

普通高等教育英语“十二五”规划教材



王利芬 郑丹丹 主编

语言与文化读本： 社会性别

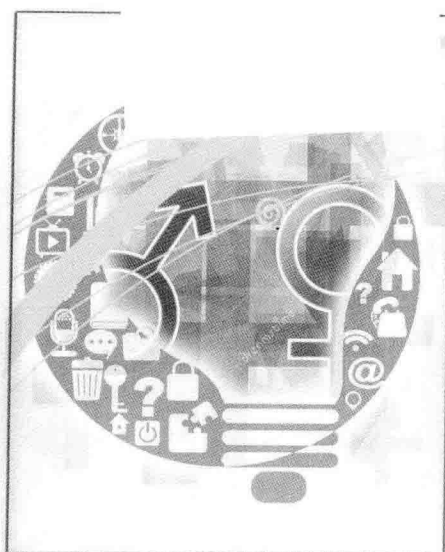
A SELECTION OF CULTURAL STUDIES
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GENDER

礼

華中科技大學出版社

<http://www.hustp.com>

普通高等教育英语“十二五”规划教材



王利芬 郑丹丹 主编

语言与文化读本： 社会性别



A SELECTION OF CULTURAL STUDIES
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GENDER



华中科技大学出版社

<http://www.hustp.com>

中国·武汉

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

语言与文化读本:社会性别/王利芬,郑丹丹主编. —武汉:华中科技大学出版社,2015.9
ISBN 978-7-5680-1259-1

I. ①语… II. ①王… ②郑… III. ①社会-性别差异-研究 IV. ①C913.14

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2015)第 238503 号

语言与文化读本:社会性别

王利芬 郑丹丹 主编

策划编辑:刘 平

责任编辑:刘 平

封面设计:刘 卉

责任校对:李 琴

责任监印:周治超

出版发行:华中科技大学出版社(中国·武汉)

武昌喻家山 邮编:430074 电话:(027)81321913

录 排:华中科技大学惠友文印中心

印 刷:武汉鑫昶文化有限公司

开 本:787mm×1092mm 1/16

印 张:11 插页:1

字 数:276 千字

版 次:2015 年 10 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷

定 价:28.00 元



本书若有印装质量问题,请向出版社营销中心调换
全国免费服务热线:400-6679-118 竭诚为您服务
版权所有 侵权必究

编者的话

性别是人们出生后的第一个属性,“性别”远不是“男女有别”之简单。“男女有别”只描述了一小部分性别关系,性别关系至少还包括“男女平等”、“男女有爱”、“不男不女”等方面。这些不同方面并非简单地叠加在一起,而是在不同的社会文化情景中互动,从而展示出复杂的性别关系。随着中国社会进入工业化和后工业化时代,原有的以“男女有别”、“男尊女卑”为代表的性别观已经不能适应甚至阻碍了社会的和谐发展。性别关乎人的身份意识和本体安全,一定的性别教育能让读者获得享受日常生活的慧眼。

本教材是华中科技大学社会性别研究中心诸位同仁多年合作的成果。该中心自2007年成立以来,一直紧密结合研究和教学,其开设的“社会性别与大学生发展”公选课吸引了众多文科院系教师的参与,受到了学生的喜爱,引起了中央和地方媒体、湖北省妇联及宣传部门的关注。该公选课以“社会性别”为主线,以促进“性别和谐文化”为己任,每位老师通过专题和研讨的课堂形式负责一个专题。跨院系合作开设公选课凝练了教学内容,减少了教学任务,但该形式一定程度上制约了该公选课的常规化和制度化,缺少合适教材就是其表现之一。本教材秉承该公选课的“社会性别”视角和跨学科原则,按照“呈现经验—提出问题—理论化—目标及行动”的逻辑顺序,在JSTOR数据库节选了篇幅较短(2500单词左右)、易于理解的英文文章,形成一个适合大学英语四级及以上英语水平的学习者的读本。编者在每单元阅读文章前提供导读,既解释本单元关键概念,也简介了主要内容。单元后的练习旨在让读者复习关键概念,并理论联系实际分析现实生活中的案例。

本教材各单元相互独立,内容通俗易懂,读者可以根据自己的兴趣爱好选择合适的文章阅读。

编者简介(按姓氏笔画顺序)

