Culture

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Article abstract

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Literary and Sociological Approaches to the Analysis of C.B.C. English-Language Radio-Drama

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This paper is an exploration of approaches to the analysis of CBC English language radio drama. Using a selected drama for illustration, we explore literary and sociological modes of analysis and the benefits derived from their combination. The objective is to develop a theoretical and methodological base for the study of radio drama as a cultural product and the relations between the structures of these works and of idea systems within English-Canadian society. In the course of developing the analysis leads are taken for the works of Northrop Frye and Lucien Goldmann.

Ce texte explore certaines approches d'analyse de théâtre radio-diffusé au réseau anglais de Radio-Canada. Utilisant comme modèle une pièce choisie, nous explorons des modes d'analyse littéraire et sociologique ainsi que les avantages de cette combinaison. L'objectif vise à développer une base théorique et méthodologique pour l'étude de pièces de théâtre radio-diffusées en tant que produit culturel, et la relation qui existe entre la structure de ces œuvres et celle des réseaux idéologiques dans la société canadienne-anglaise. Les œuvres de Northrop Frye et de Lucien Goldmann ont joué un rôle important dans l'analyse.

This paper is an exploration of approaches to the analysis of radio drama produced in English by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Using one such drama for illustrative purposes, we explore literary and sociological modes of analysis and the benefits derived from their combination. The paper represents the beginnings of a project which has as its long-range objective the study of C.B.C. English-language radio-drama as cultural artifacts and the relations between these products and aspects of English-Canadian social structure. The immediate objective, to which this paper is addressed, is to develop a theoretical and methodological base for the study of radio-drama as a cultural product and the relations between the structures of idea-systems within English-Canadian society and the structures of the works themselves.

The Concordia University Radio-Drama Archives provide the data base for the long-range project. The archives contain two sets of materials: C.B.C. English-language radio-drama scripts produced between 1933 and 1961 and ancillary materials consisting of administrative and production correspondence, memoranda, notations, etc. from the C.B.C. central registries in Halifax, Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver. The script material is indexed and stored on computer tapes permitting ready access to the materials according to title, producer, date and location of production, original

author and content description.[1] We should note in passing that radio-drama, and especially C.B.C. productions, was selected neither because it was "pop. culture" (many would so define it) nor because it was a part of the "great tradition" (few would so classify it) but because in English Canada, up to the 1960's, it was the principal training ground for the development of English-Canadian theatre: literary creation, acting, directing and production. For three decades C.B.C. radio-drama was not only "popular entertainment" but was also the major professional vehicle through which indigenously-produced materials could be made public. These productions were indeed a part of English-Canada's "invisible culture"; invisible in the shadow of British and American literature and drama and therefore receiving little critical attention.

The working hypothesis giving direction to the project holds that literary and dramatic works may be understood as manifestations of particular combinations of the basic elements of total societies. Total societies or social formations are here referred to as socio-economic régimes in which are combined economic, political-legal and ideological elements. Creative works are viewed as emanating from particular combinations of these elements in particular social formations at particular times. This is not to suggest that creative works are related in a mechanistic and causal manner to social structures but that they possess a collective character revealed in their internal structures which stand in a complementary or antagonistic relation to the internal structures of idea-systems of certain social groups within a social formation.

Directed by this hypothesis three analyses of a selected radio-drama are described. In the first part of the paper a brief summary of the play is presented to acquaint the reader with the substance of the subsequent analyses. A literary analysis is presented in the second part followed in the third and fourth parts by two sociological analyses each addressed to different aspects of the social formation to which the play is related.

Our procedure has been one of "successive approximations", alternating between literary and sociological analyses of the play and successive sociological analysis of aspects of the social structure to which the play is related. The literary analysis is considered as an essential act which is, at the same time, preliminary to the sociological analysis which follows. The function of the literary analysis is to get beneath the surface level of meaning, in what is essentially a fictional creation, to illuminate a fundamental level of significance; which may differ, perhaps radically, from the manifest level (this is indeed the case in the play under consideration here). The sociological analyses which follow are partly based on this more precise definition of the text. And, as we have discovered, this is by no means the end of the process, for these two (the literary and the sociological) analyses bring about yet further insights as one serves to correct the other in an on-going process.

I — Highlights of "The Way Through The Wood"[2]

The main characters in the selected drama are Roy and Jean Manley. Among the others are: the girls who work in a Flower Shop; Ruth, the secretary; Jean's mother; Paul Chasik the cabinet-maker and his wife Judy; Jean's Uncle Harry, a minister; and Roy's business associates, Ballard and Peter.

The action of the drama takes place over a period of several months from Mother's Day in May to the following Christmas Eve. Music and sound effects create the visual counterpart for scene, tone, and mood. For example, we hear traffic noises fade in and out conveying the image of Roy entering and leaving a flower shop on Mother's Day. Music with a college football flavour signals Roy's presence. Jean's musical theme — at times a very lonely thing, at times, troubled — is distinct in itself. Musical changes and sound effects also bridge and indicate shifts of scene from flower shop to and from the Manley home, the business office, stag party and restaurant. On one occasion, Jean goes to visit her mother who lives in the small town of Wilbury, a place that is quiet and peaceful where "the oldtimer's here: never too busy to stop and talk... There's no hurry, you know" (p. 24). The language and characterizations of the drama are modern and realistic.

Using the drama of motherhood, the author heightens the tension of the play. Jean decides to leave her husband, Roy, after eight years of marriage and shortly after she learns that she is pregnant with her first child.

The author informs us that the drama is a modern day parable. We are born at the edge of a wood and life's passage or living is finding our "Way Through the Wood". On the way, there are many distractions, beautiful glades, inviting and comfortable clearings, mossy banks where the warm sun filters through. These distractions entice and seduce us. Most people don't make it through the wood. They stop at the comfortable clearings unwilling to venture beyond the darkness into the unknown. The wood is filled with adults who have rested and in consequence their development is arrested. The lesson of the parable is that if we can pass through the wood and pass up what is seemingly comfortable, there is a light beyond; a light of truth. The light is a searching one: by probing, searching, and questioning, the individual matures, finds strength, independence and freedom.

