

# THE POLITICS OF NARRATIVE

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## **Abstract**

This essay explores the relationship between story structure and systems of power. I will demonstrate that every story written so far serves to either defend or overthrow property relations and the discourse of family. In the course of the Neolithic revolution, the cultural process that developed in patriarchal society spawned narrative structures, most notably tragedy, to channel trauma caused by systemic aggression and subjection. Yet pre-patriarchal narratives, as found in cave paintings and in residues of contemporaneous myth, suggest a different form potential and attest to the existence of another power structure effecting both gender and property. After briefly addressing the history of narratives and analyzing current contradictions between social relations and formal problems in storytelling, I will argue that serial storytelling and games could merge to become a new form of audio-visual narrative by combining empathy-driven dramatic storytelling and interactivity.

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According to philosopher Theodor W. Adorno, every contradiction in social relations returns as a formal problem in art. In the nineteenth century, women's rights movements emerged and the novel thrived; during this time female authors and literary protagonists (re)appeared. In the twentieth century, Freudian dream analysis took hold and cinema arrived; the terms *dream image* and *projection* were used in both psychoanalysis and cinema. The grand promise of the twentieth century was communism, a utopian vision projected on to a populace and comprising a new storytelling mantra. Unlike religious promises of redemption after death, communism offered life before death. Paradise was about to be. It may not be coincidental that of one the very first film projections was the 'Arrival of a Train' by the brothers Méliès. People were thrilled by speed, by trains and cars racing into a bright future. A better future seemed to be in reach; with the communist vision, the next station promised an end to exploitation and subjection.

"The fateful question of the human species seems to me," wrote Sigmund Freud in his famous 1929 essay "Civilization and Its Discontent," "to be whether and to what extent the cultural process developed in it will succeed in mastering the derangements of communal life caused by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction."<sup>1</sup> The concept of the death instinct had been developed by psychoanalyst and physician Sabina Spielrein, who proposed that instinctual life was based on two instincts—the life instinct and the death instinct—which were opposed to each other. According to Freud, private property forms the foundation for almost all human love relations and channels the death drive, while sexual drive is directed through the discourse of family, the kernel of culture. Thanatos and Eros—the death drive and the libidinous drive—according to Freud, form human civilization. Hence, if communist revolutionaries were to abolish private property and family, the sex drive and death drive would have to find another valve, and nobody could have predicted what course that kind of cultural development would adopt. Indeed, in 1929 a prediction of that sort would have lacked rigor; today we know what grim course Thanatos adopted in the twentieth century.

Today, the speeding fantasies of the twentieth century have left man behind, incapable of keeping up with the rapidity of information production. Between the years 1500 and 1900 it took one hundred years for humankind's knowledge to double; today it takes five.<sup>2</sup> These days, the term *up-dating* best resonates with our understanding of time. Time is perceived as permanent present time; it has been replaced by *temporality*.<sup>3</sup> With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe around 1989, every optimistic projection of the future disappeared, replaced by dystopian prophecies. Political and critical thinking in the Western world went into a crisis. Finance capitalism and neoliberal economics came to dominate society, expropriating the reserves of the middle class, putting millions in debt and poverty, vastly increasing inequality, destroying the ecological balance of the planet, and making higher education unaffordable for most people. No utopian promise mitigates the impertinences of every day life. In the present moment, we think of the future as the end of the world, not the beginning of a new and desirable era, which explains why many contemporary narrations depict dystopian robot or zombie-controlled post-apocalyptic scenarios. Thus, the most optimistic outlook under the given circumstance revolves around an understanding of time that no longer corresponds to a chronology of step after step, but rather to a flow of continuous crisis. If we don't have a future to aspire to, we might as well stick with present time. Hence, time in that sense no longer correlates with a linear narrative like conventional cinema drama, but with a storytelling structure that has neither beginning nor end, consisting of a stream of indefinite changes, episodes and seasons<sup>4</sup>, a form like *serial storytelling*.

Serial storytelling as we understand the form today, is not that old. It emerged in the nineteenth century with mass marketing of newspaper-based entertainment. Serials tied the reader to the paper. They were horizontal narratives that ranged from pulp fiction to remarkable literary works like Charles Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Serial Storytelling has since adapted easily to every new medium. The *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* by Douglas Adams, for

example, was originally produced as a radio series broadcast by the BBC in 1974. Afterwards, it became a best-selling novel, a TV show, and eventually a computer game.

After the Second World War, television became the new ruling mass medium, and serial drama moved from print to the world of broadcast syndication. As I will discuss in more detail later, here it transformed into a narrative *sui generis*, the TV series.

In the 1980s, cable TV started selling ad-free programming to subscribers. In 1989, Time Inc. (a cable provider) and Warner Communications (a film producer) partnered to found Home Box Office (HBO). The new pay TV channel had access to movie rights and started broadcasting cinema: not TV, but ad-free top movies. HBO diversified its program and started sub channels like HBO 2, 3, and HBO Comedy for special interest groups. For the first time, TV did not aim to broadcast, but to group-cast. Eventually HBO began to produce films for niche audiences, thereby creating its own brand and soon garnering over 10 million subscribers. When video recording technology became widely available and video rentals emerged, the HBO movie business concept declined. Subscribers cancelled, profits dropped, and pay TV seemed to have come to an end.

In 1997 Jeffrey Bewkes became the new CEO of HBO. He changed the business model and reinvented serials. He updated the serial story telling tradition and opened the creative space for the novel of the twenty-first century: the *horizontal TV series*. Vertical TV series line up in a chain of completed stories within each and every episode. Network TV, financed by advertising, prefers vertical TV series, as they can be programmed at will and garner better ratings. The audience for a vertical series can engage without pre-knowledge of the set up, and enjoy the show without having seen previous episodes. Horizontal TV series, in contrast, such as *Six Feet Under*, *The Sopranos*, *The Wire*, and *Orange is the new Black*<sup>5</sup>, dominate in pay TV and in digital platform provider-generated content, like productions by Netflix and

Amazon. Every episode is part of an on-going chain of events that the viewer needs to have seen in order to understand what comes next. Characters are complex and informed by their past trauma and experience. Only by following the entire season can the audience member understand the characters' motivation. Like the great novels of the nineteenth century, horizontal TV series focus on everyday people and social conditions. A drug-dealing teacher, a mobster in psychotherapy, corner boys in the inner city, and housewives in suburbia are all featured as protagonists.

Today, technology has changed the market again. Audience members watch programs online on their computers and pads. Pay TV is rapidly losing subscribers. To refinance, they increase the fees and lose more subscribers. DVD sales and international licensing does not generate enough income to recoup the costs of producing high quality TV series. TV has become more and more expensive, and will potentially be unaffordable in the future.

And yet, further production may still make sense. On *YouTube* alone, every 60 seconds, 24 hours of video material is uploaded, the equivalent of 150,000 feature films a week. In the digital world, it is impossible to see or even know of everything available. In the twentieth century, mass media addressed a mass audience. Today, mass media must win each and every audience member. Branding is therefore key to success. Old media moguls like TV networks and cable channels compete with the new players like Amazon, Hulu, Mubi und Netflix. In order to find a prominent niche in the new market, high quality TV series could be a key factor in securing TV's digital survival.

Having first been tied to print media, then to network TV and Pay TV, serial storytelling now merges with the Internet and will reinvent itself again. Gone are the days when the TV audience organized their daily routine around a prefixed TV program. Using digital platforms, the audience member—the former viewer—has now become a user. Returning to the premise that every time has its medium, the twenty-first century has already generated its own narrative species. If in the nineteenth

century, psychological investigations of characters in a novel were written on paper; and in the twentieth century, the change & growth matrix of dramatic storytelling found its data carrier in celluloid; then in the twenty-first century, digital games have become what may be a defining medium. On the Internet, serial storytelling is challenged by the possibilities of interactivity and encounters a genuinely new digital story creature.

As we will see, every story written so far serves to either defend or overthrow property relations and the discourse of family. Serial storytelling also falls into one of these two categories of either conservative or progressive narrative. Both have their place in society, and storytellers need to understand the different implications of their decisions about how to organize their story material. Take for example the fairytale of 'Little Red Riding Hood'. The girl with the red cap walks through the woods to deliver food to her sickly grandmother. She had the order from her mother to stay strictly on the path. She disobeys, goes off to pick flowers, and meets the wolf. He approaches Little Red Riding Hood and she naïvely tells him where she is going. He goes to the grandmother's house and gains entry by pretending to be the girl. It is Little Red Riding Hood's fault that he then swallows the grandmother whole and waits for the girl, disguised as the grandma, and swallows her up too. In Charles Perrault's version of the story, the tale ends here. If the girl would have had left the path to pick a certain medical plant that would have helped Grandma recover, the story would have been a tragedy. Instead of merely providing palliative service to ease Grandma's death as her mother suggested, she would have meant to save Grandma's life. Yet by attempting to do so, she would have not only caused Grandma's cruel death, but lost her own life in the process. In the Brothers Grimm's version, a hunter comes to rescue her and with his axe, cuts open the sleeping wolf. Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother emerge unharmed (A Hollywood drama would have had the hunter marrying Little Red Riding Hood's single mother in the end.) In epic theatre as developed by playwright Bertolt Brecht, the story would have started with the wolf in front of the closed curtain asking the audience if they knew where to find therapy for sex offenders, and then move on to tell the story from his

point of view as a narrator. Within the same plot material, different stories may emerge, with different virtues.

