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Discourse of Wilderness: Grizzly Bears in Popular Culture

by

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally overlooked by cultural and environmental theorists, representations of non-human nature in popular culture provide an excellent opportunity to explore meanings surrounding and boundaries defining nature and culture. Grizzly bear representations invite inquiry due to their ubiquity, popularity and complexity in North American culture. Rather than reflecting an already existing nature, these representations serve as conjuncture points for a variety of discourses about both wilderness and culture.

Informed by articulation and cyborg theory, this thesis maps symbolically central representations of grizzly bears in North American popular culture in order to explore what these representations suggest about salient discourses of wilderness and gender. The implications of these representations are also discussed. This thesis concludes that positioning grizzly bears in popular culture as a cyborg provides a complex rhetorical and political strategy for theorising representations of the natural world.

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DEDICATION

To Rob, for making this adventure possible.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In a recent environmental group's newsletter, an article 'Why are we fixated on bears?' (Hugget, 1997) explores the ways in which grizzly bears are portrayed in the media. The author argues that representations of these bears are distorted because unusual attention is placed on the danger that bears pose to humans. According to this argument, this fuels our misperception of bears and of wilderness as overly dangerous and risky. While working for Alberta Parks Service in the Rocky Mountains, I noticed a similar 'misperception'. I was intrigued by the response of many people, in particular those who were not familiar with the mountains, when the topic of bears arose. There appeared to be, in my opinion, an unusual fear of the risk factors involved in exploring the wilderness due to the fear of grizzly bears. Some people were scared to leave their vehicles because they feared being attacked by a grizzly. However, as bear researcher Stephen Herrero (1985) notes, we accept some element of risk everyday and this risk is not appreciably higher in bear country. Yet as one of the most dangerous mammals in North America, grizzly bears frighten us; they make an impression on our imagination. As Herrero describes:

When a grizzly kills or injures someone the story often makes headlines. Grizzly bear maulings are unusual. They awaken a fear of the unknown and images of huge beasts with powerful jaws and protruding fangs rushing at us while we walk along previously serene trails (1985: 10).

What I find equally intriguing is my own fear of grizzly bears, despite my experience and knowledge to the contrary. I realize that the risk is minimal in bear country if I take the proper precautions. I know that grizzly

bears, although often portrayed as predators of humans, are omnivores who consume mostly berries, plants and insects. As Herrero notes, “people are rarely treated as prey, even though when unarmed few of us would be a match for all but the weakest of bears” (1985: 209). Granted, grizzly bears are dangerous and do attack humans, sometimes fatally. My fear is ‘justified’; yet, it is out of proportion to the actual risk posed. I could, just as likely, be attacked in the wilderness by a black bear or a bull moose in rut or a female elk protecting her young, yet I do not fear these possibilities as I do the possibility of being attacked by a grizzly.

I had an ‘encounter’ with a grizzly bear in the wilderness which made me reflect on my notions about bears. While hiking, I came face to face with a grizzly. At first, I was curious; then, fear overpowered curiosity, I panicked and ran as fast as possible in the opposite direction. I imagined the bear’s breath on my neck; my skin anticipated its claws, grabbing and tearing my flesh. I visioned my blood spurting, luring the bear closer, its teeth penetrating my bones. I nearly fainted from terror; yet, when I reached the end of the trail, curiosity overpowered fear and I turned around to face my pursuer. The bear remained where we had met, motionless. He did not look dangerous, merely bemused. This incident reminded of a quote from Marion Engel’s novel *Bear*: “*you have these ideas about bears: they are toys, or something fierce and ogreish in the woods, following you at a distance, snuffling you out to snuff you out. But this bear is a lump*” (1976: 34).

This thesis explores some of the ideas that circulate in North American culture about grizzly bears in particular and wilderness in general as well as some of the implications and insights of these ideas. This analysis is tied to a

broader discussion of the ways in which nature, specifically wild nature, and culture are ordered in late twentieth century North America. Stuart Hall (1982) describes culture as 'shared meanings' which are produced and communicated through language, a system of representation which transmits meaning through symbols which represent the meanings we wish to communicate. Language is a signifying practice which implies the "active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of making things mean" (ibid: 64). Language in this sense is not limited to written and spoken words; rather, it refers to any representational system of meaning such as images, physical gestures, music, clothing - anything which communicates a shared meaning between people.

Recently the natural world has become a site of analysis within communications research. In The Symbolic Earth (1996), Cantrill and Oravec argue that the natural environment is a social construction and that in order to understand environmental crises, we need to understand how the environment is created discursively. In Green Culture (1996), Herndl and Brown contend that there is no environment "separate from the words we use to represent it" (1996: 3). Cultural theorist Donna Haraway (1989) points to the importance of understanding how we 'talk about' nature as she argues that the stories we tell about nature, the pronouns and the grammar we use to describe it guide our politics and our visions for the future.

One site in which the natural world is represented and discussed is popular culture. According to Alex Wilson (1991), most North Americans see wildlife on television or at the movies before they experience it 'live'.

Furthermore, he describes that our experiences with the natural world are always mediated by photography, industry, advertising and aesthetics. Yet, popular culture is often overlooked or devalued as a critical site of analysis as it is perceived as frivolous, as 'just entertainment' with no serious or political implications. However, some cultural theorists take popular culture *seriously*, arguing that popular culture is not frivolous nor apolitical; rather, it is a site of struggle where ideas and the forms of their expression are made, transformed and circulated. As Lawrence Grossberg describes, popular culture provides cultural theorists with a site for investigating the "everyday terrain" of people: "the significance of 'the popular' in cultural studies involves the observation that struggles over power must increasingly touch base with and work through the cultural practices, languages, and logics of the people" (1992: 11).

Although popular culture appears simple and obvious, its meanings often are not. John Fiske (1989) describes that popular culture is contradictory: it is simultaneously a product of capitalist interests, produced and distributed by a profit motivated industry which follows its own economic interests, yet one which also must bear the interests of the people to and for whom it speaks. To view popular culture merely as a commodity infused with the dominant ideology of capitalist interests (as was the perspective of previous neo-Marxist communication theorists), overlooks the fact that popular culture is *culture*: a living active process of generating and circulating meanings and pleasures within a social system (ibid: 23). The notion that popular culture represents false consciousness or inauthenticity is, according to Fiske, a fruitless exercise in romantic nostalgia; rather, "culture industries

only produce a repertoire of texts or culture resources for the various formations of the people to use or reject in the ongoing process of producing their popular culture" (ibid: 24). Fiske contends that, in late capitalist society, everyone is a consumer of resources (ibid: 34). Therefore, the consumption of popular culture is an act of cultural production, the production of meaning.

This is not to suggest, however, that popular culture is radically free from ideology or from the social structure from which it arises. Popular culture must appeal to what people have in common because, the more one product (or idea) can be reproduced, the greater its economic return. Furthermore, popular culture must be relevant to the immediate social situation of the people. As such, it must accord to the social norms of pleasure, morality or ordinariness. As Fiske describes:

Popular culture is made at the interface between the cultural resources provided by capitalism and everyday life. This identifies relevance as a central criterion. If the cultural resource does not offer points of pertinence through which the experience of everyday life can be made to resonate with it, then it will not be popular (ibid: 129).

Although Fiske concludes the above paragraph by noting that popular culture must be multiple and transient in order to be pertinent to the shifting social allegiances of the audience, he also notes that popular culture is constrained by social conventions which tend to perpetuate, rather than challenge, the status quo. Thus, popular culture contains recurring structures and codes which are culturally specific and which, in some fashion, concur with dominant ideology.

Although popular culture provides a rich site for inquiries into how nature is constructed, many argue that cultural studies has historically under-

theorised the natural, non-human world (Jagtenberg and McKie, 1997; Slack and Whitt, 1992/1994). According to Australian communications scholars Tom Jagtenberg and David McKie, communications and cultural studies theoretically undermap the nonhuman or the physical environment due to a nature/culture dualism which informs academic boundaries (1997: xii). What Jagtenberg and McKie propose is to draw the biosphere into reflexive critical theory in order to 'green' social scientific theory. Jagtenberg and McKie describe that "the whole point of so-called green ecological theorising is to persuade us of the intimate interplay among all components of complex systems - be they colloquially real or imaginary" (1997: 2).

American cultural theorists Jennifer Daryl Slack and Laurie Anne Whitt argue that cultural studies needs to expand its analysis to include the natural world. As Grossberg describes, "doing cultural studies is not a matter of merely continuing the work that has already been done, staying on the same terrain, but of asking what is left off the agenda in relation to specific contexts and projects" (1992: 21). Slack and Whitt propose an *ecocultural perspective* for cultural studies, one which acknowledges ecological interdependence between humans and non-humans. An ecoculturalist perspective would entail moving beyond anthropocentric cultural theory toward investigating how the non-human world is articulated within particular cultural phenomenon. According to these authors, this extension of the interests of cultural studies would open up cultural theory and politics to one of the most pressing political, economic and cultural issues of our time; that is, the relations between the human and non-human world (1992: 572).

This thesis presents an ecoculturalist perspective to investigate representations of grizzly bears in particular and wilderness in general in North American popular culture. Of the eight species in the family Ursidae, three (the brown bear *Ursus arctos*, the American black bear *Ursus americanus*, the polar bear *Ursus maritimus*) inhabit North America. Of these three, it has been argued that the brown or grizzly bear is the most ubiquitous in North American culture. In the introduction to The Great Bear Almanac, Gary Brown points to the centrality of grizzly bear representations, noting that he had to “guard against *Ursus arctos horribilis* completely overwhelming nearly every chapter” (1993: 3). Brown comments that, as early as 1904, author and naturalist William Hornoday described the grizzly bear as one of the most celebrated species of bears in the world.

Grizzly bears are common in contemporary media landscapes. Advertisements, toys, movies, tourist paraphernalia, postage stamps, even the electronic highway provide excellent opportunities for sightings. Grizzly bear representations are intriguing as they are often complex, even contradictory. They can appear as ferocious monsters, as harmless denizens of pristine nature, as cuddly toys and as amicable cartoon figures. Consider a few contemporary examples of the diversity of grizzly bear representations. Bart, a trained grizzly, appeared on the 1997 Academy Awards following his appearance in Lee Tamahori’s movie The Edge (1997). In 1998, the telecommunications company Clearnet and the beer company Budweiser both released television ads featuring grizzly bears. In October, 1997, the highest value stamp issued by Canada Post was released: an eight dollar grizzly bear stamp. The grizzly bear’s image is also employed by The Great

Bear Rainforest Campaign to protect temperate rainforests in British Columbia and the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative (Y2Y), a joint Canadian - United States network of organizations and individuals working to develop and protect wildlife corridors from Canada's northern territories to Yellowstone National Park.

Grizzly bears are popular; they attract our attention. They belong to a group of animals, such as the mountain gorilla, the giant panda, and the snow leopard, described as charismatic megafauna. These species receive special attention because of their beauty, size, similarity to humans, or other special characteristics. An article in International Wildlife Magazine refers to this phenomenon as animal magnetism, an immeasurable quality that turns the head and stirs the soul (Watson, 1998). These animals often serve as representatives of particular ecosystems because they are viewed sympathetically by people; in effect, they are animals to which we can relate.

Grizzly bears are often described as icons of wilderness. Gary Brown (1993) claims the bears are wilderness, that nature would not be wild without them. David Rockwell (1991) asserts that bears represent, not only the natural world, but more specifically the dangerous side of nature. Additionally, several wilderness advocacy groups, such as the Alberta Wilderness Association and the Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative use images of the grizzly bear to represent endangered, vanishing wilderness. Biologists use animals such as the grizzly bear as indicator species or barometers of ecological health because the survival of such species depends on environmental integrity. For example, the Eastern Slopes Grizzly Project, a five year study commissioned to study grizzly bear population and habitat

in the eastern Alberta Rocky Mountains, is focussing on the grizzly bear as an indicator of ecological integrity in this region. Biologists Kellert, Black, Rush and Bath argue that large, charismatic vertebrates such as the grizzly bear can serve as indicators of our relationships with the natural world as these animals are central to human affection for, myths about, and understanding of nature (1996: 978).

Furthermore, there is an interesting similarity between descriptions of human relationships with wilderness and with grizzly bears. John Rennie Short (1991) argues that two archetypal perspectives construct wilderness: the classical, which positions wilderness as a site to be feared and subdued, and the romantic, which positions wilderness as a site to be revered and protected. Kellert, Black, Rush and Bath (1996) conclude that the grizzly bear, as presented in art, literature, and the media, appears both positively and negatively; as such, it “will continue to be feared and revered, inspiring awe in some and loathing in others” (1996: 986).

My interest in investigating representations of grizzly bears stems, not only from curiosity about this charismatic animal, but also from concern about its future survival. Conservation biologists argue that human relationships with large carnivores such as the grizzly are problematic and require urgent attention as large predators face the prospect of extinction due to human encroachment (Primm and Clark, 1996; Weber and Rabinowitz, 1996). According to Weber and Rabinowitz, this is a global issue: “From Asia and Africa to the Americas, the largest of the felids, canids, and ursids suffer from multiple pressures of habitat degradation, hunting, domestic disease, and commercial markets for body parts” (1996: 1046). As Gary Snyder notes in

the epilogue of The Sacred Paw, the grizzly bear in North America has experienced a disastrous century. Bear researcher Stephen Herrero writes that “since the arrival of Europeans in North America, the grizzly bear has been shot, trapped, poisoned and had extensive portions of its habitat converted into ranch land, housing, highways and recreational playgrounds” (1985: 255). Although viable populations exist in Alaska and western Canada, the grizzly has been extirpated from most of its previous range. Before the twentieth century, grizzly bears ranged throughout North America from the Rocky mountains westward and from central Mexico north through Alaska. Since 1967, the grizzly *Ursus arctos horribilis* which occupies Canada and the northern United States has been categorized by the World Wildlife Fund’s endangered species list as vulnerable to extinction. Their populations are vulnerable mainly due to poaching and loss of habitat from human encroachment (Beacham, 1990).

In summary, this thesis is an exploration of some contemporary discourses of wilderness as suggested by grizzly bears in popular culture. Chapter two presents a theoretical and methodological overview for this study. In chapter three, grizzly bear representations are categorized in order to relate them to broader discourses about nature and culture. Chapter four offers a more detailed reading of grizzly bear representations in commercial film. Chapter five examines the politics and implications of grizzly bears in popular culture.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a theoretical and methodological foundation for this study. Theories of how meaning is circulated and reproduced within language and discourse will be examined in order to set a framework for interrogating the boundaries which demarcate 'wilderness' in late twentieth century culture. I start from the premise that representations of grizzly bears do not reflect an already existing natural world; rather, they are *constructed* from the historical and social context in which they are embedded. Furthermore, these images (as representational systems of meaning) can give insights into salient discourses about wilderness.

According to semiology, one of the ways in which we give meaning to terms is from the construction of difference. Semiology describes meaning as arbitrary, resulting not from a predetermined fixed quality of words but from cultural systems of difference. Ferdinand de Saussure (1959) argued that signs have two components, the signifier (sound or written image) and the signified (meaning) which are arbitrarily connected by cultural codes. From this perspective, signs acquire meaning, not from intrinsic qualities of the sign, but from their difference from other signs. Wilderness, for example, has meaning, not because of the sign itself or because of a fixed, external reality, but because this sign is different from other signs.

Stuart Hall (1997) notes that difference is ambivalent; it is both essential to the construction of meaning and reductionist in that it attempts to capture the diversity of the world within binary oppositions, either/or extremes. Thus, meaning is often generated through binary concepts such as

nature/culture; male/female; white/black; civilised/primitive; human/animal. One consequence of difference is that it creates an 'Other', a symbolic entity located outside the self which can be perceived as threatening and foreign (O'Sullivan et al, 1994). As I discuss later in this chapter, sites positioned as Other can also be alluring. The process of 'othering' through difference can also be explained by *dualisms*, a positioning of concepts as analytically distinct opposites. Often a value hierarchy exists within the dualism where one member of the pair is considered subordinate and inferior to the other.

Val Plumwood (1993) argues that dualisms operate within a network and are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Dualisms are linked by a historical sequence of evolution whereby previous dualisms influence the construction of new ones. Plumwood argues that certain dualisms are central for western thought and reflect the major forms of oppression in western culture. The following are some of the dualisms described by Plumwood: **culture/nature, reason/nature, male/female, mind/body, rationality/animality, reason/emotion, mind/nature, human/non - human, civilised/primitive, self/other** (ibid: 43). The first half of this list (in bold print) represents those privileged in western culture and the second half represents the subordinate. According to Plumwood, anything associated with 'nature' is also considered subordinate and inferior based on the interrelated system of dualisms:

The category of nature is a field of multiple exclusion and control, not only of non-humans, but of various groups of humans and aspects of human life which are cast as nature. Thus, racism, colonialism and sexism have drawn their conceptual strength from casting sexual, racial and ethnic difference as closer to the animal and the body construed as a

sphere of inferiority, as a lesser form of humanity lacking the full measure of rationality or culture...To be defined as 'nature' in this context is to be defined as passive, as non-agent and non-subject, as the 'environment' or invisible background conditions against which the 'foreground' achievements of reason or culture (provided typically by the white, western, male expert or entrepreneur) take place. It is to be defined as a *terra nullius*, a resource empty of its own purposes or meanings, and hence available to be annexed for the purposes of those supposedly identified with reason or intellect, and to be conceived and moulded in relation to these purposes. It means being seen as part of a sharply separate, even alien lower realm, whose domination is simply 'natural', flowing from nature itself and the nature(s) of things (ibid: 4).

Plumwood calls for extending feminist theory to integrate nature as a fourth category of analysis into the framework which employs a race, class and gender analysis (ibid: 2). Thus, 'nature' becomes a political rather than merely a descriptive category, making its analysis critical not only for environmental theorists, but also for feminists and other liberation theorists.

The positioning of nature and woman as subordinate (Other) to culture and man (Self) has been a focus of research within feminism, in particular, ecofeminism. Ecofeminism is a theoretical tradition which has, since the 1970s, investigated the connections between the subordination of women and nature within patriarchy. Mary Mellor (1997) describes ecofeminism broadly as theories and approaches which encompass both feminist and ecological concerns. Mellor describes that ecofeminism emerged in the mid-1970s along with second-wave feminism and the green movement. The predominant assertion of ecofeminism is that women's subordination and ecological degradation are connected. Mellor argues that the link between feminism and ecology provides a radical potential because it opens investigation into a gender analysis of nature.

In 'Women/Wilderness', science fiction writer Ursula LeGuin (1989) explores the connections between *wilderness* and women. LeGuin describes wilderness and women as Other (outside, below, underneath subservient) and civilised Man as Self. According to LeGuin, wilderness:

... is what civilisation has left out, what culture excludes, what the Dominants call animal, bestial, primitive, undeveloped, unauthentic...what has not been spoken, and when spoken, has not been heard...what we are just beginning to find words for, our words, not their words; the experience of women. For dominance-identified men and women both, that is true wildness. Their fear of it is ancient, profound and violent. The misogyny that shapes every aspect of our civilisation is the institutionalised form of male fear and hatred of what they have denied, and therefore cannot know, cannot share: that wild country, the being of women (ibid: 47).