马媛,女,华中科技大学社会学系博士研究生,研究方向为城乡文化和文化社会学。

王利芬,女,法学博士,华中科技大学外国语学院讲师,研究方向为社会文化人类学。

郑丹丹,女,法学博士,华中科技大学社会学系副教授,研究方向为性别社会学。

骆芊竹,女,南加州大学电影学院电影电视制作系硕士研究生,研究方向为电视电影制作。

夏增民,男,历史学博士,华中科技大学人文学院讲师,研究方向为社会性别史和历史地理。

梁红,女,教育学博士,华中科技大学马克思主义学院副教授,研究方向为大学生素质教育。

目录(Contents)

第一单元 性别与好莱坞	(1)
导读 男性白人化的好莱坞	(1)
Contemporary Hollywood masculinity and the double-protagonist film	(4)
Gender in Hollywood's Orient	(10)
Masculinity in U. S. film: a changing picture	(16)
思考练习	(21)
第二单元 性别与大众媒体	(22)
导读 隐形的监牢:性别与大众媒体	(22)
Gendered media: the influence of media on view of gender	(25)
The objectification of women in mass media	(31)
Drawing politics in pink and blue	(37)
思考练习	(43)
第三单元 性别与语言	(45)
导读 神话和人话的对话:性别方言	(45)
The role of stereotyping in constructing gendered learner identities	(49)
Language, gender, and Chinese culture	(55)
The gendering of language	(61)
思考练习	(66)
第四单元 性别与职业	(67)
导读 职场性别差异:好女不如男?	(67)
Gender segregation trends in US labor market	(70)
An unanswered puzzle: gender, interaction, and leadership	(76)
Glass ceiling	(82)
思考练习	(85)
第五单元 性别与政治	(87)
导读 名实之远——女性的政治参与	(87)
Increasing gender inequality in contemporary China	(90)
Gender stereotyping of political candidates	(96)
Masculine republicans and feminine democrats	(102)

思考练习	(107)
第六单元 性别与历史	(109)
导读 无女人的历史:遮蔽与禁锢	(109)
Is anybody home on the range?	(112)
The invention of women's past in the 19th and early 20th centuries	(117)
The feminization of Chinese regime authenticity before 1949	(123)
思考练习	(128)
第七单元 性别问题化	(129)
导读 性别:天生和塑造	(129)
Sex and gender: same or different?	(132)
Distinguishing sex and gender	(138)
Gender: an interdisciplinary perspective	(144)
思考练习	(149)
第八单元 建构和谐平等的性别文化	(151)
导读 平等和差异:包容性性别平等	(151)
An evolving gender digital divide?	(154)
Explaining gender gaps in higher education	(160)
A report of involved fatherhood	(166)
思考练习	(171)

第一单元

性别与好莱坞

导读 男性白人化的好莱坞 (骆芊竹)

20 世纪初,电影公司纷纷在美国加利福尼亚州洛杉矶市西北部的好莱坞建厂。凭借着充足的日照时间和远离官司的西海岸地理位置,好莱坞逐渐跻身为美国第一大电影制作基地。后来随着电影行业和洛杉矶城市的发展,六大电影公司中仅有派拉蒙一家仍然在好莱坞设场,其余已分散在大洛杉矶市的其他区域。好莱坞一词却早已超越了它地理上的意义,成为了美国主流电影的代名词。

性别观在好莱坞电影中的表现往往是潜意识的。托尔斯泰说,艺术是生活的镜子,电影也不例外。在电影的制作过程中,创作者们往往将自己的价值观有意无意地注入自己的作品之中。虽然性别偶尔会作为主题在电影中进行讨论,但更多的时候,它是被创作者无意识地带入叙事。创作者们会潜移默化地受到同时代历史环境和文化背景影响,因此,电影往往较真实地反映了当时美国社会的性别观。例如,20 世纪 20 年代,美国人纷纷涌入正在扩张中的大城市,与此同时,怀揣着美国梦的众多欧洲移民登陆美洲大陆。因此,20 年代的黑帮片(gangster films)中男主角们积极热血、心狠手辣、视死如归、智勇双全,出身卑微的他们靠着这些英雄气质在鱼龙混杂的大城市里成就了一番大事业。二战之后,黑帮电影中的男性英雄主义仍然是主旋律,但加入了“彷徨”的元素。《疯抢》和《歼匪喋血战》中的男主角们在疯狂的边缘徘徊,与现实世界脱轨,或多或少反映了经历过二战的美国男性的心理状态。