A storyteller of the twenty-first century conducts the dangerous and powerful business of either promoting standstill, progress, or disaster, or denying the relevance of any of those categories. Yet, by forming social relations through narrative, storytellers carry responsibility whether they want to or not. Therefore, it might be worthwhile to entertain the feeling of omnipotence in its most flattering appearance, and assume that storytellers can actually save the world – because the time is right, because we have completed the circle, because storytelling in the twenty-first century will offer the means to ‘master the derangements of communal life’.

Thus, serial in form and user-oriented in media, the future narrative will be *interactive serial storytelling*. But what will it be about? Or what should it be about? These are the questions to explore and in order to produce predicaments for the future, we need to first go back all the way to the origin of storytelling.

## **Play Episode**

In his book *The Histories*, Herodotus describes the story of Lydia,<sup>6</sup> a kingdom in Asia Minor some three thousand years ago, where a great scarcity threatened the commonwealth. To mitigate the hunger and to control distribution of goods reasonably, king Atys decided that his people should eat one day, and play games on the other. Hence, eating happened only every other day, while playing was meant to distract from famine on the fasting day. The Lydians did as told for eighteen years. They invented ball games, knuckle fights, and dice. After eighteen years, king Atys realized that this procedure could not go on and subdivided his people in two groups. One group stayed with him in Lydia, the other one was forced to leave



under the leadership of his son Tyrsenos. According to the legend, this second group settled in what is today Tuscany and founded the Etruscan culture.

From early on, gaming seemed to have an escapist function, to distract the player from reality. At the same time, it provided meaning, group identification, and learning by belonging, for adults and children alike. Through play one learns to understand the world, and through play new ideas are created. At times humanization itself has been attached to play, defining the homo sapiens as homo ludens, a playing primate. The legend of Lydia is interesting too, because it is a common reference made by game designers.<sup>7</sup> Herodotus' myth promotes play as a survival strategy, thus overthrows criticism of idle gaming as a waste of time. Here, gaming is seen as an integral part of human behavior that secures our future and raises the question of what is a game and what is its function.

What is a game? What is play? The question of what defines a game is a subject of controversy. The "*ludology (game)* vs. *narratology (play)*" debate in game studies refers to two schools that are diametrically opposed. The narratological view is that games should be understood as novel forms of narrative and can thus be studied using theories of narrative. Ludologists have proposed that the focus of game studies should be on the rules of a game and should be analyzed as a formal system. Both approaches are viable. Communication scientists define play as meta-communication preceding language – because already animals play. "Play is older than culture, for culture, however inadequately defined, always presupposes human society, and animals have not waited for man to teach them their playing,"<sup>8</sup> writes philosopher Johan Huizinga in 1944 in Leyden, Netherlands, in the midst of Second World War. Psychologist Brian Sutton Smith contends that every game simulates the fight for survival.<sup>9</sup> Sociologists explain play based on its agenda: a social system to secure power. Mathematicians think about play in the context of probability and war games. Anthropologists emphasize the relationship between play and ritual. Yet the question is rather what do we want games to be.

”The opposite of play is not what is serious,” says Freud in his essay *Creative Writers and Daydreaming*, “but what is real.” According to Huizinga, there are three conditions for successful play. First, it’s voluntary. It’s a state that can’t be entered into either by compulsion or necessity. Rather it’s something that you choose to do (and can choose to stop). Secondly, while play is in progress the rules of the real world are suspended and the play proceeds according to its own internal constraints. We ‘pretend’ to be something or somebody else. Play is mimesis. The player imitates and copies real world to the play world. Third, play is segregated in space and time. It’s not comingled with everyday life, but takes place in a space apart. This space can be formally defined (a chessboard or a baseball diamond) or it can be informal and transitory (the backyard or the mental space of a reader).

Similarly, sociologist Roger Caillois describes play by six categories: play is free, or not obligatory; it is separate (from the routine of life), occupying its own time and space; it is uncertain, so that the results of play cannot be pre-determined and so that the player's initiative is involved; it is unproductive in that it creates no wealth and ends as it begins; it is governed by rules that suspend ordinary laws and behaviors and that must be followed by players; and it involves make-believe that confirms for players the existence of imagined realities that may be set against 'real life'.

There are basically two kinds of play: mimicry games (role playing) and competitive games (fights). The word *play* refers to both theatrical representation, and games, performed by kids or adults alike. The narrative constitutes the mimetic “*let’s pretend*” set-up that connects story and play. In theater the protagonist fights the antagonist—who borrows his name from ‘agon’, the Greek word for play and fight—in a fight of life and death. The dying man lies in agony. The Greek words for play are either ‘agon’ or ‘paideia,’ fight or kid’s play and learning. Game or Play: the specific idea of play is completely submerged in the notion of light activity. In Germanic languages the word ‘Spiel’ etymologically comes from *Spil* that means, like

the Anglo-Saxon *plega*, *plegan*, primarily ‘play’, but also rapid movement, a gesture, a grasp of the hands, clapping, playing on a musical instrument and all kinds of bodily activity movement.

The dialectic relationship between the virtual and real world derives from storytelling elements. According to Nietzsche’s famous investigation,<sup>10</sup> the tragic narrative finds its origin in music. Dancers and singers performed drama in antiquity. Thus playing and storytelling could be perceived as expression of a basic human need of mirroring and projecting the world. Both game and theatrical representation are simulation.

Play ends as it begins. So does serial storytelling. No development, no change, no growth, certainly no notion of progress is part of the set up. So far, in games the simulation of the world does not attempt to offer an alteration of the world. Of course this could be the core identity of play, its reason for being, to represent the world as it is and help the player to get better in mastering the world as it is. If that is true and assuming that games are the medium of our time, then this also means that all utopias are at least put on hold. One might find this prospect liberating. Utopian concepts, after all, may turn into terror, executed by self-acclaimed starry-eyed idealists. In 1759, Voltaire wrote his novella *Candide*<sup>11</sup>, mocking the Leibnizian concept<sup>12</sup> that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, otherwise God would have not created it this way. Voltaire’s satire ends with its famous: ‘mais il faut cultiver notre jardin’ (we must cultivate our garden) in lieu of the Leibnizian mantra. More importantly, only thirty years later, the world was turned upside down. For the first time since the Neolithic revolution, a ‘declaration of the rights of man and of the citizens’ (1789) and a ‘declaration of the rights of women’<sup>13</sup> (1791) were announced.

If we suppose that play does indeed imply a kind of conservatism, in the sense that our world is the best of all possible worlds, then today the medium precedes its corresponding social relations, because right now the world is clearly not the best of

all possible worlds. According to McLuhan in his classic *Understanding Media*, the French and American revolutions occurred under the push of print. The declaration of human and civil rights was printed. According to McLuhan, the message of the print medium can be described with the principles of uniformity, continuity, and linearity. The medium is message. McLuhan also stated that a characteristic of every medium is that its content is always another (previous) medium. So, play and serial storytelling have merged as the new medium that I term 'interactive digital storytelling.' Based on the known characteristics of the medium, we may deduce the message, because play and interactive storytelling were the defining medium for more than 20,000 years. The return of the medium in its digital vestment now, will correspond with the upcoming message – the social relations of tomorrow.

### ***After Altamira, all is decadence. Pablo Picasso***

The oldest documented examples of (serial) narratives and play are probably the prehistoric cave paintings that have been discovered all over the world, three hundred forty alone in Southern France and Spain, of them most famously the caves of Chauvet, Lascaux, and Altamira. The paintings date back as far as 40,000 years ago and depict mostly big animals in motion: bison, horses, aurochs, bulls. Some animals have five legs to support the illusion of fast motion. Imagining the reception of the paintings in flickering torchlight, one can easily evoke a cinematic experience. Many of the paintings were modified repeatedly over thousands of years. Handprints left at the cave walls and finger flutings suggest an understanding of authorship, a signature. Representations of humans in cave paintings are scarce and schematic while the naturalistic representation of animals certifies elaborate artistic skills. Also present, carved from soft stone, bone, ivory, or clay, are the so-called 'Venus statuettes,' depictions of females with exaggerated breasts, thighs, and vulvas. Theories and interpretations of meaning and context of the paintings and

statuettes are a subject of debate and reflect mostly upon contemporary views of fertility and hunting magic. Clearly, the paintings are not hunting scenes, and reindeer, the species most hunted by the creators, do not appear at all in the cave paintings. Current research conducted by Dean Snow of Pennsylvania State University has proposed that three-quarters of the handprints left in the caves of Pech Merle in France, were of female hands, suggesting that most of the cave painters were women.<sup>14</sup>



Painting of a bison in the cave of Altamira, near Santander, Spain.

Prehistoric narrative is consistent in its subject matter: large animals in motion. Refraining from a self-contained story, the paintings are episodic and continuously running, formally circular and serial. The paintings were designed in alignment with the texture of the cave walls, using overhanging parts of rock for shoulders and other prominent body parts to sustain the illusion of a 3D experience. Furthermore the paintings were a walk-in experience quite similar to the story world experience of a wired game user today. The shadows of the user interacted with the imagery and by doing so generated the final narrative, interactively and collaboratively. The story world of the cave is removed physically and psychologically from the outside world. The cave is the origin of man, the womb, the unconscious, and the dream world. Thus, cave paintings may be seen as the collective unconscious of prehistoric

man. Lacking surplus product and reproductive knowledge, the discourse of property and family didn't exist; the sex and death drives have no significant presence in the narrative. If in comparison archeologists in 50,000 years discover the cave paintings of our time, TV shows and movies, they would describe pictures that depict the killing of one male by another male to take his money and his female, and consequently facing the revenge of either kin of the murdered or the institutional order, that in return takes his life. In contrast, prehistoric narrative depicts life, rarely death, and never violence.