However, wilderness also has an association with qualities (ferocity, violence, independence) and activities (such as hunting and high risk outdoor sports) that are perceived as masculine. According to Val Plumwood, the dominant, traditional connection of men with culture and woman with nature is also overlain with more recent and conflicting ones in which masculinity (in particular, virility) is connected to nature (1993: 20). Plumwood describes masculine nature as wild, violent, competitive and sexual whereas feminine nature is domestic, asexual and civilised.

There is a subtle difference between 'nature' and 'wilderness'. Nature connotes, at least to a degree, the presence of culture, of humanity, of control. Nature is defined as "the inherent character or basic constitution of a person or thing...a creative and controlling force in the universe...the genetically controlled qualities of an organism" (Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed, 1993:774). Compare this to wilderness, "a tract or region uncultivated

and uninhabited by human beings ... undisturbed by human activity ... an empty or pathless area or region" (Merriam Webster's Collegiate 10th ed: 1353). Roderick Nash describes that wilderness also refers to a state of confusion, of loss of control, of civilisation. In this sense, it represents an "uncultivated state ... a confused multitude or mass...a bewildering situation" (Merriam Webster's Collegiate 10th ed: 1353). It is the site of the wild and all that this term connotes: the undomesticated, the uninhabited, the unruly, the stormy, the passionate, the barbaric. According to Neil Evernden, wilderness "is self-willed, independent, and indifferent to our dictates and judgments. An entity with the quality of wildness is its own, and no other's. When domestication begins, wildness ends" (1992: 120).

Geographer John Rennie Short describes that the term wilderness originated in the agricultural revolution almost 10 000 years ago; at a time when settled agriculture forced a distinction between cultivated and uncultivated land, savage and settled, domesticated and wild animals (1991: 5). The term culture also stems from a purely agricultural root and refers to the cultivation of natural resources, such as plants and animals, through manipulation by humans (O'Sullivan et al, 1992: 69). Thus, wilderness and culture are, by definition, distinct categories. This distinction, however, is culturally specific. Nash (1973) notes that the term wilderness is restricted to the languages of northern Europe¹ from which modern English arose. Furthermore, he describes that wilderness is a complex, ambiguous, polysemic term which is "heavily freighted with meaning of a personal, symbolic, and changing kind as to resist easy definition" (1973:1).

¹ Romantic languages, for example, have no singular word to describe 'wilderness'; rather, these languages use attributes of the concept. Consider Spanish *falta de cultura* (lack of cultivation) or French *lieu desert* (deserted place) (Nash, 1973: 2).

Max Oeschlaeger (1991) describes that the meaning attributed to wilderness has changed depending on the historical and cultural context in which it is embedded. Wilderness, according to Oeschlaeger, is a site of a variety of cultural, social, economic and religious discourses, including prehistoric interactions with the wild, Greek and Roman philosophy, Judeo-Christianity, the Renaissance and Enlightenment movements, as well as the Romantic and Transcendentalist movements. In addition, Oeschlaeger describes that the concept of wilderness in a North American context has been shaped by the pioneer movement, farmers, ranchers, hunters, industrialists, tourists, and environmentalists. Wilderness, according to Oeschlaeger, has changed from being a refuge or a home, to a resource to be utilized, to a machine to be mastered and understood, to a source of meaning to challenge modernist world views. Oeschlaeger's description points to the importance of *discourse* in the creation of meaning and how meaning is not static and ahistorical, but dynamic and contingent on its context.

From a poststructuralist perspective, meaning operates, not solely within language, but through discourse. Discourse is defined as the social process and the end result of making and reproducing sense (O'Sullivan, 1994: 93). Poststructuralist theories of meaning differ from structuralist ones in that they contextualize meaning, connecting it with social forces. Lawrence Grossberg (1992) describes that, whereas structuralism assumes that fields of difference are pre-given and stable, poststructuralist theories position meaning in relation to other texts and practices. Meaning exists because of its intertextuality whereby "culture is the process by which difference is produced and it is only within that process that texts and audiences can be said to exist

and even then for a fleeting moment" (1992: 40). Thus, the focus of discourse is on culture, on the process of creating meaning, rather than solely on language. Furthermore, the discursive approach opens discussion to the *implications* of meaning. Stuart Hall (1997) describes that, whereas semiotics is concerned with how language produces meaning or the 'poetics' of representation, the discursive approach focuses on the effects and consequences of representation, its 'politics'.

Roland Barthes' (1972) concept of myth gives an example of how meaning operates at a broader, cultural level. Representations, according to Barthes, can be read at two levels, the denotative and the connotative. The denotative is the simple, descriptive level whereas the connotative suggests a broader ideological cultural meaning. Barthes describes this second level of signification as myth. Myth is a chain of concepts, a cultural message which underlies concepts. Moreover, according to Barthes, myth is empty of history and of intention. As such, it appears innocent or natural, a fact, outside of human influence. Barthes describes that myth's power comes from its naturalising abilities. Once naturalised, it is beyond dispute, immune from critique as it is perceived as an eternal given rather than a historically constructed concept. Representations of nature, in particular, conceal their connection to myth. As Evernden writes, "why criticise a sunrise or a frog? That's just the way the frog or the sunrise is, through nobody's fault. In fact, that is the way they were meant to be" (1992: 4). The idea that these representations are 'natural' thus beyond criticism is in fact conducive to their ideological work.

Barthes' concept of myth suggests that representations of the natural

world are connected with cultural messages; thus, our understanding of the natural world is informed by underlying structuring principles. Chris Weedon (1997) describes discourse as a structuring principle of society as discourse is part of a network of power relations which constitutes knowledge. Discourses are in competition for this structuring of knowledge. According to Weedon, it is the conflict between finite discourses in society which creates the possibility of new ways of thinking and eventually of restructuring society. Although the more powerful discourses in society are rooted in particular institutions such as law, medicine, education, these are not the only discourses vying for power. Even if alternative discourses do not have the power to realize their version of knowledge, they do provide sites for resisting dominant discourses. However, Weedon comments, this resistance takes a lot of effort to challenge dominant perspectives, and to achieve “even small shifts in the balance of power” (1997: 108).

According to Weedon, one of the discourses which informs western understanding of the world is patriarchal discourse. Weedon describes patriarchy as “power relations in which women’s interests are subordinated to the interests of men” (1997: 2). These power relations are multifaceted, according to Weedon, ranging from the sexual division of labour to the internalised forms of femininity and masculinity by which we live. Weedon notes that patriarchal relations are structural because they exist in the institutions and social practices of our society which we enter into and from which we learn about the world. Weedon describes that the social meanings of gender and sexuality are often regarded as *common sense*, as fixed, ‘true’ and natural. For example, Weedon describes some of the implications of

'natural' femininity:

... it is not that we are not as important and valuable as men, but that we are *naturally* equipped to fulfil different social functions, primarily those of wife and mother. Being a good wife and mother, as these roles are currently defined, calls for particular qualities, thought to be naturally feminine, such as patience, emotion and self-sacrifice. These expectations about natural femininity structure women's access to the labour market and to public life (ibid: 2).

Thus, although society is ordered by particular discourses, such as patriarchy, often this structuring is not recognized as historically and culturally contingent; rather, the versions of knowledge produced are naturalised, regarded as common sense, the way things are meant to be.

Donna Haraway has pointed to the role of discourse in constructing representations of nature. In her study of representations of primates and the construction of primatology, Haraway (1989) argues that the natural world is a complex mirror which reflects notions of culture. Haraway draws from Edward Said's work to develop this concept. In Orientalism, Said (1978) argues that the European myth of the 'Orient' served to create an identity for Western culture which positioned itself as 'not Orient'. Said maintains that the 'Orient' serves as a complex mirror for Western conceptions of self. Drawing the comparison to orientalism, Haraway states that primatology is concerned with positioning humans as distinct from animals, and culture as distinct from nature:

...western primatology has been about the construction of the self from the raw material of the other, the appropriation of nature in the production of culture, the ripening of the human from the soil of the animal, the clarity of white from the obscurity of color, the issue of man from the body of woman, the elaboration of gender from the resource of sex, the emergence of mind by the activation of body. To effect these transformative

operations, simian 'orientalist' discourse must first construct the terms: animal, nature, body, primitive, female. Traditionally associated with lewd meanings, sexual lust, and the unrestrained body, monkeys and apes mirror humans in a complex play of distortions over centuries of western commentary on these troubling doubles. Primatology is western discourse, and it is sexualised discourse (1989: 11).

Thus, representations of the natural world can be read as containers or mirrors for salient discourses about nature and culture. Although, as with the case of primatology, these discourses often position nature and culture as opposite, as 'troubling doubles', these terms are intertwined and connected.

Haraway's work is insightful for she emphasises that, although dualisms such as nature and culture appear to exist, meaning is more complex than a simple ordering of difference. Haraway argues that the dualisms which traditionally ordered Western discourse (self/ other, mind/body, culture/nature, male/female, civilised/primitive, reality/appearance, active/passive) are all in question ideologically in contemporary culture. As such, she contends that analysis which is grounded in the assumption that these dualisms persist is inadequate. Rather, Haraway advocates a rhetorical strategy and a political method based on the *cyborg*, in order to theorise the weave of the organic, technical, textual, mythic, economic, and political threads that make up the flesh of the world (1995: xii). As Haraway argues, "A cyborg body is not innocent; it was not born in a garden; it does not seek unitary identity and so generate antagonistic dualisms without end"(1991: 180). The cyborg is insightful (and controversial) because it extends the analysis of ecofeminism beyond essentialist connections between nature and gender to encompass the complex interplay between nature, gender and technology.

In 'A Cyborg Manifesto' (1985/1991) and 'The Promises of Monsters' (1992), Haraway describes cyborg politics as based on *pleasure* in the confusion of boundaries and *responsibility* in their construction (1991: 150). Haraway describes cyborgs as a "hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction" (ibid: 149). Haraway argues that in the late twentieth century, we are all cyborgs, "theorised and fabricated hybrids of machine and organisms" (ibid: 150). On one hand, cyborg refers to a world of machines which is both misogynistic and ecologically destructive. Cyborgs often evoke images of a violent, rapacious New World Order (Keohane, 1997: 10). However, Haraway instructs us to see a cyborg world from another perspective, as a "lived social and bodily realities in which people are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines, not afraid of permanently partial identities and contradictory standpoints" (1991: 154).

Included in Haraway's cyborg politics is the attribution of *agency* to the natural world. Mellor describes that for ecofeminism, the natural world exists beyond human construction or control. She argues that: "for ecofeminists the natural world is not dumb; it not only has existence, but agency. Humanity may variously interpret and respond to natural phenomena, but cannot ultimately construct them or itself." (1997: 124). Similarly, Haraway argues that social constructivism only goes so far in describing our relations with the natural world. According to Haraway, nature is not a physical place, nor an essence, nor a preexisting reality waiting to be unfolded; rather, it is *made* by collective actors: "it is crucial to remember that organisms are not born; they are made in world-changing technoscientific practices by particular collective actors in particular times and

places" (1992: 297). These actors are human and non-human. For Haraway, nature is a witty agent and actor with whom we are in conversation. Nature is not "mother/matter/mutter - but coyote, a figure for the always problematic, always potent tie of meaning and bodies" (1988/1991: 201). Haraway writes that ecofeminist politics needs to revision the world as a "coded trickster with whom we must learn to converse" (ibid: 201).

In order to more adequately theorise nature, Haraway advocates a political semiotics of *articulation* over a political semiotics of representation. Haraway (1992) asks: who speaks for the jaguar? In other words, who speaks for nature? Although this appears to be a valid question, Haraway contends that it reinforces rather than challenges dualisms. The concept of representation, according to Haraway, depends on a construction of or a boundary established between humans as actors and the 'represented' as a passive actant: "representation depends on possession of a passive resource, namely, the silent object, the stripped actant" (1992: 313). Representation places the authorship, the voice, with the representer who claims independent object status for the represented. As such, theories of representation serve to reduce the represented to "the permanent status of the recipient of action, never to be a co-actor in an articulated practice among unlike, but joined, social partners" (ibid: 312). According to Haraway, representation is predicated on the concepts of 'nature', 'realism', 'culture'; however, she argues that these categories should no longer make sense. She argues that we should not advocate returning to 'nature' (the unmodern) by analysing and critiquing representations of nature (the modern and the postmodern). Rather, we need to go "elsewhere", to what Haraway describes

as the “amodern” where nature and society no longer exist. Haraway argues for articulation as another way of seeing actors and actants.

Articulation, according to Haraway, is based on the optical metaphor of diffraction, the processing of small but consequential differences. Diffraction occurs, not through privileged knowledges, but “situated knowledges”:

Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not a screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and authorship of ‘objective’ knowledge...actors come in many and wonderful forms. Accounts of a ‘real’ world ... depend on ...a power-charged social relation of ‘conversation’ ...The codes of the world are not still, waiting only to be read...the world encountered in knowledge projects is an active entity (1991: 198).

Language is one effect of articulation, according to Haraway, but so are bodies, in particular, collective bodies: “Nature may be speechless, without language, in the human sense; but nature is highly articulate. Discourse is only one process of articulation. An articulate world has an undecidable number of modes and sites where connections can be made” (1992: 324). Articulation theory allows us to turn away from the ‘I’ toward concepts of ‘we’, new collective entities made up of both human and non-human actors.

Jennifer Slack describes articulation as one of the most generative concepts in contemporary cultural studies as it provides a means for understanding how cultural theorists conceptualise, analyse, and participate in reconstructing the world (1996: 112). It is both a theory and a method; it represents a epistemological, political and strategical device which allows us to analyse a social formation as a ‘unity in difference’. Articulation not only provides a model for theorising meaning, it also provides guidance for

strategic intervention within social formations. Grossberg (1992) describes that the 'notion' of articulation allows us to theorise structure whereas the practice of articulation "involves the constructing, dismantling and reconstructing of structures which have real effects" (ibid: 56).

Generally, articulation refers to a non-necessary connection that unifies elements. Stuart Hall (1985) argues that rather than thinking in terms of unity (fixed, universal meaning) or difference (perpetual slippage of meaning), we need to theorise unity *and* difference, an arbitrary fixing or closure of meaning. Articulation, according to Hall, "... is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances *can* a connection be forged or made?" (1996: 141). Meaning can be understood in this context as the articulation of different elements which could also be disarticulated and rearticulated in different ways. In other words, there is no intrinsic 'belongingness' in a unity of elements; therefore, elements can be disarticulated and rearticulated with other elements. However, disarticulation is resisted by *lines of tendential force* which serve as powerful barriers to the potential for rearticulation (Hall, 1986 in Slack, 1996). An example of a line of tendential force would be time; the longer an articulation has been in existence, the more difficult it is to sever. Ideology, according to Hall, operates through articulation by fixing meaning through selection and combination of chains of signifiers. Meaning is thus "the intervention of ideology into language" (1996: 137). Lawrence Grossberg describes ideological practices as "the naturalisation of a particular historical cultural articulation. What is natural can be taken for granted; it defines 'common sense' . Ideology 'yokes together' particular social practices

and relations with particular structures of meaning, thus anchoring them in a structure in which their relations to social identity, political interests, etc., have already been defined and seem inevitable" (1996: 159).

According to Grossberg (1992), articulation offers a theory of contexts. In order to understand a cultural practice, theorists need to theoretically and historically (re)construct its context (ibid: 55). Context is not something that exists separate from practices; rather, practices form the context within which they are embedded: "meaning is not in the text itself but is the active product of the text's social articulation, of the web of connotations and codes into which it is inserted." (1996: 157). Culture, thus, is "a struggle that takes place over and within the sign." (ibid: 157).

Grossberg (1992) describes that cultural practices and texts have many effects: meaning, economic, libidinal, political, material, aesthetic and emotional. Thus, the application of articulation to a cultural practice does not involve determining the exact effects of a practice. As Grossberg describes, this would make the story easy to tell and we would know where to lay the blame. Rather, the project is to create a 'cartography of daily life' to identify how cultural practices reshape the contexts of people's experience and to open up the possibilities for change. Grossberg argues that the focus of such an analysis is on discovering the articulations which shape the ways in which people live and act of which they may have no control or awareness. Slack describes how articulation and practice are connected:

...what we 'know in our hearts' to be true, those articulations with which we identify ourselves, makes a tremendous difference in the practices that we entertain as possible and on which we act. Similarly, the more powerful the articulations by which we live, the more closed off we become to alternative practices and possibilities as well as to the very critical faculty

that allows us to know that we are living out social choices, not necessities (1989: 335).

According to Stuart Hall (1982), different social interests or forces conduct ideological struggles to disarticulate certain concepts or 'chains of signifiers' and to rearticulate them to different concepts. Hall argues that media is the dominant means of social signification in modern societies. One of the ways in which media naturalises discourse is through visual representation. The power of visual media such as photography, film and television lies in its visual character which grounds itself in a 'seeing is believing' ideology. Thus, visual images appear as a 'window on the world', as a statement of fact and description. This, according to Hall, is a 'naturalistic illusion'. Hall argues that visual discourse is not naturalistic but *naturalised* because it produces nature as a guarantee of its truth: "Visual discourse is peculiarly vulnerable in this way because the systems of visual recognition on which they depend are so widely available in any culture that they appear to involve no intervention of coding, selection or arrangement. They appear to reproduce the actual trace of reality in the images they transmit" (ibid: 76). As Hall describes, however, it requires a great deal of intervention, "mounting, linking and stitching elements together", to create a visual image which 'makes sense' (ibid: 76).

One example of how visual images are a construction of rather than a reflection of an already existing natural world can be found in nature documentaries. In his analysis of representations of sharks in nature documentaries, Stephen Papson (1992) notes that certain images of sharks, particularly that of the 'killer shark', are not critically examined because they represent common-sense ideas about the shark. According to Papson, in spite

of their claim to ideological neutrality, nature documentaries speak not only about the subject matter but about the relationship of humans to nature: “the nature film is less a window through which we watch nature, than a reflection of value-laden culturally defined perceptions” (1992:67). Papson illustrates how recurring structures and codes are used to present human relationships to the shark and to nature. Information about shark attacks is derived from mediated, not actual, histories of contact between humans and sharks. This mediated history is embellished by storytelling, sensational journalism and fictional constructions. As such, the ‘truth value’ of nature documentaries relies on the function of the codes they use not to any privileged relationship to reality. Additionally, the structures of the spectacle (in this case the killer shark) are used in both fictional and non-fictional representations of the shark in order to create salience and to attract audiences.

What this suggests for this study is that certain common sense representations of the natural world circulate and are recurrently appealed to. As discussed, these representations are informed by various discourses which structure our understanding of these representations by giving them a particular truth value. Thus, in order to understand representations of grizzly bears, we need to understand the discourses which are shaping these representations. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, however, there are several manners in which grizzly bears are represented in North American culture. These representations are connected, not only with current discourses, but also with previous ones. Thus, such an analysis involves following “old domains of common sense, remnants of past

popular sensibilities, new combinations of discourses and reverberations of other historical moments and cultural forms all entangled in the phenomenon" (Acland, 1995: 19). Although this process can seem never-ending, some cultural representations are *symbolically central*; that is, they are recurrent, more dominant than others and invested with cultural currency and force.

