canvas to provide a scopophilic satisfaction. However, these bodies have an additional layer of subordination by their class position: each has multiple working-class labor skills, besides being desirable for their aesthetic beauty.[44] Slavers shout "Look here, looker here. A singer, a dancer, a companion," in this scene; the camera invites the male gaze through scopophilic desire, imbuing the body with additional value through embodied capital. Marcellus and Caligula have a bidding war, with the socially privileged masculinities vying to acquire the best artifact for his collection. Caligula's proxy uses his state authority to outbid Marcellus on twin females, and in the clash of masculinities acting like children to outbid one another for a better collection, Marcellus wins the bid on Demetrius, a Greek slave with a powerful physique.[45]

In another reference to the Cold War conflict, a Greek masculinity is used to uphold a Western male protagonist. The scene with Caleb the wine merchant constructs the kind of hierarchized masculinity reflecting the hegemonic mindset of American containment policy. When Caleb comes to collect the money for fulfilling his wine contract, he is paid, but only after being stripped of his dignity. After an unorthodox baptism, the scene switches to Demetrius holding the purse. In the ontological hierarchy created by the film, some subordinate racialized bodies are worthy of capital and trust, and some are to be humiliated, violated, and brutalized to maintain supremacy in the

[44] A gendered critique will note that using Aihwa Ong's "regimes of citizenship" reveals how these female slave bodies cannot be incorporated like Demetrius (Ong 3).
[45] In addition to the neoliberal ethos of commerce over government, the utilization of Demetrius shows how neoliberalism can use the exception as a "positive decision to include selected populations and spaces as targets of 'calculative choices and value-orientation' associated with neoliberal reform" (Ong 5).

economic framework. Once Demetrius learns of the peril facing Jesus, he escapes, but he is unable to find anyone willing to believe the information he has collected. Called a spy, the metaphorical use of early Christianity as a secretive cult protecting its own mirrors the right-wing witch hunts and the fear of saboteur agents planted by the government.

Marcellus Gallio witnesses the crucifixion and while gambling wins the robe owned by Jesus. Put under a psychological curse, he seeks help from patriarchal state authority and is sent by Tiberius to find the robe.[46] Marcellus goes undercover to try and acquire information, with Tiberius telling him, "I want names, tribune. Names of all the disciples, of every man and woman who subscribe to this treason. Names, tribune. All of them. No matter how much it costs or how long it takes." The scene ends but the interrogation continues for two hours. The McCarthyism present during the Cold War also demanded names of all those it suspected of state treason. The paranoia and betrayal that accompanied the accusations of political dissent and treason are used within this film to frame the early Christians in a positive light. Depending on the critic, the film alludes to or elides the fact that it is Christianity that is driving the conservative push to conform and contain. Even if the film is trying to undermine U.S. imperialism and injustice, through its constructions of masculinity, the film valorizes a traditional patriarchal justice and in a way that concedes a hegemonic privilege to the existing economic system. Marcellus needs to gain trust to acquire information, disguising himself as a rich and foolish Roman merchant, overpaying for sub-standard commodities. The film makes a

[46] Tiberius tells Marcellus, "I fought in Iberia with your grandfather. Your father was like a son to me." There is an insistence of trust based on kinship centered on patriarchal male reproduction.

point of "not cheating themselves" by cheating Marcellus; in its critique, it still validates an "honest" capitalism, ignoring the forces of productions and the relations of productions.

The Robe also fails in its critiques by constructing the female identity as a subordinate social position dependent on capitalistic value. Esther and Miriam in *Ben-Hur* are esteemed within their diegetic worlds for their ability to maintain a contained domestic space, running it efficiently for the male protagonist. Their domestic labor, in addition to aesthetic beauty, sets their characters apart from other unnamed and unvalued femininities. The Miriam of *The Robe* tries to give credence to the Christian theological standard of overcoming the body, but even when it does so, it places emphasis on her ability to attract Marcellus's (and the male) gaze.[47] Her paralysis has left her contained in her body, but Miriam has acquired embodied capital that gives her value: she can sing and play a stringed instrument that captures the gaze of the crowd. Miriam is the spectacle that believes in the hegemony that collects her, unable and unwilling to escape.[48]

The rescue scene in *The Robe* showcases the themes of containment and collection, providing a backdrop of collected and contained dead bodies in which the male protagonist wields authority by collecting and collectivizing a body of violent men into an armed militia. Because Demetrius has been categorized as an ideal subject to make subject, Marcellus uses his skills as a collector of men to attain liberty for the

[47] Matthew 26:41

[48] Miriam's usefulness, her utility, is driven by her capitalistic value: "Within [capitalism] everything only has meaning in direct relation to the cult: it knows no special dogma, no theology. From this standpoint, utilitarianism gains its religious coloring" (Benjamin 259).

Greek but noble Demetrius. Among the rescuers are physically bulky men – with its connotations of Muscular Christianity – but also a young boy and a black male. Arguably, the film constructs a hegemonized masculinity that categorizes all other male ontologies under the male protagonist, the classed and racialized Other but made productive. Marcellus has already demonstrated his martial ability in his duel with Paulus the centurion. His refusal to kill Paulus, and the implication Marcellus never intended to kill, transforms the male protagonist from a soldier-killer to a sportsman-athlete. Like Ben-Hur, Marcellus is an exemplar of Muscular Christianity. Of course, the film ends with a heteronormative romantic pairing.[49]

[***In Like Flint* (1967)**]

The last film this chapter looks at is the chronologically latest of those examined. *In Like Flint* premiered in 1967, and it differs from the Bond series in a number of significant ways while still reproducing many of the identical structures.[50] Like Bond and the protagonists of the religious epics, Derek Flint is a collector and with a wider range. Arguably, the technology depicted in Bond is a product of advancing science, but the Bond series overtly links technology to military innovation. *In Like Flint* has its

[49] Both *Ben-Hur* and *The Robe* follow the 1951 premiere of *Quo Vadis*, where the themes discussed in this paper are utilized and made familiar in advance. To touch briefly on the main similarities: this religious epic trades in secret signs, constructs a male protagonist skilled at acquisition, has secret meetings where foreign revolutionaries come to foment dissent, constructs violence as spectacle where Muscular Christian showcases hegemonized masculinity, and ends with a heteronormative romantic pairing. *Quo Vadis* also features the male protagonist collectivizing groups of people into social revolution. Chronologically, the revolutions become increasingly muted in these biblical epics, perhaps indicating a weakening willingness to directly critique the status quo.

[50] Some similarities include an ability to womanize, a collection of utilizable epistemologies, a collection of physical and martial arts skills, and an ability to collect the proper people.

protagonist, an expert in a seemingly purer science, embodying the capital of a scholar and the identity of an academic. This is an interesting attempt on the part of the film to distinguish military science from academic science.[51] The film indicates an inability to do so, when Flint converts the biological data he has collected on dolphins and dolphin sounds into an "isomeristic" weapon. Flint's initial conversation with Lloyd (there to perpetually show Flint's intra-group exceptionality) indicates the nuclear gaze bordering all discussions of scientific knowledge. Explaining to Lloyd (or more accurately, trying to explain to Lloyd), "Yes, isomerism, sir … the relationship between two or more nuclei to the same mass numbers. Let's go to the library. Actually, they have the same mass and atomic numbers. It's just, here are different states of energy and radioactive decay." To the average movie-going audience of the 1960s, the mention of "atomic numbers" and "radioactive decay" would serve as reminders of the nuclear build-up happening as a result of the Cold War, in a society where bomb drills were practiced in schools and legislation passed to build a national escape route in the Interstate Highway System.

In addition to an academic identity, Flint is able to disguise himself in proletarian labor positions. He is able to penetrate certain class identities more fluidly than Bond: Bond only seems to value classed knowledge, while Flint values different kinds of epistemologies regardless of class.[52] Flint is also not officially employed by a

[51] For instance, the kind of science that drove the Cold War (e.g. nuclear power, the space race, etc.) was framed as an alternative source of power against fascism. German National Socialist scientists were recruited by both Soviet and Western nations for their scientific expertise.

[52] It would be folly to consider Bond and Flint as cut from different models, however. The differences between these two intra-group masculinities can be explained in how habitus functions: "The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to

government agency. He only engages when his older male friend is in jeopardy, exercising his masculinity for homosociality. Acting more like a free-lance employee or a mercenary, Flint's independence from a formal labor structure and lack of direct ties to the government only serve to emphasize his connections to capitalism: he can only exist in such a state because of his accumulated capital.[53] The differences present between Bond and Flint only highlight the power of capitalism to incorporate and reproduce.[54]

The supervillains in this film are a cabal of three older women who are business moguls.[55] While feminism seems to be in play with these characters, it is a pseudo-feminism masking a matriarchal and hierarchized system mimicking the same kinds of racial and class categorizations as Western patriarchy, and is perhaps hinting at the anxiety that feminism and queerness cause within normative male masculinity. Lisa Norton and the female masculinity shown in this film create the supervillain from a different model. She is shown in the initial resort scene in business pants (the only female character wearing pants), and by the time she gets to the office, she has changed into the standard female power business attire (power suit). If the film is about the danger of giving women too much power, it creates that power ironically similar to the idealized

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their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu 53).

[53] David Caute states, "The anti-Communism of the CIA was not and never has been a principled, democratic anti-Communism, but rather a brazen and imperialistic war against any movement or party likely to challenge American power, American corporate profits, the Pax Americana" (Caute 52).

[54] Perhaps another helpful comparison would be to Judah Ben-Hur. Both are able to enter and embody different class levels but can ultimately return to bourgeoisie status. Both have a harem of three women. Both are under threat of being taken out of time. Ben-Hur is forced to exist outside of time; Flint has his future and the time in between threatened.

[55] In addition to filmmakers, Barbara Ehrenreich states that "In the fifties, a whole posse-full of angry male writers took out after the American woman; if it wasn't the corporation that had emasculated American men, it must have been her" (Ehrenreich 37). Here the supervillains are female CEOs of corporations.

male vision of power. The office shows a range of ethnicities in Lisa Norton's office, but none of the named characters are individuals of color. Racialized male bodies uphold the power and authority white male protagonists in the other films (Simonides and Ilderim propping up Ben-Hur, Bey and Bond, Demetrius and Marcellus); in the diegetic hegemony of this film, racialized female bodies uphold the power and authority of the white female protagonist.

The goal of the matriarchy is to weaponize the space platform, which is built to collect data using "weather instruments, cameras, mapping and surveying equipment … making it the first scientific laboratory in outer space." Here again is the indication of biopolitical data-gathering necessary to control human-as-species. This trope will continue in later spy films (even in future Bond films like *Goldeneye*), where space is viewed as another proxy battleground in the Cold War. The claim that "this accomplishment will add immeasurably to our scientific knowledge" and the appeal to academia elides the fact that the satellites in space are another layer of surveillance used by the state to keep populations under control. If one views Earth as a contained and containing space, the satellite can function as a watchtower in the panopticon.

Derek Flint resists the containment in the film, escaping the cryogenic process through his isomeristic weapon. He then collectivizes a cadre of females, who have had not only their hair conditioned but their bodies as well (accumulating and embodying the right skill set) and transforms them into a militia. As a fighting force, Flint's female army uses sexual guile as well as physical violence to subdue the enemy. Perhaps this might be read as a commentary on the power of consumerism and female entry into the market

through commodity culture; if so, the film demands that this dangerous feminine power needs to be harnessed and brought under control by the right masculinity. The film ends to no surprise with Flint having a sexual interlude with two Russian female cosmonauts; using his accumulated and embodied capital, and his virile masculine sexuality, the white male protagonist has once more established peace and happiness and gained control of the situation.

There is a creation of a neoliberal exceptional subject with these biblical epics and spy films that includes and excludes certain populations, differentiating between individuals in terms of what Aihwa Ong calls “regimes of citizenship.” Because of their lasting influence on American culture and thought, these films need a critique brought about to resist the hegemonic conformity that is reconstructed and that is idealized.

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Collection, Containment, and Hegemonic Masculinity in John Fowles's *The Collector*

[Containment Geopolitics]

NATO and the Warsaw Pact were ways that nation-states were brought into a hegemonic order, one in which each superpower contained the other's ideology – and ideological apparatus – through the use of hegemonic force. Containment was "the term generally used to characterize American policy toward the Soviet Union during the postwar era" (Gaddis 4). George Kennan articulated a geopolitical policy of containing the Soviet Union and Communism in the Long Telegram and the "X" Article. This foreign policy then manifests into a national narrative in which "the central motif of the narrative is 'containment,' in which insecurity was absorbed by internal security, internationalism by global strategy, apocalypse and utopia by Christian theological mandate, and xenophobia – the fear of the Other – by courtship" (Nadel 14). Hugh Ross notes that "that after the initial dike against Soviet expansion had been raised in Greece and Turkey, the United States adopted a policy of containing international Communism throughout the world" (Ross 1-2). This paradigm shift – brought about by geopolitical calculations – had consequences for how patriarchy constructs gender norms and ideals through culture and cultural texts.

Michael Davidson in *Guys Like Us* argues that "the term *containment* may have derived from foreign policy concerns about the spread of communism, but it also described a more general attitude toward personal and domestic life threatened by the

forces unleashed at Los Alamos and Hiroshima" (5). The containment affects not just America but other countries that fall under American hegemony, even former superpowers like the United Kingdom. For instance, containment becomes central to British novels. Frederick Clegg in John Fowles's *The Collector* (1963) wins a betting pool; imbued with cash he sets about on his ultimate project which is to collect and contain his crush into a false domesticity. The kind of benevolent hegemony and containment he envisions unsurprisingly mirrors how the U.S. thinks of itself and its Cold War crusade. Clegg imagines that he "captured her and drove her off in the van to a remote house and there I kept her captive in a nice way" (Fowles 14). The cultural texts of this era are formed on the kind of geopolitical relationships that take primacy on the world stage. For instance, *The Collector*'s geospatial framework, structured by the regions named in a book set in London, contains many of the proxy battlegrounds important to the Cold War. Clegg is described as a "Chinese box," and George Paston is associated with "Indian and Turkish" consumer goods (Fowles 100, 137). When Clegg fails to understand Miranda's teachings, she thinks she "might as well be talking Greek" (Fowles 79). Near her death, she pictures a girl in "Greek clothes" (Fowles 276). The book is constantly referring to Cold War locales, binding the narrative within its hegemonic sphere.

[End of UK Hegemony and Empire]

While the "empire where the sun never sets" had ended, the British populace struggled to accept that reality, with large segments of society simply denying that reality

with their own vision of the new global order. Scholars such as Jan Pluvier debate when the British Empire fell, for example, either during the war or after the war. Aron Shai contends that "despite Britain's loss of prestige and lands … there still lingered an imperial ideology, colonialist affiliations and even plans to restore the former position; and that an imperial hangover marked the dawn of the post-imperial period" (Shai 287). This hangover was marked by an extended period of austerity in the U.K. continuing on from wartime rationing under the post-war Labour government (Zweiniger-Bargielowska 174). That period of austerity was eclipsed by a period of consumer capitalism.

These themes are critiqued in the British literature that emerges following the Second World War, and I would argue that the feeling of containment that burgeons from across the Atlantic affects English sensibilities. The shift from traditional British values like class and breeding are tossed aside in the new world order under American capitalism where capital reigns overall. Charles Maier states that "Americans did push against British trade barriers and mentally relegated the country to a secondary role in a Western economic system," and adds the reminder that "until they both felt mortally threatened by Soviet power London and Washington had conflicting economic interests" (Maier 14). While nominal allies during the war with many shared interests, these two Western countries were markedly different in cultural values and norms. American hegemony after the war changes that relationship, with the United Kingdom becoming subordinate to American interests and cultural ideals. One of these American formations of gender identity is hegemonic masculinity. This construction of identity influences how masculinity evolves in the twentieth century; writers like John Fowles must grapple with

these newer models in their characters. When Miranda dresses up for Clegg and he sees her "as a real woman," he admires her hair which was "done up high unlike before, very elegant. Empire, she called it" (Fowles 84). The hair is performative, just a temporary façade, a performance of empire as a temporary façade of a hegemonic male.

[Rise of HM Power and the Habitus as Capital]

Arguably, hegemonic masculinity as constructed by R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt can be traced to geopolitical hegemonic formations like NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative … men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong sense of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity … Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion. (Connell and Messerschmidt 832)

For characters like Frederick Clegg, the subordination that comes from his interactions with fellow men instill a desire to contain and collect and thus become a part of the hegemonic masculine ideal. This mirrors the ways that nation-states – including those that were considering "third world" and non-aligned – were either complicit or subordinated by the hegemonic superpowers. Frederick Clegg enacts this model by

collecting and containing Miranda Grey, an upper-middle class girl on the verge of adulthood.

Teresa de Lauretis states in *Technologies of Gender* that "the sex-gender system, in short, is both a sociocultural construct and a semiotic apparatus, a system of representation which assigns meaning (identity, value, prestige, location in kinship, status in the social hierarchy, etc.) to individuals within the society" (de Lauretis 5). These designations are also guided by the habitus:

> The theory of practice as practice insists, contrary to positivist materialism, that the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of the structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions. (Bourdieu 53)

Michael Grenfell also notes that this structuring structure "comprises a system of dispositions, which generates perceptions, appreciations, and practices" (Moore 51). According to Miranda, Frederick Clegg has none of these sensibilities in the proper way; her romantic love interest George Paston has them in spades. Although Clegg wins the betting pool and £73,091, he lacks the other forms of capital that Pierre Bourdieu classifies in how habitus works. According to Grenfell, Bourdieu

> is attempting to relocate the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which the economic is only one (though the most fundamental) type. It is

> important to note, however, that other forms of capital such as cultural and social can be seen as 'transubstantiated' forms of economic capital. (Moore 101)

Clegg can obtain masses of economic capital. However, he will never be classed the same as G.P. because of his failure to obtain the other forms of cultural and social capital. His lack of "well-formed habitus" reminds the reader that "not all habitus and their instances of cultural capital are accorded equal value in society – for example that of the artist versus that of the craftsman," or in this case the artist versus the collector (Moore 103). How much this signifies is a matter for debate considering the novel's ending, but Clegg knows that that "Money is Power" (Fowles 20). However, there is an unbridgeable gap between Frederick and Miranda: "there was always class between us" (Fowles 38). That gap is polarizing: Miranda worries at one point if she is a "little middle-class boarding-school prig" but later counts herself as one of "The Few" (Fowles 192, 223). Clegg is unteachable, clay that cannot be molded into a fully formed human.

While some characters have scholars "rooting for the sometimes irrational antihero because of his picaresque charm, our sympathy for the underdog, and the twentieth-century man's longing to reestablish a situation in which he can act decisively," this is not that novel (Huffaker 73). This is the "literary document that gave the violent antihero his *coup de grace*" according to Robert Huffaker (Huffaker 73). To give credit where credit is due, "Clegg is a soft-spoken monster spawned by generations of social inequality" (Huffaker 75). In some ways, Clegg's anger is the anger against habitus that the working-class male feels. Peter Conradi argues that "if the early post-war English novel has a characteristic hero, he has been figured as a provincial *arriviste* … who justly

displaces or helps dilute the formerly hegemonic social establishment" (Conradi 32). It is class that separates both in print and in life.