Jean is the character in the play who articulates the parable and is prepared to go through life seeking and questioning. During the early stages of pregnancy, Jean's dissatisfactions surface. She is not willing to settle for the material comforts of her home and safety of marriage. Her questioning stance brings forth the illusions, the half-truths and the stereotypes her husband cherishes.

Jean's values are reflected in her attitude towards mothering and her own mother. It is not the physical conditions of the home that matter, for Jean it's:

I don't think of the home as a dear little thatched cottage set in a clearing in the wood... or a tenroom mansion with a four-car garage. To me a home should be a place where the warmth comes from the parents' love and understanding, and where the children's hours are lighted by the glimpses of the truth which their parents show them... Parents *can* do so much harm, Uncle Harry (p. 11).

Jean cherishes close personal relations. She is searching for truth, values based on knowledge. She questions her minister-uncle on the meaning of faith and belief, especially in her world of the 50's when "moral standards all seem to be changing" (p. 10). For Jean, religion means one's own personal faith and belief, not merely Church-going. She stresses the value of the well-being and happiness of the individual, putting a high mark on feeling as opposed to rationalism. She believes that behaviour is caused and can be changed and perfected.

Jean finds confirmation of her beliefs when she returns to her mother's home in the town of Wilbury, a place characterized by strong personal warm bonds. It is here that Jean meets Paul Chasik, the Czech craftsman who has come to a place like Wilbury to create authentic furniture designs. Paul Chasik explains,

PAUL — I've tried to connect the old and the new. These are modern pieces, but their origins are from a long time back in Canada. You see there is no *influence* of any *style*.
JEAN — None at all.
PAUL — I have always thought that there was at some time the beginning of a Canadian style, influenced by the country and the kind of life there was here in the early days. Somehow it did not develop. What I have tried to do is project myself back to those times and then work out what might have been the proper development.
JEAN — I think you're succeeding, Mr. Chasik. This may sound strange, but these pieces convey a sense of — of truth to me. Is that silly (p. 25)?

The author casts Jean as the character of high ideals who is willing to risk the safety and comforts of her married life to face the unknown. Jean is sure that the way through the wood is the way to truth, emancipation and growth.

In the character of Roy Manley we find opposing characteristics and values: though, "Roy is a good man. He is a respected man... He is a type of Canadian man in whom much of the strength of the country lies" (p. 12).

Roy's response to the news of his wife's pregnancy is one of great pleasure. It is pleasure too at the thought of having a son: "It's got to be a son", he says (p. 4). As his surname symbolically suggests, the meaning of having a child for Roy is closely tied to his sense of manliness. Roy sees his son as an extension of himself. One of his first actions was to go out and buy a pair of boxing gloves "just made for baby's hands" (p. 13). Of course, Roy would initiate his son in the "Manley" way: boxing gloves and stag parties: "I want him (my son) to be a man, to believe in the right things... We're going to be pals, my boy and I" (p. 18).

When questioned about his beliefs, Roy is sure about,

The basic things, Pete — the fundamentals. First, the family, the home. Destroy the family and you destroy the nation. Second, religion — faith in God. Going to church is an old Canadian custom. See where I'm getting to now? The fundamentals (p. 7).

Roy sees no contradition in tying his fundamental beliefs to the commodity he is selling. He is preoccupied with his business, "Domestic Fuels", and a pending advertising campaign. He says,

I want our advertisements to express our belief in these things — sell that belief. As a matter of fact, it's an idea that ties in very well with our product domestic Fuels — we sell to the home. And we're going to picture the home, the family, as a fortress against communism (p. 8).

He has a "blind faith in things — motherhood, the Canadian people, things like that" (p. 11). Anyone or anything other, i.e. communists, is suspect. Roy is filled with half-truths, stereotypes of agnosticism, Canadianism, communism, foreigners, women, mothers and children.

Roy values his business, the organization, the institutions of family and Church, and Canada. He is oriented to rationality and the practical rather than emotionality, and has an almost fatalistic belief in things the way they are.

Roy is clearly distressed at the prospect of Jean's decision to leave him. He is momentarily left confused, powerless, clutching onto boyhood dreams of success, fight, and stag. However, it does not take Roy long to reconsider. he asserts,

To hell with clever women. Instinct, Ruthie — that's what it is. Instinct. Some women understand men... some don't know what makes 'em tick... You know what a man is, Ruthie?... (p. 44).
You're comfortable — no, that isn't right... comforting... I hadn't noticed it before — but you got that instinct to comfort a man — when he needs it (p. 45).

Roy finds comfort in Ruth, his secretary who is so kind, so humble and only too eager to fill the role.

The questions that confront Jean and Roy · Manley go beyond their lives. The author directs the X-ray light of the parable to all Canadians, after all, Jean and Roy are "typical". The probing light reaches beyond the surface of Canadian society to the institutions of family and Church, the market economy, home and motherhood; husband-wife relations, male-female roles, and beliefs, conventions and stereotypes generally accepted.

II — "The Way Through the Wood": A Literary Analysis

As a matter of conviction, we use fairly orthodox methods of literary analysis; precisely, to understand the play, through character, symbols and the overall patterns by which it is structured, borrowing from Northrop Frye's theories of analysis by means of the mythic archetypes and structures recognized in the work (Frye, 1957). What is produced, the 'meaning', is a statement about values, and about the possibility of these values in the 'real' world — finally, a statement about the human condition.