In order to read the multifaceted representations of grizzly bears and to connect these with particular discourses, I draw from Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's (1986) notion of symbolic centrality. According to Stallybrass and White, the margins and edges of culture rather than the center are where some of the most powerful symbolic repertoires are located. They describe that sites which are positioned as socially peripheral are often symbolically central, invested with significant meaning and connotative force. Stallybrass and White argue that symbolically central sites are paradoxically perceived with both disgust, because they are transgressive of the social order, and desire, because they are a necessary component. They describe this process as follows:

... the 'top' attempts to reject and eliminate the 'bottom' for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon that low Other... but also that the top includes that low symbolically, as a primary eroticised constituent of its own fantasy life. The result is a mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear and desire in the construction of subjectivity: a psychological dependence upon precisely those Others which are being rigorously opposed and excluded at the social level (ibid: 5)

Based on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnival, Stallybrass and White describe two models of how representations of the Other can be read. One

model suggests that this other is simply the opposite of the self. A second model proposes that the Other (what Bakhtin calls the 'grotesque') is formed through a process of hybridisation of binary opposites, "in which the self and other become enmeshed in an inclusive, heterogeneous, dangerously unstable zone" (ibid: 193). Thus, the Other becomes unsettling because it represents a mix of what are perceived to be incompatible binaries. They describe that these two models are interrelated: "what starts as a simple repulsion or rejection of symbolic matter foreign to the self inaugurates a process of introjection and negation which is always complex in its effects...the fundamental mechanism of identity formation produces the second, hybrid grotesque at the level of the political unconscious by the very struggle to exclude the first grotesque" (ibid: 193).

Stallybrass and White apply this latter model to theorise the complexity of high-low relations as articulated in representations of and meanings attributed to the pig. Their analysis of the pig draws from anthropologist Edmund Leach's (1964) structuralist model for animal categorisation. Leach argues that the classification of animals is not random nor utilitarian; rather, it arises from an epistemological, culturally specific grid. He posits that animals are epistemologically categorized in a set according to their distance from the ego: self, pet, livestock, game, wild animal (1964: 36). Leach suggests that we classify animals (that is, which ones we kill, eat, or use for terms of abuse) according to their similarity to or difference from the self. Leach argues that English culture and language creates binary distinctions (self/not-self) and then mediates them by creating an ambiguous, taboo-loaded intermediate category. The most intense taboo attitudes, according to Leach,

are attached to animals which defy orderly classification.

Stallybrass and White use Leach's model to explain the ambivalence of the pig's meaning. They argue that the pig's intermediary location on the grid grants it particular connotative significance as it represents both human and animal, both friendly and hostile:

Not only did the pink pigmentation and apparent nakedness of the pig disturbingly resemble the flesh of European babies (thereby transgressing the man-animal opposition), but pigs were usually kept in peculiarly close proximity to the house and fed from the household's leftovers. In other words, pigs were almost, but not quite, members of the household and they almost, but not quite, followed the dietary regimes of humans (1986: 47).

This hybridity of the pig, according to Stallybrass and White, explains its role as a powerful figure for the festive and sinister imaginary. However, these authors conclude, the pig's meaning is more complex than Leach's model suggests. Rather, they suggest, the pig is a site of "competing, conflicting and contradictory definitions" (1986: 49). These definitions were produced by different domains, such as the Church or the fair, which structured its own definition of the pig. They argue that some domains were more powerful than others in privileging particular definitions of the pig over others. Thus, they conclude that the predominant meaning of the pig does not result from a random free for all of definitions, nor from a static cultural grid but from dominant discourses which influence this animal's representation. As discourses, like the groups from which they originate, are hierarchized, particular discourses are more powerful and have more influence to reproduce their version of meaning.

For this study, I start from the premise that symbolically central

representations of grizzly bears in particular and wilderness in general circulate in popular culture. As a charismatic megafauna, grizzly bears have a currency and centrality in North American culture. Furthermore, similar to Stallybrass and White's reading of the pig, grizzly bears can be read as hybrid, ambiguous creatures. As discussed, one of the reasons Stallybrass and White give for the pig's symbolically centrality is due to its transgression of human-animal, nature-culture oppositions. Although grizzlies do not live in close proximity to humans as does the pig, grizzlies do transgress the human-animal barrier as they are physically and behaviourally similar to humans:

Like us, the bear stands upright on the soles of his feet, his eyes nearly in a frontal plane. The bear moves his forelimbs freely in their shoulder sockets, sits on his tail end, one leg folded like an adolescent slouched at the table, worries with moans and sighs, courts with demonstrable affection, produces excrement similar to man's, snores in his sleep, spans his children, is avid for sweets, and has a moody, gruff, and morose side (Shephard and Sanders, 1985: xi).

The pig is a denizen of the fair, a symbolically central site which is peripheral or Other to civilised society. The grizzly bear is a denizen of the wilderness, which is, by definition, the antithesis of culture, peripheral to culture. As Stallybrass and White argue, the attraction of hybrid constructions such as the fair and the pig arises from the challenges they pose to the illusion of separateness which lies in dualisms. Situating grizzly bears and wilderness as symbolically central allows us a starting point for the complexity of their representations and why they are often described as paradoxically feared and revered. Furthermore, this opens inquiry to the discourses which privilege particular representations of wild nature over others.

This analysis serves two purposes: to provide a general overview of contemporary grizzly bear representations in popular culture and to further contextualize and focus this analysis within a particular medium of popular culture. In the following chapter, I identify and categorise symbolically central grizzly bear representations. The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: to map the multifaceted ways in which grizzly bears are represented in North American culture and to categorise these representations in order to discuss the potential discourses which grant them meaning. My intent is not to create an exhaustive list of grizzly bear representations nor to create indisputable categories; rather, I seek to identify recurrent images in order to facilitate discussion about dominant articulations.

In chapter four, I focus this discussion on representations of grizzly bears in film. The purpose of this chapter is to further contextualize the ways in which grizzlies are represented in popular culture and to discuss the influence of the particular medium in shaping these representations. I draw from commercial entertainment film, released from 1966 to 1997, which contain 'real' grizzly bear characters. I have chosen this time frame as it allows a sufficiently large sample from which to draw and from which to identify recurrent representations while still being manageable. I limit this analysis to characters played by real bears as opposed to animated grizzly bears. This restriction is due to space and length constraints; as well, I am interested in real grizzly bears as they portray more of a naturalistic illusion than animated bear characters.

Film, as a particular form of popular culture, can be instructive for cultural analysis. Judith Williamson (1993) argues that film analysis can be

politically valuable because cinema functions to some extent as a barometer of the social climate. She describes that, in order to make money, mainstream films have to deal *in some manner* with the concerns of their audience. Thus, film, especially popular film, addresses however indirectly the wishes, fears and anxieties in society at a given moment.

However, representations within film conform not only to certain ideologies or ways of thinking about the world, they also are shaped by the history of film narrative. Williamson cautions that film is not merely a vehicle for ideas which can simply be extracted and critiqued. Similarly, Stephen Heath (1981) argues that to reduce film to a content or ideological analysis fails to engage with the fact that film is a complex medium which functions not only at the level of meaning but also pleasure and commodification.

I point to Herold Herzog and Shelly Galvin's 'Animals, Archetypes and Popular Culture' (1992) to illustrate one of the problems of traditional content analysis which fails to *contextualize* its data. From an analysis of the portrayal of animals and human-animal relations in the supermarket tabloid press, Herzog and Galvin isolate nine portrayals of animals (as objects of affection, saviours, threats, victims, things to be used, sex objects, imaginary and mythological beings, surrogate humans, and objects of wonder) which, according to these authors, reflect the archetypal roles animals have had in human cultural and psychological life since the historical origin of our species. However, they do not address how the tabloid press, as a particular *genre* of popular culture, shapes or directs these themes; rather, they assume that these representations can be simply explained by animal archetypes.

The above arguments suggest that representations of grizzly bears in film need to be contextualised within their particular cultural context as well as within the narrative conventions of film. Thus, bears in film will be read as representing a complex nexus of discourses as well as adhering to the character roles organized by the film's narrative tradition.

CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF GRIZZLY BEAR REPRESENTATIONS

Grizzly bears appear with great frequency in North American popular culture. The manners in which these bears are portrayed are multifaceted, sometimes contradictory. Grizzly bears can appear in one instance as a 'realistic' denizen of the wilderness and in another as a cartoon figure drinking beer. Grizzly bears have figured prominently in movies, television advertisements, postage stamps, post cards, and as mascots for sports teams. They appear in a variety of locations - in pristine wilderness, in lounge chairs, even in canoes. How is it that the bear has acquired so many ambiguous, at times contradictory meanings?

To inquire into this phenomenon, I identify central images of grizzly bears from both data I have collected and from previous research on bear representations (Brown, 1993; Lawrence, 1986; Rockwell, 1991; Shephard and Sanders, 1985). These categories are as follows: national/political bear, dangerous bear, security bear, protector bear, pristine bear, natural bear, ancestor bear and spiritual bear. From these categories, I discuss some of their potential articulations as well as what they suggest about the boundaries between nature and culture.

One manner in which grizzly bears are represented is within the context of nations or particular political regions or affiliations. Grizzly bears often represent 'Mother Russia'; thus, in the western world, the bear's image also has the connotation of this region's former political affiliation: communism (Shephard and Sanders, 1985). Elizabeth Lawrence notes that

grizzlies often represent, not only communism, but also interventionist government policy in general. She writes that “anti-bear spokespersons claim that locking up wilderness areas ‘behind the iron bear curtain’ will adversely affect America’s future progress” (1986: 14). Furthermore, according to Muir and Veenendall (1996), environmentalism is often linked with communism, especially from the perspective of the Wise Use/property rights movement in the United States. Senecah (1996) describes that some perceive wilderness parks as ‘scenic gulags’ and environmentalists as ‘watermelons’ (green on the outside and red on the inside).

The grizzly bear appears with great frequency in representations of California, in particular on the California state flag, as California’s state animal, as the emblem of the University of California and as a marker of nearly two hundred place names in California including North America’s first national park, Yosemite (Shephard and Sanders, 1985). Tracey Storer and Lloyd Tevis (1955) provide an interesting background into the designation of the grizzly as an image of California. They describe that the grizzly represents California, not only because of its interaction with early Californian settlers, but also due to what it represented politically. According to these authors, in 1846 a group of American settlers took a Mexican general hostage to aid their attempts in proclaiming independence from Mexico: “because they had chosen the grizzly as an emblem, these rebellious and overly enthusiastic settlers were known as ‘Bear Men’” (1955: 269). Once California had been acquired by the United States, the ‘Bear Men’ argued for the image of the grizzly on the state seal in place of the lion, unicorn or eagle of usual seals and coats of arms. As one of the participants of this rebellion described, “a

bear always stands its ground and as long as the stars shine, we stand for the cause" (Bancroft in Storer and Tevis, 1955: 273). The bear currently represents another political affiliation in California as it also signifies homosexual rights. The Bear community in California represents members of this states' gay community. Bear Networks,² for example, is described as a 'Gay/Bear owned Web Hosting and Internet consulting company which provides services to the Bear community so that like minded men can meet and communicate with each other'.

Grizzly bears also represent North American, in particular, Canadian wilderness.³ A refrigerator magnet depicting a bear, a Canadian goose, a beaver, and a moose paddling a canoe labelled Canada suggests this articulation (see Illustration 1 in Appendix). The canoe, according to Daniel Francis (1997) is a central image of Canada: "As much as the beaver or the Canada goose or the maple leaf, the canoe is presented as our link to the land, to the past, to our Aboriginal forebears, and to our spiritual roots" (ibid: 31). Francis argues that one of the main aspects of the symbolic order of Canada is the wilderness:

Our cities belong to the global, post-industrial world of traffic, computers and highrise towers; they are indistinguishable from cities anywhere. Our wilderness, on the other hand, is our own. It is a unique landscape which imparts to us a unique set of characteristics which we recognize as Canadian (1997: 26).

This particular bear image also suggests a connection or a conflation between the wild (the bear) and technology/culture (the canoe). The Canadian

² <http://bosf.org>. Accessed November, 1997.

³ The polar bear is used as an icon for the Northwest Territories. Since 1970, the license plate of this territory is in the shape of a polar bear.

company Northern Gifts manufactures a souvenir of Canada which suggests a similar fusion of nature/culture. Their 'Canned Grizzly' is stuffed toy bear contained within a can describing educational information on bears and the following warning: 'These bears have been known to lie in wait for you under your covers and snuggle you while you sleep'. This 'wild' bear is also a toy bear, one which can be part of any child's (or adult's) home. This blending of nature/culture is represented frequently in tourist bear images, often these are cartoon bears performing human activities such as fishing and cooking and dressed in human attire.

The bear represents Canada in another fashion, as an image on a postage stamp. In 1997, Canada Post Corporation released its highest valued definitive: an eight dollar grizzly bear stamp. The grizzly was the first animal to be featured in this series dedicated to Canadian mammals. Stamps featuring a loon and a polar bear (animals which appear respectively on the one and two dollar Canadian coins) will be released in October, 1998. There is an interesting connection between the artistic merit of the stamp and the 'quality' of an animal such as the grizzly bear. According to a Canadian Post Corporation newsletter (1997), the grizzly bear stamp is unique as it employs steel engraving, a technique used to create Canada's first postage stamp. Steel engraving, this article describes, is the epitome of a stamp engraver's art. This article later suggests that the grizzly bear, as a 'monarch of the wilderness' due to its size, represents the epitome of Canadian wilderness.

Not only is the grizzly represented as an appealing monarch of the wilderness, it is also represented as a dangerous monster of the wild. Usually, dangerous bears are depicted as ready to attack, with fangs and claws exposed.

As will be discussed in the following chapter, dangerous bears appear frequently in commercial cinema. This image can also be found in tourist publications such as postcards and calendars. Altitude Publishing company produces a postcard of the Canadian Rockies featuring a dangerous bear and a description which reads “grizzly bears are Canada’s most feared but magnificent animals”. Kodiak, an outdoor sporting goods and clothing company uses the image of a dangerous grizzly, not only to ‘sell’ the adventure of the outdoors but perhaps to signify the strength and resilience of the clothing and equipment and potentially the purchaser of these products (Illustration 2). The Vancouver Grizzlies National Basketball Association team, in particular, uses a dangerous bear as its mascot. Dangerous bears can be found in liquor stores, alongside other animal images such as Canadian Geese, beavers, bald eagles, wolves, magpies, trout, cougars and moose. ‘Big Bear’ beer, for example, depicts an attacking bear on its label. Outdoor sporting magazines also contain dangerous bear images. Field and Stream, a magazine that sells itself as “the soul of the American outdoors”, contains several images of attacking bears to complement articles on bear encounters in the wild.

One reading of the dangerous bear image is that it is situated within a discourse which positions wilderness as something to be feared. As previously mentioned, Short (1991) argues that one of the perspectives which constructs wilderness in North America is the classical response which positions wilderness as a site to be feared and subdued. Nash (1973) contends that fear of wilderness has ancient roots. Wild beasts, according to Nash, presented physical danger to humans and forests presented an obstacle to

human's prominent sense: vision. According to Nash, these ancient fears as well as biblical notions of wilderness, which primarily positioned wilderness as a source of evil, were brought to North America by early European pioneers. In what Nash refers to as the *wilderness condition*, the conquest of the wilderness became a main concern for these early settlers. The wilds of North America were to be conquered in the name of God: "civilising the New World meant enlightening darkness, ordering chaos and changing evil into good. In the morality play of westward expansion, wilderness was the villain and the pioneer, as hero, relished in its destruction" (ibid: 24). Wilderness, as well as the animals and Native Americans it contained, became the Other to conquer, a belief summarized as follows: "wilderness is waste; the proper behaviour toward it, exploitation" (ibid: 31).

According to Max Oelschlaeger (1991), wilderness had paradoxical symbolism for early and mediaeval Christians. On one hand, it was a refuge, a spiritual oasis for encountering God. On the other, it represented the earthly realm of evil and anarchy that the church and humanity needed to overcome. This latter perspective can be noted in representations of the bear, as Shephard and Sanders describe:

Up to this point the bear has stood mainly for power and magic, fierceness and courage in fighting. He possesses certain magic, in part because he stands beyond civilised life, and perhaps because he has been outside organized religion. The Church had to struggle to have a powerful and unruly bear in his wild state symbolise anything positive, but it certainly could not ignore such a pervasive pagan symbol - it needed to convert him. (1985: 132).

According to these authors, the Christian church transformed the bear's symbolism, from an icon of power, magic, fierceness and courage in fighting

to a Christian emblem representing God's wrath, an evil force to overcome (as two of the Deadly Seven Sins: sloth and lasciviousness), motherliness and ultimately, the Church itself. They describe that the association of animals with Christian saints was one means of representing how animal nature could be transformed by Christianity. Saint Ursula, for example, was one of the saints associated with bears; she attained her name by defending 11 000 virgins against a bear's onslaught (ibid: 133).

Even secularisation, according to Nash, did not change this concept as the taming of the wilderness gave the pioneers a new purpose; wilderness now represented an obstacle to progress and prosperity. According to Canadian author Margaret Atwood (1972), all nations have symbols which function as a system of beliefs which bind the country together. For Americans, the symbol of the frontier is central. The frontier is a continuous expanding line, moving into new territory. Grizzlies often signified obstacles to this frontier; as a result, for some it represented a wild nature that needed to be overcome for the frontier (culture) to be successful.

Paradoxically, as Nash (1973) describes, North American wilderness is also came to represent qualities such as individualism, independence, and confidence in the common man which encouraged self-government. Nash notes that wilderness also connoted masculinity as the wilds were perceived as a source of "virility, toughness and savagery - qualities that defined fitness in Darwinian terms" (ibid: 145). Primitivism and savagery offered an alternative to the over - civilised male, and wilderness sporting activities (such as hunting) allowed one to test and prove one's manliness. Thus, in North America, particularly the United States, the wilderness became

something to be proud of but also something to be explored and conquered.

The articulation of wilderness with notions of the frontier, manliness and sport hunting was manifested in actual and symbolic relationships with bears. At the turn of the century, grizzly hunting was popular, especially in California where bears were hunted for food, sport, to eliminate danger and to prove one's manhood. The killing of bears has been sanctioned as 'worthy entertainment' for hundreds of years. In California, bear and bull fights, modified versions of mediaeval European bear-baiting where dogs fought against chained bears, were a common phenomenon from 1816 to the early 1880s (Lawrence, 1986; Shephard and Sanders, 1985). In these public spectacles, held on Sunday afternoons and on holidays, Spanish bulls were pitted against California grizzlies. According to Shephard and Sanders, John Capen Adams, or 'Grizzly Adams', became a twentieth century literary figure due to his actual and literary exploits capturing California grizzlies in order to stage these fights. His specialty was "killing mother bears and carrying off their cubs, training them to carry loads and to walk on a leash" (ibid: 158).

