

Editorial

Transversal Acting

By Chris Marshall & Bryan Reynolds

Generated from the social, cognitive, and performance theories, aesthetics, and critical methodologies of transversal poetics,¹ transversal acting emerged during the Transversal Theater Company's rehearsals of its productions over the last four years,² and continues to develop through the ongoing Transversal Acting Workshop.³ Our approach begins from the premise that vulnerabilities, surrenders, and slippages can be more productive than control, domination, and regulation. Moreover, we posit that events, rather than narratives or histories, most profoundly define experience, however incomprehensible they may appear without ready contextualizations or explanations. It is also a premise of transversal poetics that vulnerabilities, surrenders, and slippages only ever occur in a universe of interconnectivity, where everything - all things, ideas, and forces - exist processually in dynamic interrelationality: to varying degrees of contact, intensity, and spacetime, everything is actively connected to everything else. This, we believe, describes the universe in which we live, experience, and perform. Hence, no thing, idea, person, character, narrative, or event ever fully individuates or separates, or becomes external, autonomous, or absolute, within or from the environments in which it exists, is situated, and through which it travels and metamorphoses. For transversal acting, it is moments of engagement with the environments that affect and mobilize the actor, and not just or predominantly the other way around, although these processes are always already interconnected. Keenly aware and responsive, the actor manifests performance agency through the in-between, transversal

spacetimes of actions, interfaces, articulations, and departures. The actor wilfully frees herself of control so that unpredictability can occur and she can learn to navigate the limits and thresholds of subjectivities. It is here that eventualizations are powerfully achieved.

From the transversal poetics of which it is a key constituent, transversal acting adapts and develops the investigative-expansive mode of analysis (i.e. "mode"). Yet, in the case of acting, the emphasis has less to do with meditation or research, per se, than with presence, becomings, comings-to-be, and eventualizations. Ultimately, transversal acting is a celebration of the transversality that makes possible momentous discoveries and emergent experiences, changes, and events, whether these occur on or off the stage. With focus on processual situatednesses, absent-present spacetimes, and future presences rather than the present, the pasts, or what can be restored or perfected, the transversal actor moves within and beyond the parameters of typical methods for executing and comprehending performance. In flowing, non-self-conscious collaboration with environments, she does this to foster events that crystallize and, ideally, eventualize as singularities within multiplicities of configurations, occurrences, and potentialities. The momentous discoveries that can happen through combined processual situatednesses, becomings-x, and givings-way to comings-to-be-x generate eventualizations that are irreducible to the conditions of their emergences. Transversal acting celebrates and capitalizes on the fact that discoveries cannot be reproduced, that is, re-performed, either exactly or with the same effects;

identically repeated or restored behavior is never an objective. In other words, just as all subject matters cannot be accurately dissected, discretely analyzed, and totalized into an independent, hermetic, or coherent whole, transversal acting stresses the radicality of the relations among all things - audience and theater environments as well as actors and characters - that engender the events and, by extension, the wonders that can be created through performances. These relations are usually affective (multisensory, combining thoughts and feelings, as well as proprioception) and they always have to do with material interactions, at the very least. Hence, transversal acting quests after emergent eventualizations that are brilliantly irreducible to the circumstances and apparent structures of their production.

To begin with, transversal acting locates performances in eventual presences by ways of a philosophy that has little to do with being, character formation or metaphysics, but instead with the situations, becomings, and comings-to-be through which all existence is negotiated; more obviously, of course, for humans in the construction, identification, to be sure the eventualizations of subjectivity and consciousness. When a subjective experience crystallizes, an eventualization transpires, but also quickly expires, although never completely: eventually ephemeral, its effects, remnants, and traces continue, however influentially, to radiate, inform, and produce. Transversal acting is especially focused on not only the preparation for such emergent eventualizations, but also on their impact, duration, and legacies; their interventions, infiltrations, and subversions. An event occurs, as one singularity in spacetime among infinite possibilities, and if this event is captured - embodied, cognized - it involves at least one, yet usually many, momentous discoveries within the respective spacetimes of the actor, character, and audience.

Transversal acting is all about revelations and the forging of unforgettable memories that such momentous discoveries precipitate. At the same time it capitalizes on the impossibility of consistent or rational memory, of memorial reconstruction, on the fact that restoration can only ever be a fantasy of a person or people who, like all people, necessarily operate under the physical and ideological, and thus the subjective constraints imposed on them by society. As a means out of the progressive quagmires that society can so easily impose on the subject, and therefore the performer, transversal acting embraces mediation as an inescapable yet empowering reality; it is

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empowering precisely because of, and not in opposition to, the inevitability of mediation. Nothing comes to us without mediation of some kind, whether social, biological, or physical; and mediation is never pure, that is, unmediated, and consequently variation and change are always inherent. Becomings are material, emotional, and conceptual transformations that are wilfully accomplished, and comings-to-be involve similar kinds of transformations that occur passively or unwittingly. Both processes necessitate mediation of stimuli, but the former signifies more wilful and agential participation in the assimilations of the stimuli while the latter indicates less, if any at all. It is while engaged in these processes that slippage and transversality can most easily be achieved, and where the transversal actor seeks to exist.



Rehearsal of *Blue Shade*, Dir. Robert Cohen, courtesy of Transversal Theater Co.

Transversal theory maintains that people occupy subjective territories, their own as well as those of others through various kinds of sharing and overlappings. Subjective territories are multidimensional, combined conceptual, emotional, and physical ranges of experience; which is to say, they form the filters through which, whereby, and how people experience, whether personally, empathetically, or collectively. Although a person's individual subjective territory is defined by both the means of their socialization within a given society and their subjective positionality as a result of this conditioning that necessarily reflects the society, its boundaries continue to be permeable and fluid insofar as imagination is

capable of exceeding social, biological, and physical constraints and mutability is possible for all things. Where there is overlap among subjective territories, such as a common interest in making theater, there is lamination. In effect, official territories organize in the interest of maintaining this common ground. This often involves the forming of clubs, institutionalizing a purpose, establishing rules, negotiating with competing interests, suppressing or eliminating opposition, working relationally with the power structures within which making theater is situated. These power structures operate on micro and macro levels, from governmental organizations to families to gangs, and so on, all of which depend on certain sociopolitical conductors – people and institutions with authority – to support them. A typical goal or symptom of this state machinery, defined broadly as networked forces of coherence or state power, is to maintain the infrastructure and monitor the limits prescribed for subjective territories. Contrary to this process, and even though, historically, theater has not always done this, we believe that making theater is, most of all, about moving both with agency and transversality outside of the parameters of any state machinery, of the society in which a particular theater expresses as well as in relation to conventions on which any style of theater

comes to depend and thereby ossifies. Consistent with transversal theory, then, transversal acting understands both characters and actors as occupying subjective territories, and, accordingly, it works to harness the subjunctive and transversal powers of mobility and change that make possible movement beyond an individual subjective territory into the subjective territories of others, whether of characters, actors, or audience members through becomings and comings-to-be.

Hence, we posit transversal acting technique as a dynamic mode by which to train actors and audiences, for we believe that transversal spacetime can be achieved within the interconnectedness among the

subjectivities and consciousnesses of actors, characters, and audiences through interfaces and communication among their respective and coinciding subjective territories. From the processes of investigative-expansiveness and becomings/comings-to-be, we extrapolate that our work as actors is productively defined by events and momentous discoveries. Put differently, if we define character as individual (physical, emotional, spiritual) yet multi-dimensionally situated, only ever created through interrelatedness, we can experience the definition of characters and relationships during the rehearsal process, as well as during performance, as a series of events and momentous discoveries that continuously create and transform the individual as she relates to the enviroing subjective spaces, her own subjectivity from moment to moment and the relationships that exist onstage as well as between stage action and audience. The moments must define the actor, and not the actor the moments. In transversal acting, we eschew traditional notions of self-consciously created character (often referred to as "becoming the character" as opposed to our preferred phrase, "becomings-character"); for who is the character other than an amalgamation of the reactionary and behavioral responses to the spacetimes – narrativized, fragmented, elusive, ineffable, etc. – in which the actor situates herself? Transversal acting strives to purposefully generate conditions for slippages and heightened sensory responses to each moment that occurs in the life of the character, whether that is in rehearsal or performance. Transversal acting incorporates and mobilizes the idea that we are never the same person, as individualized and also in relation to others, from moment to moment or even from microsecond to microsecond, and thus neither are characters; therefore, we cannot ever "find the character" that many actors and directors seek.

The character is a product, a blend, a plurality, a relational force that is absolutely and consistently undergoing becomings and comings-to-be within the spacetimes of associations, grammar, and story. As in everyday social worlds outside of institutionalized theater making, actors must remain open to each moment and recognize the power of the potentially more dangerous, because uncontrolled, comings-to-be-x; this is, of course, in addition to the obvious advantages to being able to design, initiate, and develop becomings-x as events unfold, relationships begin and transform, laughter and tears are unleashed, hands are touched and held, and murders and joys happen. We believe that through the intentional resignation of intellectualized, self-conscious performance and "character work" that defines much twentieth-century post-Stanislawski theories of acting, the actor will ascertain an ease in performance that is fashioned by others, events, and processual developments that are launched by expressive listening, nurtured through investigative-expansive modalities, and climaxed in momentous discoveries. Through transversal acting, all of this can occur not only during the various spacetimes of performance and theatrical environment, which include audience, actors, and design,



Railroad, Dir. Robert Cohen, Sibiu, Romania, courtesy of Transversal Theater Co.

but also, by extension, beyond the theater's walls in the praxis of everyday life.

Excessive Means

To accomplish its goals, transversal acting pursues forays into, but never permanent occupation of, transversal territory through a series of exercises that cultivate heightened affective relations brought on by indulgence and exploration of fatigue and its relationships to sharpened reaction and release of self-conscious performance. According to transversal poetics, transversal territory is a multidimensional spacetime encompassing, among other known and unknown qualities, the nonsubjectified regions of individuals' conceptual-emotional range; it exists outside of an individual's subjective territory and is not demarcated by the subjective territories of others. Typically, transversal territory acts as a catalyzing and transitional state from which radically new experiences, momentous discoveries, subversive mobilizations, and eventualizations can forcefully occur.