Hence, could it be that Freud's argument is circular, that the emergence of private property and family *caused* the human aggression and only after the fact served as basis to control sex and death drive? Along these lines, the concept of death drive has been criticized from the beginning. In fact, "the death drive today...remains a highly controversial theory for many psychoanalysts...[there are almost] as many opinions as there are psychoanalysts."<sup>15</sup> In particular, the early psychoanalysts Wilhelm Reich and Otto Fenichel rejected the theory of the death drive because it claims the inevitability of war, genocide, and social and economical exploitation. Therefore, could it be that the elimination of the apparatuses of private property and family requires a longer practice and reprogramming of human social life, a de-traumatization intervention responding to 12,000 years of violence? Considering the description of prehistoric storytelling as an interactive, serial, 3D, user-oriented narrative, one could draw a formal correspondence with emerging media manifestations of our current time. Yet the story content appears to be fundamentally different. If we affirm the dialectics between form and content, then future story content will also have to be different. In his epoch-defining simulated dialogue "On the Marionette Theater," German romantic writer Heinrich von Kleist tells a story concerning the advantage of a certain marionette over a human dancer, who, due to his (self) consciousness and capacity for reflection, had lost his natural perfection and perfect movement. "We have eaten from the tree of knowledge; the paradise of Eden is locked up; and the Cherubim is behind us. We must wander about the world and see if, perhaps, we can find an unguarded back door. ...Therefore, we must eat from the

tree of knowledge again and fall back into a state of innocence ... and that is the last chapter in the history of the world.”

The caves were in use over a period of approximately 30,000 years and abandoned around 10,000 BCE, varying greatly depending on geographic location. What happened around 10,000 years ago when women, men, and children left the caves and ceased to paint the run of things? How did modern era patterns of story structure come into being?

## **The Silence of the Lambs**

The term Neolithic revolution refers to the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary lifestyle, from a matriarchal to a patriarchal social order. The question of whether and to what extent matriarchy actually ever existed has been contested and remains a subject of controversy.<sup>16</sup> For the purposes of this essay, I define matriarchy as: *she has to agree*. A society in which sexual intercourse has to be consensual, I call matriarchal. It has to be her choice. She controls reproduction. Neolithic societies were matriarchal and matrilineal – only the descent of the mother’s lineage constituted family relation. Women generally collected plant foods and water, while men hunted. However, these were not strict and people did jobs as needed - women could grow up hunting and men could gather. Studies show that hunter-gatherers needed only to work about fifteen to twenty hours a week in order to survive and may have devoted the rest of their time to leisure.<sup>17</sup>

The eviction from paradise as described in the Old Testament gives a compressed description of the Neolithic revolution. Adam and Eve lived as equals in paradise where nature provided. They were naked and were not influenced by super-ego driven oppressed sexuality. Death drive and sex drive didn’t exit. Eve ate the forbidden fruit offered by the snake—a barely disguised symbol of the phallus—and

gained knowledge (of paternity). Consequently eviction from paradise took place accompanied by three ‘punishments:’ labor (“In the sweat of thy face”), motherhood (“with painful labor you will give birth to children”), and patriarchy (“Your desire shall be for your husband and he will rule over you.”)

In spite of its name, the Neolithic revolution is actually a period rather than a revolution that took place roughly between 10,000 BCE and 2,000 BCE. The Neolithic revolution marks the recognition of paternity, written language,<sup>18</sup> and the acquisition of surplus product. The privatization of the means of production was introduced; this included machinery, land, and livestock, as well as humans, namely women, slaves, and children. Sedentary cultures created the discourses around family, homeland, nation, and class (to name a few).<sup>19</sup> If we view the acquisition of surplus product as a defining event in the formation of class society and the simultaneous dissolution of primitive communism, the Neolithic revolution can be seen as the most formative step in human organization until now.

In his book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels demonstrates that patriarchy and capitalism are fundamentally related. The oppression of women is not contradictory to capitalism, but rather its formative condition.

“Der Umsturz des Mutterrechts war die weltgeschichtliche Niederlage des weiblichen Geschlechts. Der Mann ergriff das Steuer auch im Hause, die Frau wurde entwürdigt, geknechtet, Sklavin seiner Lust und bloßes Werkzeug der Kinderzeugung. ... Diese erniedrigte Stellung der Frau, wie sie namentlich bei den Griechen der heroischen und noch mehr der klassischen Zeit offen hervortritt, ist allmählich beschönigt und verheuchelt, auch stellenweise in mildere Form gekleidet worden; beseitigt ist sie keineswegs.”<sup>20</sup>

*The overthrow of mother right was the world-historic defeat of the female sex. The man seized the reins in the house also, the woman was degraded, enthralled, the slave of the*



*man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children. This lowered position of women, especially manifest among the Greeks of the Heroic and still more of the Classical Age, has become gradually embellished and dissembled and, in part, clothed in a milder form, but by no means abolished.*

One aspect of the Neolithic revolution is the introduction of animal husbandry and the slaughter of animals. The Pre-Neolithic hunter, having limited means, slew his prey in a more or less fair fight, whereas the rancher butchered a helpless animal. If one recollects the peaceful magic of animal representation in cave paintings, a world where animals and humans lived closely together and animals were generally seen as creatures with personality and soul,<sup>21</sup> the killing of a bound living being must have felt terrifying.<sup>22</sup>

Breeding animals also allowed humans to recognize and understand paternity. Constantly interacting with the herd, early shepherds must have realized that no offspring are generated without the presence of males. Paternity, then, was readily apparent and acknowledged.<sup>23</sup> The recognition of paternity led to the displacement of matrilineal succession in favor of patrilineal succession. Monogamous marriage was introduced, replacing social mating systems. The man developed a genuine interest in the protection of his paternity. He wanted to be sure that his wife gives birth to his children only and that his children would inherit his property. Levi-Strauss understood marriage as a reciprocal alliance between men. Women are the objects of marriage, not a part of marriage.<sup>24</sup>

This new order was based on and maintained with violence. With labor-intensive farming and the domestication of animals came land ownership, territory that must be defended. Slaves were taken to work in the fields. Homelands and sovereignty developed. Violence became a part of everyday life: violence wielded by the patriarch over his family, by men over women, by adults over children, by slave-

owners over slaves, by the rancher over animals, by the ruler over his subjects. All are examples of forceful power structures that were unknown in hunter and gatherer societies.

When violence is used, the perpetrator feels, and then represses guilt, while the victim is traumatized and then dissociates from the trauma. A new social order based on collective trauma is created: our social order. Until this time people certainly experienced fear, for example fear of mortality. Yet collective repressed trauma, brought on by guilt over and above individual misconduct, must have been the exception rather than the rule. With the emergence of private ownership of women (and consequently slaves, children and animals), the first traumatic repetition compulsion, induced by the systematic and constant use of violence, arose.

The internalized and repressed feeling of guilt caused by executed violence needed to project outward again. Thus the systematic violence in patriarchal society created collective neuroses that led to the fabrication of the idea of the reversal of horror: human sacrifice. Instead of following the instinctive primate impulse to flee from horror and eventually being haunted by it when it resurfaces in nightmares, the impulse was turned around by embracing the repugnance. Thus the sacrifice—the execution of horror in an autonomous procedure of carefully chosen paybacks—came into being.<sup>25</sup> Sacrificial ritual is the subversion of horror; the performed ritual transforms everyday killing into an abstraction of higher order. Illusion of mastery offers redemption to the traumatized collective. This reversal of flight is ritualized and follows a predetermined course, the sanctification of terror. Ritual killing and death rituals might have also existed in pre-Neolithic society: the slain animal, soon to be consumed by the group, was likely commemorated with a ritual of thanks given for support and sustenance. The psychoanalytical concept of the two main forces in human behavior, *Thanatos* and *Eros*, suggest a destructive and violent core

in human nature that might have manifest itself in bloodthirsty outbreaks. However, to simply kill a captive animal to even entertain the notion of ritual sacrifice, seems to be only meaningful with the context of premeditated and systematic killing of helpless animals in everyday life. Such rituals only come about with the slaughtering of animals and, as a rule, with a sedentary way of life.

What an intellectual masterpiece of mankind! Men have actively inverted the impulse to run from their fears, instead seeking refuge from the horrific in the horrific (in the form of human sacrifice). The ‘pharmakoi’ –the victim– was sacrificed in a controlled and ritualized manner to heal society from its collective trauma. Sacrificial rituals are the manifestation of the compulsive repetition of the specific violence that came into being with patriarchal society.<sup>26</sup> The term ‘pharmakoi’ comes from ‘pharmakon’ (φάρμακον) meaning sacrament, remedy, as well as poison and resonates today in the modern term ‘pharmacology’ – the study of drug action.