Capital is the flashpoint which ignites the battleground between classes, and with consumerism on the rise "in western capitalism … masculinity and consumption were now intertwined" (Sedgwick 111). After winning the pools, Clegg's gratitude expresses itself as part of consumer capitalism. Susan Onega in *Form and Meaning in the Novels of John Fowles* notes that "to express his love for Uncle Dick, Clegg tells us, he would have *bought* him anything he wanted, now that he was rich, and this is precisely the means that Clegg will try to employ to make Miranda fall in love with him: money and objects is all Clegg can give" (Onega 20).

Arguably, Clegg sees himself in a different light. He talks about how a "gentleman always controls himself" indicating a sense of nobility or class within himself (Fowles 104). The novel refers to other novels within the plot, and Miranda comments on Alan Sillitoe's work. The connection between Clegg and George Paston brings the two characters together within the Angry Young Men movement. Katherine Tarbox in *The Art of Fowles* comments that "as a sad, black, and wrathful diatribe against the abuses of freedom, *The Collector*, earned for Fowles a place in Britain's gallery of angry young men (Tarbox 40). This anger was directed in the same way that America's anger was often directed: at women. Barbara Ehrenreich notes that "in the fifties, a whole posse-full of angry male writers took out after the American woman; if it wasn't the corporation that had emasculated American men, it must have been her" (Ehrenreich 37). A similar analogy might be made here with angry British male writers turning on women with

habitus in their anger at the death of the British Empire. The containment that British working-class youth feel, deprived of former opportunities previously available, leads to a lashing out. This is ironic in some ways because their situation is systemically similar.

The kind of de-contained life that the runner in *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* seeks mirrors Miranda's containment: both are prisoners. Moreover, they are added as part of a collection, one like a racehorse, the other like a butterfly, to be trotted out and looked over with pride like a prized specimen (that is of course still capital). Collection and containment are two themes that must be paired in this era because collection is how containment structures itself.

[Walter Benjamin, Collection, and the Circle]

Hannah Arendt in the introduction of *Illuminations* states that "collecting springs from a variety of motives which are not easily understood," and she argues that Walter Benjamin was "the first to emphasize, collecting is the passion of children, for whom things are not yet commodities and are not valued according to their usefulness, and it is also the hobby of the rich, who own enough not to need anything useful" (Arendt 42). Frederick Clegg is both the child and the rich in *The Collector,* and his desire to collect stems from his childhood experiences with the late Uncle Dick. Clegg tries to remake his nostalgic past where "the days we spent together, not together exactly, because I always went off collecting and he'd sit by his rods … are definitely the best I have ever had" (Fowles 6). Now that Clegg has become the rich, his collecting hobby becomes his motivating drive, only now he's collecting women and not butterflies.

Clegg's collection of women extends to the printed page. Benjamin states that "to a book collector, you see, the true freedom of all books is somewhere on his shelves" (Benjamin 64). Clegg has printed materials on his bookshelves – the same bookshelves that hide the containment of Miranda – but his are the kind that involves photographing women in various states of undress for scopophilic pleasure. Peter Conradi argues that "the door to the cellar, in which the inadequate and deprived Clegg symbolically reverses the social order by imprisoning the privileged and hapless Miranda underground, is disguised by being lined with bookshelves" (Conradi 33). Furthermore, "these bookshelves are accessible only to Clegg, for whom the word 'book' is often a euphemism for pornography, and are filled not with books but with tools, symbols of instrumentality and use" (Conradi 33). William Palmer also mentions that "Clegg's other subconscious motive for practicing photography is much more sinister, much more dehumanizing and destructive than his comparatively innocent desire to be an artist" (Palmer 39). No, for Clegg, his "interest in collecting and photography is linked to his interest in pornography; Clegg is a voyeur" (Palmer 39). There may be an additional aspect to Clegg's desire to watch and surveil. Cold War containment functioned on both espionage as well as constant surveillance of the domestic front. For Benjamin, there is freedom in books; for Fowles in *The Collector*, there is containment in books. Peter Wolfe argues that in this rush to collect "quality gets subordinated to quantity" (Wolfe 67). In order to "amass even larger collection," collectors "kill more life; everything

becomes an object" (Wolfe 67). Clegg's containment and collecting is not conducive for a better life or a better existence.[56]

Clegg's desire for collection may also be driven by his background. Peter Wolfe notes that collection may be tied to the way "mechanical values drive out organic ones," and Clegg's "photography and butterfly collection negate mystery" (Wolfe 57, 58). More importantly, Wolfe argues that Clegg's "values are collective" (Wolfe 58). Being collectivized is a way of being contained, and one way of reading Clegg's violent containment is a desire to be uncontained. Miranda is also a collector. However, her "attitude toward collecting directly opposes Clegg's," and she believes that "collecting is only an acceptable endeavor if it helps other human beings" (Palmer 37). Miranda collects but works on behalf of the collective, the entirety of humanity, signified by those who literally ate of the earth. This dialectic, this gap is unbridgeable.

As an image and a semiotic sign, the circle seems to be associated with the containing power – i.e. the power of hegemonic masculinity. For Benjamin, the "most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, pass over them" (Benjamin 60). Miranda describes her imprisonment as a "great round wall of glass" (Fowles 218). Peter Wolfe sees the relationship between Miranda and Clegg as a "closed circle" (Wolfe 65). While a circular image might have multiple semiotic meanings, the image of the nuclear atom encircling the nucleus – a Cold War trope – as well as the

[56] It also means coopting freedom and sovereignty in the same way that subordinated countries in the Cold War lost their autonomy.

plasma globe are helpful in understanding British literary texts like *The Collector*. The language in *The Collector* marks the way Miranda keeps going round and round like the atomic electron: "he makes me want to dance round him" and "he's drawing a net round me" (Fowles 134, 187). To Miranda, however, Clegg is seen through perhaps non-circular forms: notably square or rectangular. Miranda calls Clegg a "Chinese box" as well as describing his lifestyle as "suburban, it's stale, it's dead, it's … oh, everything square that ever was" (Fowles 56, 251).[57] In this era, the circle is a positive image associated with hegemonic masculinity and power, as well as containment and collection. Clegg is the anti-circle, the square and the box.

While Clegg tries to exercise his hegemonic masculine goals, George Paston is the subject par excellence when it comes to circular hegemony. Clegg tries to capture through the circular lens of his Leica, and he also has the traditional circle of patriarchal marriage (Fowles 10, 88). Paston instead creates with the circle:

> He was getting the rust off an old iron wheel with some acid. He'd seen it in a junk-shop in Edinburgh, and brought it all the way down. It had strange obtuse teeth, he thought it was part of an old church clock. Very elegant tapered spoke-arms. It was beautiful. (Fowles 230)

The ways that Paston is able to cross national borders, collect resources from colonized and subordinated countries, and then bring back that cultural capital to be repurposed within his hegemonic order is similar to the Cold War project by the United States and

[57] There may be some resonance here with square also symbolizing somebody perpetually uncool and unpopular in American vernacular.

the Soviet Union. Paston is the former power symbolizing the might of the old British Empire and Order. The fact that it is a clock that is being remade is also indicative of England's desire to turn back time to when it was the hegemonic superpower on the world stage.

[Ontology of Fowles: Bugs, Beasts, and Women]

The Collector begins with a reference to Clegg's visit to the Natural History Museum as well as his predilection for classification; Fowles references large numbers of non-human ontological beings, perhaps as a way to think about humanity as collection. Frederick compares Miranda's hair to "Burnet cocoons" and Miranda herself to a "Pale Clouded Yellow" (Fowles 3). Clegg also pictures in his perfect dream world regular "meetings … of the Bug Section (Fowles 4). There's also the "Paris rat" that George Paston and Miranda pity (Fowles 172). Eventually, Clegg is called a "dirty little masturbating worm," and Miranda refers to herself as a "scorpion" (Fowles 116). What is interesting is how ducks are semiotically deployed both as object and as metaphor. There are of course the orange ducks that Clegg uses to decorate the cellar. The "China wild duck" are "monsters" and Miranda "smashed them on the hearth" (Fowles 134). Miranda also reprimands herself for "lameducking" people, both at the boarding-school and later on in life (Fowles 146). It is an odd coincidence that one of those lameducked by Miranda is a Donald (ducked).

Clegg is of course the beast in this narrative. Ronald Binn notes that "the analogue becomes explicit when Miranda resists Clegg's demand that she call him

'Ferdinand' and instead refers to him as 'Caliban'" (Binn 25). The play by Shakespeare is a great early example of hegemonic masculinity: Prospero the hegemonic force using complicit masculinities like Ariel and subordinating other masculinities like Caliban. Using that metaphor and model, Frederick Clegg and his Calibanity might be seen as a resistance to hegemonic masculinity. However, I would argue that both Clegg and Caliban's failure is their desire to remake hegemony, but one that serves their purposes. By doing so, they become the villain like the dragon hoarding its treasures.[58] Clegg is not an "avenging knight" but a "jealous dragon" (Huffaker 82).

Binn also ties Calibanity and collectors together. He writes "to collect becomes symptomatic of Calibanity and collectors are described as 'the worst animals of all'" (Binn 23). There are "The Few" who are humans with the proper habitus, and then there are the New People and their base and inhumane desires (Fowles 221, 223). This animality is also tied to anger. After Clegg "got beastly," Miranda has a dream:

> I was at the window on the first floor of a large house (Ladymont?) and there was a black horse below. It was angry, but I felt safe because it was below and outside. But suddenly it turned and galloped at the house and to my horror it leapt gigantically up and straight at me with bared teeth. It came crashing through the window. Even then I thought, it will kill itself, I am safe. (Fowles 268).

Miranda thinks that "it was violence" (Fowles 268). Perhaps it can be tied to the violence of the Cold War or the violence of the Angry Young Men. Susan Onega argues that "thus, Frederick Clegg, or rather Miranda's Caliban, becomes the representative of a

[58] Or becomes like Bowser and locks away Princess Peach in his castle.

whole social class: the working class G.P. so utterly despised, the class come to maturity under the Labour Party and the Welfare State" (Onega 24). Arguably, it could also be the fear of the new American order where Britain once thought itself safe in its domain but who finds itself in the new hegemonic order with "nowhere to escape" (Fowles 268). It is perhaps this inevitability that causes Harold Bloom to comment that Caliban "can be controlled and chastised by Prospero's magical art, but he remains recalcitrant, and holds on to the strange dignity of being Caliban, although endlessly insulted by everyone who speaks to him in the play" (Bloom 208). If Clegg, and Caliban, are an analogue to the British working-class male, then perhaps a Calibanity can be seen and measured in other texts associated with the Angry Young Men. While Clegg may be visually the opposite of angry males like the droogs from Anthony Burgess's novel *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), his desire to enact containment and violence upon the status quo is very much the same. They are all part Caliban.

[Fake Domesticity and *une Princesse Lointaine]*

The containment that Clegg forces on Miranda is suspiciously similar to the domesticity that America projects in its rationale behind American hegemony. It is in some ways analogous to the Kitchen Debate between Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev. Ronald Binn notes that "Clegg is attracted to Miranda because she fulfills his stereotyped notion of the pretty middle-classed wife he desires" (Binn 26). Elaine Tyler May in *Homeward Bound* notes that "for Nixon, American superiority rested on the ideal of the suburban home, complete with modern appliances and distinct gender roles

for family members" (16). Miranda's dreams of equality and partnership are abrogated, and Clegg's false hegemony – false in its lack compared to George Paston's hegemony – forces Miranda to perform a maternal identity. Clegg has grown up without a mother, and his actions point toward a desire to remake that type of familial structure, illegal as his actions may be.

There is also George Paston's reference to Miranda as "*une princesse lointaine*" (Fowles 188). On the one hand, it might be paired with the allegory that Miranda tells Clegg (Fowles 199). The monster transforms into a prince and does so by granting freedom to the sad princess locked away in the castle's dungeon. The fairy tale that Miranda tells Clegg has little effect; he understands scientific language, but metaphorical language is something his nature rejects. Rather, the *princesse lointaine* is interesting because of its ideas of knighthood and having a champion that crusades but from a distance. This might be paired with the Christianity exhibited by both America and Clegg. For Clegg, he is doing something good and righteous by bringing Miranda into his cloister of containment. His actions, evil though they may seem, are but designed to protect the fair and helpless maiden from the greater evils of the outside world. By keeping her properly contained and collected inside, Clegg is saving Miranda. In the same way, America may commit some violence and wrong that looks evil in isolation, but in the big picture, America is simply containing and collecting in its quest to protect and save humanity.

[Christianity and Cold War Nuclear Knights]

America's Cold War crusade against Soviet Communism was buttressed by Christian ideology, a very specific type enmeshed with nuclear rhetoric as well as corporate capitalism. Alan Nadel in *Containment Culture: American Narratives, Postmodernism, and the Atomic Age* states that "it is hard to emphasize adequately the importance of religion at the height of the cold war" (Nadel 90). There was a confluence of "economics, politics, and religion" wherein the new hegemonic model would be shaped by a merging of those three sectors. In this time period, "Jesus was the founder of a modern capitalist enterprise, harnessing his immense talents, organizational skills, and business acumen to create the first multinational corporation" (Kimmel 130). This type of aggressive Christianity wielded the threat of the nuclear bomb in conjunction with the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom as part of the mutually assured destruction policy that eventually formed. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated that "there is no way to solve the great perplexing international problems except by bringing to bear on them the force of Christianity" (Miller and Nowak 89). This militant and global Christianity – as well as the development of the H-bomb – leaves its residue all over *The Collector*.

God is repeatedly invoked within the narrative, and Miranda ultimately gives up hope of a God. Clegg's specific brand of Nonconformist Christianity – i.e., one that is neither the Church of England nor the Roman Catholic Church but a more Protestant version – is tied to the kind of suburban death represented by Clegg's Aunt Annie. He is "a victim of a miserable Nonconformist suburban world and a miserable social class, the horrid timid copycatting genteel in-between class" (Fowles 171-172). Initially, Miranda

tells herself “I don’t know if I believe in a God” (Fowles 126). She also believes that Clegg “doesn’t believe in God” (Fowles 127). In Miranda’s journal dated October 18th, she talks to Clegg about Christianity and connects its genesis with her political activism against the proliferation of the H-bomb. She asks, “how do you think Christianity started” in response to Clegg’s Calibanity regarding the H-bomb movement and nuclear disarmament. Miranda knows “the H-bomb is wrong” (Fowles 123). But like her helplessness against Clegg-Caliban, the world is helpless to stop the ramping up of nuclear brinksmanship and global annihilation. Her world becomes stagnant and static, trapped in a glass. Unlike the caterpillar that emerges from the cocoon’s containment as a butterfly, Miranda is doomed to death. She grows “like a mushroom,” perhaps like the mushroom cloud of the nuclear bomb, her body ending up like “the little Japanese girl they found in the ruins of Hiroshima … everything’s dead; and she was singing to the doll” (Fowles 174). While her journals and epistolary narrative helped her temporarily survive, ultimately only destruction and death were left for her.

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Collection and James Clavell's *King Rat*: Hegemonic Masculinity and Containment in the Cold War

[Collection and Containment]

The Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union created hegemonic systems that subordinated other countries. Alliances like NATO, SEATO, and the Warsaw Pact made other nation-states complicit in the cause of democracy-capitalism or communism. The fear of a future with nuclear weapons lead to a "national narrative" (Nadel 14). Alan Nadel in *Containment Culture: American Narratives, Postmodernism, and the Atomic Age* discusses containment:

> The central motif of that narrative was 'containment,' in which insecurity was absorbed by internal security, internationalism by global strategy, apocalypse and utopia by a Christian theological mandate, and xenophobia – the fear of the Other – by courtship, the activity in which Otherness is the necessary supplement to seduction, whether that seduction is formal or illicit, voluntary or coerced, hetero- or homosexual, the product of romantic alliance, business transaction, or date rape. (Nadel 14)

These themes resonate through James Clavell's *King Rat* (1962) in which containment – and the culture produced by containment – are structured through hegemonic masculinity and collection. The hegemonic masculinity on display in Clavell's novel emulates the way the United States created the first, second, and third world during the early years of the Cold War: there are those who are complicit and willing allies, there are those to be

subordinated, and those who are unwilling to submit and thus must be treated as enemies, respectively.

Containment, collection, and hegemonic masculinity pervade the American cultural zeitgeist, and containment becomes more than "a foreign and domestic policy" and a "rhetorical strategy" but a way for culture to model patriarchal norms (Nadel 14). Novels like *King Rat* and *The Collector* that are produced during the 1960s Cold War era mimic the hegemony of the time period. In *Illuminations* Walter Benjamin notes that "there is in the life of a collector a dialectical tension between the poles of disorder and order" (Benjamin 60). Arguably, the order produced by the collection of containment culture is structured in a specific way and a specific purpose, one that conglomerates capitalism, Christianity, and Western democracy together in a crusade to defeat Communism. This tendency to collect and consume, specifically the kind of consumerism promoted by Richard Nixon in his Kitchen Debate with Nikita Khrushchev, is based on the foundation of the nuclear family contained properly in a mass-culture suburban lifestyle. Although *King Rat* is a prisoner-of-war novel and set during World War II, the novel exemplifies how these specific ideologies and themes come together as the novel comes to imitate geopolitical form.

[The Inner Ring, The Circle, and Hegemonic Masculinity]

The circle is an important motif during the Cold War era: in addition to its connections to atomic imagery (with the Bohr atomic model being the most ingrained with circularity), clusters of influence are understood as spheres with power emanating

from a center. Encirclement is a constant fear that complements containment policy, and clusters of power are designed in a circular manner not unlike King Arthur's Round Table (an enduring cultural artifact in the West), the United Nations Security Council being a prime example.[59] In addition, the watchfulness of the panopticon festers constantly in the background of the novel. Peter takes off his officer armband to visit the camp jail, and "felt suddenly naked and felt that the men who passed or approached were looking at him" (Clavell 266). The constant surveillance of the panopticon of Changi left Marlowe at risk of danger; there was no indication of who was watching and what they would report. Lieutenant Grey also is being watched. Grey is offered a deal to capture the King, and he is told to stand in front of the door "with the stone in his left hand" (Clavell 86). He "scrutinized the men who passed … but no one gave him a sign," and Grey is left to the watchful eyes of the panopticon, always looking, always monitoring, but never knowing by whom or for what purpose (Clavell 86).

Alongside these circular forms is the idea of the ring and hegemonic masculinity. R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt outline the structure of hegemonic masculinity in the following manner:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man,

[59] The tale of the Round Table is one of hegemonic masculinity: King Arthur bringing together the finest knights into his sphere of influence and using them as complicit masculinities like the model set forth by Connell and Messerschmidt.

> it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and … men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. (Connell and Messerschmidt 832)

Arguably, this formation is linked to the hegemonic model structured by the Cold War conflict. The culture then produced in the 1960s orders the characters and the space within the novels in the same manner.

Hegemonic masculinity takes the form of the circle in *King Rat* as a ring. In C.S. Lewis's memorial lecture at King's College, he talks about the "inner ring" that there often exists in the army:

> two different systems or hierarchies. The one is printed in some little red book and anyone can easily read it up. It also remains constant. A general is always superior to a colonel, and a colonel to a captain. The other is not printed anywhere. Nor is it even a formally organised secret society with officers and rules which you would be told after you had been admitted. You are never formally and explicitly admitted by anyone. You discover gradually, in almost indefinable ways, that it exists and that you are outside it; and then later, perhaps, that you are inside it. (Lewis)

He calls this "the inner ring" and formulates a system where this ring intersects and infringes other rings of power that intersect other rings and so on in places like a "hospital, inn of court, diocese, school, business, or college" (Lewis). In *King Rat*, the prison at Changi in Singapore functions as all of these things – hospital, court of law,

church, school, and marketplace – constituting these spaces into one. Despite their containment, the imprisoned must order themselves in such a way as to maximize efficiency: the distribution of food, labor, medical supplies, even going to the toilet, all of these are built on the hierarchies outside the prison.