时至今日,好莱坞仍然是个白人男性主导的世界。男性主导在好莱坞是全方位的,包括台前幕后。2014 年美国 250 部卖座电影中,导演、编剧、执行导演、制片人、编辑、摄影师等电影业的关键岗位中,女性总体只占 17%,该比例与 1998 年相同;其中,女导演只占 7%。^① 2014 年末的索尼内部邮件泄露显示,同样作为哥伦比亚电影公司制作部的联席总裁,男总裁 Michael De Luca 比女总裁 Hannah Minghella 的工资收入多出了将近一百万美元。同时,年薪百万元以上的 17 位雇员中,女性仅有一位。^② 电影行业男女人数不均、工资不均导致了女电影人在行业中话语权不足,也间接导致了女性在好莱坞电影中被扭曲、被消费的弱者形象。女性很少作为独立角色出现在好莱坞电影中,她们的作用是让男性角色更完整。好莱坞电影程式中,女性要么是男主角的母亲、情人或妻子,要么是需要男主角从无赖或野兽处拯救的弱者。将女性、少数族裔作为配角与帮衬在超级英雄电影中尤为突出。作为讨

① Martha M L. The Celluloid Ceiling: Behind-the-Scenes Employment of Women on the Top 250 Films of 2014 [R/OL]. [2015/06/30]. <http://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/research.html>.

② Roberts D. Management Lessons from Sony's Gender Pay Gap [EB/OL]. [2015-06-20]. <http://fortune.com/2014/12/22/sony-gender-gap-bias-minghella-de-luca/>.

论人类共通特征的故事,它适用于任何个性别和种族。从《星球大战》到《蝙蝠侠》,好莱坞电影创作者们默认将白人男性作为主角。一代代观众伴随着这些好莱坞电影长大,逐渐适应了白人男性作为所有人类代名词的现状。

女权主义的兴起和政治正确性(political correctness)的普及并没有改变好莱坞白人男性主导的现实。好莱坞为了吸引女性观众,投资了一些以女性为主角的故事,如《饥饿游戏》中的女孩以震撼人心的智慧、勇气和毅力赢得了游戏。然而,电影行业中的白人男性占支配地位的现状并未改变。2014年100部美国卖座电影中,主角是女性的电影只占12%,该比例比2013年下降了3个百分点。此外,电影中的女性形象仍然强调年轻、貌美、白人、不反社会等特点。^①值得一提的是,美国电影协会(MPAA)2013年发布的电影票房市场统计数据表明,女性观众自2009年以来一直略微超过男性观众。

中国应该全面评估好莱坞的影响。美国2013年的全球票房收入是359亿美元,仅在中国的票房收入就高达36亿美元,中国是美国本土以外最大的票房市场。^②例如,《速度与激情》、《变形金刚》系列电影在中国获得了巨大的票房成功。由于电影嵌入了从业者的价值观甚至意识形态,好莱坞不仅仅是娱乐业,也是美国塑造世界秩序的工具之一。在好莱坞的世界秩序中,东西方构成了二元对立:西方是进步、强大而理性的支配者,东方是落后、羸弱、情绪化的被支配者。^③在西方男性化——东方女性化的隐喻中,东方女性要么是西方男性轻而易举俘虏的性爱对象,要么是破坏西方家庭团结的掘金者。这种扭曲的东方女性形象成了美国塑造世界秩序的符号。值得注意的是,中国电影在与世界接轨的过程中有意无意地延续了这个模式。例如,在《金陵十三钗》中,美国商人与中国的性工作者产生了爱情,并最终把她们从日本的蹂躏中救赎出来。

随着互联网的普及和东西方文化的交流,美国主流社会已经开始对亚洲各国有了一个模糊的意识。在政治正确的大环境下,编剧虽然主动避免刻板的未开化东方蛮夷角色,却创造了一系列新的原型(stereotype)亚洲角色:如东亚学霸、包办婚姻的印度父母以及中东恐怖分子。

本单元三篇文章分别介绍了好莱坞电影中的双主角电影、东方的女性化以及美国男性气质的变迁。David Greven首先追溯了双主角电影的来源,认为矛盾的男性角色最早来自于黑色电影(noir)和西部片(western)。黑色电影的男主角主要表现为孤独、内向,而女性角色表现为他们的对立面。西部片则表现了两种不同风格的男人之间的友情——一种是不受社会礼教约束的自恋者,另一种是企图教化前者的文明人代表。70年代出现的兄弟电影(buddy film)则将女性边缘化,着重强调了男性之间的友谊。但与双主角电影不同,这类电影否认了任何浪漫的可能。Greven认为,男性的表达在双主角电影中一分为二:一类是自恋的(narcissistic),他们几乎是完美的,被其他人追随着;而另一类则是自虐的(masochistic),他们自卑、被动,追随迷恋自恋者。无论电影是否涉及同性恋话题,无论角色的性取向如何,自虐者本质上都带有同性恋(queer)的色彩。文章最后一段写道,80年代末

① Martha M L. It's a Man's (Celluloid) World: On-Screen Representations of Female Characters in the Top 100 Films of 2014 [R/OL]. [2015/06/30]. <http://womenintvfilm.sdsu.edu/research.html>.