Because we believe that transversal movements and the preferred comings-to-be are most effectively accomplished through both prepared slippages, when the conditions but not the slippages themselves are orchestrated, and correlated heightened awareness based on reactions (such as fear and pleasure), we often begin our training workshops, from introductory to advanced levels, with the premise, indeed a prerequisite, that our actors should be fatigued. Sometimes we require actors to not sleep for twenty-four or even forty-eight hours prior to a workshop. For instance, think of the last time you were exhausted and did not allow yourself to sleep: you may have entered a state of euphoric reactivity, colloquially termed "punchiness." When we are "punchy," we emote almost reflexively; we are acutely aware of certain sights, sounds, imaginings, reflections, and situations to which we may be oblivious when adequately rested or simply a little less tired. We may laugh at a particular event that would not otherwise be funny, which is reactive and potentially a powerful slippage, especially in that laughter is already indicative of a weakened emotional state, typically signifying loss of control at times of high engagement with others, whether live or virtual, actual or imaginary. Moreover, we may also find a humorous situation even funnier when the initial laughter causes a friend to snort or spit up because of his weakened physical condition. Recall that in transversal acting such manifested weaknesses are never construed negatively. To be sure, it is our hypothesis that, although normally resisted, these manifestations often take us down new pathways, investigative-expansively, increasing our susceptibility to subsequent events that further define the moment (and the next, and the next, and so on), thereby changing relationships and defining associated people and environments in immediate and future spacetimes. Mental, emotional, and physical exhaustion become

primary states insofar as we channel both body and mind down avenues of intense engagement, even defensive alertness; this disallows the "laziness" or "delirium" that sleep deprivation often precipitates without losing the reactive edginess that so provocatively characterizes exhaustion. Simply put, the actor should prepare for the work by resisting rest and allowing oneself to become as tired as safely possible.

The Work

Once this condition is achieved, the work can begin in earnest. We intend to describe here an introductory series of exercises which are foundational to transversal acting or "the mode," and are thus by no means a comprehensive representation of it. Many of the exercises are adapted from other styles of actor training, and so they may be familiar, in some incarnation, to our readers. Our intention is not to present a workbook of "how-to" or a sequenced coaching analysis. Rather it is to simply describe the exercises – some recycled, some adapted, and others new – and how each informs and embodies transversal acting, both theory and mode (which are, like all things, the products of diverse influences, even if assembled and presented within the context of the theory outlined above).

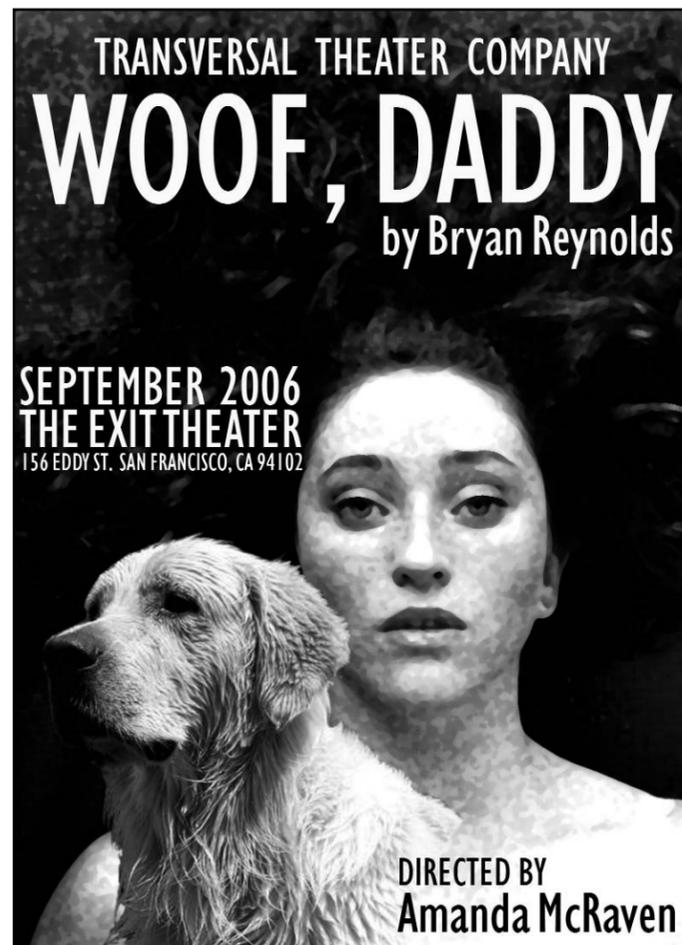
We typically begin each session with some physically exhaustive game playing,



Blue Shade, Dir. Robert Cohen, Wroclaw, Poland, courtesy of Transversal Theater Co.

involving a specific goal and an external object. This wants to be simple: soccer, keeping a ball in the air amongst all members of a group, relay races with an object passed amongst team members, etc. Game and sport that involve a specific physical goal rather than an intellectual one (such as counting games or name games, longtime favorites of the conventional acting class), seek to "externalize" the actor, causing her to focus both outside of herself and intensely on the task at hand, while in the process fatiguing the body even further, bonding her to the group, and increasing awareness and reactivity.

Exhausted, externalized, and prone to slippage, we turn our awareness to expanding



Woof, Daddy poster, San Francisco, 2006

the sensory. The body should be tired, alert, energized, and highly sensitive to the environment now as each member of the class finds space on the floor to lie on the back and simply breathe. Breath is an essential part of our work as, borrowing from many religious exercises, sports training, and acting methods, we understand that it not only soothes but also focuses and reinvigorates the body and mind from moment to moment; this is indeed the basis for facilitating eventualization and subjunctive exploration: we visualize breath as the vehicle for momentous discovery and flow. We encourage actors to "breathe in": environment, relationship, event, emotion. On the back, we are able to visualize breath entering and exiting through each point of contact with the floor, through each point of the body open to the space, even emanating from others in the room; actors should breathe in the entire spacetime of existence, the irreducible context of each moment that aligns itself with each breath. Breath is our way of encouraging the what-ifs of subjunctive space and the processual, eventual becomings and comings-to-be which delineate transversal power.

It allows us to always redefine, to never retreat, to follow new pathways investigative-expansively as we seek to come-to-be in each new moment, with each new breath.

Actors are now open, armed with a defined and tangible metaphor for the beginnings of momentous discovery (their breath), to simply listen to the sounds in the room, and only those sounds. Successively, we then expand the auditory awareness to include the building, the halls, the immediate vicinity; the space immediately outside; the space across the city, across the country, across the world; and, finally, back to only the room. In the discussion following, it usually becomes apparent that actors

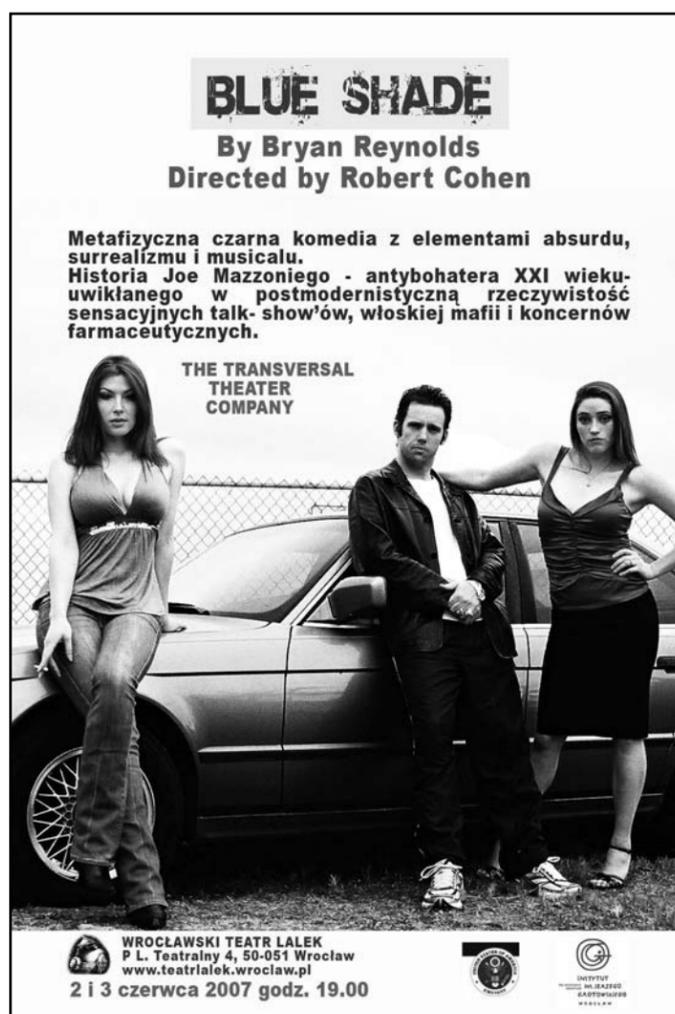
combine actual auditory experience with imaginative exploration; for instance, they know that at a given moment there might be a car starting in front of a building across town and so they listen to it, but, illogically or subjunctively, this car might roar like a lion. This blending of reality and imagination is vital to our work as transversal theorists: we can expand beyond the given to the what-ifs of the subjunctive, and within that territory find powerful transformations and becomings.