* * * *

Two primary clusters of symbols function to communicate values in this play: the major one reflects the image of the Great Mother, the lesser turns on the traditional contrast between the ideal rural and the city scenes. These two sets of symbols carry between them the most obvious message of the play, and its manifest values. Several aspects of the use of these symbols in the play, however, affect our apprehension of the 'true' intention of the play's message. The first is the fact that in this play (more than in most) the manifest meaning of both sets of symbols is mainly a clue to the ideal nature of the values expressed, rather than to the precise nature of the contents of these values. The second aspect is the ultimate ambiguity of these symbol-clusters, even on the manifest level.

To rehearse the use of these symbols: The mother image is introduced at the very beginning of the play, in the Mother's-Day flower-shop scene in which Roy Manley buys the gift of roses for his mother. The manifest intention of the scene is to introduce the clichéd and sentimental thinking of Roy — and by extension of Canadian society — about the traditional ideals of motherhood, family and so on. The plot of Jean' growing discomfort with Roy and her successful escape to a life of single motherhood is an elaboration of this theme, as her many speeches on this subject tend to reinforce. Roy is imaged as a "child", a person

willing — like so much of society — to innocently accept the decreed attitudes and clichés; while on the other hand Jean promises to lead her future child up the mountain to adulthood, to the acceptance of 'truth'. While it is clear that Alan King argues for adult attitudes in politics, this level of comment seems peripheral to the main dramatic emphasis on character and action, which underlines the personal development of the two major protagonists, and the struggle between them. The ending further reinforces this manifest emphasis on personal depiction. At the end, Jean has escaped both her relationship with Roy and the constraints of her social role as wife and housewife; while Roy falls back into 'childhood', taken over by his secretary Ruth, another comforter-mother. He is seen as a failure on the personal level, justly abandoned by Jean. On the surface, then, the play is primarily a depiction of existential development, with the benevolent mother image as the major symbol for adult values.

The ideal rural image, contrasted with the mechanical image of the city, together add further details of the values manifestly argued for in the play. In simplest terms, Jean moves from 'the city' to her mother's rural home in Wilbury, a peaceful healing respite, a relief from the city whose negative qualities are identified with the materialism and cynicism of Roy's business. The appearance of the Chasiks (Paul and Judy) in the rural scene, artists and artisans on the Victorian William Morris model, further elaborates the ideal: the value of a return to the past, of rural hand-workmanship, and by extension adult individualism and self-reliance, by contrast with the values of the city. At the end, Roy, child in the city, completes this literary contrast, identifying himself as a 'machine'. As he says to Ruth, "You know what a man is... a machine... Like a machine — when he's running efficiently he can do the best job in the world. But just like any machine, he's got to be looked after. A mechanic, he knows how to... you're the mechanic" (p. 44).

* * * *

All is not, however, as it seems on the manifest level. First, the imagery of the country as an ideal refuge from the city is, in its simplest form, the image of the First Garden, Eden; understanding the source, one recognizes the symbolic nature of country-as-ideal: the Eden-rural archetype is mainly an ideal label, identifying a positive value for the audience: a new, free world in which individuals can fulfill themselves. This interpretation is reinforced by the lack of any actual development in the play of the 'back to the country' theme. Even Jean herself simply visits her mother, and her new life will be a city life, with city

work.

As for the mother symbolism, its positive implications and power of conviction are based on the benevolence of the mother-figure: first the powerful and benign image of Jean's own supportive mother; then Jean herself as the potentially-benevolent mother who will lead her future child out of the wood of youthful illusion and cliché and up the 'Crystal Mountain' of 'truth'. And this seems intimately connected with the theme of feminism and female liberation from male clichés and the imprisoning life-style they precipitate. The problem with this manifest significance is that it is inconsistent with several opposing versions of the mother-image in the play. Even in the opening flower-shop scene the two clerks are clearly seen to be themselves using Mother's Day to manipulate men, and for profit: this is how they earn their living: As they say: "Mother's Day... keeps the price of red roses up... And helps to pay our wages. Oh, here's another. This one's yours" (p. 2).

In the same ironic vein, the young artist Peter, who knows enough to deride the clichés Roy is forcing him to draw, replaces those sentimental mother images not with a positive reality, but with the memory of his own monstrous mother, "... a mean, greedy tramp... with yellow hair" who has (it is suggested) pushed her son into homosexuality (pp. 15-16). Jean herself, the most positive protagonist on the manifest level, seems by far a more powerful figure than Roy; especially when she leaves him, she is the punishing mother figure, while he is clearly the punished child. At the end, Ruth also easily controls Roy, when she arranges a party for him, manipulates him into taking her out, and makes Roy confess that Ruth (like mother) knows best. As he says, women "... known when to take care of a man — and when to let him take care fo them", to which Ruth replies, "I guess a woman has to be very clever" (p. 43). Though the author argues through Jean that women are victims of a male-dominated society, on *this* level, males are immature victims of a society manipulated by and for women, a society perpetuated by the female institution of the family. This meaning is carried by the predominant image finally chosen for Roy's ad-campaign: "These Things We Believe In" — not (as at first) the image of the solid dominant male, portrayed by Roy's own face in the ads (p. 8), but rather the ominous later symbolic face: the "lovely white-haired old mother" (p. 15).

The 'real' meaning of this play, then, is quite contrary to the surface level: It is not a 1951 female-lib. play (though at the end of the 'seventies we may be forgiven for so seeing it'). Rather, it is a male-lib. play, a plea for men to free themselves from the female manipulation of social institutions dedicated to the feminine concerns of home and family. Its major

argument is not (as manifest) for women to escape from the home; rather its persistent message is for the boys to grow up and get out. The image for the 'real' escape is not Jean's journey to Wilbury, but the stag party, "man's last day of freedom" (p. 13). Jean is over-sensitive to the stag party from the first:

JEAN (Distastefully) — "Boxing-gloves! Oh, Roy!"
ROY — "Smallest ones I ever saw — just made for a baby's hands. Cute?"
JEAN — "And will you take it to stag dinners as well as giving it boxing lessons?" (p. 13)

While Roy's attending the stag party for Joe Kent leads directly to, and helps explain, Jean's extra-ordinary hysteria and break-down.