② MPAA. Theatrical Market Statistics 2013 [R/OL]. [2015/06/30]. www.mpa.org/.../MPAA-Theatrical-Market-Statistics-2014.pdf.

③ Wang Hanying. Portrayals of Chinese Women's Images in Hollywood Mainstream Films [J]. Intercultural Communication Studies, 2012, XXI (3): 82-92.

以来的双主角电影更倾向于否认自恋者而接受自虐者。这或多或少地指出,美国男性或许并没有想象中的那么自爱。Ella Shohat 主要分析了好莱坞对于东方世界的女性化描述。文章指出,美国电影将东亚、中东和印度等截然不同的地区混合创造出了一个异国情调的东方(Orient)。在这些电影中,西方社会扮演了男性救世主去解救尚未开化的娇弱东方。文章还使用了一些弗洛伊德的概念,比如西方人进入阿拉伯社会是一种偷窥(voyeuristic gaze)而不是平等对话;再比如 *The Sheik* 中阿拉伯人代表的是潜意识的本我(id)而西方人则代表的是有道德判断的超我(superego)。由于亚洲人在好莱坞的地位不足,这样的现状一时难以改变。Isabel Moranta Alorda 将 20 世纪 20 年代至 80 年代的好莱坞影片归结为传统电影。这些电影受男权主义影响,男主角通常是勇敢、强壮、主动的。而 20 世纪 90 年代,“大灰狼”式的男性形象逐渐变化成为了更真实和敏感的男人。他们甚至可以是尴尬的、忧愁的。21 世纪初期,随着社会变化,好莱坞电影开始推崇多样的男性表达方式。正如 Alorda 所说,随着时代的发展,性别观在好莱坞电影中会不断变化。同一时代的电影人和观众往往无法立即看出这些变化,但随着时间的流逝,美国社会大背景对于好莱坞电影的影响会愈发清晰。

Contemporary Hollywood masculinity and the double-protagonist film^①

David Greven

In Hollywood films from *Bush to Bush*—the late 1980s to the present—an unnamed genre exists. To give this new genre a name, I will call it the double-protagonist (主角) film. The central conflict is a complex negotiation for power between two protagonists, each played by a star, both of whom lay legitimate claim to narrative dominance. *Bush-to-Bush* Hollywood films suggest that manhood's center cannot hold, that manhood is split, that the warring elements of manhood spill (溢出) out beyond the individual subjectivity of the star—protagonist, and that the burden of male representation must be carried by two stars rather than one. This masculine split can be understood as a division or conflict between a narcissistic (自恋的) and a masochistic (受虐的) mode of masculine identity. The most obvious precursor (先驱) to the double-protagonist film genre is the buddy (好友) film genre. Though related to the buddy film, the double-protagonist film differs from it in several key respects. The other antecedents of the double-protagonist film are the western, the noir (黑色电影), the Hitchcockian psychosexual thriller (惊悚片), and its imitators of the 1970s and the 1980s. The overlaps between the new double-protagonist film and these other, influencing genres as well as their differences will be considered in this essay.

The double-protagonist film has profound implications for both the cinematic construction of American masculinity generally and for the historical development of representations of queer sexuality. They signal several important shifts: in the construction of the essentially isolate male protagonist; in the construction of the heterosexual couple, the focal point and the achieved goal of traditional film narrative; and in the construction of cinematic male-male relations. With the rise of the double-protagonist film, Classic Hollywood isolate manhood is transformed into dyadic (二人关系的) manhood. Dyadic manhood threatens to topple (颠覆) the reign (统治) of the heterosexual relationship presumably central to Hollywood film; and male-male relations of all kinds must now account for, contend with, and orient themselves around a central, often contentious (引起争论的), always complex relationship between two male protagonists played by two male stars of commensurate (相称的) stature (身材), who therefore demand equal attention and narrative importance.

To understand how the double-protagonist film differs from its cinematic antecedents, we should contextualize it by contrasting it to other films that make male-male relations

① 本文节选自: Greven D. Contemporary Hollywood Masculinity and the Double-Protagonist Film [J]. Cinema Journal, 2009, 4(48): 22-43.

central; noir, westerns, the psychosexual thriller, and buddy films.