The last exercise we intend to describe here is intentionally messy, open, and without objective form; as such, it proves somewhat difficult to define. It is precisely within this realm, however, of definition-less, investigative-expansive exploration as theorists and practitioners, rather than dissective-cohesive formulators, that we are most susceptible, and likely to follow the unknown pathways of the subjunctive, and come-to-be in ways that we had not planned or considered. At this point in the work, we look to take the alert/fatigued, sensitized, sensually aware, imaginative actor and thrust her into another's territory to take part in what Jerzy Grotowski termed "sharing." The exercise is simple to describe in physical terms: two actors occupy a space of no more than two feet apart (preferably closer) and focus on each other's eyes or face (in more advanced versions we use three, then four actors together). However, this is where the simplicity of the exercise gives way to the complex in order for changes to happen, for relationships through events to occur, for agential impulses to slip into the transversal. We stress in these moments the act of seeing rather than looking (like listening as opposed to simply hearing). In our lives, we look all the time, but we often do not see. Here, we define seeing as the active, investigative-expansive, sensually-heightened, emotionally open slippage that occurs when one chooses to engage with, process, and perhaps become or come-to-be, typically empathetically but also sympathetically or mimetically, "x." When we use our eyes (or simply look) on a daily basis, even onstage, we are not seeing. We are operating most often from the powerful, the impulsive, the self-serving, where a self-derived, planned, and controlled event is without spontaneous or uncontrolled follow-through and fugitive exploration. Seeing, on the other hand, or what we might call momentous seeing, necessitates constant and intentional release of impulse, in favor of reactive, processual, eventual discovery in order to pursue any open avenue of communication and search for new and externalized (as opposed to internally deliberated) events by which to identify the next relatable moment. We follow-through, never disengage, and welcome momentous comings-to-be. Events define the actor; the actor does not define events.

Thus, the only rules for this exercise are that the actors must stay in active, engaged, eye-contact, and that they see rather than look. In this way, moments can distinguish relationships and characters, events can crystallize emotion, and impulses without

follow-through give way to flows of discovery. In the beginning, we often work with the entire group engaged, to minimize self-consciousness and performative contrivances, and then re-explore the audience relationship as we all watch one group continue, and conclude with a discussion. We often find that actors will begin with a cadre of impulses (they have been copiously trained by others in the construction of the impulse), but have little or no follow-through or release of control into fugitive exploration. This requires much more seeing.

We should pause here to clarify a point that may be creeping into the minds of some for whom power and action or objective are large parts of acting theory. By suggesting intentional release of impulse and giving over to slippage and momentous discovery, we are by no means implying that actors become weak or muddled in their choices. First of all, we recognize that ours is an advanced mode



Blue Shade, Wrocław Poster, courtesy of Transversal Theater Co.

of training that assumes that actors can make choices and are strong arbiters of active relationships onstage. We must also acknowledge that each human, and certainly each powerful actor, is a being who quite naturally possesses agency and is responsible for his or her actions in the world, and thereby his or her relationships. What we seek to train, and what we hope comes to exist within the transversal theatrical realm, is actors and audiences who will abandon the limits of such impulsive training tools – that have defined their subjective territories – and learn to expand, to become explorers for whom the powerful, "character-driven," well-reasoned active choice is never enough. We hope to inspire actors and audiences to choose to become open to new and unexplored pathways and changes and, by extension, comings-to-be that can only serve to release power over to the transversal, the unexpected, the subjectively reconfiguring from the planned and canned selfish

constraints of the non-transversal and officially sanctioned.

While this brief essay is far from a complete catalogue of the work we are developing, it serves as a foundational prologue to transversal acting. We also utilize a number of other techniques, a few of which we would like to mention here in this introduction to our approach. Contact improvisation is especially helpful in our work, since it is a dance methodology that encourages combining physical territories and vocabularies to create relationships in spacetime, both naturalistic and conceptual, that seek flow and discovery without stoppage or agential control. In this work, we seek to expand down from the eyes to encourage kinaesthetic awareness and investigative-expansive, fugitive exploration in and between our alert/fatigued bodies. We also work with a given text to explore and expound on eventualizations and how they can lead to new trajectories for characters and relationships even within established storylines. We sometimes run a scene using only seeing and contact, leaving open the form to the extent that only the story of the scene remains, however loosely established, and then bring text in meaningfully and quite powerfully surrounding one major event in the scene: a kiss, slap, glance, etc. We find that remaining open, without text as a crutch, necessitates seeing, following, exploring, rather than recitation. This exercise works just as well with a first staging as it does with a stale scene that has become devoid of inter-relationality and momentous discovery.

Drawing from the investigative-expansive mode set forth in transversal poetics, we do not seek to absolutely define or codify a method by which individuals relate – or "act" – since this would counter the premise we hope to exemplify. Transversal acting is processual, and the definitions come by way of events and explorations within the given contexts of the theatrical spacetimes we create.

Chris Marshall is a professional actor, director, and teacher. His recent directorial project, "with their eyes: september 11th, the view from a high school at ground zero" at the Chance Theater, was an *LA Times* Critic's Choice. He has acted at numerous regional theatres throughout the US and abroad, including the Utah and Colorado Shakespeare Festivals, Milwaukee Repertory Theatre, A Contemporary Theatre, Aurora Theatre Company, American Players Theatre, and the Disk Theater in Prague, in roles from Romeo to Caliban; he has also been seen on the television show "Frasier." Marshall has taught at Middlebury College and Sage Hill School (Newport Beach), is a member of both Actors Equity Association and Screen Actors Guild, and holds an MFA in Acting from UC Irvine. He performed as a lead actor in Transversal Theater's recent production of Bryan Reynolds' play *Blue Shade*, which toured the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania. He will be directing the next Transversal Theater project, Reynolds' play

Lumping in Fargo, for the 2008 Gdansk Shakespeare Festival in Poland.

Bryan Reynolds is Professor, Chancellor's Fellow, and Head of Doctoral Studies in Drama and Theatre at the University of California, Irvine. He is the author of *Transversal Enterprises in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Fugitive Explorations* (2006), *Performing Transversally: Reimagining Shakespeare and the Critical Future* (2003) and *Becoming Criminal: Transversal Performance and Cultural Dissidence in Early Modern England* (2002); coeditor, with William N. West, of *Rematerializing Shakespeare: Authority and Representation on the Early Modern English Stage* (2005) and coeditor, with Donald Hedrick, of *Shakespeare Without Class: Misappropriations of Cultural Capital* (2000). Reynolds is also a playwright and cofounder of the Transversal Theater Company. Recent plays of his include *It's A Mystery*, *Gotta Like 'Em*, *Unbuckled*, *Woof, Daddy*, *Railroad*, and *Blue Shade*, the last four of which were toured by Transversal Theater to Romania (June 2004), Poland (April 2005), Romania (May/June 2006), and Poland, Czech Republic, and Romania (May/June and November 2007), in addition to runs in California and New York. His new play, *Lumping in Fargo*, which collages several Shakespeare plays, will be performed at the 2008 Gdansk Shakespeare Festival. Reynolds is also co-General Editor, with Elaine Aston,

of a book series in theatre and performance studies, *Performance Interventions*, from Palgrave Macmillan. Reynolds's next book, *Transversal Subjects: From Montaigne to Deleuze after Derrida*, will be out from Palgrave Macmillan in 2009. Written with Chris Marshall, the current book project from which the present article is an excerpt is tentatively titled, *Transversal Acting: A Mode for the Twenty-First Century*.

Notes

¹ Transversal poetics was developed by Bryan Reynolds, often in collaboration with others, in a number of publications since the mid 1990s. See: "The Devil's House, 'or worse': Transversal Power and Antitheatrical Discourse in Early Modern England," *Theatre Journal* 49:2 (May 1997); with Joseph Fitzpatrick, "The Transversality of Michel de Certeau: Foucault's Panoptic Discourse and the Cartographic Impulse," *Diacritics* 29:3 (Fall 1999); *Becoming Criminal: Transversal Performance and Cultural Dissidence in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); *Performing Transversally: Reimagining Shakespeare and the Critical Future* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and *Transversal Enterprises in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Fugitive Explorations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

² The Transversal Theater Company was co-founded by Bryan Reynolds, Douglas-Scott Goheen, and Lonnie Alcaraz in 2003, all Professors of Theater at the University of California, Irvine. Transversal Theater produces plays written by Reynolds. In addition to runs in California and New York, Transversal Theater regularly brings productions to Europe. In 2004, they brought their production of *Unbuckled* to Romania, where they performed at the Andrei Muresanu Theatre in Sfintu Gheorghe, the Ariel Theatre in Tirgu Mures, The National Theatre in Cluj, and the Sibiu International Theatre Festival. In 2005, they brought their production of *Woof, Daddy* to Poland's Rampa-Teatr Na Targowku in Warsaw, Teatr Polski-Malarnia in Poznan, and Teatr Kana in Szczecin. In 2006, they brought *Railroad* to Romania's National Theatre in Cluj and the Sibiu International Theatre Festival. In 2006, they brought *Blue Shade* to Divadlo DISK, Academy of Performing Arts (DAMU) in Prague, and to Poland's Teatr 77 in Łódź, Teatr Modjeska in Legnica, and Teatr Lalek in Wrocław. And in 2008, they will be performing in the Gdansk Shakespeare Festival, with Reynolds' newest play *Lumping in Fargo*.

³ For information on the Transversal Acting Workshop, see: <http://transversalacting.blogspot.com/>.

Fashion Hero

Roland Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*. Trans. Andy Stafford. Eds. Andy Stafford and Michael Carter. Sydney: Power Publications, 2006.

By Scott Pound

In the late 1950s Roland Barthes began an ambitious study of fashion which was to preoccupy him on and off for twelve years. The project quickly and uncharacteristically turned into something of a methodological rampage with Barthes publishing hard-nosed articles taking aim at the "fundamental errors" and "methodological recklessness" of "all existing Histories of dress" (5). All that research and methodological drum-beating eventually yielded a substantial book, *Système de la mode*, published in 1967 (an English translation, *The Fashion System*, appeared in 1983). In the eyes of one critic, it is "the most boring book ever written about fashion" (qtd. in Stafford 2006:119).

These were the days, not just of Structuralism, but of what we might think of as high or "hard" (Rabaté 2005: 95) Structuralism – a period when theorists like Barthes, Lacan, Foucault, and Lévi-Strauss were seeking variously to prove Saussure's (1959: 16) claim that "a science that studies the life of signs in society" was possible. It was also a period when Barthes – at the time a freelance journalist, humanities researcher, and theatre critic with no permanent academic post – was seeking academic credentials. *Système de la mode* was his doctorate, although it was never submitted as a dissertation.