Most of the prisoners in Changi function in units similar to Lewis's rings for their survival. Within this atmosphere of fatal containment, where the weak would die and the strong survive, "men ate and trusted in units," units of 'twos, threes, rarely fours" (Clavell 36). Rank mattered less in this environment. The British protagonist of *King Rat* named Peter Marlowe (a lieutenant) creates a unit with two higher-ranking officers: Major McCoy, or "Mac," is a "tough little Scot" and Colonel Larkin hails from Australia (Clavell 73-74).

This alliance of Commonwealth members has a secret: they carry a contraband radio within their water bottles, a radio that breaks through their containment and offers up-to-date information on the war and its battles. This particular unit goes beyond mere survival; they risk their safety and bodies to help the greater community of prisoners. Compare this with the character that embodies American hegemony, the King, who recoils at the sight of a radio because there is "no future in them … no resale value" (Clavell 240). He is later reconciled to a radio after determining that "he could keep tabs on the situation and he'd know exactly when to make the break" (Clavell 240). For the King, information is not only power and capital but life itself. However, information is not used for the greater good. This is mirrored by the other rings, especially those that contain ranked officers, who are also quite selfish in their quest for power and survival.

[The Habitus: Old versus New]

Clifford Holderness and Jeffrey Pontiff argue that "*King Rat* is the struggle between an American corporal, the King, and Lieutenant Grey, the camp provost's marshal (the head of the military police)" (Holderness and Pontiff 1885). They see this conflict as a "cat-and-mouse struggle between markets and hierarchies," with the character of "Grey … attempting to maintain military discipline by stopping the King from trading" (Holderness and Pontiff 1885). Rather, the King and Lieutenant Grey could both be seen as mice, though the circumstances warrant a temporary shift; once the war ends, they both return to their working-class, have-nothing backgrounds.

The actual struggle exists between those that have hegemonic power through habitus –Pierre Bourdieu's model for masculinity – and those that wish to gain hegemonic power through other means. Bourdieu states that "the *habitus* – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product," while also producing "individual and collective practices" (Bourdieu 54, 56). Moreover, "the symbolic forms of capital are associated with the well-formed *habitus* and in any group, however defined, those with the well-formed *habitus* are higher in cultural capital" (Moore 103). Especially in post-war Britain, where the post-war landscape was short on capital and long on prestige, class was something cherished dearly.

This is a dilemma for the British protagonist Marlowe who has been raised on the idea that he "couldn't go into business … Marlowes aren't tradesmen" (Clavell 75). Instead, the Marlowes find comfort in their military heritage: "Goes back to 1720. Father

to son. That's a lot of tradition to try to fight" (Clavell 244). Marlowe states that "an officer always has a great deal of prestige," even if that same officer is comparatively paid very little to the private sector as the King points out (Clavell 243). The patriarchal demands on this embodied identity preclude the possibility of going into business and profiting off others, especially in a prisoner of war camp.

Marlowe is tortured, particularly by the betrayal of those who he looks up to, and how those hegemonic rings of power exist solely to leech and survive through this period of containment by collecting money, men, and materials. Figures like Colonel Samson were not only "Brass" but "real Brass" (Clavell 172). There were officers like Lieutenant Grey promoted from the enlisted ranks, and there were officers like Marlowe who is "a good man, comes from a good family – not like that lower-class sod Grey" (Clavell 338). While scholars like Gina Macdonald state that "Grey directly opposes King," it is Grey and King working together as two halves of the same coin, both relentlessly determined in their quest to rise above their class stations (Macdonald 36). Macdonald also argues that a "major theme of *King Rat* is that capitalism promotes strength that supports the weak, while socialism encourages weakness and passivity that injure everyone" (Macdonald 46). She sees the conflict existing between "the capitalistic entrepreneur-adventurer, the King, as hero, in opposition to the rule-bound, authority-oriented supporter of group-think, Lieutenant Grey" (Macdonald 46). Grey might be seen instead as one of the complicit masculinities that help the hegemonic structure of the old guard, like Colonel Smedly-Taylors, maintain their power. Marlowe instead becomes complicit

to the hegemonic structure of the King and his capitalistic ambition to overcome his lack of a proper habitus.

The body is important as both a marker of sovereignty as well as a reservoir for embodied capital and labor. After almost losing his arm to amputation, Peter Marlowe starts to cry. An analogy can be drawn from his body to body politic of the fading British Empire. In addition, his skills as a translator give him the capitalistic value that deems his body as worthy to be saved: "to conceive *a body worth defending*, we must first constitute *a body worth having*" (Cohen 70). Upon meeting the Chinese trader Cheng San for the first time, Peter Marlowe is told "tell the Rajah that he is a wise and clever man to find such a fluent interpreter" (Clavell 212). Peter's value is measured through his worth to the "Rajah" and his identity is interpellated through that lens as well. In a following passage, Peter intercedes with the King and persuades him to follow the native custom of talking business after eating together. The King thinks to himself, "if you buy brains, it's bad business not to use them" (Clavell 213). He has "bought" Marlowe's embodied capital with ten percent of the profits, and the King intends to maximize the value of his investment. An interesting analogy to the King is the figure of President John F. Kennedy and his "inner circle whose wartime expertise lay more in intelligence gathering and analysis than in military combat," and where "rhetoric became a fetish" (Cuordileone 216). The King is also interested in rhetoric and uses characters like Marlowe to become his "good mouthpiece" (Clavell 212). The King buys the bodies with the embodied capital necessary to facilitate business and trade.

[Capitalism and Masculinity in *King Rat*]

The King solidly embodies the knowledge of capitalism and how to generate wealth within this particularly contained market. In some ways the King embodies the American Dream, the "dreams that were the stuff of proverbial and parochial narratives, that filled the pages of popular US publications such as *Time* and *Life*," and that guaranteed the consumer with goodies like "nylons, Hershey candy bars, chewing gum and cigarettes" (Ryan 54). Associating with the King and being part of his hegemonic order gives access to various resources: "the bonds were part food and part tobacco and part help – the King had cured the tropical ulcers on Mac's ankles with salvarsan, cured them in two days, that which had suppurated for two years" (Clavell 118). The risks are there, but associating with the King also brings tangible benefits, very often benefits geared toward the consumer capitalist market.

While some scholars like Marina MacKay simply think of the King's operation in Changi as simply "a successful black-market enterprise within the camp," I would argue that the King is erudite in his knowledge of market economics as well as effective in his timing of the market conditions (MacKay 125). When Marlowe shares a technique to cure native tobacco and make it more palatable to Western palates, King instantly "could see a thriving business" (Clavell 56). When the technique becomes public knowledge – deliberately leaked by the King himself – Marlowe finds himself lost until the King explains the market strategies he utilized: "That was for outside consumption … the first buyers, believed they were in my debt … but I knew that the process would leak and that the business wouldn't last" (Clavell 149-150). He continually tries to teach this

intellectual capital to Marlowe, who has a wholly different set of embodied capital. The King uses Marlowe in a deal and tells him “Lesson number one in business. You buy cheap and sell dear” (Clavell 178). The education of Peter Marlowe begins with some of the basic precepts one would find in any beginner economics class. The King’s knowledge of these economic precepts allows him to lay down the foundation to what amounts to a company with various departments compartmentalized to function more efficiently (as well as maintaining secrecy). This hegemonic structure focused on collecting and containing capital has its foil in the structure by the British officers: Lieutenant Colonel Smedly-Taylor has complicit masculinities like Sellars and Jones that hoard camp supplies on his behalf and ring.

[Coconuts and Eggs: Markers of Hegemony]

One important similarity is the purpose of these competing hegemonic constructions. The inner ring of the higher-ranking officers as well as the King exist to garner both money, men, and materials: both in the form of food as well as luxury goods. The King has many men under his sphere of influence. Characters from the American delegation like Tex, Dino, and Max do the King’s bidding and are complicit his kingdom: they are the complicit masculinities in this hegemonic order. This is mirrored by the hegemonic structure of the upper officer ranks. Colonel Smedly-Taylor, one of the highest-ranking officers in the camp, has a similar structure incorporating officers ranging from colonel to sergeants. When coercing Lieutenant Grey, who until that point had been relatively honest, Smedly-Taylor offers Grey the position of “acting rank of

Captain" (Clavell 335). Using and withholding these promotions, Smedly-Taylor can coerce, collect, and contain various masculinities into his sphere of influence.

It is not merely articles of survival that drive the black market but the products of consumer capitalism, and the capital and luxury derived from those items. Peter first witnesses the King's private stash of edibles: "Half a dozen eggs, sacks of coffee beans. Glass jars of gula malacca, the delicious toffee-sugar of the Orient. Bananas. At least a pound of Java tobacco. Ten or eleven packs of Kooas. A glass jar full of rice. Another with katchang idju beans. Oil. Many delicacies in banana leaves" (Clavell 40). In this contained environment where the least bit of food is measured, weighed, and re-weighed, the King remains uncontained by the draconian and brutal food policies of the Japanese captors.

The market economy of Changi prison also contained quite a few luxury items, items that help identify the haves and the have nots. The King trades in Oyster Royal watches and Parker pens with golden nibs, and on his person he carries a "handkerchief, comb, wallet, one pack of tailor-made cigarettes, his tobacco box full of raw Java tobacco, rice cigarette papers, matches," as well as an "Oyster Royal" which was "waterproof, shockproof, self-winding" (Clavell 14). The words seem pulled out of an advertisement indicating the kind of consumer capitalist identity the King represents: he is the shopper par excellence. Although he does not have the habitus of the British officers like Smedly-Taylor, he can purchase and wear consumer goods thus assuming a façade of that habitus: the King also wears a "gold ring, signet of the Clan Gordon" (Clavell 14). In a prison camp where people are starving to death, the King dresses well:

"the King liked to be tidy and well-dressed when everyone else was not, and he was pleased that today his shirt was clean and new and his long pants were creased and his socks clean and his shoes freshly polished and his hat stainless" (Clavell 13). The clothing is also indicative of the wholeness of his physical body. Unlike the King, the other prisoners are "half alive," with "no fat or well-built or round or smooth or fair-built or thick-built men" (Clavell 12). The King must in both body and accessories look the part of the King.

The circular motif of wholeness and association of the circle with hegemonic masculinity is symbolized through two consumer goods: the egg and the coconut. The egg was a source of vitamins and other nutrients that were vital to the long-term survival of the prisoners. The prisoners on the verge of death were "given one egg every day, but no man wanted to be one of the special few" (Clavell 31). Otherwise, they were given one egg a week. In this atmosphere of acute deprivation, the King wields his hegemonic force, often through the promise of an egg. He even likens the first egg he feeds to Marlowe as part of the "Lend-Lease" Act (Clavell 40). The power of the cooked egg is so strong that "it filled the minds and it filled the hearts and made the juices flow" (Clavell 40).

Chickens and the eggs they produce are a sign of status in this homosocial heterotopia. The chicken "runs were owned by units, or a commune of units who had pooled their resources. Only the King owned alone" (Clavell 76). This capital signifier was also part of a hegemonic structuring structure: "Max liked looking after the hen. Nothing like an extra egg from time to time. And there's no risk when you suck the egg

quick … Just so long as there's at least one a day for the King, there's no sweat" (Clavell 263). Although Max thinks he is getting one over on the King, it is the King that is the ultimate winner (of this chicken dinner). The King's hegemonic masculinity allows him the capital which he uses for his hegemonic masculinity and so on.

The coconut is also a signifier of hegemonic masculinity in this novel. When Marlowe is sent out with a work party to chop down some trees, his group is originally denied the opportunity to cut down the overwhelmingly valuable coconut trees. The "heart of a coconut tree was not only edible but very nutritious and a great delicacy," and called "millionaire's cabbage" (Clavell 301). Using his position as the King's interpreter – and thus a participant in the economic payoffs the guards receive – Marlowe is able to secure the coconut trees for his own group. As part of the ritualized ceremony of give and take, Marlowe offers some coconuts to the Japanese guards, but he does not hand the coconuts himself: "he couldn't take them himself, for he would have lost much face" (Clavell 310). Coconuts determine status as well as facilitate capitalistic exchange spurred by hegemonic power.

Marlowe is gifted a coconut by the King, and the way Marlowe describes the coconut's quality matches the way that Marlowe fits within the King's hegemonic order. Marlowe scrapes the coconut and "shreds of white meat fell" off of it (Clavell 118). Marlowe, the complicit masculinity that helps extend the King's hegemonic power, "thought again what a marvelous food the residue of coconut was. Rich in protein and perfectly tasteless. Yet a sliver of garlic in it, and it was all garlic. A quarter of sardine, and the whole became sardine, and the body of it would flavor many bowls of rice"

(Clavell 118). Marlowe's embodied skills, the capital that exists within his white flesh, and the labor that the King could harness, all these are like the coconut. Marlowe, though, could be effectively complicit not just in the King's hegemonic structure but also as a masculinity with the proper habitus, he could be utilized within the hegemonic sphere of upper-class Britons like Colonel Smedly-Taylor.

[Death of Queer Futurity]

The novel also sees a version of queer hegemonic masculinity, perhaps even a queer female hegemonic masculinity, in the version enacted by the character of Sean – and to a lesser degree the character of Steven. Lee Edelman in *Queer Theory and the Death Drive* states that "Sinthomosexuality also speaks, as neologistic signifier, to the 'sin' that continued to attach itself to 'homosexuality' (a 'sin,' … that can make the sinthomosexual into something of a s[a]in[t])" (38-39). Steven is detailed to work with the sick and the dying. A doctor he works with, Dr. Kennedy, yells at Steven and says, "for the love of God, Steven, stop trying to pretend you're a blasted woman" (Clavell 113). Steven responds by degendering Kennedy's projection of heteronormative identity: "it's quite unfair to pick on a person, Dr. Kennedy, when one's trying to do one's best" (Clavell 114). Steven refers to himself as a "person" and not a "man" and uses non-gendered pronouns. While Edelman ties sinthomosexuality to the death drive and to a "child-aversive, future-negating force," Steven seems invested in life and the maintenance of life (Edelman 113). Steven is very compassionate to those in his care, calling them "his boys" (Clavell 115). Peter Marlowe watches "Steven smooth a fevered

brow and hold an agued hand, and caress away the night-devils and soften the night-cries and adjust the covers and help a man to drink and help a man to vomit, and all the time a lullaby, delicate and sweet" (Clavell 162). To Dr. Kennedy, "homosexuality was a way to survive" (Clavell 112). But this may be a misunderstanding on his part of identity and how identity is understood and lived.

Sean, formerly a flight pilot under Marlowe's command, wears woman's clothing. His followers Rodrick and Frank function as part of his hegemonic structure: Sean filches some cigarettes from the King to hand out to her complicit masculinities. During that meeting, Sean and Peter fight, and Sean accuses Peter of homophobia: "You despise deviates – isn't that what you call queers?" (Clavell 66). Some scholars argue that Sean is a "transvestite who not only dresses as a female for the camp dramatic productions but continues that role offstage … he, in effect, becomes a woman" (Macdonald 40). There is a moment of redemption when Marlowe during a psychological breakdown tells Sean that "you're a woman, Sean … God knows how – or why – but you are" (Clavell 345). However, after the camp is freed, the same men who cheered Sean's performances as a woman hurl homophobic slurs at him. Sean's identity as a homosexual or transgender person might be a "third possibility for human nature, beyond the polarities of male and female, an alternate form of masculinity rather than a deficiency" (Braudy 335). In the narrative, following the liberation of the prison camp, Sean commits suicide. His freedom from containment ironically left him less room to express his identity. While the prisoners of war were under Japanese rule, Sean was able to exist as a queer identity true to herself; after the liberation of the prison camp and the return to "normalcy," there is no

room for a queer identity like Sean's. The end of containment is the end of a possibility of a queer space.

[Death of Empire and Nuclear Proliferation]

The novel ends with the breakdown of the King. This might be read as Clavell's desire to see the triumph of the old guard, the old ways, the old hegemonic structure. Marlowe "knew his unhappiness was not due solely to the departure of his friend … he was sad because the Americans were leaving. Somehow, he felt that he belonged there with them, which was wrong, because they were foreigners" (Clavell 460). Perhaps what Marlowe is mourning is the death of the British Empire. The feeling that "he belonged there" may indicate the sadness that accompanies the loss of geopolitical hegemony; colonies like India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka would return to self-rule and autonomy and those countries would become allies and subordinates of the new world order. Marlowe is feeling sad about the loss of his country's hegemonic masculinity.

The novel's final passage concludes with the giant rat that the Americans were breeding in their hut: "Adam was tearing at the wire to get at the food outside his cage, fighting the wire as he had been fighting it for as long as he had been within the cage" (Clavell 479). Once he breaks free, he invades the other cages and proliferates with Eve his consort. Like the atom bomb, Adam's violence is left to proliferate, bringing a nihilistic closure to the death of Britain's empire.

The future had changed. The timescape of World War II in James Clavell's *King Rat* is a metaphorical analogy to the early Cold War and the shift from old to new. Like

an Adam of the new world, America was the new hegemonic power, the new rat king, using mass consumer capitalism and nuclear innovation to suppress rival superpowers and to establish its place of primacy in the Cold War. Marlowe's inability to collect and contain various forms of capital mirror the inability of the United Kingdom to increase economic GDP and power in a post-colonial world. The old king rat was dead; long live the new king rat.

