white, students and construction workers, lecturers and librarians is a threat. When we consider too that progressive change has never come willingly from the official policymakers (including at the University of Vermont, where it took two student takeovers of the administration building and the construction of “Diversity University” on the campus green to finally win in the 1990s the creation of ethnic and women’s studies programs), we can see how those precariously in charge might get nervous even at the sight of a diverse group of people milling about with plates of potato salad. What if we start to imagine that this is our university? What if we start insisting on an equitable distribution of the institution’s resources? What if we get it in our heads that we don’t need twenty-one vice presidents? No wonder top administrators called the cops—for their own protection, for their own good.


Reviewed by Darin Payne, University of Hawai‘i

On a recent vacation to Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, my wife and I splurged: we bought ourselves a helicopter ride over and around the Island. In just under an hour, we wound our way over privately owned mountains that were the filming grounds for Spielberg’s Jurassic Park; through Kaua‘i’s stunning Waimea Canyon (dubbed by Mark Twain “The Grand Canyon of the Pacific”); up the Na Pali Coast, where our pilot pointed out a secluded area called Kalalau, its beaches made famous long ago by the film South Pacific and more recently featured in the Harrison Ford and Anne Heche film, Six Days, Seven Nights; around the northern tip of the Island to Hanalei Bay, the source of inspiration for Peter, Paul, and Mary’s song “Puff the Magic Dragon”; and over miles and miles of converted agricultural land, what was at one time utilized primarily for
sugar cane but has more recently been diversified to grow for international markets products such as mangoes, bananas, and, notably, coffee—a currently “hot commodity” worldwide, thanks in part to the growth of transnational corporations’ production and distribution capabilities, not to mention the media-based lifestyle-saturation efforts put forth over the past decade by coffee’s international poster-child, Starbucks. Our flight in the company’s much touted “Eco-Star” helicopter—a name suggestive of an interaction with the Island that might be down to earth, natural, ecologically based, the way “eco-tourism” is promoted to be—was enhanced (and admittedly I use that term only partially ironically) by a running soundtrack, a montage of film and television music and Hawai‘i-associated pop songs piped in crisply and smoothly into our state-of-the-art Bose headsets (also much touted). Upon our return to the airport, we were able to purchase a DVD of our entire trip, shot in real-time as we flew, capturing for endless replay “the stunning natural beauty of Kaua‘i.”

Our experience of reality in those sixty minutes was, as Thomas de Zengotita in Mediated or Todd Gitlin in Media Unlimited might say, thoroughly mediated, not just because we were behind glass windows with music filling every nook and cranny of our acoustic space, but also because virtually everything we saw belonged to, and thus was informed by, media representations of various forms, including print, television, film, and music. We didn’t just see a magnificent waterfall cascading into a beautiful pond at the foot of a steep cliff: we saw the waterfall, the one where Jeff Goldblum and company encountered tyrannosaurs; remnants of the helicopter landing pad Spielberg built in the early nineties for Jurassic Park are still visible from above. Moreover, our viewing of the waterfall was accompanied, appropriately enough, by the theme song from John Williams’ original film score. When we had earlier left the airport near Lihue, Kaua‘i’s only urban area, the theme from Hawai‘i Five-O was blasting in our ears, reminding us that this was to be an exciting, fast-paced adventure; later, as we more leisurely crossed rural terrain toward the ocean, the theme song from Lilo and Stitch played. In each such instance, musical references (along with our pilot’s well-rehearsed commentary) to media representations informed our viewing experience, encouraging us to read what we were seeing through a lens constructed in and by media with which we were already familiar.
Given that Kaua‘i is now a global tourist destination, and given that *Lilo and Stitch*, along with Starbucks, circulates worldwide, as do films like *Jurassic Park* and most TV shows in syndication, such as *Hawai'i Five-O*, via satellite television, I imagine that many of the tourists who embark on the Eco-Star, wherever they are from, experience somewhat similar, yet differently inflected, mediated realities. I further imagine that the Island of Kaua‘i is thereby represented to them accordingly, its physical, cultural, and historical identity inevitably tied to the production, distribution, and consumption of media and material artifacts in a global culture industry. Such representation, in turn, is likely shaping the evolving self-perceptions of Kaua‘i’s residents, particularly in terms of how they present their identities to accommodate their tourism industry, but also in terms of how they negotiate those identities and (re)produce their own representations in response to the myriad Others who come to experience, to view, and to consume. The dynamics of that development reflect the interanimated processes of cultural change occurring under globalization, not just in terms of an imposition of ideology and material-and media-culture from a dominant colonial or capitalist force (the history of which is particularly relevant to Hawai‘i), but also in terms of *exchange*: amidst the apparent mass cultural homogenization that is circulating vis-à-vis globalized media, also occurring are localized interpretations, imprints, and transformations, providing some space (akin to what Homi Bhabha termed “threedspace” in *The Location of Culture*) for negotiations of self and other.