Now, some four decades later, the rest of Barthes' writing on fashion is available in English as *The Language of Fashion*, and we are saved from the temptation to write off his work in this area as a ponderous exercise in structuralist pseudo-science. It is not a lot of material (about 113 pages worth), but these texts – especially the three preliminary methodological essays in which Barthes retrofits his topic with Saussurean coordinates and the early Preface to *The Fashion System* – betray a very different tone and ethos than *The Fashion System* and thus provide a new perspective on Barthes' curious conversion to the church of semiology. As perhaps the pre-eminent limit case of Structuralist method, the fashion study is an anomaly: a largely unreadable text that nonetheless conceals a great intellectual story. *The Language of Fashion* is therefore welcome news, not only because it helps round out Barthes' oeuvre in English, but also because it provides a point of access to an intellectual tale full of hubris and lofty cunning. Aside from two other short, excellent essays, "From Gemstones to Jewellery" and "Dandyism and Fashion," the rest of the material collected (transcriptions of two interviews and a round-table discussion and a non-academic piece written for *Marie Claire*) is for completists.

Knowing the academic purpose of the fashion study helps explain its *methodical* nature, but the real drama concerns the *methodological* dimension of the work. Anatole Broyard explains Barthes' turgidity in *The Fashion System* as a case of semiotic possession: "Inside the semiologist in Roland Barthes there was a brilliant writer struggling to get out." In fact, Roland Barthes the brilliant writer was already well known in France as the author of *Mythologies*, a work in which the writer and semiologist in Barthes both got to have their say. That no such conflict between semiologist and writer seems to have existed in *Mythologies* says a lot about the new demands placed on Barthes as he worked to enter the academy (he landed his first full-time appointment at the prestigious *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in 1960, at the age of 45) and about the structuralist zeitgeist of the late 50s and early 60s. In light of these new circumstances, Barthes renounces the lively and entertaining style of criticism of *Mythologies* to pursue a new critical mandate dictated entirely by methodological concerns. "A method functions from the first word..." he writes portentously in the opening sentence of *The Fashion System*, and then quickly adds, with even more gravitas: "this is a book of method" (1983: ix). So, in place of the lyrical, freewheeling mythologist who

sees, in the face of Greta Garbo, all the way back to the tradition of Courtly Love and who waggishly hears, in the monikers of industrial plastics, the names of Greek shepherds, we get in *The Fashion System* an arid, unrelenting discourse on method. It is a stunning about face.

In *Mythologies*, Barthes' gift for combining lyrical impressionism and methodological rigour allowed him to turn a Saussurean abstraction – the semiological sign – into a radiant node of cultural energy. The methodology at work in it is no less compelling for having been synthesized after the fact. It combined aspects of aesthetics, hermeneutics, semiology, sociology, history, literary criticism, and ideology critique to reveal that not only do all forms of culture – from soap powders and detergents to professional wrestling – have meaning, but also that such meaning is always ideologically inflected. As a journalist working in the very tight confines of the column, Barthes fused the study of meaning and the study of ideology in a way that continues to be useful and valuable. In theoretical terms, it is a straight shot from his early wizardry with the semiotics of popular culture to much of what we now call Cultural Studies.

But Barthes' use of Saussure in *Mythologies* was petty compared to what was on the horizon. In 1958, Lévi-Strauss published *Structural Anthropology* in which the linguistic apparatus was brought from the wings onto centre stage. "Linguistics occupies a special place among the social sciences, to whose ranks it unquestionably belongs," wrote Lévi-Strauss. "It is not merely a social science like the others, but, rather, the one in which by far the greatest progress has been made. It is probably the only one which can truly claim to be a science" (1976: 31). Here Lévi-Strauss outshines Barthes' use of Saussure for hermeneutic ends and takes up the far more ambitious prospect, merely hinted at by a circumspect Saussure, that the semiological method is also a scientific method. Barthes will adjust his own claims accordingly (Lévi-Strauss was already happily ensconced at the *École Pratique*).

After the publication of *Mythologies* in 1957, Barthes continues to spend a fair amount of his time reading magazines and paying attention to popular culture, but he clearly wants to up the ante in a big way. Rather than plot the meanings associated with individual items (toys, wine and milk, plastic, the new Citroen, etc.) on a diachronic axis as he did in *Mythologies*, he wants to get at the very conditions that make the meanings of things possible. And so he turns with enormous optimism and ambition to a new methodology based in Saussure's notion of synchrony. *The Fashion System* proposes to study the complete system of fashion discourse at a moment in time in a scientific way. The object of his inquiry, Barthes tells us,

is the structural analysis of women's clothing as currently described in fashion magazines; its method was originally inspired by the general science of signs postulated by Saussure under the name of *semiology* (1983: ix).

In 1964, the scientific ethos of this

statement and the (itself fashionable) invocation of Saussure likely would have obscured the bait and switch in the first phrase. There, in very short order, a radical process of curtailment gets under way in which the real limits of fashion clothing are replaced by the intelligible limits of a popular discourse about it. And that popular discourse is held up as the putative object of scientific analysis. This gesture is itself the pretext for an even grander methodological eclipse: from fashion discourse to "the fashion system" that underlies and informs it. Thereby a momentous ontological distinction gets introduced into Barthes' method in which an actually existing corpus of objects (in this case, items of women's clothing) is displaced by a methodological construct, the fashion system.

Like Saussure, who in the name of science passes over the historical study of concrete speech acts (the diachronic study of *parole*) in favour of analyzing the underlying system of language functioning at a particular time (the synchronic study of *langue*), Barthes homes in on fashion as a system of interrelated conventions governed by immanent and precise laws. Although the imposition of a synchronic viewpoint radically curtails (some would say eclipses) the object of analysis, it nonetheless discloses, in a truly scientific way, the principles and laws at work in the discourse. At least that's the idea.

In fact, as we can see clearly now, the complete apotheosis of method that high Structuralism enacts comes at a cost. *The Fashion System* strives mightily, and not just at the expense of Barthes' celebrated lyricism as a writer, to put fashion under arrest. Any method that works by substituting for actual clothing the discourse of fashion insiders writing about it in magazines is suspect by any standard. But the method ultimately fails because it presupposes a system that exists outside the bounds of historical change, a pure form of synchrony in which history does not intervene.

For one like Barthes who identified strongly as an historian (and who wrote a book about the great French historian Jules Michelet) the decision to forsake diachronic analysis would have been loaded with implications, and judging by the Appendix on "History and Diachrony in Fashion," he seems to have been a little haunted by it. Haunted enough to use Arthur Kroeber's earlier work on fashion as evidence for the extraordinary claim that "history does not intervene in the fashion process, except to hasten certain changes in a slight way" (1983: 295).

In the urge to minimize diachrony and naturalize synchrony, we can identify an attempt to confirm two of Saussure's juiciest propositions: 1) that semiology has the potential to be a science, and 2) that its principles can be abstracted and used to analyze non-linguistic sign systems. We might also detect an attempt to match Lévi-Strauss who similarly endeavoured to exploit linguistic method for scientific ends and adapt it to non-linguistic systems (myth and kinship). Did I mention that Lévi-Strauss was already ensconced at the *École Pratique*?

Whether or not other incentives loomed

for Barthes, it is clearly his faith in the putative scientificity of semiological method that underwrites the project, not his fidelity to the process or object being scrutinized. "[B]y working not on real Fashion but on written Fashion, the author believes he has ultimately respected a certain complexity and a certain order of the semiological project," he writes in *The Fashion System* (x). In an earlier essay called "Blue is in Fashion This Year" A note on Research into Signifying Units in Fashion Clothing" originally published in *Revue Française de Sociologique* and collected in *The Language of Fashion*, Barthes' naked faith in method is far more evident. There he writes: "I am not yet certain that clothing does carry meaning, but I am right at least to apply a linguistic method of analysis to it" (41). "It is this conformity of the method to its object," Barthes goes on to say in the same essay, "that will *prove* to me the signifying nature of fashion clothing, rather than the consciousness of its wearers, which is to some extent an alien one" (41-2). A more complete apotheosis of method would be hard to imagine.

The early methodological essays collected in *The Language of Fashion* demonstrate a degree of methodological piety that is absent in *The Fashion System*. Barthes was utterly captivated by structural linguistics. At the same time, the motivation to invest heavily in synchrony is the result of real methodological issues posed by diachronic method. The historian of fashion is flooded with detailed, nuanced, and constantly changing items to consider. Historical analyses of fashion groan under the sheer weight of items to be considered. Focusing on the underlying system of a cultural practice allows the semiologist to bypass history; a synchronic analysis of discourse about fashion screens out change and most of the details of the actual clothing. What remains is detail the system recognizes as meaningful.

In this sense, Barthes' critique of historicism again replays Saussure's critique of historical phonetics in the *Cours*. In order to contemplate linguistics as a science, Saussure needed a method that could bypass the biological, geographical, and historical contingencies that threaten to corrupt the scientific study of language. He created that method by implementing two foundational distinctions that could separate linguistic wheat from chaff: the distinctions between *langue* and *parole* and diachrony and synchrony. In another of the methodological essays from *The Language of Fashion* called "History and Sociology of Clothing," Barthes makes no bones about appropriating these distinctions by name. Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* becomes Barthes' distinction between *dress* and *dressing*. A section in the same essay is subtitled "Diachrony and Synchrony." Elsewhere in the methodological essays, Barthes continues the task of mapping his project onto the Saussurean paradigm, giving us cognates for Saussure's notion of *langage*, phonology, and signifier/signified. All of this culminates in what Barthes improbably calls "a vestimentary linguistics" (30).