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John Ashbery and Bob Kaufman's Duck Masculinities: Resistance to Cold War Containment and Hegemonic Masculinity

[**Introduction**]

This chapter will link two Cold War poems by thinking of the cultural and historical moment that constructs the masculinities within their diegetic worlds: "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" by John Ashbery and "Hollywood" by Bob Kaufman. While quite a few scholars have written on Ashbery's poem, very few, if any, have linked it with Bob Kaufman's poetry. I am intrigued by the construction of masculinities in these poems in the ways that they resist the hegemonic impulse to conform to Cold War patriarchy and the heteronormative reproductivity rampant in Cold War thinking. Ashbery and Kaufman are able to express queer, racialized, and de-classed identities through their examination of the Cold War's link to Hollywood, with both using lists as a way to resist containment culture. I argue in this chapter that list-making is a rhetorical and embodied strategy of resistance, through the mimicry of the collection of epistemologies and ontologies. It is a strategy designed to become a collector to avoid containment through collectivization. While Kaufman relies on a satirical worldview that camouflages a cosmic fatalism, Ashbery de-stabilizes familiar Cold War culture and its attendant desires by putting the ridiculous into playful language, ultimately ending his poem with a monologue decrying hegemonic masculinity. Since Cold War culture is built on hegemonic masculinity,

Ashbery's claim that "all poetry is against war and in favor of life, else it isn't poetry," should be placed alongside Kaufman's more militant, anti-war, Abomunist ideology.[60]

Bob Kaufman and John Ashbery are two Cold War poets who are rarely linked in scholarship. This may be due to the fact that Bob Kaufman's poetry itself is not reviewed as often as other poetries of that era. Although a number of scholars have answered Barbara Christian's question "Who will look to Bob Kaufman?", many of them center on his African-American identity. Maria Damon lists some of the ways scholarship is coming back to Kaufman:

> David Henderson, who co-produced, with Vic Bedoian, an important radio documentary on Kaufman for KPFA; Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, who recorded dramatic readings of Kaufman's work for a widely broadcast radio program; Langston Hughes, Clarence Major, Dudley Randall and Stephen Henderson, all of whom anthologized his work in foundational Black poetry anthologies of the 1960s and 1970s. The Darkroom Collective of Boston read his work voraciously in the 1990s, and many of its members, now scattered far and wide, wrote poetic tributes to Kaufman, as have Ted Joans, Amiri Baraka, Wanda Coleman, Devorah

[60] How does one contain something? When we talk about a policy or culture of "containment," what is the methodology and process made of? How is containment constructed as an idea and an action? Arguably, the more important action to take in containment is to collect. To contain something implicitly gives the idea that the thing, be it object or person or idea, remains alive, that it continues to exist. How does one contain something while letting it remain alive? Because containment must be an action (theoretically) of non-killing (not non-violence, simply non-killing), it leads to a process of collection. To contain Soviet aggression in Europe and North America, the U.S. collected Western nations in NATO; Soviet Russia, hoping to contain Western imperialism collected Soviet countries into the Warsaw Pact (a Treaty of Friendship). This action of collecting, vital as it is to containment, is mirrored in how patriarchy constructs a dominant masculinity, a hegemonic masculinity. I posit that the list-making commented on by various scholars is a rhetorical strategy used to resist the collectivization effect of Cold War culture and hegemonic masculinity (and containment).

> Major, Paul Beatty (naming the protagonist of his novel The White Boy Shuffle after him), and others. Current ongoing scholarship is reflected in the volume you are holding; in addition, essays by Lorenzo Thomas, Kathryne Lindberg, and Mona Lisa Saloy have appeared within the last decade, and more are forthcoming. (Damon 107)

Kaufman's Black identity, and his deft touch with Black culture, has perhaps lent itself more easily to certain schools of scholarship, but the constructions of Jewish and queer identities in his works are less charted and less explored by academia. Although enormously important to the beatnik formation of popular culture, Bob Kaufman receives short shrift by pop culture: the *Rolling Stone Book of the Beats* gives Kaufman three pages, most of which are about his son Parker. This lack of scholarship is in spite of criticism that link both Ashbery and Kaufman to the French poet Arthur Rimbaud and his surrealism. David Lehman states that "according to Auden, a certain line of modern poets ('from Rimbaud down to Mr. Ashbery') pays homage to the 'subjectively sacred,' on the grounds that 'the imaginative life of the human individual stubbornly continues to live by the old magical notions'" (Lehman 19). Could the same not be said about Kaufman's poetry, in its inventiveness, its surrealist aspects, and the subjectively sacred yearnings? Moreover, Bob Kaufman is "known in France as 'the American Rimbaud'" (Winans 19). Why hasn't a critical connection been made earlier?

In this chapter I will argue that the constructions of masculine identity in Bob Kaufman's "Hollywood" and John Ashbery's "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" are guided by their poets' project to seek and nurture an alternate form of masculinity. Hollywood

serves as a symbolic vector against which to de-stress or deconstruct the popular forms of masculine identity; for these poets, to be like the hegemonic masculinities portrayed by popular culture was to die and face extinction (nuclear or otherwise). More importantly, I argue that for both of the speakers of these poems, the figure of the cartoon duck character is central in either disavowing or de-privileging traditional forms of white imperial masculinity in the guise of hegemonic masculinity. By using the duck-like figure of subordinated masculinity, both of these poets can use lists of various parts of culture – high and low – and utilizing the formal aspects of poetry to break down the stability of hegemonic masculinity and Cold War rhetoric.

R. W. Connell and James Messerschmidt's work in the 1980s on hegemonic masculinity posits that:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men (Connell and Messerschmidt 832).

This framework, used especially in the Cold War to keep individuals contained and in conformity, provides important insights to Cold War poetry and to midcentury American culture generally.

As we have seen, scholarly work on containment culture, by Alan Nadel and Elaine Tyler May among others, highlights how the larger need to contain foreign countries and ideologies by the American government helped shape the containment of American citizens. Kaufman, an avowed "Abomunist" incorporates in his work wordplay and social critique to comment on the hypocritical discourses of the day, specifically those related to a racialized capitalism. James Smethurst notes that "Amiri Baraka argues that 'Abomunist' is essentially a Cold War code for'Communist'-or should be" (Smethurst 153). Some of those dominant discourses are generated through Althusserian ISAs (Ideological State Apparatuses), some through RSAs (Repressive State Apparatuses). Kaufman resists the rhetoric of both advertising culture and the discourse engendered through police brutality, which is built on a skewed perspective of law and justice.

What Kaufman's work does, in addition to Ashbery's, is to trouble and blur through language the solidity of the hegemonic moment. Both poets, through these poems, display a strategy of what seems like simple list-making, but because of a lack of coherence and traditional organization, the lists become something more. Aidan Wasley sees Ashbery's list-making as "repeatedly enact[ing] Auden's 'poetic theory' of lists," and asserts that Ashbery writes in *The Vermont Notebook* a "book of lists, consisting almost entirely of obscurely defined catalogs" (Wasley 689). The key word here is "obscure" for to make things too obvious would be to erase any need for a poet. By keeping things obscure, the poet is able to fulfill his or her prophetic vision; and, arguably, it does more by bringing together what seems random bits of disorder into an

order of some kind. Vernon Shetley states that "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" at first "appears to follow no organizing principle but the wild and senseless aggregation of images, delivered in an idiom that similarly collages archaic constructions," which sounds, at least to me, very much like the same work Kaufman is doing in "Hollywood" (Shetley 124).

[**Bob Kaufman's "Hollywood"**]

"Hollywood" begins with a measurement of space: "five square miles of ultra-contemporary nymphomania" (Kaufman 1). A relatively small area, the "square" in the "square miles" serves as the first binary to the "ultra-contemporary;" arguably, the aesthetics of the Beats and of Kaufman demands the banishment of "squares", or a traditional conformist, but perhaps also remarking on the newer kinds of poetic forms being brought to existence during the postmodern period. In a straightforward reading, "ultra-contemporary" may be associated with the consumer culture driving this capitalist framework, but when tied to "nymphomania," the doubly distasteful (to mainstream society) is juxtaposed against one another as the only options (i.e. "squarehood" vs. "nymphomania"). Of course, those who are given the option of being a square or ultra-contemporary are probably interpellated as middle-class subjects, immune or better shielded from the lack of bourgeois protections and privileges. The "nymphomania" of these dialectic middle-class groups reflects the rampant heteronormative reproductivity following the Second World War and permeating the length of the Cold War.

This pattern is repeated throughout the poem, perhaps pointing to the futility of the heteronormative and middle-class futurity that contained Kaufman. In this poem, Cold War culture, and its complementary ideologies, are deployed with satire; creating binaries through language and context, the poem serves to illustrate the ridiculousness of the cultural moment (and more importantly Hollywood as the generator of said culture). "Two dozen homos" may stem from the phrase "two dozen roses," and the "homos" are again paired with "sapiens" (Kaufman 2). Kaufman again advocates for a world populated twenty-four to one by queer identities that bloom and proliferate like beautiful (nuclear?) flowers, advocating for a more queer representation of identity when homosexuality meant persecution by the highest levels of government. The nuclear gaze discussed by Paul Boyer and Alan Nadel are present here, lurking ominously like "the last countdown" (Kaufman 2). Like Kerouac's *On The Road* (and his fellaheen characters), Kaufman seeks to resist the pressure to conform to containment culture, especially a construction of masculinity that is statically and universally heterosexual. Unlike the hordes of American laborers who are shaped into a "Cold War labor force … relying heavily upon interregional migration of highly educated people to new Cold War enclaves," this Cold War enclave of five square miles is thoroughly immersed in car culture (Markusen 50). Technology and prosperity have failed to bring a futurity of equality and less wealth disparity; instead, technology is seen as firmly maintaining the class structure that separates the working-class from the rest of American society.

Kaufman details no less than four brands of cars in "Hollywood," and, arguably, he deploys them more effectively than other Beats like Ginsberg who had a non-ironic

appreciation for cars. “Ugly Plymouths, swapping exhaust with red convertibles / Buicks,” and “impatient Cadillacs,” already classed as either luxury or economy brands, are placed in a hierarchy, and like people are interpellated through classed subjectivities. However, in this iteration the Cadillacs and not “their owners” are traded in for “more successful models” (Kaufman 49). The treadmill of success driving both labor and leisure during the Cold War are both mocked and ridiculed by Kaufman. These cars, placed within the context of R.W. Connell and Frank Messerschimdt’s concept of hegemonic masculinity, clearly delineate how Cold War thought used certain ideologies to create ranked order.

Rebecca Feasey mentions that “competition is the ‘mark of most male relationships’ in business, sport, academic life, romance, and other social situations … and that all male friendships are based on ‘unspoken relationships of power and subordination’” (Feasey 23). In Bob Kaufman’s “Hollywood” the vehicles exist together, “swapping exhaust”, which may suggest a more intimate space in which class barriers are ignored or resisted. Various brands of cars do more than suggest class; they suggest movement and (class?) mobility.

Movement is one way of resisting containment, but the types of failed or stunted movements described in “Hollywood” – serving as a metonymic microcosm of America itself – at times do little to promise any hope of a recuperative or regenerative futurity. With identities that are “unhustling” and “living on backs,” the poem creates a diegetic space where infinite space and cosmic power are also within the realm of possibility: the poet himself “seeking an unfilled galaxy” (Kaufman 13). In his later work *The Ancient*

Rain Kaufman states that "Hollywood will die in the Ancient Rain" (Kaufman). This phrase is paired with "it shall kill D.W. Griffiths and the Ku Klux Klan" (Kaufman). D.W. Griffith filmed and directed films like *The Birth of a Nation*. Like an ancient rain, born of a wiser and older cosmic order, the unfilled galaxy may then provide space for racially subordinated identities to achieve an uncontained space.

Classing the cars (Plymouths, Buicks, Cadillacs, etc.) may do an injustice to Kaufman by failing to provide a racial reading as well. Aldon Nielson mentions that "Kaufman saw in his own lifetime the commodification of the Beats as white Negroes, as pale face savages beating jungle drums" (Nielson 137). One nuanced way to think about the dual position that Kaufman forcibly inhabits – and which pervades this poem – is that it is initiated by Kaufman's necessity to perform certain kinds of masculinity to access power and authority (poetic and otherwise). Amor Kohli argues that "Kaufman is part and not-part of the Beat/bohemian postwar cultural movement which Amiri Baraka retrospectively understood as replicating the middle-class (middle-brow) structures," and that "this subculture, while far from condoning the racial views of mainstream America, was nonetheless one in which traditional structures of race-based normativity were being constantly reinscribed" (Kohli 166).

Juxtaposed against the normality of mainstream Cold War culture lies the diegetic space of "Hollywood" where "twelve-year-old mothers suing for child support" exist alongside "Unemployed pimps living on the neon backs of / Unemployed whores" (Kaufman 5, 8, 9). If the suburban enclave of middle-class Christians reproduced after a productive day of middle-class labor, then these unemployed subjectivities, hyper-

sexualized beyond the norm and irrecuperable. These are outsiders that are un-celebrated by mainstream society, deprived of the benefits of hegemonic masculinity. Arguably, by again placing two subjectivities that are opposites in which neither offer hope, Kaufman may be pointing to the hypocrisy of the beatnik outsider position. It is important to remember that in relation to Kaufman, white beats like Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac were given primacy both in the canon and in literary fame. By "understanding just how inside these outsiders were and, by extension, how traditional understandings of 'Beat' do not include Blacks and women in any other than an oppositional manner;" additionally, "this normativity sublimates racial specificity in the name of a universality which is still ultimately white" (Kohli 174). Kohli also states "Maria Damon notes that Kaufman was alternately rendered invisible, hypersexualized or cast as physical manifestation of the Black folk" (Kohli 174). Within such a racialized clime, the despair of the poem's diegetic space strikes the reader, particularly given the hopefulness surrounding normative futurity rhetoric (and the kids!)

Pleasure found here in the first stanza of "Hollywood" is subject to only negative experiences. Capitalism and the objectification of women has destroyed the possibility of bodily intimacy. There are "junkies shooting" their drugs shoot "mothball fixes, insect junk" (Kaufman 7). Capitalism and forced conformity to normativity corrupts the natural pleasure found in other Beat poems. Where drugs are often a refuge to a tortured soul (a la Ginsberg), this diegetic world robs the Beat of even this joy. Art is often used by poets as a way to deal with trauma and suffering; Kaufman's poetry, and also to a large extent Amiri Baraka's poetry, do not allow even talented artists to break free. Capitalism and the

interpellation of individuals as laborer-subjectivities corrupt the pleasure of art. Ranging from “Channel Something piano players down to their last mom,” to “Lady painters with three names having one-man shows of expensive framing,” to “unemployed Broadway actors with nothing to offer but talent trying to look stupid” (Kaufman). Even if these artists successfully carve a space for themselves in the capitalist workspace, “death-faced agents” lurk in wait for their “ten percent of nothing” (Kaufman).

Perhaps it is consumer culture, although one can argue that it is also Cold War imperialism that Kaufman is resisting through his poetry. Kaufman is notable for taking a vow of silence that lasted nominally until the end of the Vietnam War, with his art being sacrificed. This move is reflected in the critique that surrounds the misdirection of artistic talent: “Channel Something piano players down to their last mom, … Lady painters with three names having one-man shows / of expensive framing, / Unemployed Broadway actors with nothing to offer but talent trying to look stupid” (Kaufman). These subjectivities are forced to elide certain artistic parts of their identities/ontologies to successfully capitalize on their labor positions. They become part of the structure that upholds the “Fastest guns in video West” with the “East” serving as a reminder of the Cold War conflict. Even the phrase “Calypso singers” serves to remind the reader of two separate projects: to remind the reader of the unhealthily contained nature of these enclaves. By deploying Calypso, a nymph from *The Odyssey*, who tried to contain the main male character on her island, the poet shows how the epistemologies he has learned and bodily contained can still trap, contain, and shape the thinker. In addition, by using music as a negative force, Kaufman avoids the failings of other white Beats: “unlike his

white peers, his references to jazz do not invoke the questionable convention of ecstatic abandon" (Thomas 293).

To turn to the figure of the cartoon duck, in the sixth stanza Kaufman writes "Native-son Woodmen of the West, utterly convinced that Donald Duck is Jewish" (Kaufman). It may be useful to note that Kaufman has claimed to have the parentage of a Jewish father and a mother from Martinique, or as A.D. Winans notes "A German Jew and a Black woman from Martinique" (Winans 19). Maria Damon also notes that despite Kaufman's varying claims, Kaufman was "one of thirteen children … [in] a middle-class, African-American Catholic family," and his father was a Pullman porter who traveled between New Orleans and Chicago (Damon 106). There is a "possibility that his great-grandfather, Abraham Kaufman, was Jewish" (Damon 106).

Whatever the reality, and perhaps more potent if untrue, Bob Kaufman's ability to construct his own identity by mastering and weaving a different personal narrative (and possibly fictional), leaving behind the contained and constrained Black identity in favor of others with more possibility and freedom: in "Hollywood" they are queer and Jewish. Just as Black individuals had long been wearing the mask described by Paul Laurence Dunbar, Kaufman slips on various masks to engage with culture on various levels. Most importantly, Kaufman does not take on the white, hegemonic masculinity that other Beats use (Ginsberg, Kerouac, Burroughs), instead using the figure of Donald Duck in relation to the position of native identity to stress his outsider position. As mentioned earlier, Smethurst claims that Kaufman uses his position as a "leftwing insider," and that Baraka saw Abomunism as Cold War code for Communism (Smethurst 152-153). Maria Damon

sees Kaufman's Abomunism as poems that are Beat rejections of both communism and capitalism (Damon 3). Smethurst sees these two viewpoints as essentially "correct in that the poems practice a sort of ideological distancing from a specific radical engagement while maintaining a radical stance that invokes the earlier specific engagement" (Smethurst 153). By using distancing as a rhetorical strategy, especially within alternate (and what should be subordinate) masculinities, Kaufman infuses new life into the kinds of masculinities that are being assaulted by Cold War hegemony. The figure of Donald Duck is not a "native-son" giving weight to Smethurst's reading that this line about the "Woodmen of the West" are about the "investigating committees" that use McCarthyism to persecute and destroy artists and freethinkers (Smethurst 152). Why are these investigating committees "convinced that Donald Duck is Jewish?"

Arguably, Donald Duck is a cartoon character that is placed liminally in relation to the main character Mickey Mouse. Just as Kaufman is placed in a liminal position by hegemonic masculinity, so is the figure of Donald Duck. Created in 1932, Disney gave Donald Duck some of the negative characteristics that could no longer be attributed to Mickey (Andrae 61). By doing so, Disney, in the creation of identities sold and packaged to children, makes the duck figure one of anger and violence: animators often dress Donald Duck in sailor outfits, further emphasizing his marginalized, violent character.[61] Moreover, Donald Duck does not articulate himself like the other characters; when driven into a rage, the character replaces speech with quacking. This seems like a more

[61] Sailors at this time could be seen as *fellaheen* on the water, drifting from port to port, uncontained by normal society but shunted to a liminal space untouched by suburbia and traditional patriarchal masculinity.

appropriate figure than that of Daffy Duck (a different cartoon duck which we'll return to in a moment). Kaufman was beaten down by North Beach police many times during his lifetime, and the kinds of brutality he witnessed and endured can be seen being posited upon the figure of Donald Duck. As violent and hard as Donald/Kaufman becomes, the "Woodmen," like the mini-HUACS run by film studios, are exponentially more violent, girded by the power of the "West" and the Western superpowers of the Cold War (Kaufman 35). The "West" also has "the fastest guns" with implications to the increasing arms race that fueled the Cold War military buildup (Kaufman 10). And while white Beats were portrayed as revolutionary figures, because of their complicity to race and class, especially class as articulated through an academic lens, "it is within this white liberal, color-blind erasure, where white consciousness sees itself not as white but as universal, where racial integration means assimilating these held-to-be universal, 'acultural' principles, that Kaufman's poetic tension clearly represents the marginality of being African-American" (Falla 185). Kaufman cannot slip into the safer confines of academia like other supposedly liminal figures like the "fairies in the ivy East" (Kaufman 10).

"Hollywood" ends with a final, satirical insult aimed at Cecil B. DeMille, iconic religiously-oriented Episcopalian Christian filmmaker: "Lonely old De Mille-divorced God, seeking a new producer / With a couple of rebuilt commandments" (Kaufman). A. D. Winans notes that "Kaufman's work seems particularly harsh towards the church" (Winans 20). However, religion as religion is different than religion as politics or economics or global colonialism. When religion, and specifically American Christianity

of the Cold War, serves as an Althusserian tool, as a product of ideological state apparatuses, in conjunction with film and other parts of culture, the falseness of its cause is revealed. There is no brotherly love or merciful reaching out; there is only isolation of the worst kind. The loneliness of the crowded solitudes, of the long-distance runner, of the irreligious maker of religious films, these are further emphasized by the naming of "DeMille" as "De Mille"; the soul has lost touch with its own self. Once more, Kaufman searches out a cosmic solution to these terrestrial problems, crying out ostensibly to Hollywood, but more to the "universe" of the "cancer" he sees, which some scholars see as having "a more mature vision than Joans or Baraka," other Black Beat poets (Thomas 293).