Doubles redoubled: doubles in noir and westerns

Noir films present us with masculine heroes in whom divided natures wage war; the masculine split of the noir is primarily psychic, internal, and embodied not by double male protagonists but by female characters who represent competing points of identifications or narrative possibilities for the tortuously split noir hero. “Although in [noir] films like *Out of the Past* the woman may represent a disturbance of the hero’s attempt to achieve a position of mastery and knowledge, and a concomitant (伴随的) disruption of the linear, investigative narrative,” writes Frank Krutnik, “the cause of this disturbance and disruption lies... in the ‘nature’ of masculinity itself. Masculine identity and sexuality are never stable and unified but rather are in flux (流动) between conflicting positions of desire; masculinity is hegemonic rather than homogeneous.” Noirs, then, do not simply reiterate (重申) notions of coherent masculinity but, instead, “negotiate conflicting and contradictory positionings of male desire, identity, and sexuality, [and] consolidate masculinity as unified.” In his famous essay “Notes on Film Noir,” Paul Schrader wrote that noir reflected the postwar disillusionment experienced by those returning home after WWII. “The disillusionment (幻灭) many soldiers, small businessmen and housewife/factory employees felt in returning to a peacetime economy was directly mirrored in the sordidness (肮脏) of the urban crime film.” One of the sources of the pain and conflict in noir manhood is repressed wartime trauma and the situational development of feelings of intense male-male intimacy, homosocial bonds that had to be suppressed in the postwar social order. Many film noirs, Steven Cohan points out, “recount (详细叙述) a veteran’s successful transition from male bonding to heterosexual romance.” But not without considerable difficulty; as demonstrated in *Dead Reckoning* (John Cromwell, 1947), Rip Murdoch is overtly (明显) misogynistic (厌女症的)... and covertly (偷偷摸摸地) homosexual.

Though the theme of doubling is crucial to the noir film, noir’s filmic world chiefly evokes the hero’s essential isolation and alienation. Noir films emphasize the impossibility of authentic male-male bonds, the inherent impasse (僵局) between men and women in patriarchy, and the barren aloneness and heightened vulnerability of the postwar urban American male.

If noirs emphasize the loneliness and isolation of their protagonists, the western is the genre most likely to feature a double-protagonist relationship. Laura Mulvey discusses the “common splitting of the Western hero into two (1946),” a deviation (离经叛道) from the patterns revolving around conflict between hero and villain. In the split-hero western, the “issue at stake is no longer how the villain will be defeated, but how the villain’s defeat will be inscribed (刻写) in history, whether the upholder of the law as a symbolic system will be seen to be victorious or the personification of the law in a more primitive

manifestation, closer to the good or the right.” “This narrative structure,” writes Mulvey, “is based on opposition between two irreconcilables (势不两立). The two paths cannot cross.” For Mulvey, manhood in the western—which I view as a template (模板) for more recent double-protagonist films—is represented, then, by two diverging styles of masculinity, the narcissistic and anachronistic (不合时宜的) social outsider (Tom Doniphon, the personification of the law) and the figure (Ransom Stoddard, the upholder of the law) who attempts to civilize him and represents the social order, chiefly symbolized by marriage. The “rejection of marriage,” Mulvey writes, “personifies a nostalgic (怀旧的) celebration of phallic (阳物崇拜的), narcissistic omnipotence (全能的).” This rejection reverses the resolution of the Proppian folk tale, which culminates (到达顶点) in marriage, and the proper resolution of the Freudian Oedipus complex, which integrates the subject into the symbolic. The split hero in the western, then, represents “a tension between two points of attraction, the symbolic (social integration and marriage) and nostalgic narcissism,” which Mulvey associates with a “phase of play and fantasy difficult to integrate into the Oedipal trajectory.” Marriage, then, emerges as “repression of narcissistic sexuality.”

Using Bush-to-Bush double-protagonist films, I argue for a different way of thinking about split masculinity than Mulvey’s. While the alternate star does often represent civilization—the social order, marriage, responsibility, all those things Leslie Fiedler argued that American men always attempt to escape, through homoerotic (同性爱的) interracial fraternity (兄弟会)—that is not his consistent function. Rather, his function is to react to and register the overpowering and seductive (引诱的) appeal of the main star. If the alternate protagonist’s tie to the law leads him to attempt to impose the law on the lawless lead, that attempt to capture the lead only allegorizes (寓言化) the desiring male’s efforts to ensnare his beloved. The attempt to capture the main protagonist outside the law principally functions as a metaphor for the lover’s erotic designs on the beloved, who most often mightily resists the lover’s advances, in an aching realization of Carson McCullers’s memorable observation in *The Ballad of the Sad Cafe*: “The state of being beloved is intolerable to many.”