While there's obviously no mistaking Saussure's influence on Barthes, it is easy to

miss the fact that Barthes actually goes much further than Saussure. Where Saussure sees theoretical distinctions (between *langue* and *parole*, diachrony and synchrony) Barthes pursues ontological distinctions and thereby commits the category mistake of positing constructs as realities. In "An Early Preface to *The Fashion System*," Barthes argues that fashion clothing is "devoid of all practical use" and thus constitutes "a *langue* without *parole*" (78). Similarly, Barthes argues that within a given year, fashion is "absolutely stable" and thereby constitutes "a pure synchrony" (78). In 1959, as Barthes was writing *The Fashion System*, Roman Jakobson warned against just this kind of methodological reductivism, counselling those who would fetishize synchrony that "We must not hypostatize the code" (1980: 36), and cautioning further that "actual synchrony is dynamic" (1980: 35). Even Lévi-Strauss (with Jakobson's help) acknowledges that synchrony and diachrony are separate only in theoretical terms. Barthes, who certainly would have been aware of Jakobson and Lévi-Strauss' reservations, nonetheless attempts to press on toward a methodological utopia in which all the corrupting factors of variance, change, and nuance are eliminated.

In *The Fashion System* and the methodological essays that preceded it, there is a constant struggle to leverage Saussure's methodology into an enhanced critical tool, one that can handle non-linguistic regimes of signs in a scientific way. Part of that struggle involves suppressing diachrony so as to

construct a cleansed theoretical image of the meaning production in non-linguistic realms. A critical reading of the project gets at the drama underlying these critical evasions as well as the theoretical hubris that motivated them. Consider the almost panicked tone and seeming desperation in the following passage from another of the methodological essays ("Towards a Sociology of Dress," originally published in *Annales*):

I suggested in this journal that, if we exclude the numerous histories of clothes, the majority of which merely repeat each other, then works on clothing overall are rare; and since it is a vast subject, barely explored, and in which there is a permanent temptation toward futility, any serious attempt or claim to synthesize clothing is eagerly seized upon (33).

In allowing himself to become captivated so completely by the fool's gold of pure methodology, Barthes became, however briefly, a living twentieth-century Causaubon, George Eliot's searcher for "the key to all mythologies." *The Language of Fashion* shows more clearly than *The Fashion System* Barthes' pursuit of a formalist (and utopian) apparatus for doing theory in the guise of science. In *The Fashion System*, Barthes concealed his ambitions by playing the "apprentice semiologist" (ix). But in the methodological essays collected in *The Language of Fashion* he assumes the tone and posture of the hero. The dramatic undercurrent of these texts is historically their most interesting aspect.

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SRB Insight: Tailgating

By Randle W. Nelsen

The sociability of stranger with stranger is both modeled and purveyed by the entertainers of the culture, those whose performances bring large audiences of strangers together and whose enactments suggest a stance that can be shared by those who witness their performance. In our time, the range and potency of these celebrities has been multiplied by the mass media in a way that is all too well known. Its stars include athletes and sportsmen as entertainers and as setters of a leisure style of interaction (Denney 1979: 262).

Destination: Stadium Parking Lot

I am up shortly after 5:30 A.M. My hosts, a cousin of mine and his wife, tell me that an early start is imperative. By the time the late summer sun makes its appearance, we are out on I-5, the second busiest Interstate highway in the United States, making our way south from Olympia, Washington, to Eugene, Oregon. The occasion is the University of Oregon Ducks' second pre-season game against a much weaker University of Montana football team. Kickoff time: 12:30 P.M. The game promises to be a tuneup walkover for Oregon (and in the end it is, with the final score University

of Oregon 47-Montana 14), but for me the football itself is not the main attraction. I am returning to my birth state to observe the pageantry and the spectacle, and to party with the tailgaters.

When I came of age as a driver in the 1950s, to tailgate meant that when you were driving down the highway in your car you were following the car in front of you too closely. Some fifty years later to tailgate is also to party, and while the old definition may still nicely apply in the routine gridlock that occurs as a driver approaches the off-ramp to the stadium, today's tailgating is all about celebrating.

This morning's revelry, perhaps reveille given the hour, begins on I-5 with the cars themselves as they stream along the highway, and the parade-float manner in which they have been decorated. The Ducks' green and yellow school colours are everywhere. Drivers and passengers dressed in yellow jackets, green and yellow windbreakers, and baseball caps co-pilot standard sedans and plenty of outsized SUVs. Decorating their rides are UO flags in both colours, yellow duck feathers, pompoms, OREGON in bold letters on windows and bumpers, and back-window pillows and miniature mascots, plus

several yellow Big-O trailer hitches and licence plates dressed in Oregon colours.

Of the cars going our way, a late-model Lexus is typical. It carries two middle-aged gentlemen and comes complete with school pennants flying on both sides of the car. There are two small plush-toy Ducks in the back window, and a large "Go Ducks" sign affixed to the passenger door. But as I survey the busy scene on the I-5 I can see that it is not just mid-life men who have set out on this expedition. As I examine these autos and the apparent road warriors within them, I am reminded that this is not just another convention of Legionnaires out for a good time. Whole families move forward in the passing lane.

Among the SUVs is a GMC Yukon matching the dark green of the Ducks' uniforms. The hefty vehicle flies two school-coloured flags on each side, complete with a roof rack bearing UO gear and two big "O"s, one stuck in the middle of the back window and one lower down overshadowing the Yukon logo. A Ford Expedition sports green flags on one side and yellow on the other, with yellow duck feathers sticking out from the doors and the trunk, a miniature UO football atop the radio antenna. The co-pilot

passenger, dressed in a school windbreaker with his Ducks baseball hat askew, is visibly relaxing on a bright yellow pillow as he snoozes.

A few SUVs and cars, though, are filled with "Beaver Believers" and are adorned with the black and orange colours of Oregon State University, the hated rival of the "Civil War" battles that mark the last Pacific-10 Conference game of each season for both teams. The OSU game has a later, 4:00 P.M., start, at Reser Stadium in Corvallis, about thirty-five miles from Eugene.

Our journey takes us past places of my youth. We have already stopped at one roadside rest area to take our bathroom break along with other football fans. For coffee we make another stop in my hometown birthplace of Portland, at a café favoured by my cousin and his wife. The pilgrimage continues as we overtake a Portland Brewers truck with big lettering on the side advertising its mission: "Beer To The Game." We pass by signs pointing to many Oregon towns familiar to me – Lake Oswego, Woodburn, Salem (the state capital, where I attended university as an undergraduate), Albany, Lebanon, Sweet Home, Harrisburg, Junction City, Florence, the mill town of North Springfield – and finally reach our journey's destination, the turnoff to Eugene and the "Holy Shrine" of Autzen Stadium, home of the Ducks.

Once the cars, the SUVs, and the RVs are released from gridlock and ease their way to the university area and its stadium, we manage to secure a parking spot within hailing distance of the gridiron. Then, on the one-mile walk from our parking spot to the stadium my attention turns from automobiles to the fans themselves and their parties; and a whole new array of Ducks-decorated equipment and gadgets comes into play. Besides the standard party food, grills, and accompanying apparatuses, the various parking lots we traverse feature tents (more than one decorated with a big-screen TV), dining-room-size outdoor tables, chairs, awnings, temporary porches and fences, big balloons, seven-foot-high blow-up Ducks mascots in the "front yard" – well, you get the idea. And all of this awash in the green and yellow school colours.

Apparently, several celebrations have already been in full swing for some time prior to this 10:30 A.M. hour. Couples toast and hoist a beer or a glass of champagne together while teenagers and guys in their twenties along with several fathers and their sons or daughters play catch with miniature Oregon footballs amidst the strong aromas of barbecues working their magic. Fragments of conversation drift across the crowded byways – queries about the beer and pop cooler, the state of the burgers on the grill, the desire for another beer-basted bratwurst, a declaration by one fan that she is now on to her second Bloody Mary, where to find a favourite hoodie, compliments on game-day outfits.

The outfits almost defy description. Again green and yellow is omnipresent – all manner of brightly coloured headgear (baseball caps, golf visors, rain hats, ventilated brim hats, ivy-league caps, hard

hats, wizard hats, wigs), shirts (T-, golf, turtleneck, sport polo, rugby, Hawaiian), jackets and hoodies, windbreakers and rain slickers, the green and yellow striped socks/leggings favoured by coeds, school-coloured Mardi-Gras beads and island leis, glasses and headphones with Ducks insignia. Many students have obviously spent a fair amount of time early that morning painting their faces in school colours. As I round a corner of the parking lot in our walk I nearly flatten a costumed male in his twenties, perhaps early thirties, with a Ducks hard hat on. His headgear serves for me as a representation of the social-class relations of football itself, the attendant Big Game spectacle, and, of course, the tailgate parties themselves.

Some ninety minutes before kickoff we finally reach the walkway surrounding the stadium. Our first stop is the Moshofsky Center, a huge indoor practice facility – and more – adjacent to the stadium. The Center doubles as a venue for game-day activities and special functions, and I want to be a participant-observer of what has been described as "the largest indoor [tailgate] party in North America." There are less than ten thousand-plus fans inside on this day – the opponent is not important enough, and it is early September: classes have not yet begun. Still, the party is on, and I blame a combination of crowd contagion and the television-mandated early start for my ordering and consuming an initial micro-brew well before the proverbial noon-hour finish line of restraint.

Again a word picture can hardly do justice to the scene inside the Center. On one side of this large building are places to buy drinks (a variety of beer and wine) and food with a capital F: the usual array of burgers and sausages and, for the more adventurous, a cajun chicken caesar wrap. For those seeking football-approved food, there is Game Day Chili Cheese Nachos or Goal Line Garlic Fries. They are tasty. For those needing the stamp of coach or ex-player authority, Coach Bellotti's Bar-B-Que or Coach Schaffeld's American Grill will provide your burger, and The Wild Duck, owned by ex-UO quarterback Chris Miller, will serve you up a Fighting Duck Philly Cheese Steak.