In this light, the ideal rural image becomes somewhat ambiguous as well. For if we add the negative-mother image to the natural Eden scene, and if we accept Jean's definition of the protagonists as children "in the wood" of the title, then the archetype of Eden becomes rather the fairytale archetype of "Hansel and Gretel", lost in the forest and fleeing from the devouring witch-mother. Indeed, in this fairy-play, Gretel-Jean escapes the wood, leaving poor Hansel-Roy behind, in the hands of the witch-mother Ruth.

If both the Mother-archetype and the Eden-symbol are not what they seem on the surface: ambiguous and even contrary to their manifest meanings; and if they cannot therefore image the dominant values in the play, we must look elsewhere for a depiction of these values. Jean's 'Crystal Mountain' of 'truth' is, in fact, yet another fairytale, of an unattainable princess. The only remaining positive symbol in the play is the previously-mentioned handicraft-Utopia of William Morris, personified by the Chasiks: a return from the sophisticated modern urban machine-world to the creative individualism of the past. Indeed, this ideal is never undercut in the action of the play. But we should be skeptical of taking at face value even this ideal; as we cannot return to Eden, we cannot return to Morris's medieval past. The Chasik ideal, like Eden, is a label, identifying a positive value, but not necessarily indicating its contents.

In fact, the value figured here has little connection with creative artisanship; it comments rather on the major theme of the play — the relations between the sexes in society. Mr. Chasik is portrayed by means of an ideal symbol because he is the only man in the play who has succeeded in establishing a genuine domination over a woman. He has dominated his very young wife, has made her "throw out" the traditional values and opinions which "she learned as a child at home" (p. 26). Under his guidance, she has abandoned the social institution of the broader family which is the instrument of female manipulation — by

abandoning her own family, despite their objections, to come live her husband's new life. She is, in fact, created wholly by Paul Chasik: as he says, "She is like one of my designs... strong and nothing false about her" (p. 26). And for this reason, the play indicates, Judy Chasik is happier than Jean, who at the end seems to anticipate a vague and lonely life (as the author indicates also in the musical stage directions).

It is clear, in fact, that a positive future for Jean is to submit to just such a dominant male as Paul Chasik: she says to him "quietly" — that is, in dramatic terms, sincerely, "Your wife is very lucky to have such a husband... You've given me something I needed. someday I'll be back again, Mr. Chasik... I may need a friend very badly" (p. 26). Chasik, then, as the most unambiguous symbol of positive values in the play, represents a patriarchal victory over the Canadian matriarchal value systems. This is, in the end, the major message of the play; it is indirect, almost subliminal, working at times completely contrary to the manifest surface of the text. It states that the ills of society in the broadest sense — of the world as a whole — can be dealt with only if men free themselves from female manipulation. For that purpose, it is necessary for boys to become adult men; and for men to overturn the Hansel-Gretel witch-mother, and find their way out of the wood of sentimental clichés represented by female-family institutions, to the 'truth' of individual male values; men must find their way back to the original unfallen Eden now recognized in the Chasik new life, where Adam-Chasik first lives alone, and then dominates Eve-Judy. The ultimate social vision is that of the powerful male peer-group of Hemingway's novel. Only in that state can men solve the world's problems — and this, despite the fact that it is Jean who enunciates the adult political phase of the solution.

This is the ideal value finally projected. The prognosis in the play for its possibility is very bleak, because neither of the major protagonists, Roy or Jean, ends positively. If one asks who in society is ultimately victimized, women or men, Jean or Roy, the answer, clearly stated in the play, is both. On the one hand, Jean is a victim of the dominant establishment values of the society, values which the representative of the establishment, Roy, identifies first with the family (symbolized by the Mother) and then by extension with the whole social economic and political system. The values she upholds in opposition are 1950's anti-establishment values, the free individual rather than the dominant family or social group, the 'truth' rather than social clichés and rituals; and Jean particularly rebels against the establishment values because through them women are particularly victimized, and by men. Seen from this angle the play underlines the triumph of the establishment values per-

sonified by Roy over the anti-establishment values which Jean tries with only partial success to achieve. Jean's only alternatives are, as we have seen, to live as a single mother, ostracized by society, or to submit to a dominant male like Paul Chasik. The message here is that the *social* domination of women by men is based ultimately on a more basic factor, the *organic* differences between the sexes, on which changes in *social* values will have little effect. In other words, as we have argued above, Jean's journey of escape will on some essential levels be futile and ironic.

On the other hand, the prognosis is bleak for Roy as well, because female manipulative power is so pervasive in individual relations as well as in the *institutions* and major *symbols* of Canadian society. Though at the end Roy retains his dominant social position, and recreates his 'dominant' male role with Ruth, he too is seen finally as a victim. For if the establishment values of society perpetuate male domination, the major symbols for these values in the play (as seen above) are the family — and ultimately the figure of the mother. That is, the play argues, there is (again) an organic basis for the manipulative role of women which plays a crucial role in the social structure. The family, and by extension the whole social fabric, are guaranteed by the organic birthing function and power of women. The central organic image in the play — Jean's own pregnancy — which is the event precipitating both Roy's new espousal of the value of the family, and Jean's revolt — is a direct symbol of this organic base. And the power generated by this organic function is a real matriarchal power, as seen in the manipulation of men by women in the play: Jean confirms this manipulation rather than complaining of male domination; it is in this connection that she suggests that males are children, as indeed they are, children to mothers, ultimately to the symbolic mother figure. And while Jean desires something different, *wants* men to grow up, the organic mothering basis for this manipulating relationship (again as with male 'domination'), is powerful, pervasive and static — which leaves almost no hope for real change in men's lives. Hence Jean's own mother accuses her of intending to manipulate her as-yet-unborn child in the traditional way: as she says: "Are you starting to run its life already?" — and Jean agrees she must; for "there are some things I don't want it believing in" (p. 6). Roy is confirmed in this double victimization with Ruth: male domination and female manipulation. The failure of even the ultimate symbol of male freedom, the stag party, is an ominous portent: all the drunken men can think of singing is "some sloppy ballad about somebody's mother" (p. 14). This prefiguration of failure is, of course, confirmed (as we have seen), at the end, by Roy's capture by his new mother-manipulator, Ruth.