Shephard and Sanders (1985) describe that, in nineteenth century New England and the Southwest, the literary tradition of the tall tale arose which used bits of wild-bear information to create imaginary, exaggerated stories about men and bear encounters. Davey Crockett's legendary tales were based on this tradition. According to Shephard and Sanders, in A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee (1834), Crockett describes killing 105 bears in one year; fighting with a single bear for four days without rest; and confronting bears that take ten men to lift.

Thus, dangerous bear images can also be read as an articulation of

masculinity with nature. Bears are associated with various men's sports teams such as the Boston Bruins, the Chicago Bears, the California Golden Bears and, as mentioned, the Vancouver Grizzlies National Basketball Association. Outdoor sporting magazines, such as Field and Stream, are primarily marketed to men. Wilderness is often articulated with masculinity in twentieth century North American context. According to Donald Greiner (1991), the connection of masculinity with wilderness is part of a traditional paradigm in American fiction. Authored by white, middle class males such as Melville, Twain, Hemingway and Faulkner, Greiner notes that this canonical American fiction contributed to an ideology which constructs wilderness as a place into which men retreat from society in order to bond in the absence of women. Greiner argues that there is an anti-female bias in the classic American novel as the masculine wilderness cannot accommodate women. Within this literary tradition, society is feminised and wilderness (the absence of society) is masculinized.

Images of cartoon bears can be instructive in that they serve as, to use a term employed by Stallybrass and White, 'educative spectacles' which can instruct us about gender. This is best exemplified in three postcards purchased in a tourist shop in Banff, Alberta entitled Rocky Mountain Bears. In two of the postcards, a lone teddy bear is featured beside a mountain lake. This bear is coded as male because of its dress, it appears as a lumberjack (Illustration 3) and as an angler, two activities commonly associated with masculinity. The third postcard (Illustration 4) depicts a family setting, with a father, a mother and a daughter (we know they are female because they are wearing dresses). What is intriguing about these postcards is the ways in

which the genders are shown interacting with nature. The 'man' encounters nature as an individual, either fishing or working as a lumberjack. The 'woman' encounters nature in a family setting, during a picnic, not by herself but in the presence of her nuclear family.

Lynne Segal (1990) describes that western concepts of masculinity and femininity were formulated as rigidly separate concepts in the nineteenth century as a result of the cultural ascendancy of the English middle class. Segal describes that, at this time, the feminine came to represent the private sphere of the household and the masculine represented the public world of the market. This rigid separation of gender roles aligned women with emotionality and men with physical strength and self-reliance necessary for competition in the non-domestic realms such as the market or the wilderness. Rosalind Coward (1985) humorously describes that appeals to instinct are made in popular culture representations of nature order to support conventional sexual and gender arrangements. There is one dominant rationale of instinct which guides all ideas about male and female behavior, according to Coward, and that is the rationale of reproduction: "the central purpose of human life is to reproduce itself but men and women have different relations to this aim, and this explains the difference between male and female behavior" (ibid: 235). According to this logic, men, because they need to spread their reproductive seeds, are instinctually promiscuous and naturally aggressive, violent and competitive. Women, however, have a maternal instinct and need to secure a good, supportive partner in order to provide for her children. Although men are 'instinctually' aggressive, once they are trapped in marriage, they acquire a liking for it and a commitment to

their children. These appeals to instinct, Coward argues, creates an ideology which links masculinity with aggression and femininity with passivity. Within this logic, female sexuality is constructed as passive, as a lure and a response to male predatory and probing sexuality.

The ideology that femininity is 'naturally' maternal, nurturant, and domestic is exemplified by bears in a poster produced by Celestial Seasonings tea. The logo for Celestial Seasonings herbal tea is a cartoon bear in a night shirt and cap, cozily snoozing in a chair beside a night table with tea and muffins (Illustration 6). This bear could be either male or female. However, after I contacted the Celestial Seasoning company for more information on this logo, I was sent a poster which invites us into the world of this bear. In the center of this poster is the same sleeping bear as on the logo. 'He' is in front of a fireplace, in an armchair beside an endtable with a pot of tea, muffins and jam. His 'wife' is also depicted in the poster. She is exiting the room, perhaps after bringing tea and muffins to her sleeping husband. She is also carrying a baby bear and holding the hand of a small girl bear. The bears are occupying traditional gender roles where the female bear is maternal and caring and the male bear is cared for. To apply Coward's argument, the male bear has been 'tamed' and domesticated by the civilised, maternal female bear. This is no competitive, aggressive wilderness; merely the comfortable, safe world of women.

The security bear is another category of bear representations. These representations are articulated with domesticity, femininity, and often, childhood. Shephard and Sanders describe that the articulation of bears with motherly qualities had its roots in Greek and Latin (where 'bear' is feminine

in gender) and also from the Greek philosophers Aristotle and Pythagoras who forwarded the notion that a bear mother 'licks' her cubs into shape (ibid: 137). They argue that Christianity furthered this theme, linking the bear's caring abilities with the ability of Christianity to transform animalistic nature. Thus, in the Middle Ages, the bear became an emblem of Christianity itself; its ability to hibernate was used as a metaphor for recovery from spiritual malaise and physical illness (ibid: 139).

For the most part, security bears are teddy bears, appearing in a wide range of advertising geared toward women and children. Zeller's *Zeddy*, Huggies baby wipes and Lever Brothers Snuggle fabric softener's *Snuggle Bear* are some examples. Toy bears are also used to advertise other products promoting security, such as the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (Illustration 5) which features a teddy bear to advertise insurance. This advertisement's text, written over a baby blanket, instructs us by whom it is addressing that its market is women with children:

Mummy, will you live forever?
 well, for a long time, honey
 how long?
 almost forever
 but what about after that?

Similarly, the package of Celestial Seasonings Harvest Chamomile tea features a cartoon mother bear and her bear son and daughter gathering daisies in a pastoral setting (Illustration 6). The association of the teddy bear as a safe children's toy, the fierce maternal characteristics of the mother bear and the 'natural' setting connote safety, gentleness, and domesticity. The cartoon bear represents both nature (the naturalness of the product) and culture (the safety of the domestic environment).

Security bears are also associated with healing institutions and charities. Stuffed bear toys are used in hospitals, police departments, nursing homes and other healing institutions to help people cope with traumatic experiences (Bull, 1984). Teddy bears also frequently symbolise children's charities such as the Alberta Children's Hospital and the BBC's annual 'Children in Need' campaign.

The connection between teddy bears and charities can not be explained by a simple articulation of teddy bear - maternal femininity. English actor Peter Bull (1984) describes how he spearheaded arctophily, the hobby of collecting toy bears. Bull describes that, in the early 1980's, a 'teddy-bear renaissance' was fuelled when one of Bull's toy bears appeared in the British television adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's novel Brideshead Revisited (1945). Bull also notes that teddy bear collectors worldwide became involved with charity organizations which take toy bears to hospitals and other healing organizations. Thus, the connection of teddy bears with healing institutions may be related as much to arctophily, which includes both men and women, as it is to women. What may be significant here is the cultural incorporation of the bear and how the bear's image was transformed into a commercial and political icon. Additionally, the collection of teddy bears situates these bears within discourses of connoisseurship rather than as children's toys. As noted on the advertisement for Bartholomew, a collectible teddy bear: "Bartholomew is NOT A TOY and not intended for children". Books such as Cockrill's Teddy Bear Encyclopaedia (1993) describe how to identify an antique bear, which can sell for up to 80 000 US dollars. Companies such as Boyd's Bears market collectible, special edition bears and even offer special collectors

club for teddy bear collectors. Thus, teddy bears represent, not only the world of children, but the adult world of specialty collectors.

The teddy bear came into public prominence at a time when conservation and environmentalist movements were in their nascence in North America. Cockrill (1993) describes that, on November 12, 1902, in Smedes, Mississippi, then president Theodore Roosevelt refused to shoot a small bear while on a bear hunt. This gesture inspired cartoonist Clifford Berryman to publish a cartoon in the Washington Post entitled "Drawing the Line in Mississippi" which referred to the President's refusal to shoot the bear and to his attempt to settle a boundary dispute between Louisiana and Mississippi. Soon after this cartoon appeared, Morris Michton placed a plush bear hand sewn by his wife Rose in the window of his New York novelty and stationery store. This toy, labelled as 'Teddy's Bear', was an instant success.

Cockrill describes that toy bears were common long before Roosevelt's infamous hunt. French, German, Swiss and Russian toy-makers based their toys on captive, performing bears common in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century. According to Cockrill, the Roosevelt incident transformed the bear's image into perhaps one of the most popular and persistent children toys on the market. Cockrill notes that other stuffed animals attempted to challenge the supremacy of the teddy bear; for example, Billy Possum, a reference to President William Taft's love of 'possum and 'taters', and Billy Owlett, a patriotically dressed owl, were created in order to overthrow Teddy's Bear but to no avail (ibid: 9). The bear had taken its place as head of the stuffed animal world. According to Shephard and Sanders (1985), teddy bear mania in early twentieth century North America even

inspired a new jargon called 'Grammbear', consisting of expressions that pun on 'teddy' and 'bear'.

The teddy bear image moved into children's literature and film. Popular nineteenth century fairy tales about bears, such as *Rose Red*, *Goldilocks and Beauty and the Beast* contributed bear representations to children's literature; however, the teddy bear influenced a new era in bear representations (Shephard and Sanders, 1985). The teddy bear inspired A.A. Milne's Winnie The Pooh, Hanna Barbera's Yogi Bear and Boo-Boo, Walt Disney's Baloo, Mary Tourtel's Rupert Bear, Michael Bond's Paddington and Stan and Jan Berenstain's The Berenstain Bears. The teddy bear even made its way into adult literature, appearing as a main character in Graham Greene's novel The Bear Fell Free (1935).

Winnie the Pooh is noteworthy for this character illustrates how an actual bear made the transition into a popular cultural icon, one which is part of children's culture worldwide. In 1996, Canada Post Corporation issued a commemorative series of four stamps which chronicles the history of Winnie the Pooh. In the booklet accompanying these stamps, the "astonishing history of how a real live Canadian bear becomes one of the world's most famous children's characters" is told. Although the original Winnie was a black rather than a grizzly bear, I recount this story because it gives an example of an intersection between material nature (what Jagtenberg and McKie call the biosphere) and narrative tradition (the semiosphere). In 1914, a veterinarian, en route to England, bought a black bear cub from a local hunter in a small town in Ontario. He named the bear Winnie after his hometown, Winnipeg. After arriving in England, Winnie was sent to the

London Zoo. One of the visitors during Winnie's 15 year stay at the Zoo was a young boy named Christopher Robin. Christopher renamed his toy bear in honour of Winnie.⁴ Inspired by his son, A.A. Milne published a series of Winnie the Pooh books.

Another example of an actual bear which became a cultural icon is Smokey Bear (Illustration 7). Smokey fits into the category of protector bear which differs from security bears in that these bears appear as masculine, not feminine. Often, they are dressed in police or park warden uniforms. These representations are connected with an ideology of protection and control over harmful forces of either nature or culture. Maryland State Police, for example, runs a Bears Against Drugs campaign which features a bear dressed in a police uniform (Brown, 1993). The Calgary Police Service also features a uniformed teddy bear as its mascot. Smokey is similarly dressed in a uniform and is equated with the famous fire prevention slogan 'Only you can prevent forest fires'. The real Smokey was a bear cub rescued from a forest fire in New Mexico in 1947 (Brown, 1993). This cub was presented to the United States Forest Service who utilized its image in a fire prevention program. Smokey's image continues to be used by fire prevention organisations in both United States and Canada.

Another way in which bears, in particular grizzlies, are represented is as pristine bears. The images I categorise as pristine feature bears in their 'natural' surroundings and are often used by environmental organizations as icons. Jennifer Slack describes pristine as:

... an adjective which evokes a certain kind of wilderness. Wilderness still often connotes a barren wasteland, or a horrific sublime; whereas pristine seems never to be used in a pejorative

⁴ For the sake of trivia, the name 'Pooh' came from a swan Christopher befriended.

or threatening sense. The pristine is tame, clean, transcendent, unpeopled (1998: 71)

Unlike dangerous bears, pristine bears are not threatening. Rather, they are often portrayed or described as *threatened*. A brochure highlighting the Alberta Wilderness Association's Endangered Spaces Campaign⁵ illustrates this (Illustration 8). On the cover of the brochure, a lone grizzly bear is depicted in a mountain landscape devoid of people. The caption of this brochure reads "Wilderness for Tomorrow?... How you can become involved in helping to protect Alberta's endangered wilderness lands and waters." The Sierra Club of British Columbia and Greenpeace similarly uses a grizzly bear image for its campaign to protect a section of temperate rainforest in British Columbia coined the 'Great Bear Rainforest'. On the Sierra Club brochure (Illustration 9), a wet, desolate looking bear sits in water beside the caption:

Bad Hair Days are the least of my worries ...
my home is being clearcut,
my salmon are disappearing,
my future hangs in the balance.

Although the image of this bear suggests a 'real' bear in its 'natural' surroundings, the caption invites us to identify with the bear in human terms. The bear is addressing us, not a human narrator. Even in pristine bear images, the boundaries of nature and culture are transgressed.

To understand the discourses shaping pristine representations of bears, it is useful to consider the shift in definitions of wilderness at the beginning of the twentieth century in North America. According to Short (1991), by the

⁵ In 1989, the Canadian World Wildlife Fund, the Canadian Nature Federation and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society launched a nation-wide Endangered Spaces Campaign and a Wilderness Charter in the hopes of creating a network of protected natural areas within each province and territory. The advocacy work is being done at a grass roots level by provincial and local environmental groups.

late 1800's, the romantic response positioned wilderness as a place to be revered rather than conquered. Roderick Nash (1973) describes that the romantic, primitivist and transcendentalist movements broke the trail for an aesthetic and spiritual appreciation of unruly wilderness as opposed to structured, domestic, pastoral nature; thus, wilderness and its unruliness became aesthetic and spiritual rather than repugnant and evil.

Representations of grizzlies in North American literature at this time also changed. Andy Russell (1978) argues that Ernest Thompson Seton's books (Wild Animals I Have Known (1898) , The Biography of a Grizzly (1900) and Monarch the Big Bear of Tallac (1904)) were instrumental in that they portrayed grizzlies in a compassionate manner rather than merely as objects for the entertainment and use of humans. Russell describes that Seton's writings:

... came at an opportune time in the late evening of the shameful massacre of the plains bison and in the midst of the decimation of the grizzly bear and other major species...the repeating rifle and shotgun had supplanted the single-shot, breech-loading weapons, which speeded up the slaughter ... professional market hunting was at its height ... uncounted grizzlies were being shot for their hides ... even the casual hunter who went out for wildfowl and did not come back staggering under the weight of birds was not considered much of a shot (1978: 205).

According to Nash (1973), by the late nineteenth century, appreciation for wilderness in North America led to lamentations and nostalgia about its loss. He notes that previous repugnance for and fear of the wilderness had shifted at this time; wilderness now represented qualities, such as innocence, purity, and morality, which were perceived to be 'lost' in industrial, civilised society (ibid: 157). Nash describes that civilisation was now considered bad due to a

rising discontent with urban centres and the insalubrious qualities of industrial society.

Tourism, ecology and the environmental movement were major influences in the perception of wilderness in the late nineteenth century. Nash describes that, by 1890, most wilderness areas in the United States had been civilised; therefore, one approached wilderness, not as a conqueror but as a tourist. In Mountains Without Handrails, Joseph Sax (1980) describes that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the federal government set aside large areas of remote, scenic land to be held permanently in public ownership. This land use policy was unique in North America, as the dominant land policy at the time was to give land away to settlers, railroad companies and states. It was also unique in that there was no tradition of rural parks anywhere in the world. According to Sax, these early parks were established, not based on concern for ecological preservation, but because of their scenery and their potential for economic return via tourism. Thus, tourism shifted wilderness into discourses of economics and leisure.

Ecological theory also gave rise to a new conception of wilderness: not only in aesthetic or spiritual terms but as a scientific necessity (Nash, 1973). Ecology granted wilderness a new significance, as a model of ecological perfection (ibid: 197). It also challenged the nature/culture dichotomy for it reconfigured humans as part of and dependent on the natural world as opposed to removed from and above it. Ecology granted wilderness the status of being “a pointed reminder of man’s biological origins, his kinship with all life and his continued membership in the biotic community” (ibid: 253).

The environmental movement which became socially prominent in

the 1960's added further complexity to the notion of wilderness. Rachael Carson's Silent Spring (1962) and Paul Ehrlich's The Population Bomb (1968) are often cited as seminal texts which signalled a resurgence of interest in and concern over the state of wilderness, and the environment. The counterculture movement of the 1960's positioned wilderness as diametrically opposed to the American values of the 1950's; thus, defending wilderness was linked to resisting the establishment's control over the individual (Nash, 1973: 258). The 'green' world promised a life of unrepressed harmony and community. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to illustrate the various perspectives of environmental discourse as it is a multifaceted theoretical approach,⁶ environmental perspectives can be simplified as existing on a continuum ranging from technocentric to ecocentric approaches (Gandy, 1996). Technocentric approaches advocate an objective, scientific, managerial approach to wilderness whereas ecocentric approaches view wilderness apropos its intrinsic worth rather than its instrumental value.

These movements shaped an articulation of nature with goodness and culture or artificiality with harmfulness. Judith Williamson (1978) describes that the 'natural' is a powerful sign. Its contemporary significance is its connotation of desirability and goodness: "it has been the supreme achievement of Romanticism to create a one to one symmetry between the good and the natural, the bad and the unnatural thereby investing nature with a moral value" (ibid: 125). Williamson notes that the articulation of

⁶ To give an indication of the range of perspectives, environmental discourses include the following approaches: cornucopians, sociobiology, deep ecology, ecofeminism, Gaia hypothesis, chaos theory, utopianism, anarchism, orthodox Marxism, post-Marxist structuralists, and environmental planning (Gandy, 1996).

nature and goodness is historically and culturally specific as there have been times when the artificial was not perceived as pejoratively as it is today.

Natural bear representations reflect this ideology. Natural bears differ from pristine bears in that they are not necessarily realistic bears in natural settings; rather, this category refers to bear images used to market the concept 'natural'. Natural bears can be found in a broad range of sources. 'Bear Brewing Company' from Kamloops, British Columbia uses a bear's paw metonymically to suggest the naturalness of this 'no preservatives' ale. Christie's Teddy Graham cookies advertise 'no artificial flavour or colour' in their cookies. Behr paint, which distinguishes itself as pure, natural color, also uses an image of a bear. Bears are also used to advertise Nature's Path '100% organic' cereal. This cereal's label describes how bears across Canada were consulted in a national survey for their opinions on this cereal. The box lists the bears' 'responses'. For example, Teddy Bear from Banff, Alberta makes a cultural reference to the song "Teddy Bear's Picnic": "if you look into your bowl today, you're in for a big surprise" and Hungry Joe from Crazy Bear Lake makes reference to a Kellogg's Raisin Bran jingle: "four scoops, eh?". I draw attention to Nature Path's advertising because of the anthropomorphic manner in which bears are represented, again signalling a transgression of the human/animal, nature/culture divide. I discuss the politics of anthropomorphism in the final chapter of this thesis.