Covering the walls are action and still pictures of former Oregon greats arranged under captions such as "The Tough," "Blitz This Offensive Line," "Mayhem" (featuring three fierce-looking linebackers), and "Speed." But it is on the other side of this vast arena, opposite the drinks and food, where most of the action is taking place. On stage is a live band playing some cool R&B and funk. Earlier, apparently, there was the player walk-through – we missed it. The main attraction now, when the band takes a break, is the ear-splitting entrance of the Ducks mascot, looking very Donald and Disneyesque with his big orange duckbill and matching leggings, astride his revved-up motorcycle. This heralds the entrance of the Ducks rally squad – the scantily clad, midriff-bared beauties who do several rocking dance numbers and some school cheers, and then combine with their buff male partners

for some high-flying acrobatics. I can attest that it really does pump you up, or as players and coaches sometimes put it, gets you "game ready."

As the rally squad departs, calm is momentarily restored and I find myself again being thoroughly fascinated by fan costumes. Walking near me is an old codger with his beard dyed green. Across from where I sit is a middle-aged couple sporting matching Oregon Ducks golf shirts. These and much more game-day garb can be purchased in the Duck Shop, which is conveniently located in a corner near the stage, diagonally across from the corner housing the "Order of the O" space reserved for Oregon letter winners. For the moment I find myself focusing on the T-shirts. All manner of Oregon logos and sayings – the usual "Go Ducks" and "Go Big Green," "Hugga Duck," "Get inDucked" (get it?), the more esoteric and aggressive "Much the Fuskies" (a reference to the haze of alcohol-aided spelling and hated Pac-10 Conference rival, the University of Washington Huskies), and my personal favourite, "It Never Rains in Autzen." Now anybody even vaguely familiar with Pacific Northwest weather knows that it rains and drizzles often, and the light drizzle that would fall during most of the first half would prove this game day to be no exception. On the same theme, as we finished a second beer and decamped for Autzen Stadium, my cousin pointed out that the plastic portafloor under our feet covered artificial turf, the usual groundcover for this expensive, ultra-modern practice facility. The Moshofsky Center serves fans as a Saturday party venue, but it was built as a recruiting lure – a powerful incentive to persuade some of the best golden-tanned high-school players from sunny California that as Ducks, or Webfoots, as they are also known, they would be able to attend practice inside, safely undercover from the annoying and clammy dampness of the seemingly ever-present Oregon rain.

Inside sold-out Autzen some 58,000 fans are making a lot of noise. We sit behind two fortyish women who are really into it. We get acquainted, and the one wearing UO earrings with a yellow whistle at the ready around her neck reveals that she and her seatmate went to university in Montana. But now their allegiance is to Oregon, where they live, and they are showing it. It was our good luck that neither woman possessed one of those annoying Quackers, an ear-irritating Duck caller, which they might otherwise have used to demonstrate their loyalty.

The spectacle was totally there in front of us – our Montana-transplant neighbours and other rabid fans, the fired-up teams, the band, the rally squad, all the pageantry and colour. But the game itself was a clunker, and while most enjoyed the party and didn't seem to mind, I was unable to take much satisfaction from the Ducks' domination of an obviously weaker opponent. I amused myself watching some fans wearing big-fingered "Go Ducks" mitts and the band's repeated rendition of the school fight song, "Mighty Oregon," while a guy ran across the end zone after each Oregon score waving a huge green flag with a big yellow "O" (think

of the biggest U.S. or Canadian flag you've ever seen outside a Husky gas station).

Shortly after the fourth quarter begins we get up and leave the stadium to go check out more of the tailgating scene. We are not alone, because it seems that many other spectators have also departed the game to re-engage with the party that a good many others had apparently never left. Television replaces in-person spectatorship as the party continues at the Moshofsky Center and in the parking lots near the stadium. Among the millions of people who tailgate across America, thousands are not only late for kickoff but do not even bother to enter the stadium. The community they find at the tailgate trumps attendance at the game itself.

The Search for Community

In *The Lonely Crowd*, Riesman, Denney, and Glazer (1950) with their now well-known trio of tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other-directed personalities, created types that have since served useful in describing and analyzing social change connecting historical eras and societies. The other-directed theme emphasizing the importance of social acceptance by peers would be taken up a few years later by William H. Whyte in *The Organization Man* (1956) – a figure whom the author discussed at work in the office and at home in suburbia.

Charles R. Frederick's (1999) word picture of the community to be found in The Grove at the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) in Oxford has much in common with the pre-game and post-game celebrations that I observed in Oregon. His description of the Rebel Walk, an event that takes place in a part of the country known for its historic and deep racial divisions, focuses on the sense of community it helps promote between the team, the university, and the school's football fans. The Rebel Walk was started by Billy "Dog" Brewer, who became head coach of the Rebel football team in 1983. According to Frederick, Brewer began the Rebel Walk, a parading event, because he "wanted his players to share in the colorful pre-game atmosphere in The Grove," the university's gathering place – a "10-acre patch of heaven" set amongst thick oak, elm, and magnolia.

For the vast majority of tailgaters, activities such as the Rebel Walk offer more than simply the regulation, routinization, and ritualization of fan behaviour; for these are the activities that keep fans from being relegated to the role of passive spectatorship by moving them towards more active participation.

In The Grove at Ole Miss, outside Oregon's Autzen Stadium, at Dartmouth's Memorial Field – in every region of the country – autumn Saturdays mean participation in a festival-like community re-created not only from one weekend to the next but from one generation to the next. In Frederick's South and elsewhere, college football is like religion in that "babies are born into established 'faiths' as fans of particular teams," and as they grow out of

their orange and white Volunteer baby booties and red-elephant-inscribed Bama Baby Sleepers they learn and pass on "the deep traditions and values that undergird the festive occasion." In The Grove the enthusiasts are engaging "in a participatory festival." They are not spectators, not simply observers, but active players on the scene. "On Monday morning, if one is asked 'How was The Grove Saturday?' the questioner assumes participation by the respondent. Levels of participation may vary according to age, gender, race, and/or commitment. *But participation is the rule. No one just watches*" (Frederick 1999: 18). It is, then, a time for community. It is community grounded in family relations and *Habits of the Heart* – a community to replace what Robert Bellah and his collaborators and more recently Robert Putnam (2000) argue is often missing in today's American society, where many, according to Putnam, are "bowling alone." One of Frederick's key informants, an Ole Miss graduate and former marching band member who had missed only one home game since 1960, beautifully describes what brings him and his family back to The Grove Saturday after Saturday: "We come here because we are family. We bring the grandchildren because we've got to keep it going" (Frederick 1999: 61).

Lest readers think I am describing a "love-in" marked by the spontaneity of unbridled sociability, I should be clear: there is more to this tailgate-as-community story. It is a regulated community in which behavioural norms are passed on and rules governing proper behaviour (they are posted at The Grove, and on the university's official website) are much in evidence. Tailgating also clearly represents a community marked by class, gender, ethnicity/colour, age, regional, and other divisions and distinctions. It is community that when combined with corporate capitalist direction and class consciousness and mobility leads to a social conformity suggested by the other-directedness of *The Lonely Crowd*.

Barbecuing and Big Business

Besides the obvious – the development of football as big business at major institutions of higher education – the growth of the tailgate industry involves a wide variety of other business operations. They range from small to megacorporations – from the Big Three automakers and recreational vehicle and gasoline companies to the manufacturers of automobile and truck hitches, lawn chairs, balloons, dining tents, barbecue grills, burger flippers, corkscrews, drinking mugs, tablecloths – the list could go on and on. Indeed, potentially gigantic profits are there to be made in the food and beverage trade alone, market-adjusted and advertised, of course, to take advantage of regional tastes and proclivities.

Whether it is the 60,000 or so who regularly show up at Oregon's Autzen Stadium, or the 80,000 to 100,000 who gather in numerous larger venues across the country, or the 200,000 racing enthusiasts who crowd the track at tailgate parties around NASCAR events, food is a major

attraction. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the more than 1,600 tailgate entries to be found on Amazon.com are items featuring tailgate food and its preparation. And whether the fare is pork or pâté – for class distinctions abound – there is big money for the companies who service the tailgate table.

Research analyzed by the Gale Group in 2004 showed that 13 per cent of all U.S. consumers had tailgated at least once in the previous year. Tony Miller, spokesman for Hearth, Patio & Barbecue Association (HPBA) notes that with 85 percent of U.S. families barbecuing and 60 per cent of gas-grill owners cooking outside year-round, "there is a big flame to be fanned among tailgaters" (Chow 2005). In the eyes of grill and car manufacturers, that flame could be big indeed. According to one report, it can be expensive to tailgate in a fashion worthy of "keeping up with the Joneses." Chow found:

Tailgating is no longer just a cultural phenomenon. It has become a market segment for makers of vehicles, barbeques and out-door products. Take the Grill-n-Chill, for example. Made by Go Products, the unit attaches to the hitch of an SUV and sports a built-in cooler, a 180-watt CD/MP3 stereo with radio, and, of course, a large grill. Price: US\$2,495 (Chow 2005: 1).

Automobile companies are marketing special "tailgating editions" of SUVs and trucks as well as offering standard features helpful to the tailgater. Corporate America is fast switching from the stadium box seat to the parking lot party, entertaining clients with rented RVs and hired chefs who cook lobsters and steaks to individual preference.

The intense, and competitive, struggle to secure a preferred parking spot is definitely part of tailgate culture, and the HPBA tailgater survey revealed that what most (37 per cent) respondents liked least about tailgating was "traffic and parking hassles." It is the parking hassles, however, that create an opportunity for small business entrepreneurs and charities to make a little money, to cash in on the crumbs that fall off the corporate groaning board.

It is increasingly common for tailgaters not to interrupt the party by bothering to be present inside the stadium at game time. The HPBA survey discovered that what 65 per cent of tailgaters like most is "time with family and friends." The event itself, the football game, comes in a very weak second, at 20 per cent. Results from another survey reveal that people tailgate for a variety of reasons. Number one is "socializing with friends," which is most important to 71 per cent of those surveyed, while "eating food" comes in a distant second at 13%. Activities like "drinking," "watching the opposite sex," and "being outdoors" were also mentioned, but football, the game itself, did not even register on this list (Judd 1996). When American Tailgater organizes a party, game tickets are not part of the typical package of \$7,000 to \$10,000 that entertains corporate clients in the parking lot.