The play thus argues that the establishment values simply reflect and are supported by the organic facts of male power and female mothering, and the prognosis for real change is extremely dim. The anti-establishment values are obviously idealized (as we have seen) but organic reality precludes their realization. And at the conclusion, both Roy and Jean are paralyzed, at the end of a cycle of fruitless action.

The whole tone of the ending confirms this: the sad scene of Roy in the same old relationship with Ruth, yet quite unconscious of its ironic implications; and the sad scene of the lonely Jean who has put herself quite out of bounds of society. The implications, of course, extend to the society as a whole. The *structure* of the play, then, corresponds to its vision: they are the structure and vision of traditional satire. Satire, says Northrop Frye, is a parody of Romance (itself a version of epic). In Romance, the structure is a cycle of successful confrontations by the protagonist with opposing forces, in an endless journey or quest; the protagonist's success reveals the controlling philosophical vision of Romance — heroic man in a benevolent universe (what Frye calls the knightly propaganda of the medieval era). The structure of satire, as a parody of Romance, is also an endless cycle — of defeats, during a vain search by flawed man in a negative universe. The structure, tone, imagery and final fate of the protagonists in *The Way Through The Wood* clearly reflect Frye's theoretical definition of satire: as we have seen, Roy's search and Jean's search are both ironically precipitated by her pregnancy — his search is for the family ("after eight years") and the values it represents, hers for independence and 'truth'; and they both fail, because of the opposition to their quests by both the social and organic forces in society — the version in this play of the negative universe. To *recognize* (though not to impose) the archetypal mode of satire in "The Way Through The Wood" thus clarifies the author's intentions — his conceptions of the ideal, of the contradictory real situation, and of the ultimate victory of the establishment, while establishment values are condemned.

III — "The Way Through The Wood": Sociological Analysis 1

In this section we explore the theoretical and methodological implications of a sociological approach to creative works — genetic structuralism. First, we outline the principal theoretical and methodological propositions of the approach. We begin with a discussion of related concepts; i.e., partial knowledge, social group, social class, world vision and the homology of structures. This is followed with a discussion of the methodological implications of

these propositions. Secondly, and for illustrative purposes, we discuss the application of the approach to the selected play. Structural analysis is employed in lieu of a strict content analysis. The structure of the play is arrived at through the *découpage* of its elements and their interrelationships; i.e. the breaking-down of the work into its constituent elements and their relations. Once this is done, the themes of the script are reconstructed and through successive approximations an attempt is made to depict the homology of structures between the world of the play and certain mental structures of certain groups in Canadian society.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE GENETIC STRUCTURALIST PROBLEMATIC

Lucien Goldmann's work was produced in the 1950's and 60's. The work represents a critical approach to the sociology of literature that diverges from the traditional approaches already applied in the field (Stamiris, 1977).

The theoretical foundations for Goldmann's genetic structuralist problematic are implied in its name. The problematic has as its overall aim the analysis of the social origin or genesis of a thing and its structure. These two objectives are inseparable. This foundation implies a particular position which neither sets aside nor in any way divides the tasks of the disciplines of history and sociology (Goldmann, 1969). Goldmann, following Lukacs (1968), develops this synthesis, i.e., the putting together of history and social structure within the model of dialectical materialism. The central principle around which this model is constructed is one which states that everything is potentially knowable. Goldmann argues that dialectical thought, unlike rationalism and empiricism which "accept the existence of rational first principles or start with the recognition of the absolute validity of sense experience" (Goldmann, 1964: 4) does not accept any absolutely valid starting points. In lieu of viewing the progress of scientific knowledge in a straight line, dialectical materialism argues the validity of any individual fact or idea only when it has been placed within the whole.

Given the above consideration of the theoretical foundations, it is possible to elaborate a series of propositions which formulate the theoretical position of the problematic. The central concepts upon which the theoretical positions are built include: partial knowledge, the social group, social class, and world vision. Knowledge is partial when it is not seen in relation to a "whole man"; that is, holistic knowledge in the final analysis is always bound up in the concrete position of the actor. In short, knowledge is socially determined (Glucksmann, 1971). The "whole man" cannot exist independent of some social group, and the social group is always associated with some social class

which espouses a world vision. This argumentation is made clearer in the following:

Ideas are only partial aspects of a less abstract reality: that of the whole living man... And in his turn, this man is only an element in a whole made up of the social group to which he belongs... Moreover it often happens that the mode of behavior which enables us to understand a particular work is not of the author himself, but that of a whole social group, and when the work with which we are concerned is of particular importance, this behavior is that of a whole social class (Goldmann, 1964: 7).

Goldmann asserts that a distinction may be made between a social group and a social class. A social group is not always based on economic interests, in a strict sense. However, all social groups maintain a rigorous relationship between ideas and behavior. The individual is able to separate ideas and intellectual aspirations from dialy life whereas the social group always maintains a relation between its realm of ideas and its concrete action. This relation does not necessarily suggest the ideas of the group are an effective measure for the establishing of the validity of its actions. Rather, unlike the isolated empirical fact, or an individual, the group constitutes a relative whole and as such its ideas and practice are related.