Masculinity and the buddy film

The so-called buddy film has been the most widely discussed example of cinematic male-male relations. But the double-protagonist films cannot be called buddy films; the men in them are not, for the most part, buddies. In his characteristically incisive (尖锐的) essay “From Buddies to Lovers,” Robin Wood discusses the buddy films of the 1970s and their concomitant problems with both misogyny (厌女癖)—in that the films were often hostile reactions to feminism—and homophobia—in that the possibility that homosocial bonds might include homosexuality had to be rigorously and violently denied. To a certain extent, Wood attempts to recuperate (恢复) these films, without losing sight of their

ideological difficulties and limitations. He locates the central problem in them not as the “presence of the male relationship but as the absence of home.” By “home,” Wood refers not only to a physical location but to the home as both a “state of mind and an ideological construct, above all as ideological security. Ultimately, home is America.... [The 70s buddy] films are the direct product of the crisis in ideological confidence generated by Vietnam and subsequently by Watergate.”

Given that the films suggest but can never allow the consummation (圆满) of male-male relationships, “the films are guilty of the duplicitous teasing of which they have often been accused, continually suggesting a homosexual relationship while emphatically (强调地) disowning (否认) it.” Wood theorizes that the popularity of the buddy film genre “testifies, no doubt, to the contemporary ‘heterosexual’ male audience’s need to denigrate (诋毁) and marginalize women, but also, positively, to its unconscious but immensely powerful need to validate love between men.” The “strategies of disownment” are necessary to appease (安抚) the panic of the heterosexual male spectator and ensure his satisfaction.

Robert Kolker writes of 1980s action films that an oft-repeated convention in them is to provide the hero with a “buddy”. The “buddy” is an extension of the cultural cliché of “male bonding,” a situation in which men can fantasize (幻想) about being released from the repressions (压抑) imposed by the company of women. In film, the “buddy” allows adventure, joking, safe community, marginalization of women, and an apparent absence of sexuality. The “buddy” complex views sexuality as an obstacle to manly acts. But this denial of sexuality carries a covert admission of the possibilities of homosexuality, which, of course, is inadmissible. To play it safe, one of the buddies has an accommodating wife or girlfriend largely rendered invisible. Men engage in rigorous activity together; the sexual tensions between them are never stated.

The buddy film of the 1980s looks remarkably, then, like its 1970s incarnation (前身), albeit now in a culture of what Susan Jeffords has described as the hard-body hypermasculinization of the Reagan era. For Jeffords, the principal difference between 1970s manhood and its 1980s version lies in each decade’s representation of manhood in the context of the social order. To take Eastwood’s iconic psycho-cop *Dirty Harry* as an example, the institutions that enable the activities of the criminals Harry kills off retain their power, resulting in a nihilism (虚无主义) “that cannot reassure the audience that any of [Harry’s] actions have mattered or have changed the social order in any way.”

The buddy film inherits and mobilizes the tensions inherent in a homosocialized and homosocializing society that depends on bonds between members of the same sex but also rigorously polices against any erotic dimension to those bonds. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick explains the matter this way in *Between Men*: “In any male-dominated society, there is a special relationship between male homosocial (including homosexual) desire and the structures for maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power: a relationship founded on an

inherent and potentially active structural congruence.”

In the 1990s and beyond, the much more publicly acknowledged reality of homosexuality—figured in the rise of the queer movement—radically transforms the paradigms of repressed homosexuality of the earlier buddy film of the 1970s and 1980s. This is not to suggest in any way that the double-protagonist film of the Bush-to-Bush era represents anything like a progressive movement in the cinema. What's key about its development is that it simultaneously literalizes (拘泥于字面) the metaphorical split within the tortured psyche of the divided, lonely noir protagonist and reimagines the male-male relationships of the western and the later buddy film genres, representing not so much a response to feminism and queer sexuality as the next stage in cinematic manhood after those challenges were raised.