In short, the live game, like a real vehicle tailgate, is not necessary to fully enjoy the sociability of the tailgating moment. Today's tailgater fan may even often feel that game attendance gets in the way of sociability. Professional tailgater Joe Cahn admits he doesn't actually go to the game, only to the game area (Nolan 2004). Sponsored by a number of corporations, Cahn sold his New Orleans School of Cooking business to hit the tailgate trail. He brought his forty-foot Safari Zanzibar luxury motor home (worth a quarter-million dollars and corporately bestowed by the Monaco Coach Corporation) to Autzen, where parodying an old saw he declared, "It doesn't matter if you win or lose – it's what you eat." Vince Lombardi, the tough-minded, larger-than-life Green Bay Packer coach who, according to legend, declared a half-century earlier that winning was not everything, it was the only thing, would not have looked kindly on this point of view. With a camera crew from the Travel Channel documenting his trip, Cahn played down his famous jambalaya and the bottles of personalized spice mix that he was giving away this day. In brief, he de-emphasized the business and social class aspects of his new calling in favor of tailgating's sociability and community elements. Exploring some of the connections between the strange and the familiar characteristic of Denney's work, the self-

anointed "Commissioner of Tailgating" compared people back at home, where he says they nervously isolate themselves from strangers with barriers such as privacy fences, caller ID, and e-mail, with the openness of the tailgate party, where "a stranger is just a person you haven't met yet." Pointing to a group of boys at play in the parking lot, Cahn underscored his point. "See that? It's about kids that have a safe place to play," he said. "Tailgating isn't about drinking at 9 in the morning. It's the new party – the new community social."

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Desiderata

Kaufmann, Vincent, *Guy Debord: Revolution in the Service of Poetry*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

By Gary Genosko

Singularity: this is the buzzword of Vincent Kaufmann's study of French Situationist Guy-Ernest Debord. It is repeated at regular intervals and describes life and work, style, legacy, in short, just about everything concerning Debord. Singularity is incomparability and non-sharability, which makes Debord an exemplar impossible to follow, except for the severely deluded.

Kaufmann ingeniously presents a Debord who had already become the legendary 'Debord' before the fact of May 1968 by backdating his "birth" to 1952. This is pre-Situationist International proper and even marginally Lettrist, a group with whom Debord enjoyed a youthful dalliance of such a short time that, as Kaufmann puts it, "we can hardly speak of a true Lettrist period for Debord" (18). Already Debord is slipping from our grasp, and this is a good thing. A scrappy street punk, the anti-Sartre, emerges from the dives of Saint-Germain in 1952 and screens a diabolical film at the Musée de l'Homme called *Howls for Sade*; Debord even failed to show up at the screening. This decisive "unbearable" act of anti-cinema concludes with twenty-four minutes of black screen in total silence. This is, for Kaufmann, the defining moment, the most telling self-portrait of Debord that exists, and there are few to choose from. Kaufmann writes: "his birth certificate is a certificate of disappearance" (26). Kaufmann takes

seriously Debord's attitude in his *Mémoires* – autobiography by means of fragments written by others – which deals only with a "golden age" of 1952-53 (though published in 1958). Kaufmann christens the denizens of the "golden age" the "lost children" – soldiers sent on a hopeless mission. Drunken, debauched, delinquent and lost: not even Paris will survive this period as its charms will be ruined by mass culture and its flood of images.

Kaufmann's thesis is put to the test with Debord's far-left masterwork *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967). Is it, too, a book of loss alongside anti-films and anti-books?

"All that was once directly lived has become mere representation," the second line of *The Society of the Spectacle*, tells us that "life and the world" have disappeared and been supplanted by images, pseudo-events, and the myriad lies of power. Representation separates life from experience. This important book of theory testifies to Debord's rejection of representation in his penchant for authenticity, obscurity, indolence, and dissipation. These values kept Debord unco-optable.

Kaufmann indulges in a cliché: Debord was a poet, not a theorist (despite writing articles titled "Theory of the Dérive"). Does this label better correspond to the values of laziness where the end of art announces the beginning of alcohol? Isn't this false

dichotomy a residue of a spectacularized criticism that precludes poetic theory? Let me put it this way: Debord once called McLuhan the "spectacle's greatest apologist." And McLuhan's critics, too, reject the theorist label, preferring poet instead. Both Debord and McLuhan responded to their eras and were concerned with how authentic communication (intensely, totally participatory) could be realized. "Poetry must be understood as immediate communication," thinks Kaufmann (176). The two poles of the poetics of communication: the corporate consultant McLuhan and the "public offender" Debord. Two radically different visions of the 'co-' in communication, both under the sign of poetry. But both thinker-poets, if you like, developed an arsenal of concepts and accounts of them call into question a distinction between theory and poetry. Anyway, there is some slippage here in as much as Kaufmann eventually thinks of Debord as a theorist of the absent revolution properly caught in classical philosophical paradox: "since a property of the integrated spectacle is that it is totalizing, if not totalitarian, no one could take advantage of the extraterritoriality necessary to criticize it. Yet it is precisely this right of extraterritoriality that Debord assumes... ." (261) The singular supposedly eludes totalizing force. Kaufmann not very convincingly supports this anti-theory

position by noting that Foucault and Debord ignored each other (295, n. 7). What about Jean Baudrillard (whose desire to find a way to genuine communication through symbolic exchange intersects with Debord's project) and Félix Guattari (whose conception of Integrated World Capitalism is a critique of the spectacle for the age of information and anti-globalization)?

Debord's greatest contributions to theory and method are twofold. The first is the collective *dérive*. The urban drift in small groups capturing shifts in ambience, hence psychogeography. The *dériveur* experiences the texture of a neighbourhood "from within," without ever coming to the surface of representation. Out of view and, for all intents and purposes swallowed up, the group subjectivity of the drifting collective occupies a milieu and in this way constitutes a kind of "community of desire." (122) Kaufmann nicely parses the therapeutic dimension of *dérive* as a kind of perambulatory analysis that, done excessively, leads to mental incapacity but which, executed successfully, creates the conditions for the emergence of a new kind of subjectivity that escapes arbitrary separations (of work and leisure, private and public), substituting mobility for sedentariness, the sidewalk for the couch.

The second technique, the "pillar of the situationist aesthetic," (34) was the art of *détournement*, that is, appropriating the weapons of the enemy and turning them against it. The introduction of a detour in form and content engaged elements of gaming and warcraft. For the most part this technique involved modifying – in keeping with Debord's bellicosity, this is done "belligerently" – existing messages with subversive material designed to "win back the territory of communication that had been lost or confiscated." (162) Here we find the roots of culture jamming. Hence, the famous anonymous graffiti from May 68 (attributed to you-know-who), and the modified cartoons featured in the Situationist International's journal. Taken together with the *dérive* and applied to an urban space, the city itself is retaken. What sort of action is implied here? Stoned on hash ("discovered through the Maghrebins in the group," 41), spray (or staple) gun (maybe squeegee) in hand, suitably kitted out in anti-fashion style, ready to regain the Rue Mouffetard from the tourist hordes, one wonders what is to be done for even the market produce is imported and the trash prettified. Isn't this a game of seduction, too? *Détournements* apply equally well to artifacts and the corruption of minors. (265)

Even when he was drawn into the spectacle's sleaze (the "Lebovici affair" reducing even *Le Monde* to tabloid tactics) when his friend, producer, and publisher Gérard Lebovici was murdered, Debord did his best to disappoint, to retain control of his image by refusing, valiantly to the end, the enticements of the enemy.

Kaufmann underlines that Debord's refusal of the Other in his attacks on the spectacle is singular. Debord identified only with himself. Loosely likening this "show of force" to Freud's unverifiable and undeniable hypotheses, while forgetting the Viennese doctor's struggle for recognition, Kaufmann's

Debord aspired to "no form of recognition." (275) This makes Debord unforgettable and radical. The fact that Debord "paid a personal price" (275) for his singularity makes him an angel of the avant-garde. After his death in 1994, Debord's ashes were scattered over the Seine in Paris. No memorial; not even an urn. No site for pilgrimages and parties. Perhaps this is his final triumph: Debord refused the spectacle of death and the seduction of La Cimetière du Père Lachaise.

In Memoriam: Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007)

With Jean Baudrillard's passing the question of his intellectual legacy was raised in very public ways around the globe. For the most part, the flurry of obituaries rehearsed all the prejudices and exaggerated interpretations that have dogged him since the 1980s, the moment when, with a few exceptions, enthusiasm bubbled into the effervescence of faddism, and hard-line opposition solidified into undigestible chunks. Here I want to derive some of his core contributions to semiotic and structural studies.

I want to restrict my selection of Baudrillard's contributions to semiotic and structural studies by limiting the field of eligibility to specific critical work on core concepts and models. The three key examples upon which I will elaborate are all drawn from the period of 1968-1976 during which time Baudrillard was working his way out of semiology and structuralism.

The first contribution is multiplex and involves a variety of applications and manipulations of key structural linguistic principles to social and political phenomena under the broad rubric of consumer society. Baudrillard's playful deployment of the *langue/parole* distinction so that the unity giving and receiving distinction, that is, the essential social institution and the accessory relation, and the internal/external distinction of that which changes the rules and that which does not, are weakened in an active backwash of *parole*, a reflux of the inessential, if you like. Examples of this play with structure abound: the relations between apprehending objects at the level of *langue*, technical objective structural evolution, and at the level of *parole*, which is at the level of everyday use and does not simply put the object's technical pertinence into operation. Cultural uses disturb the abstract uniformity and homogeneity of the technical system. The cultural backwash of the inessential challenges the object's essential functionality by means of a surge of excess (accessorization and personalization toward dysfunctionality). For Baudrillard, the technical system lacked the stability of *langue* and therefore could be overridden.

Baudrillard developed a critique of needs based on the analogy between objects/signifiers and needs/signifieds, with the consequences that needs are effects of the negatively defined interrelationships of objects understood as a system of signs, breaking the possibility of a one-to-one relationship between objects and needs. Indeed, in Baudrillard's view one does not

really consume objects but rather one actively and endlessly manipulates (reducing human projects to managing object-signs) objects become signs in their immateriality, that is, their difference.