Yet ritual sacrifice has no meaning, if not tied to a why and a what. Without a story explaining and justifying the horrible killing, it would merely be terrifying. The sacrifice of one's own child is sanctified through mythology. Myth not only explains, but also justifies ritual.<sup>27</sup> Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac (or according to the Islamic version, Ismail) in the Old Testament; and the sacrifice of Jesus in the New Testament, whose blood the faithful drink in the performed ritual of church service, are rituals that are meaningful only through myth, in this case the Bible. Only in the transformation of flight into refuge is the horrific imbued with meaning; that is, the horrific becomes myth. Therefore the myth must never be a subject of debate. Myth is codified story. “Myth gives,” anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski states, “rituals a hoary past and thereby sanctions them.”<sup>28</sup>



**The Sacrifice of Isaac** by Caravaggio (1590-1610; Oil on canvas; Uffizi)

Sacrificing obviously requires a sacrifice – sometimes a lambkin, but often a human. The daughter (like Iphigenia) or the son (like Isaac) of somebody has to be killed. That is a high price to pay, psychologically and economically. With the beginning of the Common Era, after some thousand years of ritual sacrifice, two new concepts were introduced that offered exculpation for the perpetrator (i.e. the one killing animals, women, children, enemies in an everyday practice) yet overrides ritual sacrifice and the dependence on unreliable deities: the *post-diction narrative* of monotheism and *tragedy*. Both tragedy and post diction narrative have dominated (western) culture ever since.

In a post diction narrative, an etiology ex ante is introduced, the “vaticinium ex eventu” which translates into “foretelling after the event.” Everything that is, is prophesied as exactly that. In the New Testament for example, the mythical nexus is reorganized around one protagonist: Jesus. The New Testament turns the story of the crucifixion, i.e. the human sacrifice of Jesus (the passive one), into the story of savior (the active one) by employing the structure of a post diction narrative. A prophecy became true: God had sent his son to die for us. In retrospect Jesus’s entire life narrative intends his crucifixion. The savior is our Lord and therefore no

longer a victim. We haven't killed him. He killed himself. The victimization is reversed, he sacrificed himself "for our sins" thus we don't need to feel guilty.<sup>29</sup> The human sacrifice of Jesus in the Christian religion has been performed in every Eucharistic service since, as an act of repetition compulsion: "Take this and eat it: it is my body" (Matthew, 26:26). "This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19). "Take it; this is my body" (Mark 14:22). The Eucharist elevates the sacrifice and fills it with its psychopathological purpose through the mythical narrative of the New Testament. The transfer of the blood shedding sacrifice into the sphere of logos turned out to be a brilliant intellectualization. No further sacrifices needed to be performed but the symbolic one. A post diction narrative is based on prophecy. Prophecy involves information of events to come, presupposes super-human clairvoyance. Consequently, a post diction narrative denies the individual freedom of action, but privileges determinism instead. In the post diction narrative, the audience member does not identify with the protagonist – Jesus- who is the victim, the one being sacrificed by us, the audience. We are guilty, yet will be exculpated through the post diction narrative itself. We actually didn't murder anybody, because the victim had made us do so. Exculpation however is at the mercy of the deity, endorsed by the narrative.

Post diction narratives are not limited to religious narrations like the life stories of Jesus or Mohammed. They are the most popular story structure of capitalism per se, the American dream: life-stories of heroes like Henry Ford or Steve Jobs, the biographical narratives of celebrities, the narrative of a political campaign,<sup>30</sup> the narrative to justify war, and so forth. Post diction narrative is a powerful tool also to write one's own biography as a story of vocation, or the curriculum vitae to apply for a job. Just like play, the form of the post diction narrative does not question reality but confirms social relations as meant to be.

Tragedy on the other hand, as we will see, re-traumatizes the audience member, because it represents the world as it is: terrifying, unjust, and structurally oppressive.

According to literary theorist George Steiner, tragedy has appeared in only five periods over time: in Athens between Aeschylus und Euripides (around 400 BCE), in England between 1580 und 1640 (namely Shakespeare), in Spain and France between 1630-1690 (Racine et al) and in Germany between 1790 und 1840 (Goethe, Schiller). The last tragedies, according to Steiner, are Ibsen's *Doll House*, and *Ghosts* written in 1877.<sup>31</sup> But in reality, tragedy did not die in the twentieth century, but rather flourished in cinema. Tragedy's power of suggestion is based on the power of a shared dream-state by the audience, causality, catharsis and movie-style ability to repeatedly present the images. Repetition compulsion produced a new kind of myth, genre film. For that reason genre film requires a traumatic core: the thriller requires the collective trauma of the Cold War. And the list continues: the Western and the trauma of the land grab and annihilation of indigenous civilizations in America, screwball comedy and the trauma of emancipation (satyr play), Film Noir and the trauma of Post Second World War/Cold War, sentimental regional films like the German Heimatfilm, repressing the trauma of expulsion, and so on. With genre film, the dramatic form and the knowledge of repressed desires met and founded a new commonwealth: movie land. Thus we may add to Steiner's list: movie land between 1945 and 1989, and maybe interactive serial storytelling from 2014 to the backdoor of the cave.

Tragedy is one of the dramatic forms; the other is comedy. In tragedy the protagonist dies, and in comedy all ends happily, which means that almost every modern non-genre film is, in a strictly dramaturgical sense, a comedy-drama. Almost every screenplay is written in this dramatic form. Every book written on screenwriting rephrases the challenge to write a drama by providing a different vocabulary or matrix to master the dramatic form. In comedy—in a strictly dramaturgical sense—the protagonist acknowledges his need over his want. In tragedy, the protagonist dies, because he does not come to terms with his defining character flaw and is willing to die (or quasi die) to reach his goal.

The word *tragedy* comes from “tragos” and “oide” which means literally he-goat and song. The origin and nature of tragedy remains a subject of debate.<sup>32</sup> Some scholars suggest that the word refers to a goat having been sacrificed before the theatrical performance, others suspect a goat was given as an award for the best performance afterwards, yet others connect the origins of tragedy with Dionysus, the satyr-like transgressed God and his ritual symbol, a goat’s penis. These explanations are not mutually exclusive. Considering the presence of pity and awe (Greek: “eleos” and “phobos”) as formative elements of tragedy, it seems surmisable to connect tragedy with the whining of slaughtered animals, and through the element of pity, the trauma of the shepherd slaughtering the wailing creature. He silenced the lambs.

Tragedy was first addressed by Aristotle in his *Poetics* (335 BCE). Of course he didn’t invent tragedy, but analyzed the works of three tragedians: Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, each of whom had died at least a hundred years earlier. Thus tragedy was already history when Aristotle put out what became his famous and highly influential book. At this point I will define drama, namely tragedy, not by its agenda or content, but by its form. Based on Aristotle’s analysis, a narrative structure is a drama when it consists of the following elements:

1. Drama has one protagonist. (Not more)
2. The protagonist has a character flaw. (*Hamartia and hybris*). The word hamartia is rooted in archery referring to the notion of missing the mark (ἁμαρτία, missing the mark, failure, fault, error). When the protagonist fails, he does so as a result of his own actions and his own obstinacy: hubris (ὑβρις, extreme pride or arrogance).
3. The protagonist has one goal, a very specific, ideally visible and tangible goal. The drama tells us whether the protagonist reaches his goal or not. In tragedy the hero reaches his goal but dies, in comedy he does not, but lives.
4. Drama is subdivided in beginning, middle, and end. The acts are separated by turning points (περιπέτεια). Perepeteia means reversal of circumstances, from good to bad or from bad to good. In tragedy, the first turning point is a reversal of

fortune from bad to good, because the second one has to be from good to bad. In comedy it is the other way around.

5. The protagonist makes at least one critical discovery (ἀναγνώρισις).

Anagnorisis means recognition and refers to a sudden realization. Hamartia and hybris put the protagonist in error. Anagnorisis is the devastating realization of having been oblivious (I married my mom and killed my dad).

6. At the end of act II, the protagonist has to make a decision between two equivalent options. (δί-λημμα). Di-lemma means literally double-proposition, an either/or. In Aeschylus's adaptation of the myth, Agamemnon's willingness to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia in exchange for a favorable wind triggers a chain of events. It was his decision.

7. The protagonist must have a strong motivation to reach his goal. From his perspective, reaching the goal is a matter of life and death. (Oedipus must know what causes the plague to prove his worthiness as king etc.)

8. The protagonist acts on stage (μίμησις) He mimics human behavior. His actions cause conflict. To meet the consequences he acts again and causes more complication. His actions are the cause of his tragic fall. If a narrative form meets these criteria, the tragic effect will unfold and the audience will experience a cathartic sensation.

Catharsis (in Greek κάθαρσις kátharsis "cleansing") is a state that gives us a sense of expansiveness, belonging and greatness that goes well beyond our corporeal skin:<sup>33</sup> Catharsis is an ecstatic condition, a Dionysian trance state in which the audience member actually loses himself. Neuroscience research gives no definitive answers, but it does give sufficient evidence to infer that the cathartic effect may be described, at least in part, with the following terms: mirror stage, mirror neurons, empathy and identification.

The term "mirror stage" was coined by psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan. According to Lacan, a child recognizes his image in the mirror between 6 to 18 months, at which



he reacts with a "moment of jubilation." Lacan calls this an "Aha-Erlebnis," the German term for a moment of insight or an "ah-ha" experience. For the first time the child experiences himself as an autonomous being. Because the "I" appears during the "mirror phase" and is based on an image, it constitutes a whole sphere of images within the psyche. Lacan refers to this sphere as "the imaginary." The moment of jubilation is therefore also a narcissistic moment of omnipotence, in which the "Ideal I" appears. The "mirror stage" is therefore tantamount to the birth of the ego. As the child develops, he individuates more and more from his Ideal-I, from the mirror image, and learns to differentiate between the self and the external image of the self. The individual recognizes the image of himself as something separate from the self and develops the ability to shift perspectives: I slip into the external image, the imaginary image, and take it on as my own. The term "mirror phase" describes the dualistic ability of humans to differentiate between oneself and an image and, yet, is simultaneously able to identify with it. I know I am not you, but convince myself I am you.