These reflections on my recent helicopter excursion, on place, and on cultural identity are undoubtedly a product of my just-as-recent reading of *Globalization, Cultural Identities, and Media Representations*, a new anthology edited by Natascha Gentz and Stefan Kramer, professors of sinology at Frankfurt University and media studies at the University of Constance, Germany, respectively. This collection, comprised of selections from contributions to an international conference held in Constance in September 2001, offers scholars a variety of case studies that explore the impacts (and uses) of traditional and new media technologies on differing countries’ individuals and groups negotiating their identities and the representations thereof. Although each of the twelve chapters’ authors draws upon distinct analytic methodologies and scholarship (the
editors label this book as "transdisciplinary"), they all work within a common cultural studies project informed by shared theories of postmodern identity construction, postcolonial agency formation, and the inherent politics of literary and rhetorical production and consumption.

Consistent throughout the essays is an argument, sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit, for the dialectic potentiality of media representations to serve as well as subjugate local (usually subaltern) peoples in a global context. Michael C. Stone, for example, describes in his chapter the emergence and rhetorical power of one form of "world music" that he terms "groove locale." "World music," as Stone points out, is a marketing category constructed quite recently (the mid-'80s) by media conglomerates attempting to better sell a range of musical products that do not clearly conform to Western middle-class mainstream listening habits; it is hardly surprising that this category emerged amidst the rapid expansion of global capitalism over the past three decades, for it represents a "new" product created across the globe and entering established Western markets as well as emerging markets worldwide. As part of that expansion, world music has been, to some extent, absorbed and shaped by dominant cultural sensibilities; to sell in large quantities, it must not offend the socially constructed expectations of mass consumption, the result often being "the safely habit-forming, ever so slightly racy, danceable musical product of the culturally exotic" (69). Yet "groove locale," exemplified for Stone by the Caribbean's Garifuna music, manages to move beyond such absorption or, for lack of a better term, oppression. Garifuna is a combination of danceable, rhythmic, exotic sounds, to be sure; however, it is shot through with codes that express, or give voice to, Garifuna histories. Sounding a lot like Mary Louise Pratt in her discussion of transcultural and autoethnographic rhetorics between Andeans and Europeans in the seventeenth century (in her well-known essay, "The Arts of the Contact Zone"), Stone writes that such music "speaks to Garifuna experience at home and abroad, expressing profound sentiments of longing and loss, but also a celebratory sense of identity rooted in a conflictual history of encounters with dominant cultural forms and institutions under conditioning forces of global capitalism, wage-labor experience, and metropolitan racism" (72). This, in the end, is a kind
of “strategic antiessentialism” that Stone hopes will do the political-rhetorical work of resisting hegemony, expressing new forms of identity, and opening ground for communications that will “sustain a creative tension between local and transnational experience, sentiment, and signification” (74).

Another example of the dialectic potentiality of media representations in a global culture industry is offered by Kramer in his chapter’s discussion of Taiwan’s postcolonial search for identity, in which he describes a tension in Taiwanese cinema between nationalist propaganda that posits a specific, homogenous identity for its people and Taiwanese New Cinema, which has allowed its people, “more than any other media of cultural representation, the freedom to construct and to deconstruct national utopias and individual fantasies—freedom that is necessary for allowing heterotopias to enter into one’s thinking” (55). In his use of the Foucauldian concept of heterotopias, Kramer posits a reciprocal dialogue between self and other, as each, within the material and mediated conditions of lived experience, gets defined through its differentiation from the other and, simultaneously, its incorporation of the other into itself. The prevalence of heterotopic possibilities thus marks Taiwanese possibilities thus marks Taiwanese New Cinema, according to Kramer, as a site in which Taiwan’s “actual identity . . . as a dynamic and open-ended system” (53) can be expressed.