Here again we see Donald Duck as a fitting figure to use: in addition to fighting Nazis in cartoon form during the Second World War, Donald Duck was seen as a symbol by conservative Hollywood to be exported as a signifier of American democracy and its attendant ideas. Walter Wanger, film producer and president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, replies in his 1950 work "Donald Duck and Diplomacy" to Senator William Benton, with Benton claiming that "the first task of democracy is to launch a world-wide barrage of ideas that will break through barriers and reach people everywhere," which Wanger believes "Hollywood has been doing successfully for years" (Wanger 444). In this screed Wanger ends with a manic screech, never explaining anywhere in his piece the rationale behind this particular command, for "Donald Duck as World Diplomat!" (Wanger 452). It is curious that Donald Duck deploys more easily as a figure for the exportation of American ideas than Mickey Mouse. Nevertheless, it is clear

that Donald Duck is more than a cartoon character, a representation of a subject position that is unable to articulate his anger or vitriol, relying rather on violence and force to accomplish his will.

[**John Ashbery's "Daffy Duck in Hollywood"**]

John Ashbery's "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" also deploys a cartoon duck character and also critiques the inability of Cold War subjectivities to properly express and communicate through a language built on shared and unstable cultural signifiers. There are some important differences to think about when using the figure of Daffy Duck. "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" was released in *Houseboat Days*, a collection of Ashbery's poems published in 1977. Daffy Duck, unlike Donald, had evolved from his earlier hijinks, mad-cap identity to a more sophisticated, if marginally oppressed character; going from an "eccentric one-dimensional zany in the Thirties to a full and responsive instrument in the Sixties," Daffy Duck represents an articulate inability to speak better than Donald (perhaps in speaking the un-sayable), who more often than not falls into incoherent screeches and shouts (Thompson 40). Richard Thompson argues that these cartoon films depicting Daffy Duck contain dialogue that "is invariably complex, multi-leveled, and literate" (Thompson 39). Thompson also notes that the characters of Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and Elmer Fudd are "locked into unavoidable three-way combat, and the stakes are much higher for the characters: beyond dignity to sanity and survival" (Thompson 40). One similarity important to highlight is that both duck figures play marginalized and Othered characters: one to Mickey Mouse, the other to Bugs

Bunny. In addition to liminal space, it is a contained one, much like the spaces created by containment culture. The cartoon basis of the poem mirrors, deconstructs, and plays with this containment by using comedy to talk about framing: "the basic concept in *Duck Amuck* is the idea of the frame and frame lines," with the strategy being to "develop through frustrating incongruities" (Thompson 41).

Thompson also argues that "Bugs is a winner and Daffy is a loser" (Thompson 40). He also notes that "Greg Ford has pointed out that in these … films we have the clearest definition of general roles: Elmer never knows what's going on; Bugs always knows what's going on and is in control of the events; Daffy's bright enough to figure out what's up and understand how to be in control, but he never makes it" (Thompson 40). Furthermore, Thompson argues that "Bugs is a strong, more traditional American hero who reacts upon his person or property with appropriate violence," whereas Daffy "is much more complicated" (Thompson 41). One thing to take away might be that Daffy's "yen for heroism, as well as his tenacity and ruthlessness in its quest (or the quest of its appearance) are balanced by his capacity for self-pity, self-righteousness, and self-aggrandizement," making Daffy a much more relatable, humanistic character (Thompson 41). It is this Daffy, like the Daffy from the 1953 *Duck Amuck* cartoon, that Ashbery deploys.

Ashbery himself mentions in his conversations with Mark Ford that he chose this cartoon, in addition to discussing the way the "artist's pen being dipped in the inkwell and then drawing Daffy, and then sort of tormenting him by adding an extra beak or drawing a monster about to destroy him" (Ashbery and Ford 58-59). Daffy, marginalized

by his subordinate position to a hegemonic masculinity in the form of Bugs Bunny, must also factor in the whims of an artist-creator, and "all the time the artist is invisible" (Ashbery and Ford 59). As with Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*, the absence of the creator is comical (Ashbery and Ford 59). Ashbery purposely ignores earlier incarnations of Daffy Duck, despite various Daffy Duck cartoons literally having the same name as Ashbery's poem: nominally suggesting a better fit. This may be due to the fact that in these earlier films, Daffy Duck is the one doing the tormenting (especially to subordinate racialized masculinities). Michael Salda states one could argue "that Daffy's producer/director/actor effort is *supposed* to be deeply flawed – as it is, for example, in 1938's *Daffy Duck in Hollywood* (Daffy posing as a director and then being mistaken for the real thing), 1946's *Hollywood Daffy* (Daffy posing as a director and 'casting' a studio guard in order to enter a studio), or 1950's *The Scarlet Pumpernickel* (scriptwriter Daffy pitching his project to Jack Warner and envisioning himself as the lead)" (Salda 56). Within this cultural backdrop, Ashbery's poem reinvents Daffy Duck once more.

Douglas Crase argues that "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" should be connected to the Whitman-ian idea of "contain[ing] multitudes" (Crase 40). He sees "multitudes to come" and the "exploded culture in which we truly behave" (Crase 40). David Herd also brings up Ashbery's project in which Ashbery's poetry debates the nature of communication, arguing that "communication is more than ever the issue in *Houseboat Days*" (Herd 168). Ashbery's poetry comments on a Cold War culture that elides the "intimacy of the colloquial greeting" and displacing them with "the big, homogenising voices of the national networks" (Herd 169). In *Duck Amuck*, Daffy deals with a

troublesome creator-animator, one which continually gives Daffy difficulty in being interpellated as a proper subject. The futility of Daffy to mirror all the necessary identities needed to make a hegemonic masculinity is foregrounded by the constant costume changes, although it should be understood that Daffy is "an autonomous character, a put-upon actor capable both playing roles and speaking for himself" (Thompson 42).

Because of Daffy/Ashbery's failure to communicate, and really the failure of popular culture to use communal language to create sincere meaning, the poem uses irony to fulfill its project. Crase says that irony "may be forthright as satire or burlesque, but … also likes to sow her discord on the sly" (Crase 47). About Ashbery's poetry, Vernon Shetley states there is "no clear demarcation between the lecturer's and the poet's voices," and that "the degree of irony to be accorded any particular statement thus becomes difficult to judge" (Shetley 123). Arguably, with the proper "Rosetta Stone" to decode his work, Ashbery's poem may reveal more about the environment and emotional resonance of the poem (and poet) than any actual knowledge or discernible narrative.

Unlike Donald Duck, Daffy is "invest[ed] with a certain grandeur," in which "the duck's struggle to prevail against the shocks and indignities inflicted by an unseen tormentor" becomes something to be admired and mirrored (Shetley 126). Despite criticism that wishes to put Ashbery in opposition to the Beats, perhaps criticism should think about the similarities present in their works. Vernon Shetley comments that "even though Ashbery shared with the Beat and the Projectivist camps a disaffection from the reigning academic modernism, he rejected both the progressive model of literary change

they espoused and the heroic self-image they cultivated" (Shetley 107). Furthermore, Shetley suspects Ashbery had Ginsberg in mind when he remarked: "In both life and art today we are in danger of substituting one conformity for another" where "protests against the mediocre values of our society such as the hippie movement seem to imply that one's only way out is to join a parallel society whose stereotyped manners, languages, speech and dress are only reverse images of the one it is trying to reject" (Shetley 108).[62] In other words, Ashbery refuses to reject one hegemonic masculinity for a different version (read: white Beats); Kaufman, on the other hand, seems to be stuck inside the binaries of his diegetic world, with cosmic holocaust being the only possible solution.

This difference in viewpoint, one hopeful, the other despairing, might be related to the poets' views on culture. Kaufman leaves very little hope for positivity or regeneration in the diegetic space of "Hollywood." The culture of that world leaves the speaker yearning to leave the earth, seeing it infected with cancer. Ashbery views culture in a different way. Mark Silverberg mentions that "the poetry of Ashbery and his colleagues attempts to escape the solemnity of the time not (as is sometimes supposed) by *inverting* but instead *opening* standards of taste to embrace popular culture" (Silverberg 297). Kaufman does this later, perhaps, with his inclusion of Shirley Temple in *The Ancient Rain*. In this earlier work, however, Kaufman fails to do as Ashbery does: "this equal embrace of high and low can be seen in the way that Ashbery's most successful

[62] There should be some distinction made between Beat and hippie culture. While there may have been some overlap, there were some obvious differences. For instance, Beat culture was associated with urban living while hippie culture was more about the greening of America and a return to nature.

poems are as likely to feature pop-cultural figures such as Popeye and Daffy Duck as avant-garde exemplars such as Parmigianino or de Chirico (Silverberg 297). Returning to the question of communication, in "Daffy Duck in Hollywood" the "question of the poet's capacity to communicate and the question of the culture's are one and the same, the term that yokes them together being 'tradition'" (Herd 169). It should be remembered that:

> in so far as tradition stands for a set of customs and conventions evolved to enable effective communication within a society or culture, and in so far as effective communication requires, as Habermas points out, a shared 'background knowledge' among a 'community of speaking and acting subjects' about 'what takes place in the world or is to be effected in it', then the idea of a tradition preoccupied with its own 'safe-keeping' (in the guise of a canon) is indeed a contradiction (Herd 171).

Change is the key ingredient necessary to bind and keep contact between people (Herd 171). But what is the change that Ashbery advocates in "Daffy Duck in Hollywood"? By making the same social commentary Kaufman does, and in much the same way, Ashbery is "self-consciously reworking motifs and tropes from earlier poems while infusing them with an almost manic garrulity," marking a difference in a "shift from the lucid to the ludic" (Gilbert 203).

While existing Ashbery scholarship has commented on this poem along a number of avenues, I would like to bring the conversation back to the ways in which this poem mirrors Kaufman's "Hollywood," and the possible reasons why that matters. Reiterating

the fact that Daffy Duck is a liminal figure, Daffy is still able to find some joy in this diegetic world. What prevents him from achieving cultural bliss, or for lack of a better word a cultural truce, are the constant references outside of commodity and consumer culture which intrude with their historical and biographical references. Few scholars have noted Speedy Gonzales's inclusion in the first stanza: "a mint-condition can / of Rumford's Baking Powder, a celluloid earring, Speedy / Gonzales, the latest from Helen Topping Miller's fertile / Escritoire, a sheaf of suggestive pix on greige, deckle-edged / Stock" (Ashbery 4-8). Most of the items listed are for sale; like Kaufman's characters, the inhabitants of this diegetic space are tied to consumer culture and consumer identity. The speaker's pleasure is interrupted by the "strange" that "creeps" (Ashbery 1). Listening to pleasing music might seem like an un-classed activity, but whether high culture or low (Billie Holiday or Handel), it suggests a physical, material object that must be purchased. The things listed, again the seemingly senseless list appearing, are all commodities: baking powder, jewelry, trashy romance novels, photographs. Perhaps some connection between these products can be made to the domestic, but one must wonder, what is Speedy Gonzales, the Fastest Mouse in the West, doing in the middle of this list?

Arguably, Speedy Gonzales represents a seemingly subordinate masculinity, as opposed to those of a hegemonic masculinity, but infused with movement and vigor. This racialized masculinity does not depend on strength or force but rather nimbleness and small stature to accomplish his goals. When being listed by the Daffy Duck speaker, Speedy's inclusion may seem like a desire to reach out of the domestic, and perhaps feminized, sphere that Daffy is relegated to by his Otherness. The "mean old cartoonist"

has doomed the Daffy character to a perpetual losing battle (Ashbery 11). Elmer Fudd, by way of "Fudds' garage", is "reduced" (Ashbery 18). This character that never knows what is going on, that has failed to collect and utilize the proper epistemologies, is elided over, his space being "drastically" shrunk (Ashbery 18). Perhaps it is U.S. imperialism that is being critiqued when the speaker brings up the Gadsden Purchase, in which land was sold by representatives of Mexico to the United States so that a transcontinental railroad could be completed. The sky begins to move from "aqua" to the end of the poem where it is simply "green" but the speaker does not care (Ashbery). Rather the speaker, now become a communal "we", does not mind because "play keeps them interested and busy" (Ashbery).

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Religion, Economics, and Politics in Sylvia Plath's Short Fiction: Resistance to Dominant Tropes and Ideologies

[**Containment and Femininity**]

A number of Sylvia Plath's works – whether in prose or poetry – contain her conflict with the dominant ideologies of her day: the ones that said her gender, her lack of proper spirituality, and her lack of capitalist survivability made her inferior in some way to those around her. Perhaps her religious ambivalence was inherited or exacerbated by her parents' experience; Otto had been disowned over religion and died during Sylvia's childhood, and Aurelia had left Catholicism, eventually entering the Unitarian faith after Otto's death. Regardless, for both marriages, dealing with the finances of the world while coping with marital partners and their belief systems created a torrid system of instability and inability to deal with the secular world's demands. In a world where capitalism, gender roles, religion, and global politics all come together to play a part in dictating how a female like Sylvia Plath should behave, the works she leaves behind show a resistance to those dominant tropes and ideologies. Sylvia Plath's short stories reveal a clash with the kinds of containing structures built to order American society in the Cold War era; because of a centering around certain masculine, religious, and capitalist ideologies, Plath's resistance is pitted against a gendered economics, in which female characters perform in both feminine and masculine personas to try and reclaim a non-threatening space of their own.

Always trying to be perfect, even after her suicide attempt, Sylvia Plath downplayed her abilities. When Olive Higgins Prouty goes to visit her and mentions that "Dr. B. said that Sylvia's weaving was the best in the shop," Sylvia goes on to reply that she thinks it is "awful" (*Letters* 128). Prouty responds that it is "really exquisitely done" (*Letters* 128). Sylvia Plath has also prepared a typed assignment for Prouty, and "that, like the weaving, was flawless" (*Letters* 128). One might wonder at Sylvia's inability to properly gauge her financial, as well as her creativity, talent, and capability in a commodity-centered economy. Sylvia's doctor suggests "that she is a perfectionist, which accounts for her self-deprecation if she falls short of perfection in anything she does" (*Letters* 128). Having failed to escape the world, Sylvia expects nothing less than the absolute best of herself; sadly, she cannot say the same about those around her, especially in the mate she chooses. What penetrates her works, one can argue, is the constant move by her fictional female characters to try and gauge the adoptability of certain identities.

Being a wage-earner is of great importance to Plath. Her letters to her mother, both before and after her marriage, proclaim future greatness: sometimes for herself, sometimes for her spouse. In a manner of thinking, her journals seem to indicate a span of time in which her ambitious focus is decidedly diverted by Ted Hughes's prospects and career. Sylvia Plath writes to her mother that, "Ted does not want to be a university professor for a career. He wants to write now and for the rest of his life. And in marrying a writer, I accept his life," also saying, "I find it best not to argue" (*Letters* 290). Sylvia Plath also tells her mother, "I am a firm believer in learning to be inventive and independent the hard way – with little or no money" (*Letters* 144). However, many of her

letters boast of literary accomplishments, often defining worth by how much money her work brings in. She exclaims of possible awards to be won, "first prize is $1000 (!)," as well as money earned from her writing, but was disappointed in how money often came with stipulations, like when she states, "the Atlantic sent me a letter with a $25 check … BUT with a really thorny string attached" (*Letters* 170). She is asked to change her work, and is "sick and disillusioned," by their "paternalistic letter" (*Letters* 170). Her marital worth is defined by her performance as wife and mother, whereas she values herself along different lines, both as an artist and in the ability to provide a wage for herself. Ted Hughes's inability to provide a wage or long-term emotional satisfaction to Plath leaves one to wonder at the patriarchal biases that give an adulterer credibility, custody of children, and the executorship of an estate. In a world where academia and the canon are controlled by patriarchal ideologies, Sylvia Plath struggles to resist the temptation to succumb to society's demands for young females. Betty Friedan explains how young women were "taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents," or that "truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights," all things that highly concern the work of Plath, her identity, and her life's work (Friedan 15-16).

In many ways, due to her work at women's magazines, she not only forgoes the position of resistance to a patriarchal capitalism, but she becomes one of the "experts" Friedan mentions that teaches other women how to catch a man, to feed him, to dress to attract his attention, and to make the domestic home life a satisfactory and fulfilling life. Michael Davidson states that, "that identity, the feminine mystique in Betty Friedan's

terms, is an idealized version of domestic, maternal bliss forged in women's magazines and reinforced by psychoanalysis, advertising, and self-help books. Failure to live up to this ideal, according to Friedan, creates a malaise, a 'problem that has no name' so pervasive are its effects" (Davidson 183). Furthermore, "women's perfectly made-up bodies serve as markers of repressed trauma," and the trauma that Plath feels and deals with in her personal life are reified in her work (Wheeler 173). This malaise is addressed in many of her prose writings; while Plath's connection to capitalism is academically plentiful, her connection to Christianity is not as detailed and is an area this chapter will further explore. I would argue that because this era has such strong idealizations of properness that intersect, Plath's conflict and resistance to capitalism is often couched in spiritual or political language, with Plath seeking ways to overcome the trauma inherent in an unequal and un-meritocratic system. As Alan Nadel claims:

> Very shortly after the bomb initially exploded upon the American consciousness, however, a national narrative developed to control the fear and responsibility endemic to possessing atomic power. The central motif of that narrative was "containment," in which insecurity was absorbed by internal security, internationalism by global strategy, apocalypse and utopia by a Christian theological mandate, and xenophobia – the fear of the Other. (Nadel 14).

It is this kind of containment that structures the ideological base in Plath's prose and poetry.

This containment, and the surveillance that accompanied that policy, serves to shape Sylvia Plath's life, as well as her poetry and prose. The various stages of

complicity with and denial against Christianity, capitalism, and colonialism are important to see how even supposedly forgiving and moral ideologies (like Christianity) also (like Plath) become coopted by larger state ideological apparatuses. Even more confusing, the rhetoric used by the United States and its allies during the Cold War was often steeped in religious duty and mission, and "the atomic age was opened with a prayer," Paul Boyer writes in *By the Bomb's Early Light* (1994) his history of America's cultural ascent to its role as the world's first nuclear power (211). Although specifically referring to the chaplain blessing the crew of the Enola Gay as it embarked on the mission that would terminate in the sky over Hiroshima, Boyer is alluding more generally to the narrative that has in Western discourse mandated the fusing of divine power with secular: warfare, particularly as situated in the assumption that God always sides with the winners. (Nadel 13).

Supposedly a religion of peace and forgiveness, Christianity has historically been used to justify obscene injustices, crimes, and evils, and I would argue that this is something that Plath struggles with, both in her personal life and her short stories. By putting on different personas and imagining new identities – and more importantly creating a demand for alternate social spaces that could accommodate newer and fairer modes of thinking and living – Plath's short stories contend with the ideal created by society of the perfect suburban Christian housewife, sexy and pious, and completely in tune with both the spiritual and financial worlds. In a sense, the contradictory and problematic model that this era called for seemed to be the classic madonna and whore dichotomy, but a madonna-whore with a degree in both shorthand and a "'Ph.T.' (Putting

Husband Through)" (Friedan 16). Asking the female body and psyche to absorb these disparate requests might certainly account for the aforementioned "malaise," but with the additional spiritual threat of eternal perdition.