A social group only becomes a class once its interests are directed towards either a complete transformation of social structure, as in the case of a revolutionary class, or towards the maintaining of its present social structure, as in the case of a reactionary class. A social class embraces implicitly or explicitly a vision of what should be changed or maintained and how action should be carried out. In short, Goldmann's concept of "world vision" houses "the whole complex of ideas, aspirations, and feelings which link together the members of a social group (a group which in most cases assumes the identity of a social class) and which opposes them to members of other social groups" (1964: 17).

The concept of world vision is rooted to some extent in a historical context. For Goldmann, the historical and the structural are inseparable. In separating his work in the sociology of literature from various forms of individualistic psychologies (primarily Freudian) orientated toward the notion of an isolated individual, Goldmann asserts that the individual exists only in the context of the group. At the same time the "group consciousness" is nothing more than a collection of individual consciousness.

This group consciousness is the tendency common to the feelings, aspirations and ideas of members of a particular social class; a tendency which is developed as a result of a particular social and economic situation, and which gives rise to a set of activities performed by the real or potential community constituted by this social class. (Goldmann, 1964: 18).

According to Goldmann the awareness of these tendencies among various individuals is more often than not uneven, and the highest awareness is only expressed in the exceptional individual. The category of "genius" thus serves as qualifier in the Goldmann problematic for the purpose of selecting certain cultural products for study and not others. In this sense, his study of the 17th century figure, Pascal, was selected on the grounds that the genius of Pascal best captures the world vision of 17th century France. Pascal, an individual author of exceptional talent, produces literary works which best express the world vision of a collective group consciousness which takes its genesis, or root, in the French bourgeoisie of 17th century France.

The concepts of the individual as a holder of partial knowledge, the social group, social class, world vision and genius are focused on the central theoretical proposition of genetic structuralism, i.e. the homology of structures. Briefly, the homology of structure proposition refers to the homologous relationship between a cultural creation and the mental structures of certain groups (Williams, 1977: 101-107).

IMPLICATIONS FOR METHOD

The theoretical foundations which lead to the central hypothesis of the genetic structuralist problematic implicitly call forth certain methodological propositions. In adopting the primary concept of dialectical materialism[3], viz. of the relation of the whole to the parts, and asserting a strong emphasis on structure, Goldmann develops the homology of structures hypothesis. Once this hypothesis has been posed, the problem becomes: how are these homologies to be shown? Goldmann denies a crude form of positivism which would claim a "mirror image" relationship, or a one-to-one correspondence. Rather, he offers a methodological procedure which responds to the problem. This he refers to as *découpage* — the cutting or carving up of the object.

When dealing with the sociology of the economic, social, or political life, this is particularly difficult and absolutely essential: one can in effect, study structures only if one has defined more or less in a rigorous way the set of immediate empirical data that make it up and, conversely, one can define these empirical data only insofar as one already possesses a more elaborate hypothesis about the structure that gives them unity. (Goldmann, 1975: 161).

This seemingly endless circle is resolved by implementing the technique of "successive approximations".

The social scientist begins by assuming that if he gathers a collection of facts within a structural whole it is possible to establish both comprehensive and explanatory relations between them. In the analysis of

cultural creations, the object is the creation itself. Hence, the découpage begins there. The découpage of the structure of the object is arrived at by a series of "successive approximations" in the sense that the surface level of the work is examined with the intention of including at the same time:

Other facts that seem alien to the structure that one is uncovering... one repeats this operation... until one arrives... at a structural hypothesis that can account for a perfectly coherent set of facts. (Goldmann, 1975: 162).

This method is in opposition to a strict hypothetico-deductive method in the sense that it does not begin with a fixed set of assumptions about its object of investigation and proceed in a deductive fashion towards a specific empirical clarification of those assumptions. Rather, the method is dialectical in the sense that there is a relationship which is inseparable between the object of investigation, or the data, and the method of investigation itself. The "successive approximation" procedure insists that the data is the starting point of analysis. By developing categories abstracted from the data one is able to move from one set of data and categories to another, all the while coming closer to an analysis of the homology of structures. Thus, an analysis of the structures of the world of a creative work and its homology to concrete social reality is a process of refining, through successive approximations, the two sets of data or the two structures to a point where they become inserted within one coherent structure. The analysis arrives at a point where the creative work is seen not as a "mirror image" of some social group or class consciousness. On the contrary, the work is seen as "one of the most important constituent elements of the collective consciousness". (Goldmann, 1975: 160).

The advantages of carving up the object, i.e. elucidating the relations between the elements and inserting these structures into the larger whole are twofold. The method serves as both a means of understanding and explanation: "... for the elucidation of a significatory structure consitutes a process of comprehension, whereas its insertion into a larger structure is, in relation to it, a process of explanation" (Goldmann, 1975: 163). Goldmann elaborates this twofold advantage of comprehension and explanation in the following, by applying this logic to the works of Pascal and Racine, and the Jansenian "vision du monde":

... to elucidate the tragic structure of Pascal's Pensées and Racine's tragedies is a process of comprehension; to insert them into extremist Jansenism by uncovering the structure of this school of thought is a process of comprehension in relation to the latter, but a process of explanation in relation to the writings of Pascal and Racine; to insert extremist Jansenism into the overall history of Jansenism is to explain the first and to understand the second. To insert Jansenism as a movement of ideological expression, into the history of the seventeenth century noblesse de robe is to explain Jansenism and to understand noblesse de robe. To insert the history of the noblesse de robe into the overall history of French society is to explain it by understanding the latter, and so on. *Explanation and understanding are not therefore two different intellectual processes, but one and the same* process applied to two frames of reference. (Goldmann, 1975: 163).