What is most useful about this collection, as these examples suggest, is its contributors’ shared emphasis on agency, on the ways and means of individuals and groups to articulate themselves through media, to engage in acts of cultural self-expression even in the face of a seemingly oppressive, totalizing media presence. In this way, the chapters demonstrate a key feature of globalization that Douglas Kellner identifies in his essay, “Theorizing Globalization”: the exploitable tensions between the “top down” forces of global capitalist expansion (such as the World Trade Organization) and the “bottom up” forces of resistance and negotiation (such as the World Social Forum, created in direct response to the WTO). This feature of globalization extends beyond media representations to institutions and collectives, to their respective behaviors, to policy-making practices, and so on; however, it is also necessarily inclusive of them. Resituated in Kellner’s model, the dialectic potentiality of media representations within globalization becomes one component (albeit a
highly significant one) of a broader form of dialectic in which negotiations of power are always already at work.

Within this anthology's array of diverse case studies, such media-specific negotiations, and by implication the broader struggles of which they are a part, are often revealed through particular focuses on the relations between the local and the global, what Gentz in her introduction refers to as "the glocal." While in some respects "the glocal" might seem an abstraction, much like Bhabha's concept of "thirdspace," it increasingly references a category of real places. How else can one define much of the world's allegedly "local" spaces, produced as they are by networks of cable TV, the Internet, and satellite radio, not to mention the ways in which their residents' lives are circumscribed by globalized labor relations? What to make, for instance, of a "local" town in Mexico whose residents work at a Ford plant, wear Nike T-shirts, eat at McDonald's, watch movies like, well, *Jurassic Park*, and join online communities such as "MySpace"? What to make further, notably, of those same residents who might also or otherwise contribute to online discussions of the plight of the Zapatistas, who might dip their fries in salsa, and who might agitate for culturally or regionally specific labor accommodations at their local factory? The glocal, then, as both a conceptual category and as a real place, expresses at once the exchanges between, and concurrent evolutions of, specific places' peoples and cultures and the forces of globalization, each informing the other and absorbing into itself elements of the other in the process.

A cynical response to that characterization is, perhaps, that it suggests too much balance, too much equity within exchanges where there is really very little. Although this anthology is, for sure, a hopeful one, such hopefulness might be challenged as naïve, as seeing too much promise in counter-cultural media work that is, more often than not, on the margins of mainstream media and always on the verge of being obliterated or absorbed by the larger homogenizing force of mass culture. While I would prefer not to be so cynical, I find myself leaning in that direction when I begin to consider the broader economic forces at work in the production, distribution, and consumption of media worldwide, forces that include the rising concentration of media ownership by multinational corporations: in 2000, as few as six conglomerates domi-
nated the worldwide mass media industry, according to Ben Bagdikian in the fourth edition of *The Media Monopoly*. Such conglomerates’ practices (which include self-promotion and “media integration,” in which the parent company of, say, a popular book is able to develop it into a movie and a video game and a television show, create news about it, and so on) are ultimately motivated by profit, not by political transformations or challenges to hegemony. Cultural representations are circulating within a global economy increasingly run by what William Robinson, in *A Theory of Global Capitalism*, characterizes as a transnational capitalist class, an elite group of power brokers for whom potential Foucauldian heterotopias in *Taiwanese New Cinema* hold very little significance.