If, as I am suggesting, Hollywood manhood since the late 1980s constructs a split image of manhood, and this split is literalized in the creation of the alternate protagonist, there nevertheless remains one star who is the dominant one, and another star who threatens his dominance. As such, the alternate star—Jake Gyllenhaal in *Brokeback*—is in an essentially secondary position, one that chafes (惹怒) against the major star's dominance. The alternate protagonist falls somewhere between double and co-star, between female-lead stand-in and buddy-film buddy. Given that, in film theory discourse generally, the subjectivity of the cinematic male protagonist has been described as narcissistic, this secondary male lead can be seen as being in an essentially echoistic relation to the narcissistic male—a male-male version, in other words, of the famous and infinitely suggestive Ovidian myth of Narcissus and Echo.

Narcissistic beauty and the masochistic male gaze

One of the most interesting consequences of the double-protagonist split is the positioning of one apparently normative male character as a diegetic (剧情的) spectator of male beauty who, as the audience surrogate (代表), is also a symbolic spectator. The alternate protagonist—in his pining (渴望) for the main protagonist and in the manner in which he chafes against male dominion, often figured as the main protagonist's heady display of narcissistic omnipotence and concomitant (伴随的) efforts to maintain this reign—occupies the position of repressed homosexual voyeur (窥淫狂).

As Freud brilliantly theorized it, voyeurism (窥阴癖) is sadism (施虐狂) in the form of the look, a desire to dominate others through the eyes. But repressed homosexual voyeurism—as a category of looking relations that someone, live or fictional, may occupy, or be made to occupy, regardless of sexual orientation—which implies a desire that is not so much “active” as it is concealed, while not exactly being “passive” (since it does seek out an object rather than waiting to be rendered one) is not sadistic looking but rather anguished (痛苦的), embattled (受围攻的), maimed (残废的), obscured, thwarted (受挫的), deflected (偏离的), barred (隔绝的), prohibited looking. As such, it can only be

described, given the narrow range of options between active/passive, sadism/masochism, as masochistic; therefore, the alternate star's gaze is masochistic.

The masochistic gaze has powerful implications for this study as a way of thinking about straight masculinity and about how straight masculinity thinks about itself. As I have been suggesting, the scopophilic (窥阴癖的) category of repressed homosexual voyeur is occupied principally by straight fictional characters in the mainstream films under discussion here, who are at least straight in that they are not figured explicitly as queer. There are, though, queer characters who wield (施加) the masochistic gaze in several important films, such as *Brokeback Mountain*, and one can argue that a film like *Auto Focus* demonstrates a collapse between straight and queer characters figured as a collapse of the gaze. Regardless of the apparent sexuality of the male characters in the films, the occupation of the subject of the masochistic gaze is an inherently queer position.

As an inherently queer position, the masochistic gaze performed by a normative male star/protagonist revises straight masculinity, makes straight masculinity a kind of disavowal (否定) of kinship with heterosexuality while also the double of homosexual masculinity. The straight male subject of the masochistic gaze, therefore, liminally stands between normative heterosexual manhood and abjected queer manhood, representing alternately a fusion of both modes and an inability fully to embody either, while ostensibly (表面上地) maintaining a tie to straight manhood that comes increasingly to seem like an odd parody—and sometimes also a stringent (严厉的) critique—of that normative gendered, raced, and classed subject position.

Rejecting narcissus

Double-protagonist films from the late 1980s to the present reject narcissus in favor of embracing masochistic manhood. They display a new sexual openness, the chief sign of which is a new eroticization of the male body, one not without its deep complications (especially for race). But although this new openness exists, the reactionary quality that inheres in the films lies in their determination to redress (矫正) narcissism, to check the overly brazen display of male confidence, beauty, and desire. These qualities draw in the spectator as much as the echoistic alternate protagonist and supporting characters, but the films appear to insist on portraying all narcissism as negative narcissism, a crushing insistence on obeisance (敬意) to a monstrous male ego run amok (杀气腾腾), rather than exploring the liberating and potentially radical possibilities of male narcissism. What we have, then, in the double-protagonist film, is an opportunity to compare one powerful style of masculine performance to another. Narcissism and masochism emerge as competing modes of masculinity locked in bitter contest. Given that the victor of this cinematic *agon* is most often the masochist, we must consider whether or not American masculinity can really be truthfully described as self-loving.

Gender in Hollywood's Orient^①

Ella Shohat

From its very beginning, Western cinema has been fascinated with the mystique of the Orient. Whether in the form of pseudo-Egyptian movie palaces, Biblical spectacles, or the fondness for "Oriental" settings, Western cinema has returned time and again to the scene of the Orient. Generally these films superimposed (添加) the visual traces of civilizations as diverse as Arab, Persian, Chinese and Indian into a single portrayal (描述) of the exotic Orient, treating cultural plurality as if it were a monolith (铁板一块). The Arabic language, in most of these films, exists as an indecipherable (难辨认的) murmur, while the "real" language is European: the French of Jean Gabin in *Pepe le Moko* or the English of Bogart and Bergman in *Casablanca*.