Often, the natural bear's image is connected with environmentally conscious companies. Nature's Path advertises that it uses recycled materials in their products. Rock Creek Company's "The Grizzly Bar", part of a chocolate 'series' highlighting North American endangered species, portrays a

painting of three grizzly bears, wistfully gazing at the viewer from a pristine wilderness setting (Illustration 10). In this case, the natural bear is used to sell a 'completely natural', chemical 'free' chocolate bar. The chocolate bar cover also provides us with this information:

Hunted for sport, killed by trappers, shot and poisoned as nuisance animals, the Grizzly Bear, once the most widespread of all mammals and the largest living omnivore, has seen its numbers plummet from 100 000 to 2 000...today their habitat, as a result of agriculture, mining, logging and other forms of human encroachment, remains at less than 2% of their original terrain. Wherever man has appeared the Grizzly Bear has declined.

The last sentence of this paragraph best exemplifies the ideology underlying the natural bear: that culture/humans are a contaminating and endangering element to nature.

One of the ideologies informing the natural bear representations is that nature and culture are distinct categories. However, from some historical or cultural perspectives, nature is a part of culture and humans and non-humans are interconnected. One instance of the interconnection between human/animal can be found in Native American and northern Asian legends. Hans Biederman (1989) notes that in the myths of northern Asia and northern North America, bears play a major role as human ancestors, as creatures who resemble humans physically and who mate with women and beget human offspring. Elizabeth Lawrence (1986) describes that certain Gypsy cultures believe that the bear was born to a virgin girl; thus, it has a close association with humankind. The Bear Mother and Bear Son legend, one of the oldest and most widespread folk tales of the Old World, describes how all humans are descended from a woman who marries a bear, becomes one herself and begets human/bear offspring (Rockwell, 1991; Shephard and

Sanders, 1985).

Although the concept that people are evolved from bears and have intimate relationships with bears is not a predominant contemporary theme, this bear legend has appeared in classical and modern literature. According to The Sacred Paw, the bear son legend, with its description of a human/bear creature, was one of the sources for The Odyssey and for Beowulf⁷ (Shephard and Sanders, 1985). The berserkers (*ber* meaning bear and *sark* meaning shirt), an elite class of ancient Germanic warriors, attributed their ferocious strength and invulnerability in battle to the bear's spirit which is transferred by means of a bearskin (Rockwell, 1991: Shephard and Sanders, 1985). Biedermann (1989) describes that berserkers were thought to be half human - half animal, like werewolves.

According to Shephard and Sanders (1985), tales of women who have sexual relations with bears are common in European and Russian folklore and that this theme can also be found in modern literature: for example, Jean Auel's best selling novel The Clan of the Cave Bear (1970), the story of a prehistoric clan who trace their lineage to the cave bear. They also describe that Marion Engel's critically acclaimed novel Bear (1976), in which a woman has sexual relations with a bear, is reminiscent of the Bear Mother legend. I draw attention to a quote on one edition of this book as it is informative for our discussion of ideology and permissible articulations. According to this edition, a Washington Post review described the liaison as 'forbidden, unthinkable and hardly imaginable'. This description suggests that intimate connections with animals, even in a metaphorical sense, are unusual in

⁷ Beowulf is literally 'bee-wolf' which translates as 'bear' (Shephard and Sanders, 1978).

contemporary culture. Thus, it indicates some of the boundaries established in our relations with the natural world. As Grossberg (1992) describes, ideology allows certain practices to be dominant, others to be tolerated, and others to be excluded or rendered radically unimaginable. Although historically a common representation, the image of bears as a human ancestor or as engaged in intimate relations with humans is rare in contemporary western culture, suggesting a shift in ideology with respect to our relations with nature and wilderness.

According to Shephard and Sanders (1985), the bear was sacred and revered since the beginning of European culture, in particular, amongst people of the northern hemisphere, Scandinavia, Russia, the Far East and pre-Viking North America.⁸ Although the practices of veneration differed, certain similarities can be found. One of these was the euphemisms and terms of honorific reference used for the bear. The bear was addressed as kin (cousin, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, elder brother, old man, great-grandfather, stepmother) or as a euphemism (the animal, big feet, black beast, the dog of God, dweller in the wilds, etc).

According to David Rockwell (1991), the grizzly represented a central role model and source of wisdom in many native American traditions. The bear was revered and worshipped as a spirit within these traditions. An example of this can be found in the children's book How Food Was Given

⁸ The idea that nature was a deity to be venerated had shifted, according to Shephard and Sanders, by the time of pre-classical Greece where an increasingly anthropomorphic perspective resulted in animals divinities being replaced by human gods. They describe that, in ancient Greek culture, the Bear Mother was transformed into a human representation in the form of the goddesses Demeter and Artemis. Artemis, whose name translates to 'bear', "absorbs some of the sacred bear's ultimate qualities as the animal's image itself disappears, Cheshire-cat-like, in the anthropomorphism of the classical gods" (Shephard and Sanders, 1985: 117).

(1991). This book recounts an Okanagan Legend which positions the bear as one of the four chiefs of the world before people came into existence. In this legend, the bear gave its body as food for the new people, who would worship the bear and the other chiefs with song and thanks for giving themselves as food.

The bear was also believed to hold special healing powers. Rockwell (1991) describes that many North American native people regarded the bear as an herbalist and as a spirit helper for shamans. For certain cultures of Asia and America, certain parts of the bear in particular are believed to harbour special healing properties. One part of the bear believed to contain special medicinal properties is its paw. For example, some North American tribes used bear paws as a delicacy. Perhaps contemporary 'bear claw' sweet pastry is an innocuous trace of this belief. A more deleterious trace is found in the recent international trade in bear paws and organs believed to hold healing properties where poachers kill bears for these parts.

The tourism company Trail of the Great Bear uses the grizzly bear as its icon (Illustration 11). This representation provides a contemporary example of the articulation of native American spirituality with nature. Encompassing an area which extends from Jasper National Park in Canada to Grand Teton National Park in the United States, The Trail of the Great Bear is a eco-tourism initiative committed to appropriate and sustainable use of this region's resources. Revenues from this initiative are used for conservation, restoration and environmental education. This initiative also promotes aboriginal tourism. The connection of nature with aboriginal tourism is illustrated in the Trail of the Great Bear's logo which features a grizzly bear

and signs of native American culture including a drum with eagle feathers and a representation of a bear's claw. The Trail of the Great Bear representation suggests an articulation of native American traditions with wilderness, an association which connotes spirituality and healing powers.

As this chapter has illustrated, the meanings attributed to the bear are protean and multifaceted, at times even contradictory. This suggests that our relationships with the grizzly, at least in a symbolic sense, extend beyond fear and reverence. The versatility of representations can be partially explained by the dominant discourses about nature and gender, discourses which have themselves been complex, multifaceted and contradictory. These representations also suggest articulations of nature with nationality, spirituality, ideologies of protection and stewardship, and connoisseurship. Even though representations are sometimes based on real life circumstances, they often take on a meaning far removed from their referent (such as the case with Winnie the Pooh). The meaning attributed to bears (and by association wilderness) is dynamic. As meaning is not fixed, it can be challenged. This concept is important for the politics of representation.

CHAPTER FOUR: GRIZZLY BEARS IN FILM

The violent, killer grizzly bear in Lee Tamahori's The Edge (1997) is intriguing. Played by the trained bear Bart, this character is not only a formidable force of nature, he is also cunning and intelligent enough to stalk humans as prey. This bear has only one purpose: to consume human flesh. Yet, as previously mentioned, grizzly bears are predominantly consumers of plant matter and rarely, if ever, predate on humans (Herrero, 1985). As 'real' bear behavior is not dictating this character's role, which conventions or organizing strategies are at play in its construction?

As discussed in chapter two, to understand the complexity of this representation, we need to contextualize it within particular discourses as well within the history of film. Judith Williamson (1993) describes that film exists temporally on two axes: as part of the present (socially, culturally, politically) and as part of the history of cinema. Accordingly, film should be approached as a medium which is *symptomatic* of key experiences and concerns of the society that produces and consumes it, and as *strategic* with regards to the deliberate use of and engagement with the cinematic medium for some specific aesthetic and/or political purpose (ibid: 26).

The concept of genre provides a means to historisize film. Genre is rooted in the conceptualisation of film as an industrial product as the economics of the film industry led to a standardization of commercial film, in particular, the mass-produced formulas of the Hollywood studio system (Feuer, 1987). Thomas Schatz (1981) makes an analogy between genre and language. He describes genre as a system of signs existing on two levels: as a

deep structure or grammar (film genre) and a surface structure (genre film). Whereas the genre film is similar to Saussure's concept of parole (an individual act); the film genre is the langue, the underlying structure which informs each film. As such, film can be viewed as both static and dynamic; as adhering to certain rules yet not entirely constrained by those rules. Although the content of the genre may have its roots in social and material realms; once it evolves, the content has less to do with 'reality' than with the internal structure and devices of the genre. Furthermore, Schatz describes that genre acts as a social ritual, resolving some kind of threat to the social order: "all film genres represent the film makers' and the audiences' cooperative efforts to 'tame' those beasts, both actual and imaginary, which threaten the stability of our everyday lives" (ibid: 29). According to Schatz, in order to have a happy ending, the conflict as well as the resolution must be simplified so that the resolution is achieved by merely eliminating one of the forces. Thus, film genre provides "familiar, essentially one-dimensional characters acting out a predictable story pattern within a familiar setting" (ibid: 4).

Although genre usually refers to films produced in the Hollywood studio system from approximately 1930s to 1960s, some argue that this approach is relevant for contemporary film. James Bernardoni (1991) contends that the 'New Hollywood' filmmakers, who originally hoped to revolutionise the established film conventions and techniques, continue to reproduce rather than challenge conventional themes perhaps due to economic pressures or to a general social drift toward cultural conservatism. Quoting an article in Film Comment, he describes that "The most striking

aspect of the new Hollywood is its overwhelming conformism" (Paul, 1977 in Bernardoni, 1991: 3).

Yvonne Tasker (1993) argues that, contemporary cinema operates moreso on the concept of hybrid or sub genres. Film thus operates within a complex signifying system which borrows themes from larger generic histories. Tasker describes that contemporary film constructs its narrative in reference to classical genres, such as the western, yet it also makes reference to a range of other iconographic and narrative techniques. Hence, she describes, we have 'feminist road movies' and 'post-apocalyptic thrillers' as categories of film. Generic hybridity, according to Tasker, can also involve combining contradictory genres, such as the comic horror films.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of genre suggests that representations of grizzly bears in film are constructed, not only from the cultural context in which they are embedded, but also from the narrative history of film. Thus, images of bears in film can be read as representing a complex nexus of discourses as well as adhering to the character roles organized by the film's narrative tradition which borrows from and combines previous filmatic techniques.

As reviewed in the previous chapter, North American literary tradition often portrays grizzlies as dangerous forces of nature. According to Elizabeth Lawrence (1986), the grizzly played a prominent role in frontier consciousness and experience representing a force to be eliminated in the winning of the West and in affirming human supremacy over nature. Some examples of twentieth century historical heroes who proved their strength fighting and killing bears include Davy Crockett, Daniel Boone, Lewis and

Clark, Kit Carson, General Custer, Theodore Roosevelt and Grizzly Adams. Lawrence argues that, even in present times, many Americans continue to hold on to the frontier mentality that the bear, along with the wild realm it embodies, represents an *enemy* to humanity and civilisation. Thus, the articulation of violence with the grizzly bear is situated within a broader discourse of wilderness as a violent enemy. However, this articulation can also be explained by situating these representations in discourses about gender (in particular masculinity) as well as the history of film.

Dangerous grizzly bear characters appear frequently in cinema, in a wide range of genres ranging from westerns such as Night of the Grizzly (Perney, 1966); to family movies such as The Adventures of the Wilderness Family (Raffil, 1975), Lost In the Barrens (Scott, 1991), and Wild America (Dear, 1997); to horror movies such as Grizzly (Girdler, 1976); to romantic epics such as Clan of the Cave Bear (Chapman, 1986) and Legends of the Fall (Zwick, 1994); to action adventures such as Shoot To Kill (Spottiswoode, 1988) and The Edge (Tamahori, 1997). In certain films such as the Canadian documentary⁹ Project Grizzly (Lynch, 1996), the bear's violent potential is eluded to rather than shown.

Often, these bears are portrayed as human flesh eaters, possessing an insatiable desire to kill and consume humans. In The Edge, for example, the backcountry lodge owner Styles describes that the grizzly bears in the area will "kill ya as look at ya. The one's who killed a man is a man hunter for the rest of his life. Nothing he likes more than human flesh". In Grizzly, the bear 'expert' describes the grizzly as "strictly carnivores, those things. They sure do

⁹ This documentary is a true story about a Canadian man's quixotic bear quest. Although it is a documentary and not strictly fictional or entertainment film, its strong narrative structure is consistent with my category of analysis; thus, I include it in my study.

love meat". The bear in Night of the Grizzly is described as "the devil himself", a "savagely senseless killer" that even a Winchester 44-40 couldn't stop. When a grizzly approaches Warren (Sydney Poitier) and Jonathan (Tom Berenger) in Shoot To Kill, they react as follows:

Warren: How do we make it go away.
 Jonathan: You can't.
 Warren: Maybe we could throw it some food.
 Jonathan: We are the food.
 Warren: Why don't we shoot it.
 Jonathan: That would only piss him off.

The Adventures of the Wilderness Family makes a distinction between dangerous and safe wildlife. In this story of a family who leaves their polluted home in the city for a cabin in the remote Rockies, only adult grizzly bears are represented as dangerous. The family shares their cabin with a pair of raccoons, two orphan¹⁰ grizzly cubs, and a black bear named Samson. These animals are not portrayed as posing a direct threat to the family; rather, they are a source of love (cubs, raccoon) or protection (Samson). The dangerous animals are wolves and a grizzly bear; however, the wolves' behaviour is explained by the local mountain man Boomer (George 'Buck' Flower). When Jenny (Hollye Holmes) is chased by a pack of wolves, Boomer suggests that the reason for the chase was because the wolves were after the dog and not Jenny: "wolves don't attack people, they're just inquisitive". He adds, however, that "the only thing around here that might go after a man is Old Three Toes", a grizzly bear who has hated people ever since he got his paw caught in a bear trap. According to Boomer, this bear is so ferocious that it took down 3-4 cows in one night. After Old Three Toes stalks Jenny and

¹⁰ I discuss the significance of orphaned wildlife later in this chapter.

her mother Pat (Susan Damante Shaw) on one of their outings, Skip (Robert Logan) the father, travels for help. Old Three Toes finds the cabin and viciously tears it apart, while Pat valiantly tries to protect the children. Samson the black bear comes to the rescue and engages the grizzly in a fight which gives Pat enough time to load the shotgun and kill Old Three Toes.

This representation of the grizzly is similar to Old Satan in the western Night of the Grizzly (1966), produced a decade earlier. Schatz (1981) describes westerns as depicting a precarious balance between the forces of civilisation and savagery which are locked in a battle for supremacy. In this film, Jim Cole (Clint Walker) faces many obstacles in his new life on the ranch; in particular, a corrupt banker who wants to kill Jim in order to acquire his ranch; a bounty hunter who wants to kill Jim to settle an old score; and Old Satan, a formidable grizzly who “kills for the wicked fun of it”. Old Satan represents not only a threatening elemental force, but a *moral* force (the devil, evil) which must be defeated in this western morality play of good (control, civilisation, law, heterosexual family, cultivated nature) versus evil (lawlessness, instinct, undomesticated wilderness). The bear is also metaphoric for the corrupt banker and the bounty hunter, who want to kill Jim or consume his property.

In The Edge, the grizzly represents one threat among many that the protagonist Charles Morse (Anthony Hopkins) must overcome. In this film, two male rivals, billionaire Morse and fashion photographer Bob Green (Alec Baldwin), are forced to depend on one another when they are stalked by a man eating grizzly after their plane crashes in a remote Alaskan mountain lake. The conflict enacted in this film is that of nature (passion, instinct,

emotion) versus culture (intellect, control). According to this narrative, to succumb to one's emotions or passions, to relinquish culture and control for nature, passion, and wildness, means death. As Charles explains to his companions, "most people die of shame in the wilderness because they didn't do the one thing that would save their lives - thinking". Thus, the wild represents threatening animal nature which, according to this narrative, must be controlled by either violence, intellect or rationality.

Ideological boundaries between nature and culture are established but are also transgressed in this film. One example of how nature and culture are differentiated is illustrated in Charles' treatment of the bear and Bob. Although Bob and the bear are both impaled (the bear is impaled on a tree branch and Bob's leg is impaled on a wooden spear when he falls into a bear trap), Charles kills the bear yet spares Bob's life. Charles does not question his treatment of the bear, he shows no remorse nor hesitancy in killing it; whereas, he treats Bob sympathetically and gives him a second chance. Perhaps this treatment can best be understood by the *anthropocentric paradigm* which grants non-humans only extrinsic, not intrinsic, value (Pierce and Van De Veer, 1995). Thus, within this paradigm, non-humans are treated only according to their 'use-value' to humans; as such, if they have no use to humans or pose a threat, they can ethically and justifiably be killed.

Situating The Edge in the context of colonial discourse, the bear is a primitive nature in need of civilisation. Frieda Knoblock (1996) attributes colonial discourse, as premised on the Darwinian notion of evolution, to shaping Western relations with nature. In her study of western agriculture practices between 1862 and 1945, Knoblock argues that these practices

subjugated land, plants, animals and people due to an ideology that nature 'inevitably' evolves or at least should evolve into culture. According to this ideology, the primitive and simple eventually give way to something complex and sophisticated. Furthermore, the movement from nature to culture is linked with progress. Knoblock argues that one consequence of this way of viewing nature is that anything associated with the natural world (such as natural landscapes, indigenous people, 'wild' animals, 'virgin' prairie) is understood to be inchoate. Thus, primitiveness is considered incomplete; as such, those deemed primitive are perceived as waiting for civilisation to develop them according to their natural fate.

In The Edge, all that is linked with nature (wilderness, non-humans, Native Americans, Afro Americans) is represented as infantile or lacking civilisation. The lodge owner, for example, intends to eventually develop the wilderness surrounding the lake. Stephen (Harold Perrineau) the only Afro-American in this film, is the first to be killed by the bear. Stephen is represented as infantile, as lacking rationality; he is childlike, in need of protection and guidance from Charles. The native American character Jack Hawks is represented as lacking civilization. For example, Hawk lives, not on a reservation, but in a primitive cabin on an isolated alpine lake. Upon arriving at Hawks' cabin, Bob discovers a note with unsophisticated scrawlings: 'gone bear hunting. Big Bass Lake'. The grizzly, however, is a natural part of the violent wilderness.

Although a major conflict of this film is between nature and culture (man against bear, intellect against passion) there is also fusion of these binaries. When the characters are taken to 'the edge' of culture, they discover

their 'natural' or 'wild' selves. Bob, for example, connects with wild nature when he becomes violent and falls into a bear trap. At the end of the film, Charles returns to the lodge as a 'wild' man, wearing the bear's skin.