[**"Fifteen Dollar Eagle"**]

In *Johnny Panic and the Bible of Dreams,* there are a number of short stories that deal with the themes of a flexible femininity (or a female masculinity), in which the main female character is searching for ways to resist the patriarchal fingers that dig through avenues provided by Christianity and capitalism. These stories are in a way her "Bible," containing the narratives and truths that she sees in the world; the title character is named Johnny, a diminutive for John, several of whom are credited for writing a number of books in the New Testament. While she, the author, possibly feels diminished by her gender, she is nevertheless a spiritual seer, seeking to redress the wrongs committed by a patriarchal capitalism. For the purposes of this essay, I would argue that the Christian ethos has a stated position that the love of money is the root of all evil (1 Timothy 6:10), whereas the stated position of American capitalism is to maximize profits. While these two ideologies are not directly opposed, the fine line between maximizing profits while resisting a love of money is hard to pin down. In that marginal space in flux, Christian ideologies can start to bleed with economic, political, and social ideologies that coexist in the same time and space.

Carmey from the short story "The Fifteen-Dollar Eagle" is described as not only an artist but as a "real poet with the needle and the dye," something the author of the

work also ascribes to herself. Arguably, Carmey's artistic skill and talent are on a significantly high plane. Consider this in relation to the steady boyfriend of the narrator: Ned Bean. His name "bean" can signify either his capability or status in relation to the narrator or the other characters (like Carmey). Carmey is the embodiment of the Cold War era ideal: a successful and patriotic capitalist entrepreneur. Moreover, he is a seller of ideologies.

Carmey's tattoo parlor, while seeming like a space of subversive and countercultural activity, becomes a way station to reinitiate those in the margins back into a safe and socially sanctioned space. The tattoo parlor is a "parlor" hearkening back to the kinds of social spaces designed expressly for the purpose of solidifying and maintaining class.[63] Tattoos might also be seen as an analogy relating to Plath herself with her fiction and poetry serving like tattoos to cover her own bodily existence. An early passage states, "You got a dream, Carmey says, without saying a word, you got a rose on the heart, an eagle in the muscle, you got the sweet Jesus himself, so come into me" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 92). There are different ways that one can express allegiance to the "centered" norm; even for those who are "othered" of their own accord, there is a seductive quality in these classically appealing images. The rose and heart can be read as a metaphor for romantic love, the eagle on the muscle a robust and militant (and masculine) patriotism, and the sweet Jesus could represent Christianity, which are ideologies that are sold to females in the attempt to contain them in a sphere of

[63] Oddly enough, the tattoo parlor might also be seen as a heterotopic space. Regular visitors in this time period might be the men of heterotopias: the ship (and sailor) and the barracks (and soldier).

domesticity. In addition, Carmey's whole place smells of "gunpowder and some fumey antiseptic," lending a further connection to the armed militancy of the Cold War mentality ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 93). While he is being tattooed, the narrator envisions him, "gone from behind his eyes now, off somewhere in Tibet, Uganda, or Barbados, oceans and continents away from the blood drops jumping in the wake of the wide green swaths Carmey is drawing in the shadow of the eagle's wings" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 98). Tibet, Uganda, and Barbados are all nations that struggled for independence against colonial powers, Tibet against China (which had for centuries its own issues with European colonialism), and Uganda and Barbados dealing with British imperialism. Once more, perhaps in homage to the alliance between the United States and the United Kingdom during the World Wars and the Cold War, the American eagle and its symbolic power is being connected to the British imperialism of the past. There is little doubt whose side Carmey is on (with his love of eagles), and the connection between the blood of tattooing and the blood of warfare is made stronger with the kinds of folk that come into the tattoo parlor.

While his customers include "kids, dock bums, and out-of-town couples," only one customer depicted in the story gets Carmey's patriotic seal of approval, the "sailor out of uniform in his peajacket and plaid wool shirt. His diamond-shaped head, width all between the ears, tapers up to a narrow plateau of cropped black hair" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 96). While the tattooing of the young adolescent who wanted the word "Ruth" tattooed on his wrist brought nothing but teasing and bemusement from Carmey and Mr. Tomolillo, when the sailor announces his intention of getting the more expensive

patriotic symbol (the fifteen dollar eagle, not the nine), Mr. Tomolillo "sighs in gentle admiration," and "murmurs in honor of the sailor's taste" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 96). Mr. Tomolillo seems to retreat into a more primitive state of enjoyment; he is overcome by the pleasure of patriotism, unable to articulate complete words, and only able to express himself in sighs and murmurs. These sighs and murmurs might be read as a feminizing of the Tomolillo character. In a way, by feminizing the discourse of Mr. Tomolillo, the strength and masculinity of the sailor is re-emphasized, and approval of his choice further expounded. None of this is lost on the sailor. He knows the approval an American eagle would receive, and he "straightens with a certain pride" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 97). This matches the description of the "little old lady," that "wanted Cavalry, the whole works" (Plath 95). After spending eighteen hours and thirty-five dollars to get the tattoo "in full color, thieves, angels, Old English – the works. She went out of the shop proud as punch," explains Carmey ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 95). The phrase proud as punch and the use of the term Old English can arguably tie this American patriotism to that of British patriotism as well, lending a historical authenticity to Carmey's project.

Both the sailor and little old lady derive pride from their tattooing; I would argue that as much enjoyment as one gets from such tattoos, if the images chosen are sanctioned by society at large (even if tattooing is less so), then does that speak to an underlying desire to conform to mainstream society? The kinds of romantic love that Carmey can conceive of falls strictly under a heterosexual framework. There is no mention from him of a romantic love that exists outside the binary between man and woman. Tattooing oneself with an artistic image in this particular tattoo parlor is an act of

ideological branding, and the pride that the tattooed feel can result from the public validation of the re-centering of ideologies in supposed subversive deviants. Similar to how society approves of the alcoholic who vows to stay sober for his wife and kids, or the felon who vows to turn over a new leaf, mainstream society has ways of approving and validating those who re-ally themselves to mainstream ideologies. Tattoos could be seen as one more identity-creating commodity for sale (like the motorcycle or the cowboy hat), with Carmey as one more small business owner representing the ideals of a benevolent capitalism. There are rigid financial costs to gaining the social benefits, and "you want a rose, you want a heart in this life, you pay for it. Through the nose" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 101). Money is connected with love and life itself, and in this heavily-capitalized society, everything has a cost. The barriers between those ideologies start to collapse, and the language used to describe financial transactions take on a gendered queering. After finishing the tattoo for the physically large and imposing sailor, Carmey, like Mr. Tomolillo, is described in relation to the sailor as "spry as a shopgirl wrapping up a gift package," as he "tapes the tissue into place" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 101). The power of a gendered economics can place the formerly hyper-masculine Carmey into the gendered role of shopgirl. One might read this as centering the masculine identity of the consumer foremost, so that the power of consumer and commodity culture is being foregrounded.

The romantic (and sexy) image of the housewife was being pushed by the government and by Hollywood. Elaine Tyler May states that, "the 'maternal instinct' was the point at which sexual and reproductive ideology fused, giving rise to a revival of

motherhood," and, "the notion that motherhood was the ultimate fulfillment of female sexuality surfaced suddenly and visibly in the media at the beginning of World War II" (May 140). The narrator wonders if this sexy maternal figure is someone that Carmey, the supposed idealized male in this particular story, may be wedded to. The ideal female, at least according to Carmey, may be slightly different in terms of how tattooed women are thought of but is still judged on a degree of sexual attractiveness. When Carmey's wife is mentioned, the narrator gains interest at what kind of woman Carmey would marry, and how she might look and act. However, "for some reason Carmey sounds all at once solemn as a monk on Sunday," instead of his usual free-talking self ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 96). In relation to his wife and his marriage, Carmey is suddenly cast back into a Christian discourse, but an older one, and one that is no longer relevant or contemporary. He is a monk, serving up an image of isolation and societal castration. The earlier allusions to a patriotic religion are gone; Carmey's solemn attitude might be read as the rigidity of his ideologies inhibiting his ability to speak and communicate language. Carmey's feminization is re-enacted in the relationship dynamics with his wife.

The narrator envisions, as Carmey's mate, the kind of perfection that society demanded from females like Sylvia Plath, a projection of a woman that is "lithe, supple … a butterfly poised for flight on each breast, roses blooming on her buttocks, a gold-guarding dragon on her back and Sinbad the Sailor in six colors on her belly, a woman with Experience written all over her, a woman to learn from in this life" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 104). All the familiar symbols and ideologies are here: romantic love in the rose, Sinbad the Sailor denoting armed strength, and a magical gold-guarding dragon that will

uphold and protect the principles of capitalism. The imaginary Laura is steeped in sexuality; she is lithe and supple, with particular attention focused on erogenous zones like the breasts and the buttocks. However, the reality is not so. The real Laura turns out to be a "round, muscular woman … wrapped to the chin in a woolly electric-blue coat; a fuchsia kerchief covers all but the pompadour of her glinting blond hair" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 104). There are hints that this Laura has little fashion sense, but not through a sensual rejection of the world like the imaginary Laura. Instead, she waits "with the large calm of a cow" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 104). The narrator imagines her "death-lily-white and totally bare – the body of a woman immune as a nun to the eagle's anger, the desire of the rose," sitting "regardless of Mount Cavalry" ("Fifteen Dollar Eagle" 104). The bareness of the dead female body is a recurrent theme in Plath's works (such as "Edge"), but the narrator can only do that in this situation in her imagination; the imaginary Laura cannot exist in the narrator's real world. Just as Otto and Aurelia, along with Ted and Sylvia, had to deal with their partner's differing belief systems, Carmey and Laura's relationship is also fraught with stress fractures. There is a correlation as "Plath's marriage to Ted Hughes in 1956 seemed to move her further away from Christianity," and more into the model of Christian woman that society wanted to see: maternal, domestic, and contained (Holden-Kirwan 297). Mirroring Carmey's earlier comparison to a monk, here the narrator sees Laura as a dead nun, and like a monk on Sunday, doubly incapable of feeling the kind of excitement and passion that Carmey and the narrator crave. There is only an eternal salvation that feels like damnation in this heteronormative world, with capitalism dictating many of Carmey's principles, which are then conflated

with other intersected ideologies such as Christianity, conservatism, and colonialism. There is also a reversal in gender dynamics, with Laura seeming to dictate Carmey's behavior, but with the inclusion of a "watchdog" male that could be a "brother" or a "detective," one is inclined to read Laura as a symbol of the patriarchal female, completely subsumed into the system, habituated to a permanent male surveillance. In turn, Plath seems to hint that femininity will take on the same kinds of restrictive holds that masculinity performed in the Cold War era.

[**"Mothers"**]

In "Mothers," Plath explores similar themes of gender identity fluctuation in religious and capitalist situations through the characters of Esther and Mrs. Nolan. Esther's domestic space is under constant attack from males in positions of capital authority. Her identity as a consumer, whether through the post office, bakery, or the grocer, leaves her subject to domestic invasion. This constant intrusion serves as a kind of surveillance, with Esther feeling "spied upon" ("Mothers" 11). The containment and surveillance described in Plath's work has connections to the containment and surveillance of Plath's time. In the Long Note, "Kennan created a view of Russians as irrational, insecure, and paranoid, whose goals for world domination depended on disrupting the internal security of Western powers" (Davidson 55). Moreover, "what is most important about Kennan's policy in terms of cultural hegemony was his recognition that military containment abroad depended on the maintenance of domestic order at home," meaning that for national order to be maintained, domestic order had to be

maintained (Davidson 55). Society uses embarrassment to keep Esther from barring her own door, despite the safety that she would feel from doing so. Suspicion and fear of the Cold War Other necessitated the kind of social order that allowed strange men access into one's homes, one's lives, and one's thoughts. The abstract social strictures that shape Esther's identity is more powerful and is more real than the physical deadbolt of Esther's door. When Esther states that Rose "was a Londoner, and should have known better," there is an implication of some sort of female solidarity and understanding, connecting a feminine understanding with the city etiquette of urban space. The decadent city, more likely to be considered liberal, is fashioned instead as an arbiter of decent manners, and the conservative country as more unkind. Tom, spelled with only three letters like Ted, does not accompany Esther to church (also like Ted). Esther, who is named identically to the main character in The Bell Jar, and who may have autobiographical resonances with Plath herself, is instead encouraged to navigate a spiritual existence in a strictly-female setting.

The rector, who has connections with colonialism, is described as a "small, gray man," with an "Irish accent," and he "spoke of his years in Kenya, where he had known Jomo Kenyatta, of his children in Australia, and of his English wife" ("Mothers" 13). There is a veritable laundry list of colonized countries, and his emphasis of the Englishness of his wife only serves once more to reemphasize the centering and idealization of the white, heteronormative, Christian standard. The rector had come and spoken to Esther previously; he is "professionally benign," with an "all-tolerating smile" ("Mothers" 13). That tolerance, like his smile, reaches only a surface level, with the

rector stating that “a Christian, of whatever persuasion … would be welcomed in his church” (“Mothers” 14). However, he fails to mention in a timely manner the addendum that should that Christian woman be a divorcee, she would find that welcome revoked. The rector and his wife have a relationship where gendered economics serve once more to conduct capitalism through a religious arena. Esther is reminded that whenever she attends a church service, offering is stressed as important, finding herself the casual churchgoer “walking out from Evensong recently with a Blessings Box” (“Mothers” 18). When trying to offer a compliment, and connect on a human level, the rector’s wife tries to sell it to her, leaving one to wonder if the sale of the bread is due to Esther’s outsider status or normal behavior regardless of insider-outsider status. She is “taken aback by this sudden financial pounce,” and is all too glad later when no mention of the bread is made when leaving (“Mothers” 18).

The rector’s wife is placed in a paternal position, “bending maternally over” the women in the story (“Mothers” 15). Her labor is taken for granted, and “she bakes a lot” (Plath 17). The rector also helps with beating; in service to preparing the commoditized food items, the religious male, like the patriotic one, can take on lose their male subjectivity. The rector’s wife, as the fully subsumed patriarchal female, can access and penetrate various classes and social spaces, for while nominally serving one master (religion), she also serves to keep in place the sociopolitical and economic framework necessary to maintain domestic and global order. The rector, when producing these “painstakingly decorated” cakes, “some with cherries and nuts and some with sugar lace,” can take on the role of the domestic, because of the presence of a Laura-like

patriarchal female. To keep other females cooperating with the social system, a patriarchal female might have more efficacy than a patriarchal male.

Mrs. Nolan, resistant to the pressures and morals espoused by these unethical people, tries to gain her own secular power, couched in a masculine persona. While it may seem like an act of politeness, Mrs. Nolan chooses to discuss smoking in this religious space. The stricture loses power in her aggressive questioning, with people trying to parse out if it stemmed from a legal grounding or a religious one, with Esther asking, "is it a fire law … or something religious?" ("Mothers" 17). Esther and Mrs. Nolan actively look for ways to break down the containing structures set in place to monitor and dictate societal behavior, and especially the behavior of women. Steven Axelrod states that while Esther "bonds with two other young mothers," she refuses "to join an oppressively pious" union (Axelrod 163). Rather than wait for everyone else, Esther and Mrs. Nolan eat the sausage first, symbolically castrating the masculine power with the ingestion of the phallic-like sausages: they are "like schoolgirls with a secret" ("Mothers" 17). They feel as though they are momentarily able to elide both their identities as mothers and the surveillance that comes with those identities. They march off at the end of the story, arms linked, in a new social formation, outside of the sphere of patriarchal, capitalist Christianity.

Ultimately, while there is no permanent and productive solution, Plath's short stories do point out the contradictory nature of having Christianity, politics, and economics intersect in the way that it does during the Cold War era, and that rather than Christianity being used to uphold the system of brutal colonialism and capitalism that had

long inhabited the Western hemisphere, it might become a place and space for a moment of resistance; in the hypocrisy of the ideologies of men like the rector and Carmey, where both the promises and principles of a positive and productive capitalism are shown to be false, there is room for active and meaningful resistance. By showing the falseness of the promise of the linkage of Christianity, capitalism, and colonialism in her own time, Plath points out the continued problematics of the linkage of Christianity, capitalism, and colonialism in our time.

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Hegemonic Masculinity and Collection in Cold War Video Games

[**Introduction**]

Video and computer games of the Cold War were products of their time; the ways those games were constructed mirror the ways Cold War novels and films of the 1950s and 1960s were constructed. Scholars like Doris Rusch argue that "the majority of computer games share certain traits with fiction films" (Rusch 22). There are certain games that are globally known: *Pac-Man*, *Super Mario Bros*., and *Sonic the Hedgehog*. These seminal games – like John Fowles' *The Collector* and the James Bond film *From Russia, With Love* – also depend on the hegemonic and uncontained masculinity built on collection and capital, operating through a lens of righteous Christianity and collection through sphere-circularity. Embodied capital becomes important in how that masculinity is ranked and allowed certain liberties in the Cold War cultural milieu. War and film had already shared a history by the genesis of the Cold War.[64] During the latter part of the Cold War, "virtual death in computer games [was] simply the most recent iteration in a long tradition of war representation" (Rentfrow 88). While the games were not overtly labeled as games of war, the Cold War and its attendant ideologies created semiotic signifiers that have connotations rooted in the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. These games still have new media being produced today: *The Super Mario Bros. Movie* screened in 2023, and Sonic the Hedgehog had two movies premier in 2020 and 2022, with a third possible moving releasing in 2024. More

[64] *The Birth of a Nation* premiered in 1915.

importantly, these games – and their financial successes – paved the way for other games by providing a model that future games developers could follow.

The mimicry of these games created a bridge between Cold War ideals of the 1950s and 1960s and implanted them into computer and video games in the late 20th and early 21st century. The emerging electronic and computer technology of the Cold War in essence jumpstarted the gaming industry. To defeat the Axis powers in WWII, "the Army commissioned the creation of ENIAC, long celebrated as the first digital computer and for years symbol of American scientific supremacy" (Halter 88). After WWII, although "the fight against the Axis menace was over, ENIAC was immediately pressed into the needs of the Cold War. Upon its completion in fall 1945, ENIAC's first job was to calculate a mathematical model of the hydrogen bomb" (Halter 88). For all intents and purposes, "during the hot years of the Cold War, war and games became practically indistinguishable" (Deterding 21). Furthermore, scholars argue that "videogames' position as the pre-eminent media of the 21st century, founded in the knowledge factories of the Cold War, therefore become a transpolitical medium, derived from its technocratic origins and evident in their discourse of a technologically closed world which refracts, as it simultaneously produces, the hyperreality encompassing it" (Seiwald and Wade 54). The Cold War leads to Cold War games.