Baudrillard is not simply acknowledging that changes in the system emanate from social uses of *parole*. This would make his backwash theory well suited to mainstream structuralism. He asserts, rather, that the surge of the inessential pushes the evolution of the technical object towards the inversion of functionality in counter- and dysfunctionality. The viral reading of *parole*'s influence on *langue*'s evolution in the domain of objects is an attempt at undoing structuralism from the inside through a haunting devolution.

The second intervention involves a return to the very structure of the sign itself as it had been developed within linguistic semiology. Baudrillard analyzed the twofold characters of the commodity and sign forms within a unified field of value in which they were shown to be equivalent: exchange value over use value equals signifier over signified.

Baudrillard's forced semiologization of needs, as I mentioned earlier, simply tells us that the equation of use value and signified (contents) entails the inability to keep use value apart from exchange value. In other words, the alleged transparency of use value in the satisfaction of individual needs is integrated into a relational logic wherein value appears. Value appears in commodity-to-commodity relations, which embody abstract human labour – the "crystals of social substance," Marx wrote. But the social character of human labour that produced the commodity gets away from the producer and appears as an objective property such that commodities famously "come alive" in as much social relations between producers (social character of labour) turns into relations among things. Likewise, according to Baudrillard, in the political economy of the sign, expressed in the structural homology of commodity and sign form, christened as an object-form, Marx and Saussure are joined at the hip through a single theory of value to which all the terms are made to submit: at the heart of the sign is commodity logic, and at the heart of the commodity is the sign's structure. Two fine points are in order. The first is that the structural homology of commodity and sign is in the service of a more radical distinction between the unified field of value and that of the inexchangeable field of non-value, that is, symbolic exchange. Moreover, in terms of consumption, the fetishism of commodities reveals the transformation of living relationships – the erasure of subjects – into an objective structural logic that works independently of them. It is not that Baudrillard fetishes the structural theory of value, but rather finds it to be perfectly fetishistic. Further, within the terms of the structural homology, exchange value and signifier (forms) have strategic value (privilege) and use value and signified have tactical value, which is to say that the latter are effects (they lack autonomy and do not constitute an "elsewhere") of the former's opposite structuration – use value is a social relation and the signified is produced

by the play of signifiers. Any attempt to use “contents’ for a critique of “forms” is to engage in “idealism and transcendental humanism” that fails to see that simulation has completely absorbed the “real.”

The third follows closely upon the second. Baudrillard derived his theory of simulation from the consequences of the linguistic sign’s shipwreck from referentiality and the loss of obligation towards a real world/referent. The exclusion of the referent from the psychical signifier-signified relation within the terms of the linguistic theory of value marks the loss of an ontological ground that sealed the relationship between signification and simulation – referentiality henceforth was at best beyond the sign’s reach and becomes an alibi the sign gives itself. The ‘history’ of this simulation begins for Baudrillard with counterfeiting the necessity of a referential relation. The theoretical implication is that simulation absorbs the referential relation between sign and object/real in surpassing representation. This surpassing takes place because representation rested upon referentiality. In simulation, then, there is no means to uphold the sign/object distinction because they have become equivalent. Simulation is not so much fakery as the short-circuiting (implosion) of sign and object – among other – poles. The enfeebling of reference ushers in an anxious theatre of appearances best seen, in Baudrillard’s writing, in his discussion of sociology’s increasingly desperate efforts to reach the social, whose eclipse in simulation is the very thing it cannot quite understand. The terms of socio-semiotics are in this way rewritten. Attention is henceforth focused on the implosions of society, politics, art, sex, etc.

Baudrillard saw in the modeling of communication by those such as Roman Jakobson in his famous “Closing Statement” (1960) evidence of the collapse of the poles of sender and receiver and the rise of communication without the co- in the era of simulation. In this spirit he advanced a telling critique of the Phatic function as a “simulation pact” based on “tele-phasis” or “contact for contact’s sake” – texting, email, chat, etc. Abundant and vapid, tele-phasis marks the implosion of communication. Baudrillard describes the Phatic function’s hypertrophy in the cold universe of information systems. The Phatic function may, as he put it, “analytically restore” what is missing in communication, far, far removed from genuine, imperfect interpersonal exchange.

There are several interesting points to be noted. The idea of a communication model presents for Baudrillard an alibi for the absence of genuine communication; hence, models are simulations and Jakobson’s was the last pretense that communication took place and could be modeled, that is, represented. So, communication is placed in the general field of dispersion of what Baudrillard dubs the code (blending the worst of genetic-computer-semiotic definitions, and giving it a ‘matrix-feel’ of pre-programmable, unglissable, signals). The generative potentiality of the code is interpreted by Baudrillard as a key to understanding simulation. The code’s priority is read as an anterior finality that

pre-exists and exhausts most specific and creative uses; for the most part only modulated differences generated from models are possible.

Marcel Fournier, *Marcel Mauss: A Biography*. Trans. By Jane Marie Todd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Marcel Mauss was tutored for success yet because of this did not achieve the kind of fame he so richly earned. What I mean is that Mauss remains in the shadows of his tutor-uncle Emile Durkheim, and I am not convinced that even Mauss’s biographer, Marcel Fournier, has successfully corrected this situation.

Fournier presents a complex, politically engaged Mauss that resonates far beyond “The Gift.” The stage is set: a provincial boy badgered by his famous uncle Emile to succeed at the study of religion, Mauss eventually becomes the point man on this topic for *Année Sociologique*. Mauss finds his “work twin” Henri Hubert at the Ecole Pratique. Durkheim keeps both busy and tirelessly promotes them. Mauss does the tables for Suicide; he writes endless book and review articles for *Année*. Mauss defends and defines sociology in a hostile environment. Durkheim keeps his nephew’s nose to the grindstone yet complains constantly about the young man’s ability to waste time, as well as his fatal attraction to socialist politics. Like many in the academy, Mauss had trouble finishing his dissertation. He had his share of hiring setbacks. His uncle and mother Rosine pestered him about the bachelor’s life that seemed to suit him. There is a refrain in Fournier’s book in which Mauss is referred to as an “old bachelor” and “old militant.” He seems “old” before his time. Mauss never finished his dissertation on prayer but eventually did find a partner, marrying Marthe Dupret in 1934 four years after the death of his mother.

Mauss’s first post at the École Pratique, states Fournier, was the occasion when the “eternal student emerged from his uncle’s shadow.” Still, the shadow looms large. Does Fournier shift Mauss into the light? Not really. There are several provisos. First, the English translation of this book is an abridged version of the original French. Second, Fournier has a tendency to drift into long descriptions of Durkheim’s career. Third, when he does this he avoids the hard evidence that would definitely dispel the shadows around Mauss. For instance, he quotes Maurice Leenhardt to the effect that: “no one would ever know whether it was the uncle or the nephew who first thought of the ‘elementary forms of religion’.” The idea that Mauss co-authored *The Elementary Forms* is not taken seriously by Fournier. Yet this is an idea that challenges the orthodoxy that keeps Mauss in the shadows. It is worth further investigation in an intellectual biography. Fournier shows us Mauss’s strengths as a collaborative writer and explains how much work he actually did for his uncle. But he stops short. Only the shadow knows.

Durkheim passed away before WWI ended. Fournier then christens Mauss the “trustee of his mode of thought” without

“embrac[ing] ‘pure science’.” Mauss would bring to print Durkheim’s book on Saint-Simon. He would set about “correcting” his uncle on many points. The burden of the *Année* returned (relaunched in 1924 after a gap of 10 years) but few of the original group had survived the war: only “a few splintered trees” remained, Mauss said. Teaching resumed in 1920. Mauss became preoccupied with museological matters in Paris and the prospects of establishing an ethnological institution. These prospects were realized in 1936 with the Institut d’Ethnologie, but can only be seen retrospectively as an arm of French colonial interests. “The Gift” appeared in the new series of the *Année* and was widely read and disputed. Mauss became a global intellectual. He filled the newly created chair in sociology at the Collège de France in 1931.

As the 1930s unfolded Mauss was reengaged politically in the antifascist struggle. His ideas were taken up by the avant-garde Documents group that included former students Michel Leiris and Roger Caillois. Mauss lent his support – intellectual, moral and financial – to the Collège de sociologie but Fournier underlines that “he did not take seriously the way they spoke of ethnology and sociology.” Mauss was openly hostile to Caillois. Mauss had already made the connection between Martin Heidegger and Nazism in 1938 and would have nothing of Caillois’s irrational fascination with charismatic power and the resacralization of society through violence.

Mauss did not fare well during WWII. Marthe was ill. His own health was failing. He did everything he could to help his friends and students. Under Vichy Mauss was demoralized. Cold and starving and persecuted as a Jew, Mauss resigned his post at the École pratique to protect his colleagues. He stood his ground in Paris and witnessed the rise of collaborationists. He stopped writing. He sewed the yellow star he was forced to wear on his coat. Forced out of his apartment into a “slum,” Mauss soldiered on. At the end of the war Mauss was so “diminished” that he no longer remembered the names of his visitors. His wife died in 1947. Mauss passed away in 1950. He was 77.

Unfortunately Fournier ends with Mauss’s death. The conclusion is too abrupt. The sadness is palpable. Questions immediately present themselves. Why does Fournier neglect some of the literature in English on Mauss’s “deterioration”? Surely James Clifford’s little piece (reprinted in the SRB 16/1-2, 2006) on Mauss’s files (abandoned in the basement of the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle) in which the categories of classification far outnumbered the phenomena to be classified is worthy of inclusion? On a Canadian note, what about anti-utilitarians of *La Revue de Mauss*?

Fournier’s final words are disappointing: “We may draw two lessons from his life and work: first, faithfulness is not in itself an obstacle to creativity; and second, critical distance is the condition for maintaining a tradition.” As much as I respect Fournier’s incredible erudition, these are not conclusions. They are apologies for the status quo uttered in the name of the shadow.