The articulation of violence with the grizzly can be partially explained by this film's genre and the character role the bear is playing. The Edge is an action-adventure film which also incorporates some aspects of the natural attack disaster genre. Yacowar (1986) describes that natural attack genre as predicated on isolation, where the main characters are forced together, without escape or relief from one another. This isolation is exacerbated by the conflicts between the characters which must be overcome in order that they can unite against the external threat, in this case, the wild grizzly. In this genre, humans are pitted against a destructive force of nature where there is a frightening reversal in animal-human depictions. Animals are attributed human qualities such as will, mind, and sometimes collective power. Charles describes the bear as "following us the whole time...stalking us...toying with us...reading our minds".

The bear's insatiable desire for human flesh can also be read as a metaphor for Bob's violent lust for Charles' money, wife, and power. Yacowar (1986) describes that often animal characters are a projection of or metaphor for a human character's mental state. Film theorist Stanley Soloman argues that "there are really no narrative films or books about animals but only about beasts with human qualities" (1976: 130).

According to Claudia Springer (1993), cultural debates over gender and sexuality are played out in both literal and metaphorical guises; thus, debates about what it means to be male or female often find their way into cultural

narratives and descriptions. For example, the dangerous bear image can be read as an articulation with female sexuality. In his analysis of female sexuality in twentieth century popular culture, Bram Dijkstra (1996) argues that twentieth century western culture is obsessed with linking women with humanity's bestial origins. Dijkstra describes that "at the opening of the new century, biology and medicine set out to prove that nature had given all women a basic instinct that made them into predators, destroyers, witches - evil sisters. Soon experts in many related fields rushed in to delineate why every woman was doomed to be a harbinger of death to the male" (ibid: 3). According to Dijkstra, there was a common perception during this time that behind every woman lurked a 'latent vampire' threatening to suck the lifeblood of men. Women were more connected to their 'bestial' origins, according to this perspective, because they were closer to nature. Men, on the other hand, are positioned as above nature and the body; they 'naturally' have the ability to transcend the deadly cycles of nature and women. Woman, either as a mother or as a sexual 'beast', is nature's secret weapon against man's valiant efforts to triumph over mortality:

A sexual woman, being a primitive woman, was not 'above' but part of nature. One could go even further and insist she was nature itself. In consequence, man's struggle against nature expressed itself first and foremost in his struggle against the sexual woman (ibid: 43)

According to Dijkstra, early twentieth century western culture's scientific and cultural fear of female sexuality is a spectre which continues to haunt western popular culture. Dijkstra argues that the 'discoveries' of early twentieth century biology "saddled Western culture with a vicious eroticism centered on images of the sexual woman as vampire" (ibid: 5). He notes that western

culture portrays this female sexual vampire in a multitude of fashions: as the cat woman, tiger woman, praying mantis, snake fancier and man-eating tarantula which still prowl in our movie theatres.

The articulation of aggressive female sexuality and animal nature can be found in representations of bears in Grizzly and Wild America. William Girdler's Grizzly (1976) centres its narrative on a giant bear weighing over 2000 pounds which stalks and gruesomely kills people (mostly women) in a United States national park. According to Scott (Richard Jaeckel), the film's 'authority' on bears, the only known grizzlies that large were called *Artos ursus horribilis*, the mightiest carnivores in the pleistocene era. After the grizzly goes on a killing rampage and kills two women campers and a female ranger, it invades a nearby town and kills a mother and wounds her son who was innocently playing in the yard. At the end of Grizzly, Kelly manages to kill the bear, but only after it has mauled the bear expert Scott and another male ranger.

Analysis of Spielberg's Jaws (1975) is informative for this discussion as Grizzly borrows its conventions from this popular film. According to Stephen Heath (1981), the danger of sexuality is displaced onto the shark in Jaws. He notes that the stress of the shark attacks is on dismemberment, in particular, on losing or wounding legs. This is similar to the attacks of the grizzly bear in The Edge. The shark, in particular its teeth and mouth, signifies female sexuality as the vagina *dentata*. According to Barbara Walker, the vagina has long been a source of anxiety for men in patriarchal society where "the vagina dentata is the classic symbol of men's fear of sex, expressing the unconscious belief that a woman may eat or castrate her

partner through intercourse" (1983: 1034).

William Dear's Wild America (1997) illustrates this articulation further. Wild America is based on a childhood journey of the three Stouffler brothers, renowned for their wildlife photography. One of their quests on this journey is to discover the mythical 'cave of 10 000 bears'. Mark Stouffler (Devon Sewa) foreshadows this encounter reading from a book Wild Animal Attacks which features an attacking bear on its cover. By the middle of the film, the boys discover the bears' cave. The entrance of the cave resembles a toothed mouth due to icicles in stalagmite and stalactite formations. This entrance may represent a bear's mouth, or it could represent a vagina dentata, implying that the boys (as adolescents) are about to enter the 'terrifying' world of female sexuality as they grow into men.

Dangerous bear images can also represent masculine sexuality. In most portrayals of violent bears in film, for example, the bear is described as a 'he' or serves as a metaphor for a male character. In Grizzly, for example, Ranger Kelly recounts "You know, bears got patterns. He likes women and moving, sort of like me". Furthermore, violent bears are often metaphors for male characters, such as Bob in The Edge and the bounty hunter in Night of the Grizzly.

Although not always, masculinity is often articulated with violence in cinema. Steven Neale (1983) contends that the masculine in film is represented as violent as opposed to erotic due to a cultural taboo against the homoerotic gaze. Neale argues that, similar to female characters, male characters are marked as objects of an erotic male gaze. However, this eroticism must be repressed due to the homophobic tendencies of western

heterosexual and patriarchal society. Unlike women, who are usually represented as beautiful objects of desire, the eroticism of male representations is repressed through the spectacle of violence, combat and mutilation: "we are offered the spectacle of male bodies, but bodies unmarked as objects of erotic display. There is not trace of an acknowledgement or recognition of those bodies as displayed solely for the gaze of the spectator...We see male bodies stylised and fragmented by close-ups, but our look is not direct, it is heavily mediated by the looks of the characters involved. And those looks are marked not by desire, but rather by fear, or hatred, or aggression" (ibid: 14). Thus, in male oriented films, the bear is articulated with the masculine, an association which often privileges violent representations in mainstream cinema.

Michael Chapman's Clan of the Cave Bear (1986) illustrates the articulation of masculinity with bears while pointing to another connection, that of spirituality. Based on Jean Auel's novel of the same name, this film situates the bear as a deity worshipped by a clan of Neanderthal hunters. The Clan is a patriarchal society based on distinct gender divisions where men hunt and hold the power and women 'gather' and tend to the needs of the men. Ayla (Darryl Hannah) is adopted as a young girl by the Clan after her mother is killed. She is not, however, accepted as she belongs to the Others, a tribe of blonde, cro-magnum people. Ayla's spirit guide is not the bear, but the mountain lion. Ayla is an embodiment of the ideal twentieth century feminist qualities as she is self sufficient and self reliant. Much to the horror of the Clan, she can also hunt. According to Clan rules, the punishment for females caught with hunting tools is death.

The bear in this film is associated with patriarchy (hunting, domination, destruction of life) whereas the lion is associated with the female (egalitarian society, creation of life). In one scene, Ayla is given the vision by Creb, the Clan's spirit guide, of her future, one in which the mountain lion (feminism) and the cave bear (patriarchy) walk side by side, but separate. Interestingly, bears evolved from the dog family, an animal commonly associated with males; whereas lions are members of the feline family, commonly associated with females in western society.

In spite of the clan's reverence for the bear, it is slaughtered at a Clan gathering. The film's narrator describes, "The spirits were called to the sacred ceremony of the bear. Broud and the other young hunters were ready. If they survived, the bears' spirit would carry their names to the sky and they would be the new leaders". In this scene, a gigantic cave bear (Bart) emerges from a cave, rears onto his back legs and snarls, its sword-like fangs dripping with saliva. The bear faces the camera, antagonising both the audience and the hunters with its powerful canines. When one male hunter attempts to fight the bear, he is decapitated in a scene reminiscent of an attack on a camper in Grizzly. The bear is eventually killed by Broud (Thomas G. Waites) who, as a result of his victory, becomes the leader of the Clan.

Similar to Clan of the Cave Bear, the grizzly in Edward Zwick's Legends of the Fall (1994) is also linked with spirituality and the masculine. This film is a romantic epic set in the Montana Rockies at the turn of the century. It revolves around the tragic adventures of three sons of Colonel William Ludlow (Anthony Hopkins), focussing primarily on the middle son Tristan. In the beginning of the film, we learn that Tristan is taught 'the

pleasures of the hunt' by his native American friend, One Stab (Gordon Tootoosis). As One Stab narrates, Tristan is driven wild and crazy by his inner voice, the wild, primitive call of the hunter, again signalling a transgression of the nature/culture dichotomy. Tristan's spirit guide is a grizzly bear. As a young boy, Tristan touches the sleeping bear who awakes, chases Tristan and eventually claws him. Tristan escapes by stabbing the bear in its paw. In this film, the human embodies the characteristics of the bear: wild, primitive, violent hunter. This spirit forces Tristan to pursue his wandering, violent passions all over the world. Tristan returns to the ranch and is killed by the bear in the final scene of the movie, in what One Stab describes as a "good death".

Michael Scott's Lost In the Barrens (1991) also represents the grizzly as a spirit guide, in this case, as the embodiment of a native American. Based on Farley Mowat's book of the same title, this film is the story of two boys, Jamie, a Caucasian, and Awasis, a Native American, who are lost in the wilderness after straying from their camp. In one scene, a bear attempts to steal their food. Awasis (Evan Adams) wrestles the bear until it retreats from the scene. However, Awasis believes the bear did not visit them to steal their food:

Jamie:	I guess we scared him. I don't think he'll come back, do you?
Awasis:	That wasn't a bear.
Jamie:	What was it?
Awasis:	It was my grandfather. He came with a message for me. I had forgotten my father's message. I've been acting like a white man. I've been hunting like a white man. I must open my heart. I must speak to the spirit.

Similarly, in Peter Lynch's critically acclaimed Project Grizzly (1996),

the bear represents the protagonist's father. However, another articulation can be read besides masculinity and spirituality, that is, the articulation of technology with nature. This articulation is also found in The Edge, where the killer grizzly is not only violent, it is described as a "man eating *machine*".

Project Grizzly is based on the true adventures of Troy James Hurtubise who describes himself as a close quarter bear researcher. Hurtubise, obsessed with fighting a grizzly bear, creates and tests a 'grizzly-proof' suit of armor. The cover for the National Film Board Project Grizzly video describes this suit as "an extraordinary fusion of high-tech materials and homespun ingenuity - and of (Troy's) own hybrid mythology that is part Hollywood, part Canadian Shield".

The articulation of masculinity with the grizzly bear is obvious in this film. Troy refers to all grizzly bears as 'old man' because when Troy first encountered a grizzly, the bear had a white tuft of hair under its chin. As Troy describes, "when we came into confrontation, before he hit me, it wasn't a bear to me...now, whenever I see a grizzly, it's an old man so when I'm going into the bear's territory, I'm going into the old man's territory". The bear is Troy's nemesis, the enemy against which he must fight and prove himself. The reference to the 'old man' also serves as a metaphor for Troy's father, who, besides the bear, is central to Troy's narrative. Throughout the film, Troy discusses his relationship with his father and his attempts to equal his father's accomplishments, particularly his reconstruction of an Iroquois village. As Troy recounts "when I think of my father, I think of the Indian village he built...I'm the same age my father was when he built the village so he's building a village and I'm building a suit". When Troy enters the grizzly

bear's territory, he's also entering the territory of his paternal 'old man' and attempting to compete for power. After showing Troy and his mother reminiscing about Troy's childhood adventures when he shot the lights off of the Christmas tree and constructed a hazardous gasoline volcano, a scene follows with two grizzly bears engaged in a brutal fight. This is followed by Troy describing how he cannot bring his father on expeditions as this results in "too many chiefs...my father likes to be in command too so when I go with my father, its almost like we're pitting against each other". Concomitant to the bear's metaphoric role as nemesis and as Troy's father is native American discourse. The labelling of the bear as old man may also be Troy's acknowledgement of respect for the animal. As described in the previous chapter, kinship euphemisms were traditionally used by native Americas to signify the bear. Troy has some familiarity with native American perspectives as he spent three years in his father's recreated Iroquois village. Troy also mentions that, besides consulting psychiatrists and dream analysts, he also sought help from a native American medicine man for understanding his relationship with the bear.

Although it is Troy, not the bear, which is represented as a machine, this film shows how the fusion of nature-human-technology is played out in Troy's *relationship* with the bear. In order to confront the bear, Troy fortifies his body with metal and technology to become hyper-masculine in order to fight the super-human powers of the grizzly bear. Claudia Springer (1996) argues that hyper-masculine portrayals of cyborgs such as Arnold Schwarzenegger's role in the films The Terminator (Cameron, 1984) and RoboCop (Verhoeven, 1987) is an attempt to display rock-solid masculinity

where their technological adornments heighten their bodies status as a fortress (1996: 109). In Troy's case, his 'fortress' is his body armor, the Ursus Mark VI; a protection against the threat of 'animal' masculine violence. As Troy notes, wearing his suit, "I can take what he gives me". That Troy desires to become a cyborg figure to present a worthy opposition to the bear is exemplified when Troy, wearing his armoured suit, walks in front of a drive-in theatre showing RoboCop. At one point, Troy, the armoured grizzly hunter, walks directly underneath the image of armoured Arnold Schwarzenegger. According to Springer, masculine metaphors of technology express "a nostalgia for a time when masculine superiority was taken for granted and an insecure man needed only to look at technology to find a metaphor for phallic strength" (ibid: 111).

There is a striking similarity between popular cultural representations of the grizzly bear (the organic non-human) and those of cyborgs (the inorganic non-human). As I have illustrated, there is a tendency to link images of nature with specific notions of gender. According to Springer (1996), contemporary cultural conflicts over sexuality and gender roles are played out in popular cultural representations of cyborgs. As masculine and feminine metaphors have long been used as metaphors for technology, representations of technology tend to reinforce culturally determined differences between genders rather than challenging these distinctions. Machines from the industrial age were often described in gendered terms, frequently associating their forceful energy with virile masculinity or, as is the case with ships, their beauty, safety and comfort with femininity (ibid: 9). Even in the electronic age, with the computer's asexual appearance, Springer

notes that there is an urge to assign a gender to machines. To masculinise computers, for example, manufacturers describe the power and strength of the computer. Conversely, computers are feminised by referring to them as small, fluid, and quiet. Similarly, wild carnivores such as the grizzly are often masculinised as virile, aggressive or dangerous. Although this dangerous bear representation could also be read as a metaphor for female sexuality, in the films I discussed the assignment of the masculine pronoun and the bear's role as a metaphor for male characters suggests an articulation of this animal's power with masculinity, reinforcing the common sense notion that masculinity is 'naturally' aggressive, dangerous and potentially violent.

Although my focus has been on violent representations of grizzlies, non-violent bears also circulate. Rather than representing threatening forces of nature, these bears are often *threatened* by culture as in Goldy: The Last of the Golden Bears (Black, 1984) and The Bear (Annaud, 1988). In some instances, bears play the role of *protector* of either an area or human characters as in The Legend of Black Thunder Mountain (Beemer, 1979) and The Legend of Grizzly Adams (Kennedy, 1990).

Annaud's The Bear contrasts sharply with dangerous representations of bears. Based on naturalist James Oliver Curwood's novel The Grizzly King, (1916), The Bear is a family movie about a cub who loses its mother and teams up with a wounded male Kodiak bear who has survived an attack from two hunters. Set in 1885, at a time when bear hunting was common, this movie focusses on the bears' adventures as they are pursued by two hunters (Jack Wallace and Tcheky Karyo). However, this is not a hunting movie; its underlying message is that life should be respected, not annihilated.

Annaud's film is not a tale of masculine combat, as in The Edge, but of a man's education in the wild for both the cub and the hunter who realizes that, as exemplified in Curwood's quote used as the epigraph, "The greatest thrill is not to kill but to let live". As reviewer Derek Bouse describes, "an innocent cub is introduced to the mysterious ways of life by a wise, older bear, while a hunter who stalks them learns the life-affirming value of allowing them to survive. Thus, the North American frontier civilisation, virtually built on the trapping and slaughter of animals (not to mention genocide), gives way to a new age of enlightened, peaceful coexistence" (1990: 83).

The Bear exemplifies the articulation of masculinity with wilderness. In this film, females are peripheral, minor characters, appearing only in the opening scene, when the mother bear is killed by falling rocks, and as objects for brief sexual encounters, when Kaar the adult grizzly copulates momentarily with a female bear.

Why eliminate or limit female bears from this film? Perhaps to establish an all male wilderness where a cub can be tutored in survival and battle skills by a male master and so that the conflict can be played out as a traditional, primal struggle between male warriors (Bouse, 1990). Another reason for killing the mother and replacing her with a surrogate father is due to the conventions of the wildlife film genre. The Bear is described as a male-bonding version of Walt Disney's Bambi (1942) (Wilmington, 1990). According to Alex Wilson (1991), Disney studios popularised the wildlife movie genre. Moreover, Wilson states that our relationship with the land in the last approximately forty years has been shaped and framed by the narrative and dramatic conventions of such films. Early Disney films tend to

portray a pristine, anthropomorphised nature. Anthropomorphism is the transferring of human behaviour and motivation onto the natural world. Thus, Disney animal stories are often stories about humans, in particular human families situated in idealized environments. Besides anthropomorphism and idealized environments, another convention of the wildlife genre is to portray the protagonist as an orphan, in need of a family and protection. Often these orphans team up with an unlikely partner and embark on a journey which begins when an idyllic paradise is threatened, then lost due to predators or natural cataclysms, then regained (Bouse, 1990). The Bear follows this convention as the cub and the adult grizzly are *extremely* unlikely travel partners. Adult male bears frequently kill, and sometimes eat, young cubs out of instinctive defense of their territories (ibid, 1990). The narrative constraints of the journey, however, force the two bears to control their instincts and hostilities in order to fight a common threat. This extols the values of community and kinship, which are both extensions of the nuclear family structure. More specifically, the incredible journey is the story of the nuclear family being threatened then reaffirmed in the end (ibid, 1990).

Thus, in The Bear, the mother's death and the adoption of the orphaned cub by the male bear can be explained by the conventions of the wildlife genre. Several bear movies follow this orphan convention such as Adventures of the Wilderness Family (1975), Goldy: Last of the Golden Bears (1984) and more recently Ms. Bear (1997). These films feature bear cubs separated from their mothers and in need of a family. The orphan theme suggests an ideology of protection of nature by humans and of stewardship

over nature.

This ideology of protection is demonstrated by Grizzly Mountain (Haft, 1997). Although this film does not feature a grizzly bear except in its title, it uses the image of the grizzly to represent an endangered nature (including wildlife and native Americans) in need of protection from the onslaughts of culture (meaning affluent, Caucasian culture). As described on one video edition of this film:

The year is 1870. For generations, Grizzly Mountain was a peaceful, sacred residence for the friendly local Indians. With the protection of their Mountain Man, it seemed like nothing could destroy their wilderness paradise. But when evil developers see opportunity, Grizzly Mountain is doomed...