[**Containment Culture and Cold War Nukes**]

Containment culture may have begun in the 1950s but its resonance and legacy is felt into the 1980s and 1990s, specifically the ways that containment culture shaped and

structured seminal and influential video and computer games.[65] George Kennan wrote in "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" that "the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" (Kennan 575). There were others involved in the formulation of containment policy: "the architecture of cold war containment was provided by a series of national security documents written by George Kennan, Paul Nitze, Dean Acheson, and other State Department officials during the late 1940s and that served as the basis for American foreign policy regarding the Soviet Union" (Davidson 55). This policy of containment against Communist expansion extended beyond geopolitics and into the domestic sphere. Michael Davidson in *Guys Like Us* writes that "the term *containment* may have derived from foreign policy concerns about the spread of communism, but it also described a more general attitude toward personal and domestic life threatened by forces unleased at Los Alamos and Hiroshima" (5). There is a clear linkage between containment and nuclear technology. Also, as part of that containment policy, "to eliminate any doubts from the minds of the Russians as to what areas America considered part of its empire and what areas it conceded to Russia, it undertook to draw demarcation lines which eventually encircled the Soviet Union from northern Norway to the 38th parallel in Korea" (Schurmann 68). Encirclement of the enemy through containment was necessary at all costs because of the emerging nuclear technology that allowed mutually assured destruction on a mass scale. Arguably, nuclear

[65] The terms video games and computer games will be used interchangeably for the purposes of this chapter.

weapons and the world in which they exist "have not and never will be an inert presence in American life. Merely by existing they have already set off chain reactions throughout American society and within every one of its institutions" (Manoff 29). This despite the claim that "we have somehow managed to avert our attention from the pervasive impact of the bomb on this dimension of our collective experience" (Boyer xvii). This duality behind Cold War nuclear life was caused and structured through containment.

For Americans, nuclear weapons were ideologically attached to capitalism and Christianity. After the explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American businesses could not "resist the bomb's commercial possibilities" (Boyer 10). Perhaps one of the most enduring symbols is the beachwear American women don for water activities. The American public has long forgotten or associated the bikini with its Cold War nuclear origins but the product itself as well as all its associations have long permeated American society and culture. The bomb was also religiously used: "the atomic age was opened with a prayer. A chaplain on Tinian Island invoked divine blessing on the crew of the *Enola Gay* as it took off for Japan" (Boyer 211). This invocation of religion hints at the kind of divine mandate that Americans believed justified their actions in order to defeat Communism. Tony Shaw argues that "nuclear weapons developments went hand in hand with Christian evangelism in this period, particularly in the United States, as fears of thermonuclear destruction fueled apocalyptic predictions from well-known evangelical preachers like Billy Graham, who called on their congregations to make their peace with God before it was too late" (Shaw 112). The nuclear annihilation that now threatened humanity following WWII was part and parcel of God's plan and will. This connection

between Christianity and capitalism was not new: "capitalism itself developed parasitically on Christianity in the West – not in Calvinism alone, but also, as must be shown, in the remaining orthodox Christian movements – in such a way that, in the end, its history is essentially the history of its parasites, of capitalism" (Benjamin 289). In other words, capitalism is "not only a religiously conditioned construction" but also "an essentially religious phenomenon" (Benjamin 288). This marriage between Christianity and capitalism extended to the highest levels of government.[66]

The geopolitical environment that engendered the formation of hegemonic alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact is similar to the hegemony of the past and of the future. The connection between Christianity and nuclear power might be seen as a connection between hegemonic masculinity. Schurmman argues that "the Catholic Church, for example, is a gigantic organization whose basic purpose is to cultivate the faith of its adherents … It is no coincidence that the largest organized religious body in the world is headed by one man, the Pope" (Schurmann 39). This is mirrored by the power structure behind American nuclear weapons policy. For instance, "the power to use it is so centralized that, at least in the United States, one person alone can make the final decision. This is symbolized by the little black box always in the presence of the President of the United States, which contains the signals to activate, deploy, and fire nuclear weapons" (Schurmann 37). What Franz Schurmann sees as "centralization" might be rethought of as hegemonic: one man in the inner circle, deciding the fate of

[66] "In 1954 Congress created a Prayer Room for congressmen, and America became a nation – according to its newly modified Pledge of Allegiance – 'under God' thus distinguishing it from the totalitarian, atheist bloc of communist-dominated countries; in 1956, without debate, the House and the Senate unanimously made 'In God We Trust' the national motto." (Nadel 92)

humanity – as opposed to a democratic structure for nuclear deployment. This model also dominates the early video games of the Cold War: one man deciding the fate of his diegetic universe.

[**Hegemonic Masculinity, Capitalism, and Embodied Capital**]

The United States and the Soviet Union – already a hegemonic collection of Soviet countries dominated by Russia – exercised their influence over their allies and neutral countries through hegemonic alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This hegemonic structure, like containment policy, seeps from geopolitics into the realm of domestic culture in America. Ultimately, hegemonic masculinity as defined by R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt takes center place as the way gender identity is preferred by Cold War American patriarchy. The "big man on campus" serves as a model for men in both their early lives at school and later in the world of business.

R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt define hegemonic masculinity in the following way:

> Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required
>
> all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. (Connell and Messerschmidt 832)

This version of hegemonic masculinity also defines how video game characters and worlds are built in the Cold War. The male protagonist of these games must build an alliance of characters much like how the U.S. built an alliance of first-world countries. Other characters might be complicit or they can be subordinated. However, within the diegetic world of video games, the character that signifies hegemonic masculinity also makes complicit female characters and brings those female characters into his hegemonic formulation.

Hegemonic masculinity in video games, and video gamers, was not simply based on being the biggest or the strongest but rather on the kinds of internalized knowledge that enabled various masculinities to remain uncontained. Some scholars argue that "the 1980s video arcade was one of the few truly diverse hangouts in teendom. It catered equally to preppies and high school dropouts, geeks and jocks, Chicano kids and rednecks-in-training. And videogames being a great leveler, the arcade was more or less a meritocracy" (Herz 47). The best gamers were able to win by knowing what to do and when to do it; in other words, the gamer is structured by both the habitus and the embodied capital that Pierre Bourdieu discusses in "The Forms of Capital." While cultural capital "can exist in three forms," the embodied state "in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" gives the most successful gamers the other kind of capital needed to win (Bourdieu 17).[67] During this time period, gamers were arguably stigmatized by their gamer identity; "the symbolic forms of capital are associated with

[67] "The arcade games are designed, in part, to convince players to part, and keep parting, with their quarters" (Bernstein 16).

the well-formed habitus and in any group, however defined, those with the well-formed habitus are higher in cultural capital; although not all habitus and their instances of cultural capital are accorded equal value in society – for example, that of the artist versus that of the craftsman," and also perhaps that of the gamer (Moore 103). In addition, the gamer takes on various roles related to their capitalist identity.

Scholars argue that "in the structuring of this narrative, the laws of capitalist development are the plot, while the characters, with perfectly assigned roles, are the proletarian and capitalist classes. Now, the clarity of this history is marred by the emergence of an anomaly: the bourgeois class cannot fulfill its role, and this has to be taken over by the other character" (Laclau and Mouffe 50). The character representing hegemonic masculinity in the game arguably takes on both the position of the proletariat and the capitalist, while the game-playing human takes on the role of the bourgeoisie. Hegemony then is "not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology', nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination'" (Williams 110). It is in this heterotopic space in which the habitus is formed through field (the game state itself) and practice (the act of playing the game).

These attitudes and dispositions that make up the habitus help consolidate a form of acceptable masculinity through the consumption of games related to war. It should be made clear that "hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion" (Connell and Messerschmidt 832). This virtual violence allowed young boys an avenue: "video games offer preadolescent boys an attainable, coherent, socially recognizable way

to be masculine" (S. Tobin 241). These behaviors and attitudes tie to the way that consumption had shifted genders in the 20th century. Peter Sedgwick in *The Market Economy and Christian Ethics* notes that "Male behavior has increasingly shifted production at the beginning of this century, when women shopped as consumer, through the period of men as fighters and warriors, to the late twentieth-century stress in western capitalism where masculinity and consumption are now intertwined" (111). Masculinity was tied to consumption and technology in the Cold War creating an attractive niche for these young male gamers.

[**Cold War Christianity and the Quest**]

The videos games of the Cold War were intrinsically linked to Cold War ideologies and ideological state apparatuses, like the Church, and used those ideologies and apparatuses to structure their diegetic narratives. Christianity and chivalrous knights had long been historically important. For instance, Leo Braudy in *From Chivalry to Terrorism* states that there was a "transformation of knightly violence into chivalric Christianity sponsored by the medieval church" during the Crusades (Braudy 72). During this time the figure of masculine Christianity was based on martial strength and "to take up the Cross, to go on crusade, was to be the highest expression of knightly duties, and the Church sponsorship of the *miles christianus*, the Christian knight, defined a status well beyond that of the armored knight fighting off local enemies and foraging for booty" (Braudy75).[68] The figure of the wandering knight took on its own legend in the West, and

[68] In other words, being a Christian knight was a form of institutionalized capital.

the "solitary knight on a quest to do what he believes is right, owes its genesis to the effort of Christianity and chivalry to reshape the warrior heritage into a new set of values" (Braudy 91). This figure of the wandering knight is arguably the original model for the narratives and male protagonists of Cold War video games: an uncontained hegemonic masculine character out to defeat evil through collection and capitalism.

There are also later Christian martial figures like King Arthur (and his Knights of the Round Table) "who merged the warrior past with the Christianized present, the authority of a single ruler with the prowess of individual knights" (Braudy 79). Here is an example of hegemonic masculinity – first among equals – guised in a circular motif based on wandering uncontained through foreign and domestic lands on a quest to defeat evil. The rhetoric sounds very similar to America's stance against communism and the desire to find and root out espionage and evil stemming from Cold War Communism.

Prior to the twentieth century, "religion had been women's domain, and the sentimental piety and obsessive moralism were experienced by men as a brake on manly exuberance and a constraining critique of marketplace competition" (Kimmel 117). In other words, Christianity in the West had been anti-manliness and anti-capitalism. However, during the Victorian period, "Muscular Christianity was imported from England through the novels of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, which fused a hardy physical manliness with ideals of Christian service" (Kimmel 117). An additional quality of this version of "revirilized" masculinity was that it was "remarkably adaptable to other political agendas" (Kimmel 118). In the 1920s, Muscular Christianity was fused with the persona of a modern corporate leader" (Kimmel 130). The baseline ideology was

prepared for the Cold War union between Christianity and capitalism, as well as an element tied to democracy where American Christians "that the United States had a divine mission to spread Christianity and democracy to the rest of the world, a mission that took on added urgency with the spread of communism and its atheistic stance" (Lambert 147).

This manly Christian identity, this knight with his quest, is central to the construction of Cold War video game characters like Mario, Sonic, and even Pac-Man.[69] The same sense of divine mandate of the Cold war where "the nation, founded by God to carry out His purposes in defeating the anti-Christ in the form of secular humanism, socialism, communism, and a host of other social, cultural, and political evils, is mythologized," is also inculcated into the narratives of Cold War video games (Giroux 151-152). The mission of the character, and thus the gamer, is semiotically the mission of the Cold War. Furthermore, there is a shared warrior ethos between the West and Japan (the country where many of these Cold War video games originated). Braudy also argues that "artistic preoccupation in both Western and Japanese culture with the solitary adventurer, as well as the lure of aloneness in increasingly complex urban societies, owes a crucial debt to the chivalric model of the warrior, knight, or samurai, whose primary function is not in fighting but in the quest" (Braudy 92). With this quest come the questions and ideas often associated with war and death.

[69] This infiltration of religion into Cold War video games was not limited to simply orthodox Christianity but also other versions: "the '90s was the decade during which the rediscovery of Gnosticism truly seeped into popular culture and started to influence movies, books, pen-and-paper roleplaying games, and – as we shall see – Japanese video games" (Wikander). Furthermore, "Japanese video games from the '90s and early 2000s (and, for that matter, other Japanese popular culture genres, such as anime) often include references to Wester, esotericism, occultism, or alternative religion" (Wikander).

Themes like sacrifice and honor often dominate the landscape in these war-like games. For instance, scholars argue that "the rhetoric of Christian sacrifice had long been a staple of US war narrative, as means to direct citizen desire into more sacralized visions of collective purpose. But here, rather than overcoming liberal-capitalist self-interest, it incorporates it" (Vincent 31). The knight on his quest in the video game now accomplished his goals through capitalism and the collection of gold and by sacrificing his physical body over and over again until the mission (and the level) is complete. Games like *Super Mario Bros.* and *Sonic the Hedgehog* pitted the protagonist, the hegemonic knight on his quest par excellence, in a one-on-one duel with a boss character where the "willingness to face an opponent in a potentially lethal one-to-one combat was a key test of gentry masculinity, and it was affront to honour that provoked such confrontations" (Connell 249). Only by defeating his opponent in an honorable duel at the end of the level could the knight errant go to the final room of the castle and rescue the princess.

[**Collection Through Sphere-Circularity and Martial Masculinity**]

Cold War video games use spheres and circles throughout their diegetic worlds to entice the gamer to participate in the collection of capitalist signifiers during their knight's quest, either to shape the masculine body or to resist containment in the ways that only hegemonic masculinity can. Walter Benjamin in *Illuminations* claims that "the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over

them" (Benjamin 60). The gamer controls the character to collect, and they do so by controlling the masculinity that collects circles and spheres, often linked to capitalism. The "thrill of acquisition" is accompanied by a technical score, with algorithms and code having preplanned point evaluations. Collecting gold coins equates to x number of points as does collecting points from enemy kills. In addition, the ingestion of certain individual items allows the game character to take on new identities, identities that mimic the kind of identity change the appears in consumer capitalism. For instance, if one wishes to be a biker, one might buy a motorcycle and a vest. These signify a new identity. Likewise, the game character can contain items and convert that objectified capital into embodied capital; by doing so, the character takes on new abilities and powers to aid him in his quest to defeat evil.

[***Pac-Man***]

Pac-Man is a game that is built on the exceptional male collector, collecting circles of Cold War capitalism and remaining uncontained in his quest to defeat communist evil. *Pac-Man* was "created in Japan by Toru Iwatani for Namco. Atari bought back the license for the VCS, which went on to sell 22 million cartridges" (Natkin 16). While some scholars see *Pac-Man*'s iconic circles as "pills" and "power pills," I would argue that they might represent something more akin to the emerging computer technology along with the nuclear technology of the Cold War (Cremin 25). Nonetheless, Pac-Man as a character is a giant circle with the goal to swallow all the circles in the state to defeat that level. He must collect everything to succeed. Pac-Man also does so by

exhibiting the exceptional ability to resist containment. He can access portals that take the character literally off-screen and onto a different part of the stage, using it to either escape enemies or swallow them for points.

The signifiers of this game suggest close connotations to Cold War themes and ideologies. The enemies that Pac-Man faces "ghostly pursuers" like "Shadow (red), Speedy (pink), Bashful (blue), and Pokey (orange), were known, respectively, as Blinky, Pinky, Inky, and Clyde" (Herz 17). These look identical in nature and might be semiotically read as the collectivized body of communism through a Japanese lens. Pac-Man is the exceptional individual with freedom of movement compared to the mindless drones that must follow a rigid set of behaviors. Pinky's name may also have connotations to American jingoism against Communism: pinkos were suspected American communists worthy of discipline and punishment. These "ghosts" inhabit a rectangular box in the middle of the screen, and are, with their rounded edge, a pale imitation of Pac-Man's whole circularity. The rectangular box functions as a type of heterotopia: "heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place" and "entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison" (Foucault 7). Pac-Man himself cannot enter the space but can force the ghosts by compulsion to reenter their heterotopic prison-barrack. That opening of the rectangle both isolates and makes penetrable the ghosts to Pac-Man's hegemonic power.

Pac-Man also collects through ingestion individual items, like Benjamin mentions. These include the "power pills" that give Pac-Man a short span of invincibility.

But more interesting are the fruits that give additional points to the player. The fruits are a cherry, strawberry, orange, apple, and a bunch of grapes. I would argue that these possibly represent the power of capitalism in the form of the banana republics that American companies forced on foreign governments. Companies like United Fruit Company and Standard Fruit Company exercised hegemonic influence over various Latin American governments in their quest to expand capitalism during the Cold War. Pac-Man might be read as either complicity or a critique of the Cold War geopolitics of its day.

[***Super Mario Bros.***]

Super Mario Bros. is another Japanese game that has its roots in the Cold War. Whereas *Pac-Man* has few changes in stages and levels, *Super Mario Bros*. has many ways in which the titular hegemonic masculine character can resist the containment of the game in his quest to literally save the princess. While an Italian plumber might be an odd figure for a crusading knight, the pipes that this plumber accesses might shed light on the relevant connotations. While some scholars see this Mario game as an Oedipal conflict with Bowser as "the all-powerful Daddy and Mario the emasculated male with Peach the object that satisfies desire with her cakes," I'd argue that Princess Peach might be seen as more of a princess lontaine figure a la Miranda in John Fowles's *The Collector* (Cremin 136). In some ways, Bowser is just another in a long line of captors (like Frederick Clegg), and Mario must reenact that knight-savior model in the same way that George Paston fails and James Bond succeeds.

The circles of *Super Mario Bros*. also connect with Cold War themes like containment and capitalism. The aforementioned pipes (that are circular) allow Mario to access hidden spaces and levels, allowing him to remain uncontained in a way that other characters cannot follow. These underground pipes lead to pathways that are literally off-screen, and Mario can advance and skip levels through this method of resisting containment. The gold coins that Mario collects are also circular and encourage Mario to contain and collect as much economic capital as possible. There are circular powerups like the "fire flower" that give Mario the ability to change his physical and embodied state through the collection and containment of objectified capital. In the third iteration of the Mario series, *Super Mario Bros. 3,* Mario can collect items a la Benjamin that magically turn him into animals with extra powers. For video game characters, "a naked body is a vulnerable body. This is so in the most fundamental sense – the bare body has no protection from the elements – but also in a social sense. Clothes are bearers of prestige, notably of wealth, status and class: to be without them is to lose prestige" (Dyer 263). In addition to prestige, these clothes come with the added ability to fly (raccoon leaf), swim (frog suit), invulnerability (tanooki suit), and the ability to throw hammers (hammer bros. suit). These items are also objectified capital waiting to be converted to embodied capital by the idealized hegemonic masculinity. Mario is that hegemonic masculinity in that he makes complicit other masculinities like Luigi and Toad while subordinating other masculinities like Yoshi into his quest to defeat evil and save the princess. Instead of communists in *Pac-Man,* Bowser (or King Koopa) might arguably represent North Korean Juche dictatorship with Bowser's spiked turtle shell representing

a semiotic reconfiguration of Korea's ancient turtle ships and also an incomplete or distorted version of circular masculinity.

[***Sonic the Hedgehog***]

Sonic the Hedgehog continues the trend of hegemonic masculinity that resists containment and excels in the collection of capitalism through circles and spheres. He, like Mario, has his own circle of masculinities that he either makes complicit or subordinates, like Tails and Knuckles. Sonic also resists containment not through pipes and the underground but through speed. His trademark speed is represented by his transformation into a speeding, spiky circular ball, and the levels are replete with giant traversable circles that are also filled with circular gold coins that give Sonic extra lives when collected. The waypoints and checkpoints are also circular; the gamer initiates a checkpoint by hitting a circle on a pole, and the circle spins in a circle to indicate progress made.

Sonic, like Mario, also can collect and internally contain objectified capital that changes the game character and gives powers. These items that act like unconverted embodied capital are contained in television-like monitors, adding a degree of technological modernity to the game. Power sneakers that give super speed and stars that give invincibility are quite similar to Mario and his model of collector of capital.