Although Hollywood's view of the Orient has been discussed in terms of "the Arab image," there has been little discussion concerning the intersection of imperial and gender discourses. Hollywood's view of the Orient is not simply symptomatic (有……症状的) of colonialist imagination but also a product of the (Western) male gaze. Sexual difference has been a key component in the construction of the East as Other and the West as (Ideal) Ego.

Consider the Western rescue fantasy, which metaphorically renders the Orient as a female saved from her own destructiveness, while also projecting a narrative of the rescue of Arab and Western women from Arab men. Such an indirect apologia (辩解文) for colonial domination also carries religious overtones (言外之意) of the inferiority of the polygamous Islamic world to the Christian world as encapsulated (概述) by the monogamous couple. The contrast of Oriental "backwardness," and "irrationality" with Occidental "modernity" and "rationality," the hierarchy of identification with Western versus Arab perspective and character, and the structuring of the key menacing figure of the Arab assassin and rapist—these images, taken together, subliminally (下意识地) enlist spectators for the West's "civilizing mission." All function as part of a cultural and geographical reductionism (简化主义) whose subtext is a rationale for the subordination of the East.

Gender and sexuality are significant in colonial discourse. The recurrent figure of the veiled woman in films such as *Thief in Damascus* (1952) and *Ishtar* (1987) can be seen as a metaphor for the mystery of the Orient itself, which requires a process of Western unveiling for comprehension. Veiled women in Orientalist films, paintings and photographs ironically expose more flesh than they conceal. This process of exposing the female other, of denuding her literally, comes to allegorize (寓言化) the power of Western

① 本文节选自:Shohat E. Gender in Hollywood's Orient [J]. Middle East Report, 1990 (162): 40-42.

man to possess her. She, as a metaphor for her land, becomes available for Western penetration and domination. While the Arab is associated with images of underdevelopment and backwardness (the visual motif (主题) of the desert serves as essential decor of Arab history) the colonizer, whether Lawrence of Arabia or Indiana Jones, appears as an active, productive and creative pioneer, a masculine redeemer (救世主) who conquers the feminine wilderness.

In these films, the writer-soldier T. E. Lawrence or the scientist-archaeologist Dr. Jones rescues the Orient from its own obscurantism (愚民政策). Colonized people, like women, here require the guidance and protection of the colonial patriarchal figure. The madonna/whore dichotomy, applied within a colonial context, distinguishes submissive “natives” who are “warm,” “giving,” “noble savages” from the rebellious “barbarians” dangerous to civilization and themselves, yesterday’s “assassins” (暗杀者) and today’s “terrorists.”

The Manichaean allegory (寓意) of Hollywood’s cinematic Orient, in other words, does not simply depict all Arabs as “bad.” Rather, it divides them according to a metaphysical clash of good and evil, depending on their historical positioning vis-à-vis the West. The threatening political assertiveness of the colonized people provokes the discourse of the dangerous, instinctual (本能的) Third World, “non-civilized” elements to be eliminated by the end of the film.

Initiation

Orientalist films claim to initiate the Western spectator into Arab society. Western historiography (历史编纂学) narrates European heroic penetration into the Third World through the figure of the “discoverer.” The spectator, identified with the gaze of the West (whether embodied by a Western character or by a Western actor masquerading as an Oriental), comes to master, in a remarkably telescoped (套叠的) period of time, the codes of a foreign culture shown as simple, stable, unselfconscious and susceptible to facile apprehension (轻率的理解). Any possibility of dialogue and of a dialectical representation of the East/West relation is excluded from the outset. The Orient, rendered as devoid (缺少) of any active historical or narrative role, becomes—in the tradition of the distancing male regard toward women—the object of spectacle for the Western voyeuristic gaze.

In most Western films about the Orient, we accompany, quite literally, the perspective of the “discoverer”—and it is precisely this point of view that defines his historical position. A simple shift in perspective to that of the “natives” would suggest the intrusive nature of the “discovery.” In such films as *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, the camera relays the hero’s dynamic movement across a passive, static space, gradually stripping the land of its enigma (谜), as the spectator wins visual access to Oriental treasures through the eyes of the discoverer-protagonist.

In *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, the full significance of ancient archaeological objects is