The Life and Times of Grizzly Adams (Friedenberg, 1976) provides another example of human stewardship over nature. In this film, loosely¹¹ based on the life of John Capen Adams, Adams (Dan Haggerty) escapes to the wilderness to avoid persecution for a crime he did not commit. This wilderness is not dangerous but peaceful and friendly; as Adams describes “the wilderness that I’d been so afraid of ... really wasn’t such a dangerous place. I was almost a part of it now”. Adams quickly befriends a number of animals, including an orphaned bear cub who he names Benjamin Franklin. The relationship between Adams and the bear is paternalistic as Adams protects the bear and teaches the bear to fish and to get along with other animals.

In other films, however, it is the natural world that protects humans.

¹¹ Although this film is described as the real life adventures of Grizzly Adams, it is only ‘loosely’ based on the actual John Capen Adams. In this film, Adams says “I never was a hunter. I didn’t like killing things”. Yet, as noted in the previous chapter, the real Adams’ specialty was killing mother bears and capturing their cubs for circus acts or bear and bull fights.

Martha, the grizzly in The Legend of Grizzly Adams (Kennedy, 1990), helps Grizzly Adams (Dan Haggerty) rescue a small town about to be robbed by outlaws. Thus, 'nature' saves an innocent human culture from the greed of other humans. Similarly, in The Legend of Black Thunder Mountain (Beemer, 1979) an adult female grizzly takes care of two children who are lost in the wilderness after their father is abducted by bandits. This bear feeds the children, protects them from harm and delivers them back to their father. In both of these examples, the bear is female. In contrast to the dangerous bear representations discussed above, the bears in The Legend of Grizzly Adams and The Legend of Black Thunder Mountain represent a maternal, nurturing natural world which protects, rather than harms, human culture.

Representations of grizzly bears in popular cinema are informative. Often these representations are not based on real bear behaviour; rather, they are constructed according to filmatic genre, conventions or organising strategies. Dangerous, killer grizzly bears, for example, appear in a wide range of film categories from westerns, to family movies, to horror movies, to romantic epics, to action adventures, to documentaries. These dangerous grizzly bear characters are often shaped by the character roles in which they are playing or by the characters they are representing metaphorically. Additionally, these bears can also represent a force to be overcome, for example, a moral force as in westerns or an external force as in action adventure films. Besides their character roles, grizzly bear representations are also shaped by particular discourses about wilderness and about gender. In the case of the dangerous grizzly, often these representations are masculinised, suggesting that masculinity is articulated with violence and

aggression. These dangerous bears also connect with discourses which position wilderness as something to be feared or with discourses of spirituality. These representations are contrasted with others which portray nature as either a protector of human culture or in need of protection.

These representations illustrate that cultural debates about wilderness and gender are being played out in popular film. Often, these debates are simplified to a conflict between bad nature versus good civilisation or good nature versus bad civilisation. Both masculine and feminine representations of bears are portrayed, suggesting that the articulation between nature and gender is in a state of flux. Additionally, these representations suggest that the boundaries separating nature and culture are in flux as nature often serves as a metaphor for human characteristics, for human spirituality (in particular, native American spirituality) and for technology. Bears are often anthropomorphised in film, conflating human characteristics with natural ones or, as in The Edge and Legends of the Fall, often humans take on the characteristics of the natural world. In the following chapter, I discuss the implications of these representations.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPLICATIONS OF GRIZZLY BEAR REPRESENTATIONS

Although there are infinite manners in which grizzly bears can be represented, certain images are recurrent in North American popular culture. In chapter three, I categorized central representations of grizzlies as national/political bear, dangerous bear, security bear, protector bear, pristine bear, natural bear, ancestor bear and spiritual bear. These images are shaped by particular discourses which give rise to salient meanings about grizzlies, about wilderness, and about certain constructions of gender and sexuality. Furthermore, these images suggest that representations of nature, rather than positioned as Other to culture, are intertwined with discourses about, to name a few, nationality, spirituality, sexuality, and technology. In some instances, these representations are connected with actual bears (such as Winnie the Pooh and Smokey Bear); however, once they become part of a narrative tradition or connected with particular discourses, they are transformed and reshaped. In chapter four, I traced bear representations in films ranging from 1966 to 1997. The purpose of this was to further contextualize these representations within a particular medium. Again, certain images were central, in particular dangerous bears, endangered bears and protector bears. These images are related, not only to particular discourses, but also to the genre in which they are located again signalling the complex forces and articulations at play in popular cultural representations.

This chapter examines the implications of these representations. Popular culture creates, reproduces and perpetuates certain articulations. When these are recurrent, they may be interpreted as common sense,

appearing natural or universal rather than culturally and historically constructed; as such, we may lose our critical stance with respect to these articulations. However, by discussing some of the possible implications of these articulations, it is important to keep in mind that these represent *possibilities* as causal relationships do not exist between representations and human beliefs and actions; the process is more complex than that. As Stuart Hall argues, the process of articulation has real consequences on how social formations are reproduced; however, these consequences are not necessarily straightforward and may even be contradictory (1985: 113).

First, I draw attention to the dangerous bear representation. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, it has been suggested that this representation portrays grizzlies and wilderness as disproportionately dangerous and violent. The dangerous bear representation is recurrent in North American popular culture and appears in a wide range of media such as cinema, postcards, outdoor sporting magazines, beer advertising, outdoor sporting equipment advertising and sport mascots. This image can be understood by situating it within discourses which position the wilderness as something to be feared and conquered. Furthermore, it is a product of discourses of gender and sexuality, linking the dangerous bear for the most part with masculinity and, less frequently, with female sexuality. It is also connected with a narrative tradition in North America, ranging from literary sources such as tall tales, and from the generic roles the dangerous grizzly plays in cinema.

The articulation of wild nature with danger in popular culture raises concerns. Is the articulation of wild with danger and risk naturalised, taken

for granted, common-sense? Is the connection between dangerous nature and masculinity also naturalised? As I argue, for the most part, dangerous grizzlies are referred to as 'he' or serve as a metaphor for a human male character. Moreover, they often, although not always, appear in cultural representations intended for male audiences.

One concern about the articulation of masculinity with dangerous, wild nature is that it reinforces rather than challenges oppositional gender roles where masculinity is articulated with risk and danger and femininity with maternal qualities such as care giving and nurturing. As discussed, notions of maternal femininity are also written onto nature. Grizzly bears which are female are often portrayed in a family setting (with cubs or with a male grizzly) or in products intended for women. Security bears, for example, often appear in advertising geared towards women and children (such as CIBC insurance, Huggies wipes, food products such as cookies and cereal). Furthermore, feminine representations of grizzlies are often intersected with environmental and aesthetic discourse, perpetuating the ideology that women are naturally nurturing, safe, and environmentally conscious.

Dangerous masculinity and maternal, nurturing femininity are articulations which circulate frequently in western culture. As Kate Fillion (1996) describes, we often pay 'lip service' to oppositional gender roles even if these roles contradict our individual personalities and experiences. These articulations circulate, not solely in popular culture, but also in certain academic discourses. One example is sociobiology. Segal (1988) describes that the main focus of sociobiology is finding universal biological characteristics underlying all human and animal behaviour. Sociobiological theory rests on

the assumption that social, especially sexual, differences are innate rather than the consequences of historical and cultural factors. Thus, within sociobiological models, men are regarded as 'naturally' aggressive and competitive, whereas women are 'naturally' nurturant and maternal (Grosz and de Lepervance, 1988: 11). As noted by Rosalind Coward (1985), these notions are reproduced in media representations of nature which often 'reveal' a natural world of male dominance and the inevitability of sexual difference.

Another concern raised by the dangerous bear representation is that it may reinforce a common sense notion that grizzly bears are for the most part violent, therefore, in need of control, management or, potentially, destruction. To illustrate my concern, I draw attention to research on the impact of cultural ideas on the wolf. The wolf, like the bear, is a charismatic megafauna, a 'barometer' of protean and conflicting North American attitudes toward wildlife. Kellert et al. (1996) describe that, although the wolf was viewed in a positive manner by most indigenous North Americans, it was despised and considered intrinsically unworthy by Euroamerican settlers in Canada and the United States. Wolves were perceived as a threat to safety and an impediment to progress and civilisation. As Barry Lopez (1978) notes, the wolf became an 'enemy' against which humans, the 'protectors' of defenceless creatures and property, had to fight. Wolves were killed, not only because of the threats they posed to livestock and humans, but also because the decimation of wolves was perceived to be a person's moral *duty*, that is, to dominate and transform the land (Kellert et al., 1996).

In an analysis of a wolf hunt on Greece's Mount Parnassos,

anthropologist Roland Moore (1994) argues that wolves were victimised because of what they represented. In 1988 a group of Central Greek hunters killed perhaps that last wolf in the region. After a thirty-five year absence, five wolves entered the region from the north. Due to a decimation of natural prey by human activity, the wolves periodically fed on livestock. As a result, they became the targets of a dramatic armed campaign which involved as many as 200 hunters. From an analysis of the shepherds' behaviour and local satirical poems, Moore concludes that the ferocious response toward the wolves had little to do with the *actual* threat posed by these animals; rather, it arose from a changing political economy, disempowerment of pastoralists, machismo, and the nefarious reputation of wolves in European and specifically Greek folklore and popular media. Moore argues that the wolves served as a metaphor for a general encroachment by powerful outsiders upon the livelihood of the shepherds: "like the wolves...the shepherds of Arachova are an endangered species" (ibid: 86). Additionally, the hunt offered a rare opportunity to display manly prowess as hunting in Greece, as in most areas of the world, is predominantly a male activity. The negative imagery of the wolf in Greek culture, as representative of untrustworthiness as well as female and male sexual aggressiveness, made this animal an easy scapegoat for the pastoralists' tensions.

However, in the latter half of the twentieth century, perceptions about wolves changed. According to Kellert et al., a 1972 National Film Board of Canada production Death of a Legend influenced public opinion toward wolves to an extent that the wolf bounty was eliminated in much of Canada. In recent years, a plethora of books, films and television specials indicate the

transformation of the wolf from an animal to be feared and loathed to one deserving of protection and admiration (ibid, 1996). Notwithstanding this transformation in public values toward wolves, Kellert et al. note that hostile attitudes toward wolves and large predators remain, particularly amongst people living in close proximity to existing or proposed wolf populations (ibid, 1996). Furthermore, several wolf re-introduction efforts in the United States have failed, not because of problems caused by the animal, but due to deeply ingrained anti-predator and anti-government attitudes (Egan 1994 in Primm and Clark, 1996; Hook and Robinson, 1982 in Kellert et al, 1996). Furthermore, Clark, Paquet, and Curlee (1996) argue that, even though North America has experienced a recent shift from negative to positive attitudes toward carnivores, negative images of carnivores continue to carry an inordinate weight in decision-making processes.

The articulation of danger with the grizzly bear may similarly have detrimental consequences for this bear. Lawrence (1986) argues that the *very idea* of saving bears provokes wrath amongst some people because grizzlies continue to represent a conflict between the domestic sphere of man and the wild which threatens it. Lawrence describes that many North Americans, especially those with cultural roots in the West's pioneer past, continue to view the grizzly as an enemy to overcome and as a test of one's manhood. Similarly, Herrero describes that some people believe that saving an animal as potentially dangerous as the grizzly bear is wrong (1985: 258). Thus, the ideas that we have about grizzly bears as dangerous monsters of the wild may impact them in harmful ways.

Kellert et al. (1996) argue that negative perceptions of bears link the

bear with perceived threats to the safety of humans and livestock, to a widening gap between nature and human culture, and to a societal shift from reverence of nature to exploitation of nature. Positive perceptions of bears, according to these authors, are rooted in the bear's historical role as liaison between humans and nature, as the nurturing care giver of spiritual significance, and as the symbol of the epitome of wildness (ibid: 983). Following this argument, if the future survival of grizzly bears is at stake, should we advocate that bears be represented in a more positive fashion in order to challenge negative conceptions?

By suggesting that a particular representation of nature is negative, however, are we implying that there is a right way to represent or understand nature? Are the pristine, the natural, or the security bear representations 'better' than the dangerous bear? I use the pristine bear to illustrate that nature representations are complex and can have both positive and negative implications for our relationships with and understanding of nature. I draw attention to the pristine bear in particular because this image is often used by environmental advocacy organizations who mobilise groups to *protect* wild species and spaces. The pristine bear is also related to the natural and security bear in that it represents an articulation of the natural world with goodness, with safety, with moral value.

Jennifer Slack (1998) points to some of the problems of the concept 'pristine'. On one hand, this concept is effective in enabling us to respond to environmental challenges. However, the idea of pristine nature, according to Slack, negates the reality of *interconnectedness* with nature:

The pristine lets us imagine a Disneyland-like wilderness, a place apart, a place to visit, a place to relish, protect and set aside... In living this pristine we are encouraged to forget that

what we understand to be the pristine is in fact not pristine, that all our lives are dependent upon a reciprocal interconnection with the land (ibid: 80 - 81).

Similarly, Val Plumwood argues that the the concept of pristine wilderness precludes human interaction with nature, an idea which impacts 'tainted' natural areas as well as people who make their living directly from natural resources:

Just as culture must exclude all taint of nature, nature must not be permitted to mingle with culture, an approach which parallels the demand common in racist society for complete cultural purity and isolation before cultural difference can be recognised. Non-pristine nature may be seen as spoilt, inferior and unworthy of defence. Such hyperseparated understandings of the concept of nature exclude the ground of interaction, since any interaction is held to re-create nature as a human artifact, and hence not as other (1993: 162).

Pristine concepts of wilderness are especially problematic for people who make their livelihoods interacting with the land. As Plumwood aptly describes, what is wilderness to some is to others a home (ibid: 163).

Plumwood argues that, although we need to respect the autonomy of non-humans, we do not need to create a hyperseparated, alien nature in order to do so.

Another concern about pristine nature is that it erases desire and passion, in essence, human agency, from nature. Charles Bergman (1996) argues that the nature is a language, a symbolic system which not only embodies and expresses human desire but also justifies it. He states that there is a trend in contemporary environmental discourse to frame nature in terms of spirituality and ethics where nature is emptied of human culture, agency and desire. Nature has been emptied of desire, according to Bergman, because

desire is suspect as it is often embodied in and associated with the *phallus*, thus with power, aggression, and danger. Drawing from Annette Kolodny's Lay of the Land (1975), Bergman describes how the metaphor of the land as female, encountered by male desire, shaped the experience of nature for early Americans. He notes that Kolodny describes this experience as a pastoral impulse in which nature (the feminine) is perceived as the vulnerable and victimised object of male desire. The moral response to this disturbing presence of desire in our relationships with nature, Bergman argues, has been to censor, repress or domesticate desire in nature:

We can begin to realize that nature is so endangered and exploited, not merely because a group of men are exploiters, but because we have written mastery into the structure of our desires. We have written power into desire. And our only alternative to the myth of power and domination, to desire in nature, seems to be a regressive pastoral fantasy, an idealized escape into maternal embraces or virginal purity (ibid: 299).

However, Bergman argues, the removal of desire in nature has led to a *new* kind of power and control, one associated with creating pristine, desexualized, dehumanized nature. Thus, we are becoming masters over an idealized body of nature that we ourselves are constructing, a nature which is increasingly contained within natural parks and wildlife refuges where the body of nature is managed so that it is kept clean and healthy. Within this idealized nature, nothing is allowed to be unruly, neither the animals within the park nor the people who visit. According to Bergman, new divisions between the sacred and the profane in nature are occurring, between parks and exploited areas. Furthermore, stewardship of nature makes nature into an exclusive property of those who have power over and control of access to the pristine nature and wildlife. Thus, the majority of people are excluded from nature, experiencing

it from a distance, either at a roadside stop or through a camera image. Bergman suggests that, rather than censoring desire in nature, we need to create new metaphors for desire and nature, metaphors that do not involve domination and escape.

Alex Wilson (1991) presents an interesting strategy for representing nature. He argues that anthropomorphisation, the overlaying of human qualities on the animal world, can serve as a radical strategy "in a culture like our own, where the frontier between the human and the non-human is well policed, where nature is usually talked about as a field of objects to be observed and managed for the 'public good'" (ibid: 129). Wilson notes that often anthropomorphisation is regarded negatively because it is perceived to misrepresent nature by framing it in the context of the human world. Gary Brown summarises this perspective with respect to the grizzly bear, arguing that:

Our anthropomorphic interpretations are sometimes quite dangerous as we 'see' this wild animal as the amusing, bumbling Teddy, Smokey, Yogi, or 'Gentle' Ben type of wonderful, lovable, and human-like creature...too many people fail to recognize the difference between these cultural and fictional characterisation and real bears. This type of thinking breeds a lack of respect and appreciation for wild bears, and often results in subsequent injuries and death of bears and humans (1993: 175).

However, Wilson argues that nature films which use anthropomorphisation, such as early Disney films and Annaud's The Bear, are examples of how humans invest the natural world with meaning. Although this meaning is often laden with sexism, colonialism, and species hierarchy, Wilson contends that anthropomorphism provides a strategy for breaking down the "humanity vs. nature" ideology in western culture (ibid: 129). Wilson draws

attention to a particular scene in The Bear where the bear cub is captured by the hunters, tied to a tree, and threatened by vicious, guard dogs. He suggests that, because we identify with the plight of the bear who is facing incarceration in a zoo, this scene opens space for reconsideration of the role of pets or tamed animals in general as intermediary species.

Haraway's cyborg model is instructive in this regard. As Haraway describes, the cyborg is a weave of the "organic, technical, textual, mythic, economic, and political threads that make up the flesh of the world" (1995: xii). By positioning the bear as a cyborg, we no longer need to think in terms of real versus fictional or virtual bears, for as Haraway argues, virtual space is real in its power to produce effects. We do not need to concern ourselves with overlaying human values on the animal world, or enter discussions about whether or not anthropomorphism is an appropriate device because, as a cyborg, grizzly bears no longer represent a pristine nature removed from humans. As Haraway describes:

The cyborg appears in myth precisely where the boundary between human and animal is transgressed. Far from signalling a walling off of people from other living things, cyborgs signal a disturbingly and pleurably tight coupling (1991: 152).

Kieran Keohane (1997) provides an example of how the cyborg can be applied to representations of bears. In his analysis of Marion Engel's Bear, Keohane¹² uses Haraway's cyborg to illustrate how transgressive eroticism can challenge the boundaries between nature/culture and reconcile our relations with nature in particular and with the Other in general.

¹² This is taken from Keohane's The Symptoms of Canada in which he investigates the qualities which make Canada unique. He situates his studies in the fantasies of Canada, such as poetry, literature, comedy shows, art, and souvenirs. Although beyond the scope of this project, an interesting offshoot of this investigation would be to contextualize grizzly bear representations within Canadian national discourse.

Referencing Bataille's (1986) definition, Keohane describes eroticism as the desire to replace discontinuity (difference) with a feeling of profound continuity (unity). Eroticism, however, involves risking death in search of continuity. Keohane illustrates how Engel uses an erotic relationship with the non-human to transgress the nature/culture divide. This transgression, however, is not without difficulties.