The major methodological categories of the genetic structuralist problematic have been depicted as: découpage, successive approximations, insertion, and understanding and explanation. These procedures, which operate on various levels of abstraction, stem from the central theoretical hypothesis of the homology of structures, i.e. the world of a created work is homologous to certain mental structures of certain social groups. This hypothesis was developed from a theoretical foundation which is founded on the following propositions: isolated ideas, or knowledge, remains partial until it is seen as being bound up in the concrete practice of a whole man. The existence, or nature, of a whole man cannot be seen without placing him into the context of a social group or class within which he exists. Finally the "vision du monde" of a social class is best seen in the imaginary production of a work of art. The method for analyzing a cultural creation or work of art is to begin with the découpage of the object itself. Then through a process of successive approximations the relations between the structure of the world of the work and the group from which it has emerged is revealed. Through the procedure of inserting each of those structures into the overall society we arrive at a point where we have both understood and explained the cultural product and the society in which it has been produced.

AN ILLUSTRATION

We will begin by restating Goldmann's basic hypothesis:

The collective character of literary creations stems from the fact that the structures of the universe of a work are homologous to the mental structures of certain social groups (1975: 159).

To move from this very general statement to the analysis of a creative work requires a set of specific steps consistent with Goldmann's overall framework.

First, a distinction must be made between the locus of observation and the locus of analysis. The former refers to the manifest content of the work as composed of words and sentences combined into units of dialogue which together make up the empirical world of the play. This level cannot be the level of analysis, unless one wishes to accept a rather narrow empiricism in which "the facts speak for themselves", inasmuch as the hypothesis directs us to structures of

which the empirical level is but a manifestation. The level of analysis refers us to the way in which these observed units are combined or their relations. It is these relations or structures that are hypothesized as homologous with the structures of the idea-systems of certain social groups.

This distinction parallels that which is made between content and structural analysis. Content analysis tends to tap only the manifestations of underlying relations and, at best, leads to an analysis which portrays an identity of content between the work and some set of ideas within the larger society. More likely than not the manifest content of the play under examination would lead an observer to conclude that the play is about sex roles and women's struggle for liberation; the resolution of the play expressed in that liberation. A structural analysis reveals quite a different understanding of the production.

Secondly, and to return to the level of observation, the units selected are best described as *units of dialogue*. The definition of these units for coding purposes requires more work and refinement. For the moment it will be sufficient to note that a unit of dialogue is a combination of statements made either in an interaction situation between two or more characters or by one character or a narrator (radio drama makes extensive use of narration) as a series of thoughts or comments in which an exchange of propositions is completed. The following example (pp. 1, 2) extracted from the play will illustrate the operaton:

MUSIC: Up and out

GIRL — (Assistant in flower shop) Will that be all then, Mr. Manley?
ROY — Yes — I think so. Two dozen red roses. Mother likes them. Funny how all women go for red roses, isn't it?
GIRL — Do they?
ROY — Sure they do. Every time. I sometimes wonder how you florists have enough red roses to go around every Mother's Day (01001-11)

GIRL — Oh, we manage. Shall I send the bill to your office?
ROY — Yes, do that. (Going) Try and see that they get there first thing in the morning, eh?
GIRL — We'll do our best, Mr. Manley.
ROY — Okay. Good-bye.
GIRL — Good-bye. (01002-11)

SOUND: The front door of the shop is opened and admits traffic noises for a moment as he goes through, then shuts

GIRL — Well, he's done his duty for the year.
GIRL 2 — (Slightly off) What's that, Mary?
GIRL — I say he's done his duty for the year. I'd like to know if he ever does anything for his mother in between. And I bet he'd even forget Mother's Day if his secretary didn't remind him.
GIRL 2 — You sound bitter, dear.
GIRL — I'm always bitter on Mother's Day. Did you hear him? "Funny how *all* women go for red roses". How does he know? (01005-25)
GIRL 2 — That's just one of those handy things men make up for themselves. Saves a lot of trouble — and keeps the price of red roses up.
GIRL — And helps to pay our wages. Oh, here's another. This one's yours.
GIRL 2 — Okay.

SOUND: At "Our Wages" above the traffic noise has been admitted again as a customer enters.

GIRL 2 — Yes, sir — can I help you?
MAN — (Slight fade in) Yes — er — I'd like a couple of dozen red roses. (01004-14)

Each unit is coded indicating the scene (first two digits), the sequence (next three digits) and the theme (last two digits).

The third step, which involves the reconstruction of the themes, takes us to the level of analysis. This step does not occur until after the initial coding by scene and sequence. At this point each unit of dialogue is placed on an index card. The cards are then sorted into themes. This requires a judgment which can only be made through a constant shifting between the content of the play and a knowledge of the social world in which the play is rooted. The resulting themes are no longer empirical units or samples of manifest content but clusters of relations among these units. Using the above extract from the play, theme (11) is a combination of units which express a particular set of values with some coherence present in the work and theme (25) expresses another such set. The themes do not, of course, appear in sequence. The units of each theme are scattered throughout the play. In the case of the illustration, the first and second units are linked together as part of theme (11); the third unit is a member of another theme; and the fourth of yet another. The relations among the units within each theme are simply relations of identity of meaning.

Two major themes interact in a specific manner throughout the play. Theme (11), identified with Roy, is a value set which in the popular social science of the day was characterized as 1950's suburban middle class, most often associated with mobile white collar, professional and managerial occupations. It is a set which places a high priority on a romantic idealization of family and community, an idealization which contained specific prescriptions regarding the respective behaviours of males and females based on male

dominance and aggressiveness. The emphasis on family and community contained an exclusiveness which encouraged negative attitudes toward "out-group" members. The values tended to be politically conservative as opposed to liberalism. Male aggressiveness was a psychological correlate of free enterprise and competition.