“Mirror neurons” are brain cells, which were discovered in 1995 by Italian researcher Giacomo Rizzolatti and his colleagues while conducting animal research.<sup>34</sup> We owe our ability to empathize with others to the existence of mirror neurons. A mirror neuron is a nerve cell that releases the same stimulus while watching an act as when one is actively performing in the action oneself. The observation of the facial expression of emotion of another activates mirror neurons in the prefrontal cortex and leads to the experience of the same emotion. We empathize in a kind of "as if" loop. Mirror neurons allow us to watch an actor undergo sorrow and fear and to experience it as our own sorrow and fear.<sup>35</sup>

With television, a new form of storytelling develops: entertainment with a linearity that holds and guides the viewer in the moving (mirror) image only on the level of mirror neurons. TV movies produce an effect only on the mimetic and auditive surface. There is weeping, laughing, loving - in close-up, in facial expression, and foremost: in dialogue. A new type of emotional control is created, which could no longer be justified, as drama

in cinema had been, with the goal of cathartic healing. That is the basic working mechanism of a TV narrative, which it owes its existence to practically one man.

## **The Double-Nephew**

On November 22, 1891 in Vienna, Sigmund Freud's sister, Anne, gave birth to a healthy baby boy and named him Edward. His father was Ely Bernays, the brother of Freud's wife Martha. The young Edward Bernays was Freud's nephew twice over, his double nephew, so to speak. One year later, the Bernayses moved to New York, where Edward attended school and later Cornell University. Bernays initially became a journalist, and today he is considered a pioneer of advertising, the "Father of Spin," and master of "Propaganda," which is also the title of a book he published in 1928.<sup>36</sup> In the early 1920s, Bernays arranged an English-language translation of his uncle's work, popularizing Freud's ideas in the USA. Thanks to his knowledge of the power of the unconscious, its control over behavior and his experience with the irrationality of the masses (along with Freud, Bernays acknowledged French psychologist Gustav LeBon as another source for his ideas), Bernays developed his system of "public relations."

Similar to Plato in his reflections on the ideal state, Bernays was convinced that humans behave intuitively and are controlled by their unconscious minds, and thus are incapable of making rational decisions on their own. In his words:

The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government, which is the true ruling power of our country. ...We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of...who understand the mental processes and social patterns of the masses. It is they who pull

the wires, which control the public mind.<sup>37</sup>

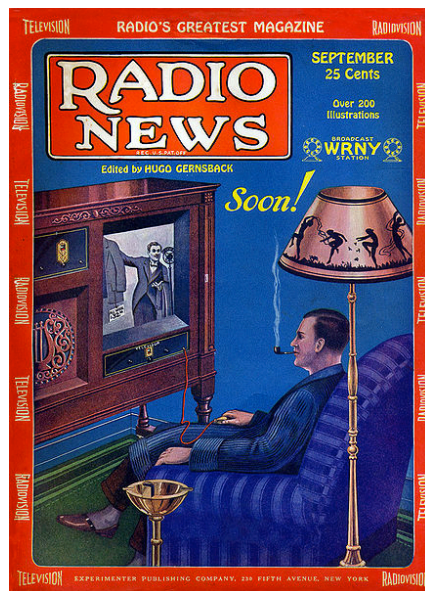
Therefore, in order to prevent irrational political movements, Bernays argues, it is necessary for an elite group of highly educated people to shape public opinion, making use of the insights of Freudian psychoanalysis. This is “public relations” or “propaganda” used with best intentions, as a tool in the democratic process of forming public opinion.

Bernays linked not only ideas, but also products with images of repressed desires, with a sense of promise. He created positive associations between the product (or the person or the idea) and a (pleasant) feeling, so that we no longer buy what we need or vote for the candidate that represents our interests. Instead, first and foremost, we chose the products that make us feel good. According to Bernays, cigarettes represent freedom and emancipation, ham is health and a truly American breakfast, and so on. It was no longer important to deliver facts and arguments - even the functionality, meaning, and value of a product became irrelevant in the arenas of advertising and politics. Important only is the creation of a positive association with the product or idea being promoted: "When the public is convinced of the soundness of an idea, it will proceed to action. People translate an idea into action suggested by the idea itself, whether it is ideological, political, or social."<sup>38</sup>

Bernays's concern with the irrationality of public opinion in modern society was based on his experience as a (persecuted) Jew. It must have been especially uncanny for him that the Nazis used his work for their purposes.<sup>39</sup> He noted: “I knew that any human activity can be used for social purposes or misused for antisocial ones. Obviously the attack on the Jews of Germany was no emotional outburst of the Nazis, but a deliberate, planned campaign.”<sup>40</sup> Bernays's work was intended to supply a hidden ruling class with the knowledge required to manipulate the population, such that people remained content to do as told. And Bernays's work succeeded in doing exactly that. His method of shaping public opinion was extremely successful and today is considered fundamental to every public relations campaign.

At the time when Bernays introduced his ideas to the public, advertising and public relations work was overwhelmingly print-based - that is, appeals to the unconscious took form via text, context and image. This changed after the Second World War, when television emerged as the new mass medium - and, from the very beginning, as an advertising medium. In contrast to the printed word where a symbol unfolds its meaning through cognitive processing, the perception of an image or a feeling forms in the mind of the recipient immediately. In television commercials, sound (the advertising slogan) is united with an image of positive feelings.

Television came into being as a commercial enterprise with a business model dependent on selling commercial minutes in a moving image format. The quiz show, in which contestants won products and occasionally money, was the first programming, designed to be presented in between commercials.<sup>41</sup> The importance of this moment cannot be underestimated: the deliberate manipulation of thought and emotion by accessing the collective unconscious (public relations) joined the moving image and the art of narrative storytelling. A new type of emotional control was thereby created.



1928 issue of *Radio News*

In cinema, serial killers, Mafiosi, and gangsters—those who question the current system of ownership, power and private property—are the (tragic) heroes. TV movies, on the contrary, created the police series with the police detective—the representative of peace/keeping powers—as its hero. In television, the narrative ultimately reinstalls the current order as a “good” order, associated with positive feelings, with peace. The power structure is aggrandized in genre i.e. myth. In cinema, the king of the thieves’ rules, in television, the detective prevails. In contrast to the vertical model, writer/producer David Simon created tragic detectives in *The Wire*<sup>42</sup> that almost never arrest anybody and who realize that the true criminals are the people in power, the people they work for. In season one the viewer is led to conclude that drug trafficking is a government-operated genocide of the African-American population. Here, the tragedy is not centered around the tragic hero, but on the tragic collision between individual and society.<sup>43</sup> The protagonist’s dilemma manifests itself in two contradictory values: the detective’s oath to serve the state, and the detective’s ethic to seize the culprit. This is tragedy.

In horizontal TV series, the tragic dilemma repeats itself in each and every episode. Here, the contemporary perception of time as a constant of change meets the ancient tragic worldview that refuses the notion of change. The viewer is forced to repeat the tragic dilemma in compulsive repetition through every episode. The cathartic experience is delayed again and again until the season’s final. This is how horizontal TV series produce their addictive quality and serve as the prominent narrative structure of the early twenty-first century.

With the technological transition from antenna and satellite broadcasting of advertisement-based network television to advertisement-free premium cable—and therewith an ontological move toward the internet—space was created for new TV forms such as the serial narrations of HBO series like *Breaking Bad*, *The Sopranos*, *OZ*, and *The Wire*. The gangster, who confronts us with the dubious nature of existing ownership structures, here again, becomes the protagonist.

Serial storytelling creates a new temporality entirely. Different from the story matrix of change and growth in (dramatic) films and novels, the characters in serial narrations don't change. Serial protagonists are tragic heroes. In a tragic dilemma, the hero must choose between two trajectories, death in the right life or staying in the wrong life, whereas the typical cinema story is about a hero's growth and learning. In serial storytelling, Tony Soprano remains Tony Soprano. His panic attacks prod him to seek therapy. He tries to overcome his trauma, but fails. The gangster, the original form of the capitalist, is a tragic hero. He appropriates other people's property and forces them to work for him. He cannot change, but is stuck in his tragic dilemma: to kill or to be killed. Time runs circular. At the end of each episode we are back in the beginning. He fails again, and again, and again. He gains only weight. The mobsters age, but remain true to their neuroses and character flaws. In the TV series *Ellen*,<sup>44</sup> Ellen DeGeneres lost her audience when she had her coming out in episode 23 of season four, not because her audience was homophobic, but because the character had violated the development proscription. The story ended. Horizontal series are either tragic or they terminate.

In the 1980s Marshall McLuhan and Neil Postman exposed the threat that the entertainment industry poses for democracy and discourse. Postman analyzed the shift in US culture from a content-oriented to an entertainment-oriented society. According to him, television culture replaced print culture and thereby deprived us of the power of rational decision-making. Thanks to the displacement of the "age of public debate" by the image-defined "age of show business," the quest for knowledge has been replaced by mere distraction in every imaginable part of life.<sup>45</sup>

Not by chance does this repetition coincide with the Freudian concept of compulsive repetition. Horizontal TV series mirror the collective neuroses of our time and by doing so, serve as collective dream work. For the audience, Tony Soprano and Walter White<sup>46</sup> are our projections of empowerment, signaling an exit from the systemic traumatization exemplified by appropriation of our surplus product and personal property (foreclosure, unaffordable health care, student loans,

etc.) and the everyday practice of forced labor. Serial storytelling heroes allow for a voyeuristic fantasy and in that sense differ from avatars in games.