Bear (1976) is the story of a sexual relationship between a female archivist and a bear which Keohane describes as a "solicitous being-with-the-being-of-others" (1997: 131). According to Keohane, the bear represents nature specifically and the Other in general. Thus, the bestiality in this novel is metaphoric for transgressive encounters between different identities. Wilderness (lack of society) provides a context for the archivist (culture) to cross the nature/culture divide and yield to the bear's (nature) eroticism. Keohane describes that the woman's relationship with the bear represents the arbitrariness and permeability of the nature/culture boundary and the ambiguity, fear, and hatred/ love and desire which characterize relations with the Other (ibid: 132). Keohane argues that the woman transgresses more and more boundaries in her relationship with the bear, in hopes of actualising a utopian fantasy of a relationship of continuity with the Other. Her fantasy, according to Keohane, is that the union with the bear would heal the "great Cartesian wound, the tyrannical modern dualism culture/nature, subject/object" (137). However, Keohane describes, the relationship becomes problematic when her consuming desire to negate the antagonism of their difference and become one culminates in her attempt to have sexual intercourse with the bear. After two unsuccessful attempts, she realizes that

her desire to become one with the bear (nature) is not possible, that she can never know the Other as she knows herself. Keohane writes: "The Other always remains, at some point, ultimately opaque, an impenetrable, dark object that denies recognition and assimilation and incorporation into the identity of the one...this restoration of radical otherness does not eliminate the possibility of their relationship, it actually enriches it, restores to it antagonism, dynamism and uncertainty" (ibid: 140).

Keohane's analysis is insightful for it suggests that, even when boundaries are transgressed, this transgression does not need to be complete. Keohane's intent is to "bring into a world founded on discontinuity as much continuity as such a world can sustain" (1997: 6). Applying this to our study, how much nature/culture continuity can wild nature sustain? Is it possible that, as a cyborg, the bear and wilderness can remain as radical Others even in the presence of culture? Arguably, yes. The cyborg model allows us to imagine and theorise connections between nature and culture; it creates *possibilities*. It supports, for example, anthropomorphism because it does not allow for distinctions between human/animal; nature/culture; organic/inorganic. However, this does not mean that we necessarily need to take the cyborg to its extreme. At times, we may need to conceptualise difference in the face of unity. With regards to wilderness and threatened carnivores, we may *need* to have tracts of land which limit human presence. I do not believe that the cyborg model necessarily precludes the possibility of separating nature/culture/technology if the situation, the context, demands. As Haraway describes: "cyborgs give way to borderlands, inhabited by human and unhuman collectives, borderlands which suggest a rich topography of

combinatorial possibility”(1992: 328). These borderlands may not always contain humans and non-humans, but at least they provide a means to theorise the multiple possibilities in which we can co-exist, even if this coexistence necessitates mutual avoidance.

The cyborg not only gives us a rhetorical strategy by providing a model for a complex nexus of articulations within representations, it also provides a political method. As noted previously, cyborg politics are based on *pleasure* in the confusion of boundaries and *responsibility* in their construction (Haraway, 1991: 150). Cyborg politics are not prescriptive; this model does not involve judging whether one representation of nature is better than another. Rather, it advocates delight, curiosity, multiplicity, even blasphemy in our representations and relations with nature. As Haraway describes, cyborg politics is about humour and serious play (ibid: 149).

The cyborg model has been applied to ecofeminism. Ecological feminist philosopher Chris Cuomo (1998) describes that, by theorising connections between women and nature, ecofeminists risk re-enforcing rather than challenging the patriarchal devaluation of women. Many ecofeminists assert uncritically that woman = mother; woman = feminine; mother = nature; feminine = caring; Cuomo argues, these articulations may not be a good idea, theoretically nor practically (ibid: 126). The cyborg allows women to risk claiming this connection with nature in order to strategically theorise the potential connections between the subordination of women and nature. The cyborg model allows for “transgressed boundaries, potent fusions, and dangerous possibilities which progressive people might explore as one part of needed political work” (Haraway, 1991: 154). Additionally, the

cyborg opens the articulation of the feminine with technology and science, realms which are often perceived as traditionally misogynistic thus insalubrious to women.

Cuomo argues that the cyborg can provide an instructive model for transgressive, insubordinate relationships and identities; however, she is concerned with what is missing in the cyborg. Cyborgs, according to Cuomo, lack history and are potentially overly optimistic about articulating women-nature-technology under the rule of technology and capitalism which can be misogynistic and anti-environmental: "even if we feel playful, ironic, and charged with possibility - aren't our occupations of between-places more troubled than this?" (ibid: 85).

The cyborg is idealistic because it lacks contextualisation with respect to the historical forces which privilege certain perspectives and silence or subordinate others. However, Haraway's cyborg is not simply founded on pleasure. It also advocates *responsibility* for representations. Thus, cyborg politics means understanding the articulations at play in representations, for conceptualising historical tendencies (or lines of tendential force) which solidify certain articulations, making them appear natural. By understanding the dominant articulations of elements in place at a particular time, particularly those at play in the larger sociocultural environment, we are better equipped to determine whether or what kind of an oppositional strategy would be politically valuable. Furthermore, by understanding that nature is inscribed with a complex nexus of discourses, we are able to theorise more adequately the manners in which representations of nature might challenge or reinforce oppressive ideologies. The playfulness of boundary

transgressing strategies such as anthropomorphisation need to be checked by responsibility; that is, by identifying dominant articulations which may reinforce oppressive ideologies or which may have deleterious implications for the material world of both humans and nonhumans.

According to Haraway, one of the ways to challenge articulations is through writing. Haraway argues that cyborg politics is about the struggle for language. She contends that this struggle does not seek a happy ending nor a perfect representation; rather, it pursues a non-ending, a multiplicity of representations, some of them blasphemous and ironic. Writing and theorising are critical, for as Haraway describes, it is through writing that "lives are built; so we had best become good craftspeople with the other worldly actants in the story" (1992: 299). As Haraway's argument is rooted in poststructuralism, her perspective is that, as meaning is temporarily fixed, writing is a struggle over meaning and has important implications for how we understand the present as well as future possibilities.

Taking pleasure in and claiming dangerous representations of nature may be instructive, in particular for women. As Haraway describes, "up till now...female embodiment seemed to be given, organic, necessary; and female embodiment seemed to mean skill in mothering and its metaphoric extensions" (1991: 180). Perhaps by claiming dangerous representations of nature, by taking responsibility for and pleasure in them, feminists can challenge this articulation. As Haraway describes: "cyborg monsters ... define quite different political possibilities and limits from those proposed by the mundane fiction of Man and Woman" (1991: 180). If dangerous nature is claimed and rewritten as female, it may challenge the articulation of women

with motherhood and its metaphorical extensions. It may also challenge the notion that men are the sole proprietors of aggression and violence. We, both men and women, may even find that dangerous nature teaches us about our own desires and about the risks and perils of the world. However, awareness of and responsibility to the potential consequences of the articulation of danger with nature (both human and nonhuman) is important. We need to consider if such representations perpetuate an ideology that the wild (as a space, species or state of being) represents something to be feared. Although wild creatures and environments do pose hazards for humans, there is a difference between constructing a healthy respect for these hazards and fearing, hating or destroying them because of an ideology which uncritically articulates it with violence, danger and risk.

Haraway asserts that our world needs to be rewritten because “none of the narratives of masculinist, patriarchal apocalypses will do” (1992: 327). Although Haraway’s critique is referring to the tendency in Western thought to seek perfection and closure, I wonder if there is a danger of this idea being interpreted as ‘only women’s narratives will provide direction’ in a cyborgian world. To illustrate my concern, I will turn to a perspective on writing as forwarded by Hélène Cixous. This perspective, as Lynn Segal (1988) has aptly noted, is held by certain contemporary feminists who essentialise gender distinctions.

Cixous (1986) argues that women’s writing can challenge the passivity associated with them by a logocentric and phallogocentric culture, and can break new trails for reconceptualising relations with the Other. Cixous claims that:

... today, writing is woman’s. That is not a provocation, it means that woman admits there is an other ...Writing is the passageway, the entrance, the exit, the dwelling place of the other

in me - the other that I am and am not, that I don't know how to be, but that I feel passing, that makes me live - that tears me apart, disturbs me, changes me, who? - a feminine one, a masculine one, some? - several, some unknown, which is indeed what gives me the desire to know and from which all life soars (ibid: 85 - 86).

Man, according to Cixous, has difficulty "letting the other come through him" because western culture has repressed the femininity of masculine sexuality. According to Cixous, woman's writing would provide new ways of relating, of desiring, the Other. Traditional masculine desire entails conflict and destruction of the Other; it is in "collusion with the old story of death" (ibid: 78). Cixous describes female desire, or Love, as not predicated on domination but on relationship, an exchange with an Other that is not passive but alive. As Cixous describes, "this love would not be trapped in contradictions and ambivalences entailing the murder of the other indefinitely. Nor would it be caught up again in the huge social machinery taking individuals back to the family model" (ibid: 78). Cixous' argument, however, is essentialising as it is grounded in the assumption that women and women's desires are by 'nature' compassionate, nurturing and motherly. Cixous describes that "In woman there is always, more or less, something of 'the mother' repairing and feeding, resisting separation, a force that does not let itself be cut off but that runs codes ragged" (ibid: 93). Women have a privileged relationship with voice, according to Cixous, because there is a little 'good mother milk' in her (ibid: 94). Although Cixous is correct in noting that women have not traditionally had a voice in patriarchal society, she is incorrect in assuming that women's voices are necessarily nurturing and loving.

I raise a caveat to the optimism of an oppositional politics based solely

on writing. This is informed by Stallybrass and White's (1986) critique of Julia Kristeva's Desire in Language (1980). According to Stallybrass and White, Kristeva proposes that the infraction of formal literary codes of language by transgression is identical to challenging official law. However, Stallybrass and White contend that this is rarely the case. Rather, what is critical is challenging the social environment, in particular, the hierarchies of power which direct the meaning of language. They claim that "only a challenge to the hierarchy of *sites* of discourse, which usually comes from groups and classes 'situated' by the dominant in low or marginal positions, carries the promise of politically transformative power" (ibid: 201). What this critique suggests is that writing, in itself, is not sufficient for challenging the cultural practices which shape the meaning attributed to representations. Political activism is also critical.

In summary, grizzly bear representations can be read as conjuncture points for discourses about wilderness, gender, spirituality, nationality, and technology to name a few. Discourses which position wilderness as either a site to be feared or revered are reflected in grizzly bear representations. Furthermore, oppositional gender roles which position men as 'naturally' aggressive and women as 'naturally' maternal and nurturing often played out in grizzly bear representations. Grizzly bear representations are not only informed by these discourses, they also naturalise them thereby furthering their ideological potential.

These representations could be dismissed as distorted anthropomorphisations of nature or we could chose to look closer and examine what they imply and the possibilities they enable for relations

between humans and the non-human, natural world. Positioning grizzly bears in popular culture as cyborgs provides a complex strategy for understanding representations of the natural world. In some instances, nature is an active agent in its construction as some representations have their roots in material nature. This suggests that the natural world is not always an inert, passive Other which is solely constructed in language; rather, as Haraway describes, the natural world is, at least to some degree, an active agent with which we converse.

Cyborg theory instructs us to take pleasure in and responsibility for representations. For example, recurrent 'dangerous' grizzly bear representations may perpetuate an ideology that wild nature is risky and terrifying; however, rather than advocating for 'better' representations of nature or dismissing these representations as 'distortions' of nature, we can be instructed by these monstrous cyborgs. 'Monster' is derived from the Latin *monstrum* 'a divine omen or portent', *monere* 'to warn', and *monstrare* 'to show' (Keohane, 1997). These representations de-monster-ate the ideologies that rule us; they warn us, cause us trouble and evoke in us profoundly ambivalent feelings. Although these representations may be problematic, conversely they allow us to reflect on and to further our understanding of the 'dark', dangerous side of nature, both human and non-human. These representations may even have positive implications for our relationships with grizzly bears and with wilderness. Even in appreciating wild nature, an element of fear of the potential dangers and risks in the natural world is necessary for both our own safety and the safety of non-humans such as the grizzly bear. As Herrero (1985) comments, in order to avoid problematic

encounters between humans and bears, we need to understand that bears are not our friends, we should not feed them or venture too close. The best relationship with actual bears, according to Herrero, is one based on mutual avoidance and mutual respect.

Dangerous grizzly bear representations also demonstrate that wilderness is often articulated with masculinity in North American culture. This articulation has implications for ecofeminism for it suggests that there is no intrinsic belongingness of a gender articulation with concepts of nature or culture; rather, the articulation changes depending on the cultural and historical milieu. In other words, nature can be articulated with the masculine as well as the feminine. The nature which is articulated with the feminine, however, appears to be, to use Cixous' term, a 'domesticated outside', a tame, nurturing, virginal realm whereas masculine nature is *wilderness*, the realm of freedom, of passion, of aggression, and of desire.

Grizzly bear representations reveal contemporary discourses of wilderness and invite inquiry into this complex concept. This analysis raises questions about the discourse, the meaning, of wilderness. When we speak of wilderness, in particular endangered wilderness, which myth of the wild is being appealed to? Is it an environment which is exclusive of 'polluting' and unruly people, animals and emotions? Is it a sanctified, virgin land, devoid of passion, of desire? Is it a world of oppositional gender roles, of dangerous, virile men and docile, nurturing mothers? Understanding the complex manners in which wilderness is represented in contemporary culture can further our understanding of this term as well as guide our environmental politics.

Although representations of grizzly bears are insightful for understanding discourses of wilderness, they are limited in that they exclude definitions of wilderness predicated on entire ecosystems rather than just high profile mammals. Alex Wilson (1991) comments that nature movies, for example, tend to focus on individual higher animals rather than engaging in discussions of animals in community. In order to make our understanding of and relationships with wild nature more complex, we need to extend our definition of wilderness beyond higher animals to include, for example, snails, butterflies and other microfauna. Further investigations into representations of charismatic and non-charismatic mega and micro fauna (and flora!) in popular culture would provide intriguing insight into the boundaries which define wilderness.

Although insightful, cyborg theory and articulation are not surefire political nor theoretical solutions. As Haraway aptly describes, articulation “is always a non-innocent, contestable practice... articulation is work, and it may fail” (1992: 314). Representations of grizzly bears in particular and wild nature in general, no matter which form they take, will never be perfect nor innocent nor entirely free from human culture. Yet, should perfect, pure representations of nature necessarily be our goal? Or, should we take pleasure in and responsibility for creating alternative representations as well as understanding the complexities of current representations of the natural world?

Cyborg politics may help us better understand what natural historian Paul Schullery (1996) calls, the ‘complicated business’ of being with bears and of co-existing with wilderness. Cyborg politics also help us theorise the

complicated business of nature representations in popular culture. According to this politics, everyone, both human and non-human, is a cyborg and is not limited by the divisions and hierarchies of dualistic thinking and practices. As this analysis has demonstrated, cyborgs such as the grizzly bear invite us to move beyond the nature/culture dualism, thereby providing exciting and challenging insights for theorists of both nature and culture.

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APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS OF GRIZZLY BEARS

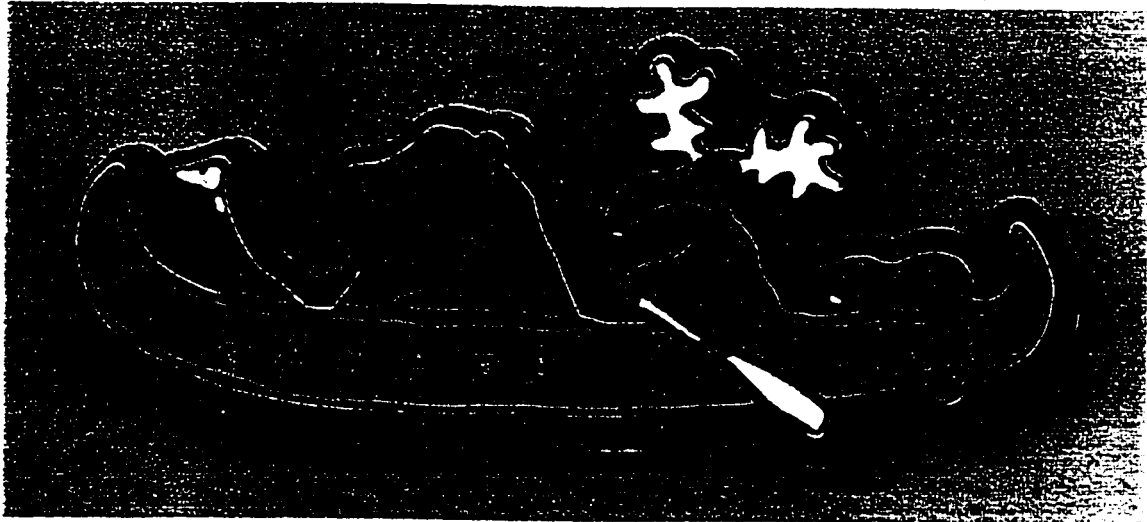


Illustration 1

Illustration 2





**ONLY YOU
CAN PREVENT FOREST FIRES!**

Illustration 7

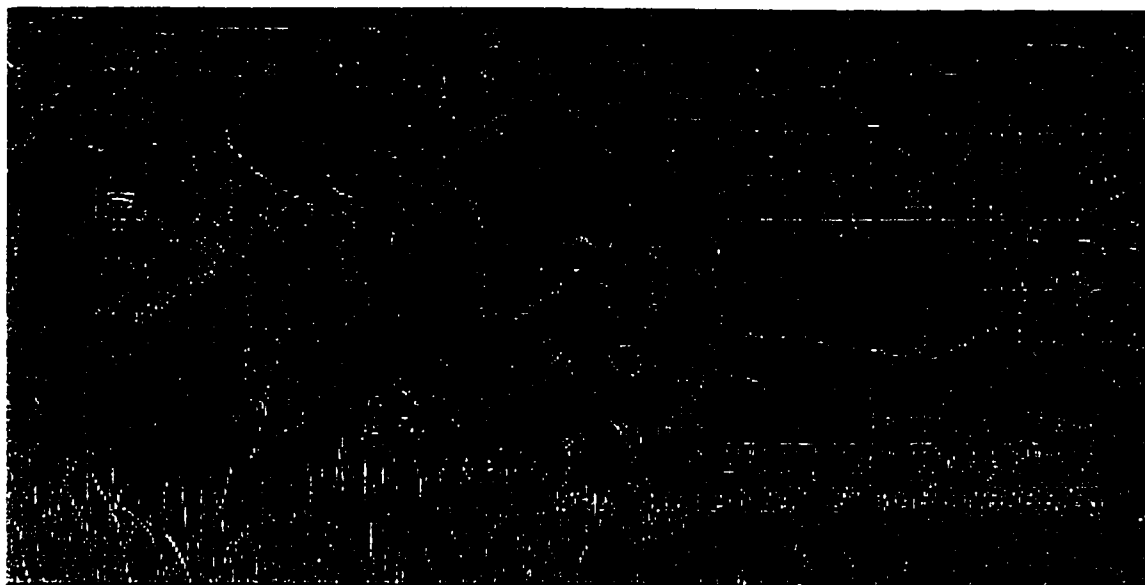


Illustration 10



Illustration 11