That said, it is worth noting that economic forces are taken into account in some of this book’s analyses of media; indeed, the contributors situate their discussions of identity negotiations and cultural representations amidst a confluence of political, social, and material conditions, including not just economics but also evolutions in media technologies themselves. For example, Arif Dirlik explores the implications of the famously inaccurate labeling of Maxine Hong Kingston’s *The Woman Warrior* as autobiography, a marketing maneuver that reflected and has contributed to both the politics and economics of commodifying Asian and Asian-American ethnicities. Tamar Liebes, for another example, analyzes contemporary wars—the Palestinian Intifada I and II, and, running parallel in time to each of those, the first Gulf War and The War on Terror—to demonstrate the ways in which television does not just report on or reflect politics and cultures but actively shapes and intervenes in them; she argues that the global TV media have become participants in such local conflicts, rendering them global and influencing the strategies and tactics of their primary decision makers. Analyses such as these move beyond the sort of isolated textual analysis that would indeed lead to naïve assertions of, say, equitable subaltern resistance in media artifacts. Instead, these analyses begin to engage in what Kellner terms (in his essay “Critical Theory and British Cultural Studies”) a “multiperspectival approach,” one that in the current era necessarily involves simultaneously examining media works through textual analysis, the production and political economy of culture, and the study of audience reception and the uses of media.
The book does nevertheless fall short of achieving such a multiperspectival approach on at least a few occasions, perhaps best exemplified by a rather reductive chapter on the TV character Xena (that "warrior princess" of late night programming), who, according to the chapter's authors, embodies a multiple, contingent, fluid identity appropriate to our current historical moment. Much is made of Xena's dialogue, the ambiguity of her sexual orientation, and her shifting codes of moral behavior within her fictional universe; however, little other evidence or contextual framing is offered for interpreting and applying such descriptions, revealing Xena to be less a role model for global-era identity formation and more the subject of the authors' obvious admiration and their predilections for the fantasy genre (not unlike the equally reductive essays that have surfaced elsewhere in which science fiction fans uncritically posit Star Trek as a fictional model for racial harmony).

Still, this book is rich in its articulations of the possibilities for media work to be at least somewhat more democratic, culturally specific, and representative of marginalized or subaltern experiences than what a McWorld allegedly produces, distributes, and consumes. Worth noting is that for all their theoretical speculation, particularly in reframing or extending the cultural studies project (the Frankfurt school's critique of mass culture, especially, is alluded to or addressed regularly throughout), the contributors all ground their scholarship in case studies of real media artifacts doing real work in the world, thus exemplifying how such media are indeed serving peoples and cultures in ways that do reach beyond duplicating or fully acquiescing to a global spread of Western democratic-capitalist ideologies and norms. With that in mind, I suggest that this book is useful not just to those in media studies or cultural studies, but also to those exploring the shifting rhetorics produced under globalization, the implications of which are being felt by teachers of literature and writing alike, as well as by their students. Were it not for the book's jargon (readily identifiable to academics in the humanities and hardly reflective, then, of any fully "transdisciplinary" discourse that the editors claim), I believe it would be additionally of interest to culture jammers and media industry insiders, particularly for its explications of the political function of media representations and for its illustrations of how such political work can be imbued with varying forms of agency. Finally,
I think the book is a useful resource for those contemplating their own place-based identifications and experiences, saturated as those inevitably are in multiple forms of mediation, and inextricable as they also are from the material, social, and ideological forces of the global culture industry.


Reviewed by Seth Kahn, West Chester University

From its onset in Fall 2002, the Bush administration’s case for attacking Iraq presented a problem many peace activists couldn’t put our collective finger on—along, of course, with several we could. There was a disjunction, many of us pointed out, between the administration’s rationales for invading Iraq and any of the evidence they offered for doing so. At protests and vigils, that disjunction manifested in the chant “No blood for oil,” an assertion that capital-driven imperialism was the motivating force behind the pending attack. Our chant, while cathartic and correct (at least in part), wasn’t satisfying or complete.

*Hitting First: Preventive Force in U.S. Security Strategy*, a collection of essays from scholars in rhetoric, political science, history, philosophy, and public policy, helps to clarify the problem caused by the disjunction between the Bush administration’s public stance and the evidence by focusing its attention on the Bush administration’s conflation of “preventive” and “preemptive” war. Beginning with a document called NSS [National Security Statement] 2002, which announces the administration’s intentions to attack any nation that it decides constitutes a threat to U.S. security, contributors analyze four dimensions of the administration’s policies: the historical roots of preventive strikes; rhetorical justifications for preventive war; institutional and tactical considerations in executing preventive war; and the future of U.S. foreign policy. The book develops