Simple games like ball games, board games, card games, or *Pong* take place in a virtual reality. The videogame *Pong*<sup>47</sup> published in 1972 by Atari, is not the first digital game, but the first commercially successful mass product and the beginning of the games industry. *Pong* is a kind of Ping Pong play, with primitive graphics. It does not contain storytelling elements. Why do people enjoy overcoming pointless obstacles? It is satisfying to win, especially after improving skills through practice. Becoming better and being rewarded makes one happy. That is the simple premise of a game. Here the mimetic carrier is an object: pong.

In a storytelling game like in *Bioshock Infinite*,<sup>48</sup> a best selling game series, humans imitate humans. *BioShock 1* and *2* take place in the underwater world Rapture, part 3 in the flying city Columbia. The game is a full serial narrative. The game is a serial story with historical references, complex storylines, and characters. Just like in Lydia, it explicitly addresses survival strategies.

Today, most computer games that are not simple apps combine play and storytelling, and in so doing, supersede linear narratives in cinema and TV as the opinion-forming medium in the pop cultural discourse. Movies like *Transformers* 1-4, *Iron Man* 1-3, and *Avatar* borrow heavily from games. In cinema today, the one-hero dramatic paradigm that ruled screenwriting wisdom over decades is being challenged by ensemble stories and multi linear structures like tandem narratives, parallel narratives, and flashback narratives,<sup>49</sup> all of which combine several storylines and story times. Remarkable too is the increasing presence of serials in cinema and games. Movies come more often in sequels, and so do games.<sup>50</sup> Multiplatform and trans media-produced content also accompanies TV productions. In TV series, social media content, apps, and participatory elements form an interdependent narrative nexus. A sidekick character developed in a webisode eventually becomes a

lead in the TV prime time series. A Facebook comment by an audience member influences the writing of the next season.

Games that play with identity or multiple identities like avatars and other invented I-constructions influence our imagination and thus storytelling. Three-dimensional story architectures come into being through collaboration with the user. Gamers in that sense are not only users, but also authors. Unlike in TV or cinema, where the libidinous drive is mostly set off by voyeurism, in games, drive oppression meets exhibitionism, and accelerates escapist functions. For the audience member, Tony Soprano is an escapist fantasy; in games the user enters the world himself. The gamer *is* the protagonist, and makes an ecstatic experience that challenges established concepts of the body-mind-dichotomy, i.e. the relationship between consciousness and being and the question whether psyche, body, and logos can be separated at all. In augmented reality applications, the virtual and real world merge to become a new spatiality. Leaving the body behind in reality, postmodern man becomes logos only, but not in rationality like modern man would have aspired to, but in an ecstatic state in a new parallel outsourced universe. Such a universe could be compared with the medieval concept of paradise: a garden labyrinth where men are naked, innocent, and immortal. The nakedness refers to the absence of the super ego, the absence of the symbolic order; no need to hide, to wear a mask, and to submit to 'culture', everyone can be what he or she is.

Games are powerful because they offer meaning, belonging, and satisfaction. Reality on the other hand is not something designed to make us happy. In the digital age, humans are encouraged to unhitch reality like a heavy old wagon, and build a new social order in a parallel world. Here too the analogy of medieval paradise applies. All suffering in this mortal world is bearable only because eternal happiness is waiting in the sweet hereafter. Feudal rulers managed to exploit generations of devout serfs for centuries by employing this narrative, and similarly in consumer capitalism today, technology can distract us from the fact that in reality, the



environment is being destroyed and social mobility is less likely now than it was in 1850.<sup>51</sup>

Game designer Jane McGonigal suggests that since reality is broken, a mass exodus to game space is on its way. But instead of demonizing gaming as escapism, she suggests retransferring the mechanics of games to reality, and that will make the real world a better place. Schools for example, should not only use games, but also become a game. This idea is already a reality. The New York City Charter School is one such play-school. It is well-sponsored by the McArthur Foundation and the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation, helmed by game industry veteran Katie Salen, and has more than 50,000 students on its waiting list.<sup>52</sup> The curriculum features *Quest to Learn*,<sup>53</sup> an alternate reality game (ARG) that replaces class schedule. In ARG's, as in every good game, learning must always be optional. McGonigal defines ARG's as anti-escapist games.<sup>54</sup> Alternate reality games are understood as one strategy to use serial narrative games to bring the increasing number of gamers back to the real world.

ARG's could be seen as a simulation mechanism of world description and improvement, a utopian machine, a world lab. In this scenario, new forms of collaborative narratives come into being. Massive multiplayer collaboration projects (MMORPGs), for example, are internet-based role games in which thousand of gamers inhabit a virtual world. *Little Big Planet* (LBP)<sup>55</sup> is currently one of the most successful collaborative games. More than 1.3 million users build in the so-called *popit* their own society, with landscapes, buildings, unique technologies, and summer specials that have to be purchased with money from the real world.

The twentieth century stormed feverishly into the future. It couldn't wait to finally live in a utopian society in the real world. The twenty-first century seems to expect nothing from a future reality, instead shifting its metaphysical yearnings to the virtual world. In spite of every attempt to unite virtual and real world, the search for meaning remains unsolved.

The gamer pursues his goal with undivided attention but with no strong motivation. It doesn't really mean anything to him. Like in Zen Buddhism, the way is the purpose; strong attachments lead to upset, and drama and should be avoided. Even in alternate reality games, fulfilling the mission doesn't have a deeper meaning. Students on a secret quest to find a hidden math book, collaborating via twitter and text message may have fun and strive to break a secret math code in order to get to next level. The thinking process and work flow is entirely solution based, not problem-based.<sup>56</sup> The students do not care why they break the math code, as long as they break it and get the reward. A player wants to *make* it. The game has no other meaning other than winning. Yet if critical thinking is not implemented in the games matrix, the gamer has no means to analyze and evaluate the outcome. In ARG's he might change reality but doesn't understand how and why. In fact, the how and why of reality altered through gaming is entirely in the hands of the game designer and industry. Only if the gamer perceives himself as a motivated story character in an analytical fable and ask *why* do I need to break the math code, will the user-based narrative meet and potentially heal the collective neuroses of our time.

In the tragic serial narrative, the audience member identifies with the protagonist because he is empathetic. Yet empathy plays no role in games. A gamer doesn't feel anything when beheading the enemy. The exhibitionist potential of the avatar is far from exhausted. Gamers might experience dystopian doldrums, but they game without a cathartic healing. At this point, storytelling in games is driven by technology and play. Yet as long as games lack empathy-informed storytelling, they remain a sociopathic apparatus. Only games that include the qualities of serial horizontal storytelling could become a wonder box and impact the real world.

Plato gives in his *Protagoras* 9-16 a fitting description of humanization. In the beginning, Prometheus had given man rationality and fire only, because all other attributes were already distributed in the animal world. Thus, man formed societies,

but since they lacked shame and empathy, they killed each other. Finally Zeus pitied them and provided the missing virtues. In a similar way, one could look at digital game creatures. They have rationality and fire, but no shame and empathy. Empathy and shame have been given by Zeus, they are part of the tragic narratives.

In game design one speaks of *epic scales*, when a gamer is attached to missions in human planetary-scale stories.<sup>57</sup> Games of such a kind offer a specific emotional experience, in game design called *awe*. In his book *Born to be Good*, psychologist Dacher Keltner writes:

“The experience of awe is about finding your place in the larger scheme of things. It is about quieting the press of self-interest. It is about folding into social collectives. It is about feeling reverential toward participating in some expansive process that unites us all and that ennobles our life’s endeavors.”<sup>58</sup>

The description of awe in game design remind us of Freud’s remarks on the “oceanic feeling,” a sensation of an indissoluble bond, of being connected with the external world in its integral form. Freud disavowed the feeling as a preserved “primitive ego-feeling” from infancy. Awe in that sense is a sensation of infantile helplessness, when mother’s breast is taken away. It distracts from reality, it is another ecstatic but not empathetic sensation.

For Jane McGonigal the legend of the Lydians served as evidence for her theory of games as means of collaboration and creativity.<sup>59</sup> She contends that those eighteen years of play formed the base of Etruscan culture, one could then conclude that the birth of the chimera of Arezzo was born from the spirit of soccer games. Yet one could also wonder why the Lydians wasted eighteen years with gaming instead of questioning their economy. Atys was the son of legendarily rich Croesus, and under his regency, Lydians were world famous for their luxurious life style and *savoir vivre*. It seems reasonable to wonder if redistribution of the wealth would have prevented people from starving. Instead of participation, they got dice. Current narrative

extensions in games serve King Atys. *Epic awe* satisfies regressive care and flight fantasies and prevents the gamer from thinking critically. Ultimately the user is going in circles, tricked by fake decisions. The tragic dimension that could come in with user-based serial storytelling is subverted by *happiness hacks*.<sup>60</sup>

If horizontal serial story telling and interactive games were merged, in a narrative like David Simon's HBO produced TV series *The Wire*, the audience member would no longer be limited to passively witnessing genocide and racism. The user would be empowered to end the racist genocide. In African-American neighborhoods, drugs would disappear. Schools, instead of prisons, would be financed. The user would experience the story as an individual; he would have a specific experience and change the fable through his subjectivity. Not only receiving, the user would bring his narrative needs into the story world, changing the story by using it. Freud describes such a phenomenon as *afterwardness*. A memory is repressed which has only become a trauma after the event. Eventually it finds a new path when returning to present time, but never in the same way as experienced before. The narrative identity is always temporary. Constantly we are rewriting the story of our life.