Sonic's enemy is called Dr. Robotnik in English. This along with various other signifiers like the red mustache connote a Soviet-style masculinity; Robotnik might be added to the list of Japanese antagonists during the Cold War: Chinese communists,

North Koreans, Soviets. His vehicle is also egg-shaped (in Japan his name is Dr. Eggman). This perversion of circularity, this pale and incomplete imitation is a foil to the perfection of the masculinity associated with the circle. Like Leonardo's Vitruvian Man, the circle indicates perfection, and those without true circularity are failed version of hegemonic masculinity. Dr. Robotnik's plan to subordinate the animals of the diegetic world and convert them into robotic servants in his hegemonic circle are dashed by Sonic and his ability to remain uncontained through speed and the collection of capital.

[***Kirby***]

A final game that exemplifies hegemonic masculinity in Cold War video games is *Kirby's Dream Land*. As the titular character, the circular Kirby must travel the land literally collecting and containing various items. I would argue that Kirby is the hegemonic masculine collector-container par excellence and the final iteration of this evolution of hegemonic masculine characters in Cold War video games. Kirby, like Pac-Man, is a circle out to collect and contain things but does so in an uncontained manner, collecting and containing even the most mundane items like air and using that "item" to then fly. Unlike Mario, no special tanooki leaves or suits are required. Kirby literally sucks in air that is available freely and everywhere and converts that into embodied capital that grants superpowers.

[**Conclusion**]

Because these games are still extremely popular both as video games and other media (like films and music), they have had an outsize effect on all the other video games that came after. The model of hegemonic masculinity that collects capital and remains uncontained has proliferated the gaming industry, which arguably teaches young males (the primary target audience for consumption) a patriarchal and non-egalitarian way of life and thinking. More study should be done to see the linkage between these early games and games following the Cold War to try and undo possibly the harmful and reductive gender identities that young males cling to. By undoing this toxic version of masculinity, games and gamers can create a more feminist virtual space instead of hosting travesties like Gamergate.

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Hegemonic Masculinity and Collection in Cold War Animation and Manga

[**Animation, Manga, and the Cold War – Recap of Video Games**]

Animation and manga, like Cold War video games, are built on Cold War themes like collection, containment, circularity, and hegemonic masculinity. The same themes that dominate James Bond films like *From Russia, With Love* and religious epics such as *Ben-Hur* also structure Japanese animation.[70] Anime characters from the 1980s and 1990s are modeled on the hegemonic male protagonist who remains uncontained through his ability to collect and collectivize. Cold War video games such as *Super Mario Bros.* and *Pac-Man* were created in Japan, and Japanese anime have many similarities to those games. Unlike video games, however, anime needs a much more developed diegetic world with dialogue, plot, and characters; it must extend beyond 2-D. This medium has numerous signifiers that point to the texts' linkage to the Cold War and its ideologies. From the circularity in both objects and characters to the embodied capital to the nature of conflict and success, all these and more show how the Cold War underlies anime's most popular franchises. In addition, American animated series like *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* were also about the Cold War with their own unique interpretations of Cold War ideologies.

There is some difference in how Japan and the U.S. consume these media. Age is a factor in determining what text is targeted toward which audience. America limits comics to the young and "in America, comic books may be just a passing fancy – a

[70] For the purposes of this chapter, Japanese animation will be referred to as anime.

distraction for adolescent boys desperately awaiting the arrival of puberty" (Yang et. al 46). Whereas in Japan, "comics are read in thick, dictionary-size volumes by men, women, and children of all ages" (Yang et al. 46). The difference in audience allows for a wider range of topics and settings. There are also certain cultural signifiers for other target audiences that may not sit well with Western audiences.[71] Perhaps one way to think about adult consumption of manga is the strong internalization of Cold War ideologies within Japanese society as a whole. The entire body (politic) participates in the construction of the hegemonic body.

There is also a similarity between anime and texts from previous chapters – like *The Collector* and *From Russia, With Love* – in the creation of the knight and the knight's quest as a model for the main characters in animation and manga. Leo Braudy makes this claim:

> The artistic preoccupation in both Western and Japanese culture with the solitary adventurer, as well as the lure of aloneness in increasingly complex urban societies, owes a crucial debt to the chivalric model of the warrior, knight, or samurai, whose primary function is not in fighting but in the quest for a truth that is both outside himself and within (Braudy 92).

There are clear perceptions of good and evil, and the hegemonic masculine characters of cultural texts such as *Dragonball*, *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, and *Pokemon* act like knights as they roam various lands, making allies and defeating enemies in their quest to defeat evil in the name of good. Both the United States and the Soviet Union presented

[71] Fan service for otaku might be one example.

themselves as the moral right and used their various ideological stances to justify their hegemonic presence in the global order, and both had a crusade-like desire to defeat the other.

[**Japan's Place in Cold War – East and West**]

Japan's place in the Cold War following the Second World War creates a Japan that is both Eastern and Western in its culture, history, and ideologies. In the early parts of the Cold War directly following the Second World War, the "changes in technology were accompanied by a bipolar distribution of power between the United States and the Soviet Union" (Halperin 3). However, by the "end of the 1960s, bipolarity had somewhat broken down; the substantial nuclear capability of the two superpowers was proving less relevant to the course of events than factors such as the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, the growing economic and political power of West Germany and Japan" (Halperin 3). The balance of economic power shifts in the latter part of the twentieth century, and America starts losing its preeminent position as the world's manufactory. There were genuine fears in the 1980s of Japanese economic domination; both the cost of Japanese real estate and the purchase of American real estate by Japanese entities showed how deep the rivalry between these two nations had grown. Japan was no longer dependent on American hegemony in the same way as before. Anime became – like video games – a product that Japan imported from the U.S. and then re-exported back to the U.S. and other countries.

Anime and manga also help Japan deal with their new position following WWII. Rebuilding their nation and economy from the ground (zero) up and with help from the enemy nation-state that did the bombing leads to various interpretations and reinterpretations of history and futurity. Anime films like *Space Battleship Yamato* and *Silent Service* "deal with a fantasy of postwar Japan where the pacifist constitution renounces war" and "deal with complex desires for peace, the right to fight, to defend the nation, to determine the nation's own course, when Japan's peace, defense, and future are in many ways in the hands of the world hegemonist, the United States" (Mizuno 105). For instance, in *Space Battleship Yamato*, the titular ship deals with wars in space (mirroring the space race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union) and whereas "the actual Yamato watched Japan atomic-bombed from the bottom of the ocean, unable to do anything … the anime Yamato saves not only Japan but also the whole earth from radioactive contamination" (Mizuno 106). Hiromi Mizuno claims that by doing so and "having the Nazi-like enemy in the anime distances Yamato – and the Japanese viewer – from Japan's Axis past" (Mizuno 108). Mike Featherstone states that "in the late twentieth century, there is a growing recognition that the peoples of the non-Western world have histories of their own" (Featherstone 88). He also makes this claim:

> Particularly important in this process in the post-Second World War era has been the rise of Japan, not only because its economic success seemed to present it as outmodernizing the West, but because the Japanese began to articulate theories of world history that disputed the placing of Japan on the Western-formulated continuum of premodern, modern and postmodern societies" (Featherstone 88).

Reimagining the past as future is just one way the Cold War structures anime and manga of this time period, and Japan does so by being an ideological amalgamation of Eastern and Western values.

[**Anime as Cultural Export – Soft Power**]

Cartoons have long been used as both propaganda and for soft power. During the Second World War cartoon characters like Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck were used to battle both Nazism and Japanese imperialism. Mickey Mouse and Bugs Bunny are both hegemonic males themselves and both have complicit duck masculinities like Donald Duck and Daffy Duck in their hegemonic social formulations. Mickey and Bugs are two of the most famous cartoon characters of all time, and the exporting of the hegemonic structure that underlies these characters has an effect on the cartoons that follow after. Anime functions in a similar way: "since the late 1980s Japanese cultural industries and cultural forms have played a growing role in the transnational flow of media and popular culture" (Iwabuchi 53). America's blue jeans and McDonald's culture is no longer as potent in a world where Dragonballs and Pokeballs exist.

Anime was also seen in Japan and the West as a lesser art during its early years, perhaps due to the foreign or non-traditional nature of its media. Anime, and manga, were once seen as "a 'low' cultural product, that at best lacked the complexity and seriousness of literature and high art, and at worst encouraged deviant tendencies in its young" audience (Suter 310). However, this shifted as "another consequence of the growth of informational manga, and more generally of the production and consumption of comics

by a broader variety of social actors, was the shift of the medium from marginal, subcultural position described by Tsurumi to what Kure Tomofusa has described as a 'high cultural form and a source of national pride'" (Suter 315). This transformation from low culture to high culture is accompanied by a shift in international opinion: "nonetheless, Japan has adopted soft power as a foreign policy tool in the Southeast Asian region" (Chua 251). Gone are the days of Pearl Harbor, which are then replaced by youngsters consuming anime like Pokemon (and with those youngsters now adult parents who have children who consume Pokemon).

[**Collection and Capitalism**]

Collection and its intersection with capitalism is a key theme in how we think about these anime. For instance, within the diegetic world, collecting various objectified capital results in world domination, or the prevention of world domination. Objectified capital can also lead to changes in embodied capital.

Collection is also important in how the animation shows are consumed. These are not just texts but a "collection of texts, such as a TV serial, a card game, toys, magazines or a computer game," as well as full-length feature films (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 11). Collecting all the cards for the collectible card game is an "operation[s] of the market, which made these commodities available in particular ways in the first place" (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 11). Collecting merchandise is also a huge part of the fandom. This is a fandom not limited to traditionally English-speaking Western nations. Latin American nations also consume anime like *Dragonball*, with *Dragonball* being "so

huge in Spain that, during the Barcelona Olympics, there were more *Dragonball* items being sold on the streets than Olympic mascot items" (Yang et al. 58). Collecting through capitalism is woven into the fabric of these texts. These texts for young children inculcate a consumer relationship early on because "as a collector, the child has a special relationship with the world of objects" (Gilloch 88). The child is "the urban archaeological par excellence, an image of redemption (a reconstitution) of lost times, a recollection of the collector, a redemption of the figure of redemption" (Gilloch 89). Children are able to recite facts and stats and histories about various characters, their power levels and specialties, their strengths and weaknesses against other enemy characters.

[**Dragonball**]

Dragonball, released in December of 1984, has a main character named Son Goku who sets the template for hegemonic masculinity resisting containment through exceptional collection and usage of circularity. Scholars claim that "without a doubt, the epic martial arts comedy-adventure *Dragonball* is one of the most popular cartoons in the history of the world" (Yang et al. 58). The manga version is "perhaps the most popular manga series ever" (Yang et al. 46). Arguably, since the whole world was part of the hegemonic struggle between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the Cold War themes of *Dragonball* are easily digestible, perhaps explaining the ease with which various non-aligned regions adopt this series. Whatever the reason, Son Goku has remained as

popular today as when he first premiered, demonstrating his ability to adapt and model previous iterations of hegemonic masculinity.

Son Goku resists containment in various ways, starting from his birthplace to his ability to affect Earth after his death. Goku's story mirrors Superman: an alien from a planet that is destroyed and to which he cannot return, comes to Earth and with his superpowers saves humankind from destruction out of the goodness of his enlarged alien heart. Goku must also master containment and collection: his lifelong goal, started with a gift from his grandfather, is to collect the Dragonballs and make a wish based on his particular need at that time. These round spheres hold the key to a supreme power – in some ways mirroring the overwhelming power of the new emerging nuclear weaponry such as the hydrogen bomb. By collecting all of seven of the Dragonballs, Goku summons Shen Long the dragon god who grants the request of the exceptional collector-container.

Circles are quite important in *Dragonball*. The aforementioned Dragonballs are circular, orange balls with stars inside. The stars are red; this may be some reference to the Soviet Union's red star. There are a few early characters who have Russian and Soviet signifiers. Characters like Emperor Pilaf and Mai wear outfits mimicking the uniforms of the Soviet Army; the red star figures prominently on their clothes and headwear. Master Roshi, Goku's mentor and sensei, has a circular turtle shell on his back. Unlike King Koopa in *Super Mario Bros.*, the turtle shell probably does not signify foreign connotations but rather more likely the native kappa, a fierce, turtle-shelled

creature of Japanese folklore. The circular turtle shell is also mirrored in *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*.

One of the most important circular symbols in *Dragonball* is the full moon. It is the catalyst which sets off a drastic reaction in Goku; he changes from the normal human form into a giant King Kong-like simian. The transformation is both primitive and primate-ive. Simply looking at a circular object triggers an embodied reaction in which the latent Saiyan power becomes uncontained and uncontainable, resulting in the power to reduce cities to waste. This destructive power is again reminiscent of the kind of destructive power, beyond just nuclear, stemming from new Cold War weapons.

Goku also exercises hegemonic masculinity, just like Mario and Sonic and even Mickey Mouse, by collecting and containing complicit and subordinate masculinities. Figures like Krillin, Piccolo, and Yamcha aid Goku in the early part of the series; in the latter parts, Goku even draws in his sons into his hegemonic structure as he battles to save Earth from various villains and gods.

[**TMNT**]

Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, or *TMNT*, is a Western comic turned animated series, with the cartoon premiering in 1987, along with a slew of action figures and collectibles. *TMNT* follows the narrative of Master Splinter, a rat that is either the pet of a ninja master or the mutated ninja master himself. This ninja master turned mutant rat takes on the parental role for four baby turtles who also mutate into giant humanoid figures capable of fighting crime. Like Mario, these turtles access the underground

sewers, but they go one step further and make a living space uncontained by traditional societal norms and spaces. The turtles' names also indicate a nod to cultural capital. They are named after classically important artists: Leonardo, Donatello, Michelangelo, and Raphael.

The cause of the mutations is a "nuclear ooze" that happens to pollute the sewer system where Master Splinter and the turtles reside. This is, arguably, in response to the nuclear gaze created by the Cold War in which the fear of nuclear annihilation shadowed the quotidian day to day. Turtles themselves have a connection to early Cold War educational films. These turtles with their nuclear mutation might be connected to Bert the Turtle, the "stalwart cartoon mascot of civil defense and friend to so many children of the nuclear age. The tests, and films of the tests, are characterized as a means to containing a threat. The bomb is survivable, the atom a friend of civil society" (Atkinson 27). Here the turtle has not only survived but has taken on a new warrior masculinity that can take on foreign evils like Shredder, the main villain of *TMNT*.

[**Pokemon**]

Although Pokemon premiered in 1996, a few years after the historical end of the Cold War, it is still very much a product of the Cold War. It is also connected to previous popular cartoons: "in some respects, Pokemon has much in common with earlier textually based 'phenomena' in children's media culture – with Power Rangers or Ninja Turtles, or, indeed, with Disney" (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 13). The narrative follows Ash,

a trainer of Pokemon monsters, and his desire to be "the very best."[72] As Ash wanders from city to city, through the wildlands and other natural terrain, he picks up Pokemon, trapping them in a circular sphere. By doing so, he can then battle other Pokemon trainers and their pet Pokemons. This trapping of is "the most profound enchantment for the collector" which "is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them" (Benjamin 60). The Pokemon trainer's "property and possession belong to the tactical sphere" as well as the literal (Benjamin 63). Furthermore, the battling of Pokemon is arguably a signifier for the kind of proxy battles that were happening in the Cold War. Instead of a direct conflict between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., wars broke out in other parts of the globe, with opposite sides chosen for logistical, economic, and human support. Places like Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America saw conflicts like the Korean War and the Vietnam War as well as anti-communist guerilla training through programs like The School of the Americas (formerly known as the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation). This is the kind of proxy battle structure that Pokemon emulates.

The collection of these various Pokemon is a remaking of both the imaginary world and the real world. These Pokemon are "the demolition site, the space where the old is torn down to make way for the new, is transformed into a site of playful (re)construction. The child gathers up and saves the fragments found in the modern metropolis, and reassembles them in new constellations" (Gilloch 88). Ash must become the collector-container extraordinaire that converts and transforms what might be

[72] The first line of the theme song starts with "I wanna be the very best / Like no one ever was."

considered objectified capital and use them to build the hegemonic masculine identity. Moreover, the kind of collecting that happens with the other media, namely the collectible game cards, are almost identical to a previous version of collecting masculinities – baseball cards: "the difference between a Pokemon collector and a stamp or wine collector is not necessarily that great. The processes of accumulation – researching facts and values, searching out rare items, purchasing, celebrating the purchase within a knowledgeable circle that affirms its value, stockpiling a collection – are shared" (Yano 133). The viewer becomes a collector-container in the same way the Ash collects and contains Pokemon which emulates the way that Cold War superpowers collect and contain other nation-states.

[**Conclusion**]

These animated series are not only long-lasting, with new media being produced in 2024 and beyond, they also shape other media that follow. The ideal of the hegemonic masculinity that singularly resists containment by becoming a collector and container of capital can be traced from the novels of John Fowles through the James Bond films through the video games of the Cold War and to the animation of the twentieth and twenty-first century. It is a structure that creates reproductivity in various genres and media and should be better understood for critical analysis.

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Conclusion

For too long, containment culture has been elided by mainstream producers of ontologies; the Cold War itself is rarely taught as a whole in America but rather as discrete and regional conflicts.[73] There is a lack of departments dedicated to Cold War Studies in American universities. This dissertation aimed to explore that gap in knowledge while reimagining containment as collection and through a circular motif. Moreover, this dissertation aimed to connect the archetypal threads of hegemonic masculinity that not only punctuate American culture but also shape it. Across genres and disciplines and starting from a very young age in globally dominant media, hegemonic masculinity presents itself as a structuring model for young males to emulate. This problematic link to patriarchy also aligns itself with Christianity and capitalism in the Cold War era.

There are other American texts that this project could explore. A long and hard look at the shift from Steamboat Willie to Mickey Mouse might reveal the underlying structure of hegemonic masculinity – and its unyielding influence to transform regular men (and mice) into hegemonic males. Iconic boardgames like *Monopoly* might also have a connection to the Cold War: a game built for the nuclear family in which the capitalist goal is to collect and contain all the properties in order to bankrupt and dominate opponents. Collectible card games are another gaming genre worth exploring,

[73] For instance, the Korean War and the Vietnam War are often seen as two separate conflicts rather than parts of a larger struggle. The U.S. intervention in conflicts like India-Pakistan and the Middle East are also rarely connected to larger hegemonic struggles in mainstream media and education.

especially in how knowledge and ontology is utilized as embodied capital. One particularly fascinating collection of texts is the *SCP Wiki* which details a fictional organization called the SCP Foundation. It is a collaborative effort produced by a collective of writers that write about the containment of a collection of horror monsters, possibly brought about by the proliferation of nuclear radiation and mutation. The logo of the SCP Foundation is, of course, circular.

This project would also benefit from looking at non-American texts, particularly from those of the Soviets as well as from Europe. One example is *In the First Circle* (1968) by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a novel that depicts the gulag as containment as well as how the inner circles function like the circles in James Clavell's *King Rat*. Furthermore, the motif of collection as well as its variations – collectivized, collector, collected, collection – have a Soviet lens. The mass collectivization of the bourgeois (middle-class) farmers was decided by Stalin (a hegemonic male) in order to better fight the economic containment of the West. Even today, Russia is built on the model of the hegemonic male who wants to collect and contain various satellite countries: Chechnya, Ukraine, and Georgia.

Cold War hegemonic masculinity is still a threat to humanity and hopefully this dissertation can be helpful in understanding and dismantling that model of gender identity.