A form of serial story that gives meaning to events after the fact or reinterprets memories in a practice of afterwardness by every user, thereby renewing the interpretation again and again, even updating the experience, could be the future medium to collaboratively build the hopeful future that went missing in the terrors of the twentieth century. Serial storytelling would then not only be confined to play the next episode, but would create the next episode - while playing it.

### **Attributes of the Cave**

Returning to the idea that the medium precedes changes in social relations, may we assume that the return of interactive, serial, and collaborative storytelling merged with play, indicates the end of patriarchy? In the western world, the discourse of family has changed dramatically. Until the middle of the twentieth century, marriage

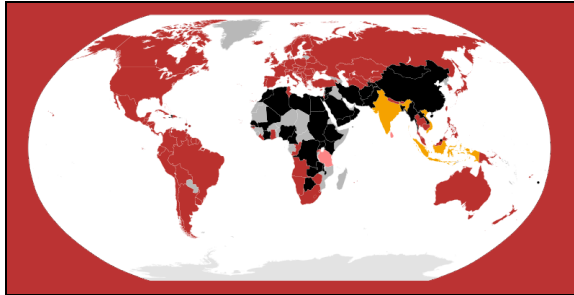
automatically terminated the employment of women. Later, women not only had to seek their husband's permission to accept employment, they also had to submit to the sexual demands of their husbands. Falling in love with somebody at times was prosecuted as the crime of adultery, at times even resulting in the death penalty. Until not long ago, the notion of "guilty divorced" left women penniless, exposed to poverty, relieved only by finding another provider to marry. Prospective husbands asked the father of the chosen bride for her hand. Marriage was a reciprocal alliance between men: a father and a future husband.

Today, with the legal acceptance of gay marriage, the patriarchal property exchange formerly defined as marriage has been overwritten, which is why the battle over gay marriage was and is fought so bitterly. What had been until recently a spousal duty is now marital rape, and prosecuted in most countries of the western world.

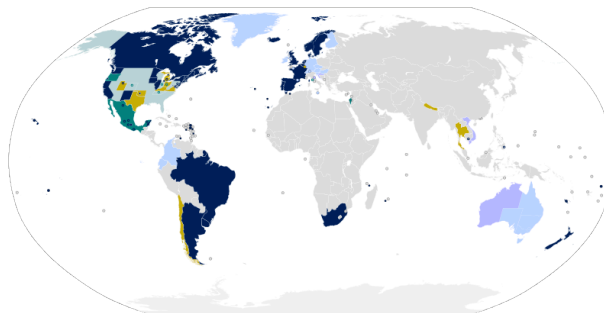
Reproduction control is very much in the hands of women, from the wide availability of contraception, to legal abortion, and access to sperm banks that eliminate the need for male partnership. Women tend to keep their so-called maiden names, and children are often given their mother's last names instead of their father's. Western societies have to this extent become matrilinear, and, within the restriction of the definition given earlier of "she has to agree," also matriarchal. Consequently, an increasing number of women hold executive positions, helm their countries' governments, and approach male pay rates. The oppression of the sex drive and its cultural adaptation within the discourse of family seems to be on the wane, nevertheless, resistance to this shift runs deep. Reproduction control is shifting from ruling female sexuality within the family to litigating it in the courtroom. Facing the demographic challenges in the western world, children have in some ways become a commodity. Fathers' rights are increasingly fought for in custody trials and outcomes often disenfranchise the mother (her freedom to relocate for work or love) in the name of best interests of the child. The situation begs the question: With the dissolution of the construction of male/female and the perception of gender as cultural instead of natural, with the acceptance of diversity

in gender and sexual orientation, is patriarchy as introduced in the course of the Neolithic revolution about to end?

in 2013



- Marital rape is criminalized
- Marital rape is criminalized only if the couple is legally separated
- Marital rape is a form of non-criminal domestic violence
- Marital rape is known not to be criminalized



- Marriage open to same-sex couples
- Same-sex marriage recognized when performed in certain other jurisdictions
- Government/court announced intention to recognize
- Limited Federal recognition
- Civil unions
- Unregistered cohabitation
- Same-sex unions not legally recognized

Of course the other formative quality of the Neolithic revolution, private property and the social and economical exploitation that comes with it, seems to be unchallenged. The infamous “one percent” resembles perfect tyranny. “Labor,” cleverly defined by Ambrose Bierce in *The Devil’s Dictionary* in 1881, describes “one of the processes by which A acquires property for B.” Workers have protested appropriation of common wealth from the very beginning, and resistance is every day practice. Strikes, labor movements, revolutions, and property crimes, for example, question current property rights that are fought for consistently, and often brutally, by property holders and their institutions. Yet the failure of those attempts to overcome private property does not indicate that the current social order is without any alternative. Patriarchy has changed its gestalt from slavery to finance capitalism, and took around 12,000 years to perfect its spiel. Communism with a successful credit history of around 30,000 years in pre-Neolithic times has tried only a few times since.

Following Friedrich Engels in his claim that the first private property was indeed the property men held over women, one could posit that the advance in women’s rights movements and the apparent end of sexual oppression may guide the way towards a future social order. Social movements aiming to overthrow private property were always connected to women’s rights and often initiated by women. Yet in the past, every revolution ultimately failed in reinstating women’s rights and maybe consequently achieved nothing more but new ownership. Today, the possible return of matriarchy indicates that finally the process reverses in its proper order. Also, assuming that media precedes social relations, the new order will be like a game. Taking it from the media, the message is voluntary, non-hierarchical, matriarchal, and often collaborative, and since unproductive in that it creates no wealth, pointing to a future that is not profit-driven.

Until we get there, the remaining contradictions in social relations will cause and nourish collective neuroses and anxieties that demand healing through storytelling. Tragedy is the narrative structure that will help us to overcome them. In contrast, narratives that

suggest the inevitability of private property by privileging the institutions of power (the prison, hospital, corporation, via the police, doctor, business man) over the individual (gangster, employee, farmer) will reconsolidate the affirmation of private property and patriarchal family. Advertisement-based television, although its name suggests that it is the audience doing the watching, is in that sense more like a building that is arranged so that all parts of the interior are visible from a single point, in our case from the broadcaster's point of view, watching the audience. Network television operates like a panopticon, as philosopher Michel Foucault put it: "Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behavior must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used."<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, TV entertainment is not to be abandoned. It serves in stabilizing the current order, and thereby is essential for survival. It helps to release the pressure of everyday trauma, a much needed service in a society that cannot possibly undergo, on a daily basis, a re-traumatization in a cathartic experience provided by tragedy. Yet, if TV entertainment overtakes and dominates storytelling, Neil Postman's dark prediction will become a sinister reality, where "the quest for knowledge has been replaced by mere distraction in every imaginable part of life."

Hence, the future of storytelling will have to emphasize tragedy; either as tragic genre like thriller, western, gangster, certain sci-fi; or as tragic drama. It will have to be interactive and collaborative. The author is the user and the users are the authors. *Storyplay*—as I would call it—will be serial in a way that it will never end, it will be non-linear, but spiral in form. By invoking the images of the cave paintings from some 40,000 years ago, storyplay might benefit from refraining from the current anthropocentric primacy, and look outward – into animal life, nature, and space. Humans are not the center of the universe, and storytellers should keep that in mind. Having been evicted from paradise, *wandering, yearning with never-happy hearts* for thousands of years, we might have found the back door. All we need to do is open it.



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<sup>1</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, translated from the German under the General Editorship of James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, 24 volumes, (Vintage, London 1999), Vol. XXI, pg.101.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www2.sims.berkeley.edu/research/projects/how-much-info-2003/> accessed May13, 2014.

<sup>3</sup> See in detail Russell West-Pavlov, *Temporalities*, (Routledge 2012).

<sup>4</sup> The word episode originally referred to the commentaries between two choric songs in a Greek tragedy, an incidental narrative or digression, an in-between. The serial term season refers to the eternal circle of annual climatic changes.

<sup>5</sup> *Orange is the New Black*, created by Jenji Kohan, Netflix, July 11, 2013 – present.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus I:94.

<sup>7</sup> Planet *Alys* for example is not only a MMORPG, but also a living, virtual world.

<sup>8</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1949), pg.1.

<sup>9</sup> Brian Sutton Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 19-34.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of tragedy from the Spirit of Music*, 1872.

<sup>11</sup> Voltaire, *Candide: ou, L'optimisme*; (édition critique, Paris, 1931 [1759]).

<sup>12</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *New Essays on Human Understanding*, translated by Peter Remnant, and Jonathan Francis Bennett, (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 182-190.

<sup>13</sup> Olymp de Gauge, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen* (1791).

<sup>14</sup> <http://news.psu.edu/story/291423/2013/10/15/research/women-leave-their-handprints-cave-wall>. Retrieved May 10, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Michel Quinodoz, *Reading Freud*, (New Library of Psychoanalysis Teaching, London, 2005), 193.

<sup>16</sup> See Joan Bamberger, *The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society* in M Rosaldo and L Lamphere, *Women, Culture, and Society*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 263–280. Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), but dissenting: Johann Jacob Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right* translated by Ralf Manheim, (Princeton University Press 1992) and Heide Goettner-Abendroth, *Matriarchal Society: Definition and Theory*, <http://www.matriarchiv.info/uploads/HGA-E-Matriarchal-Society-Definition-and-Theory.pdf>, as accessed May 12, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Sahlins, M. (2005), *The Original Affluent Society* [Online] in M. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, and Lee, R. B. *The !Kung San: Men, Women and Work in a Foraging Society*, (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>18</sup> Particularized in Christina von Braun's, *NichtIch. Logik, Lüge, Libido*, (Aufbau Verlag; 2009).

<sup>19</sup> See also Elif Batuman *The Sanctuary*, in *The New Yorker*, December 19 & 26, 2011, pg. 72, and Gordon V. Childe, *How Labour Governs*, (Melbourne University Press, 1964 [1923]).

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<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*, in MEGA-Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels – Werke, Vol. 21, (Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin/DDR, 1975), pg.61.

<sup>21</sup> Until modern time animals were tried and sentenced for crimes they had committed. Such animal trials are recorded as having taken place in Europe until the eighteenth century.

<sup>22</sup> Within this context, the privilege of the hunt and the decorated hunting room of Renaissance lords can be interpreted as echoes of past innocence.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Borshay Lee, *ibid*, Barbara Smuts, *The Evolutionary Origins of Patriarchy*, in Human Nature, Volume 6, Number 1, Brettell, Caroline B. and Carolyn F. Sargent, eds. *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Dahlberg, Frances, ed. *Woman the Gatherer*. Gero, Joan and Margaret Conkey, eds. *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, Reiter, Rayna R., ed. *Toward Anthropology of Women*.

<sup>24</sup> The incest taboo is therefore not biologically problematic, but instead violates dictates of exogamous exchange - of the exchange of women. See Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis And Feminism*, first published 1974, reprinted by Basic Books New York 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Walter Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*, (Harvard University Press, 1996, Christoph Türcke, *Philosophie des Traums*, (C.H. Beck, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Freud's use of the concept was articulated for the first time, fairly late and under the impression of WWI, in the article of 1914, *Erinnern, Wiederholen und Durcharbeiten* ('Remembering, Repeating and Working-Through', in (*ibid*. Standard Edition volume XII, 1950), 145-157.

<http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/1914FreudRemembering.pdf> URL May 13, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Segal *Myth: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press 2004), see also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays, Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, (Routledge, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, in Segal, (*ibid*, 2004, 1926). 73.

<sup>29</sup> The doctrine to focus on faith over action was twisted by early Christian leader Paul who turned Christianity into an oppressive power vehicle: the church. Punishment and revenge however were both contrary to Jesus' message of love and forgiveness. Nietzsche wrote in the *The Will to Power*: "The Christians have never practiced the actions Jesus prescribed them; and the impudent garrulous talk about the 'justification by faith' and its supreme and sole significance is only the consequence of the Church's lack of courage and will to profess the works Jesus demanded."

<sup>30</sup> See for example: „All presidential candidates depend on biographical narrative to define themselves to voters. Jimmy Carter was the Man from Plains and Bill Clinton the Man from Hope. George W. Bush was the Sinner Who Went Straight and John McCain was the War Hero Who Never Gave Up. Barack Obama was the Fresh Face from Nowhere, who embodied the American Dream“ in [http://politicalwire.com/archives/2012/08/03/romneys\\_missing\\_biographical\\_narrative.html](http://politicalwire.com/archives/2012/08/03/romneys_missing_biographical_narrative.html), retrieved April 23, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (Yale University Press, 1996), chapter IV.

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<sup>32</sup> In great detail, see Terry Eagleton, *Sweet Violence* (Blackwell Publishing 2003), 1-22.

<sup>33</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics: in Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, translated H. Rackham, (Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944) xxv.6, 1460b 34.

<sup>34</sup> Giacomo Rizzolatti, *Mirrors in the Brain: How Our Minds Share Actions, Emotions, and Experience*, (Oxford University Press, USA 2008) Dr. Rizzolatti discovered unique neurons in the frontal and premotor cortex while doing research on the neural representation of motor movements in monkeys. Unlike other motor neurons, these neurons not only fired when engaged in planning a motor movement, but also through the observation of a related movement in another person or other monkey.

<sup>35</sup> Some insight about human empathy we owe to Phineas Gage. In 1848, Gage, 25, was the foreman of a crew cutting a railroad bed in Cavendish, Vermont. On September 13, as he was using a tamping iron to pack explosive powder into a hole, the powder detonated. The tamping iron—43 inches long, 1.25 inches in diameter and weighing 13.25 pounds—shot skyward, penetrated Gage’s left cheek, ripped into his brain and exited through his skull, landing several dozen feet away. Though blinded in his left eye, he might not even have lost consciousness, and he remained savvy enough to tell a doctor that day, “Here is business enough for you.” Gage’s initial survival would have ensured him a measure of celebrity, but his name was etched into history by observations made by John Martyn Harlow, the doctor who treated him for a few months afterward. Gage’s friends found him “no longer Gage,” Harlow wrote. The balance between his “intellectual faculties and animal propensities” seemed gone. He could not stick to plans, uttered “the grossest profanity” and showed “little deference for his fellows.” The railroad-construction company that employed him, which had thought him a model foreman, refused to take him back. So Gage went to work at a stable in New Hampshire, drove coaches in Chile and eventually joined relatives in San Francisco, where he died in May 1860, at age 36, after a series of seizures. In time, Gage became the most famous patient in the annals of neuroscience, because his case was the first to suggest a link between brain trauma and personality change. In his book *An Odd Kind of Fame: Stories of Phineas Gage*, the University of Melbourne’s Malcolm Macmillan writes that two-thirds of introductory psychology textbooks mention Gage. Even today, his skull, the tamping iron and a mask of his face made while he was alive are the most sought-out items at the Warren Anatomical Museum on the Harvard Medical School. For further information see: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/phineas-gage-neurosciences-most-famous-patient-11390067/?no-ist=URL>, retrieved May4th, 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Edward Bernays, *Propaganda*, 1928; Edward Bernays, *Public Relations*, 1945.

<sup>37</sup> Edward Bernays, *Propaganda*, (Ig Publishing; New edition 2004) 37.

<sup>38</sup> Edward Bernays, *The Engineering of Consent*, <http://provokateur.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/The-Engineering-of-Consent.pdf>, accessed May 2014.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph Goebbels had a copy of Bernays’s “Crystallizing Public Opinion” in his bookshelf.

<sup>40</sup> Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin. Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations*, (Crown, New York 1998) 111.

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- <sup>41</sup> Richard Tedlow, *Intellect on Television: The Quiz Show Scandals of the 1950s*, in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 28, 1976.
- <sup>42</sup> Created by David Simon, HBO, 2002 – 2008.
- <sup>43</sup> Employing the terminology that Hegel proposed in his definition of tragedy in his *Aesthetics* (1820–29)
- <sup>44</sup> Created by Neal Marlens and others, multi-camera sitcom, ABC, 1994-1998.
- <sup>45</sup> Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*, (Penguin Books, 2005), 70.
- <sup>46</sup> The crystal meth cooking teacher in *Breaking Bad*, created by Vince Gilligan, AMC, 2008 – 2013.
- <sup>47</sup> Created by Allan Alcorn, 2 players, Atari, Arcade system, November 29, 1972.
- <sup>48</sup> Created by Ken Levine, 2K games, single player, March 26, 2013.
- <sup>49</sup> In detail: Linda Aronson, *The 21st-Century Screenplay: A Comprehensive Guide to Writing Tomorrow's Films*, (Silman-James Press, 2011).
- <sup>50</sup> In 2013 only, new movie releases showcased: *Fast & Furious 6*, *Iron Man 3*, *Star Trek Into Darkness*, *A Good Day to Die Hard*, *Grown Ups 2*, *The Hangover Part III*, *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, *Kick Ass 2*, *The Hobbit*, *Before Midnight*, *Red 2*, *The Smurfs 2* and more.
- <sup>51</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/daniel-luzer/the-social-mobility-fairytale\\_b\\_2680097.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/daniel-luzer/the-social-mobility-fairytale_b_2680097.html)
- <sup>52</sup> <http://www.nyccharterschools.org/>
- <sup>53</sup> <http://www.instituteofplay.org/work/projects/quest-schools/quest-to-learn/>
- <sup>54</sup> Jane McGonigal, *Reality Is Broken: Why Games Make Us Better and How They Can Change the World*, (Jonathan Cape Publishing, 2011), pg.125.
- <sup>55</sup> Sony Computer Entertainment, PS3, PSP, PS Vita, since 11/5/2008
- <sup>56</sup> Exploring solution-based design thinking in detail: Nigel Cross, *Design Thinking: Understanding How Designers Think and Work*, (Berg Publishers, 2011).
- <sup>57</sup> Jane McGonigal *ibid* pg. 98 -99.
- <sup>58</sup> Dacher Keltner, *Born to be Good* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), pg.268.
- <sup>59</sup> Jane McGonigal, *Reality Is Broken: Why Games Make Us Better and How They Can Change the World*, (Jonathan Cape Publishing, 2011), pg.350
- <sup>60</sup> Jane McGonigal, *ibid*: “FIX #10: HAPPINESS HACKS Compared with games, reality is hard to swallow. Games make it easier to take good advice and try out happier habits.”
- <sup>61</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (Vintage Books, 1977), 205.

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