Theme (25), identified with Jean, was nonetheless "middle class" and characterized as influenced by existentialism but more concretely expressed in an empiricism (one believes only what one sees) and individualism. It is anti-conformist and sceptical of values surrounding family, community and nation. In this sense it is more open and tolerant. It tends to be politically liberal to left-liberal. Little value is placed on collectivities, considerable on the individual. The individual here is not the aggressive free-enterpriser but the open, feeling individual who seeks solutions to social problems in perfecting interpersonal relations.

The remaining themes are sub-themes of one or the other value sets. Two of these characterize at the concrete level the personifications of the two major themes primarily through the characters of Roy and Jean. An additional three refer to the sources and institutional supports of the basic themes. Roy's theme finds its source in the United States media and Jean's in Europe via immigration. Roy's theme, the church and the economy are mutually reinforcing.

The next and final step has to do with the relations among the themes. It is this level of analysis which yields the structures which can be examined in relation to structures of idea-systems within the larger society. The procedure (Lévi-Strauss, 1955) is to place the units of dialogue sequentially along a horizontal axis while at the same time organizing them thematically along a vertical axis. For purposes of illustration let us take eight themes numbered from 1 to 8. The resulting simulation of the play would look something like the following:

```
1   .   .   4   .   .   .   .
1   2   .   .   .   .   .   .
.   2   .   .   .   6   .   .
.   2   .   .   .   6   .   .
.   .   .   4   .   .   .   .
1   .   .   4   .   .   .   .
.   2   .   4   .   .   7   .
            etc.
```

By reading from left to right one obtains the manifest content or story line. By reading from top to bottom one obtains the thematic content, but one step removed from observation insofar as the themes are made up of the units of dialogue ordered not in sequence but by theme. The way in which the themes are related is arrived at by examining the interaction between 1, 2, 4, via the story line.

The two major themes, as you might now expect, stand in opposition to each other with Roy's theme in a dominant position and Jean's theme in a subordinate position. There is no resolution to the tension in the sense of a new thesis. The play concludes with Roy's theme in a dominant position though in the middle sequences Jean's theme gains a temporary ascendency.

We conclude at this point without having completed a first set of "successive approximations" as called for by Goldmann. The first approximation must now interact, as it were, with the literary analysis previously presented; each must correct the other. In addition, the approximations of the structure of the play must be brought into interaction with approximations of appropriate social structures; viz., social groups. We will, as a final note, advance a hypothesis with respect to this operation. A colleague will proceed a step further, taking into consideration the idea-systems of and about women as a social group relative to our first approximation of the play.

Our hypothesis is that the structure of the play as revealed in its first approximation is homologous with the mental structures of particular fractions of the class structure of the time insofar as the manner in which these fractions are related to each other. The relationship between the two major themes corresponds to the relationship between the ideologies adhered to by two fractions of the middle class during the 1940's and 1950's. We refer to the tension between the "old middle class" (rural and urban independent commodity producers and merchants) and the "new middle class" (professional and managerial personnel). The latter category is objectively a part of the proletariate but subjectively identifies with the capitalist class (Cuneo, 1978: 142-43). Evidence suggests that the former fraction was beginning to lose its dominant position to the latter after 1940. The ideology of the former grouping, though frequently associated in the popular social science literature with "organization man", corresponds to that described as Theme (11). The relationship between Theme (11) and Theme (25) corresponds to the relations between these two fractions. This hypothesis will guide further inquiries.

IV — "The Way Through The Wood": Sociological Analysis 2

It is our intention here to apply the Goldmann hypothesis to the play taking women as a *social group*; a decision that can be justified by the elements of this radio-drama, such as the theme, characters, and mode. Further, our intention is to "explain" this radio-drama by inserting it, as a partial element, into the life of the period related and the key social group,

women.

First, a brief reference to a set of structural relations — a schema — which will be used as a framework for the analysis of the play and of related aspects in the society as a whole. The set of elements and their relations which together comprise woman's condition are: *Maternity, Family, Absence from Production and Public Life, Sexual Inequality* (see Mitchell, 1971; Guettel, 1974: 31). With respect to *maternity*, bearing children is historically the main defining characteristic of women. *Maternity*, i.e. the reproduction of the species, in capitalist society "is at least the spiritual complement of men's role in production" (Mitchell, 1971: 147). Integrally tied to *maternity* is the *family* wherein woman is called upon to nurture and care for the young and to care for the home. With the change in the economic function of the *family*, and the general decrease in the frequency of reproduction, the socialization of the young has come to be women's full-time work. The responsibilities of the *family* — bearing and rearing children and caring for the home — has meant *absence from production and public life*. This has created in turn a dependency relation, with women dependent on the male for sustenance and status. In effect, this has meant *sexual inequality*. Further, not only is there segregation of women from production — women's work in the home — but in production. In the labour force, women are not equal: "women are segregated in particular sectors of the industrial structure, and within these sectors they perform a limited number of low-skilled and/or low-paid jobs" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978). Implicated in this set of structural relations is woman's "natural destiny". The failure to see how it is socially and not biologically determined is central to the function of the ideology of women.

In Canadian society at large, many changes took place following the Second World War. Two contradictory trends influenced women's lives particularly. There was the continued and increasing rate of participation of women in the labour force, especially married women, in contradistinction to the social pressures to channel women into matrimony and maternity (Banner, 1974: 211-254). In 1951, 24.2 percent of the work force were women and 11.5 percent of the work force were married women. The entry of large numbers of married women in the labour force dates back only to World War Two (Wakil, 1971: 319-320). Among other things, this movement had an impact on the size of the family, the authority structure and roles within the family (Wakil 1971: 319-320). In the immediate post-war period, there were the combined effects of economic prosperity, the return of the soldiers, a very high marriage and birth rate, and a very high incidence of divorce (Wakil, 1971: 317-341). Even though marriage, divorce and birth rates began to taper off in the 1950's, all remained relatively high (Wakil, 1971: 317-341; Canadian Year Book, 1952-1953).

Social pressures on women, to keep them in traditional feminine and domestic roles, were reflected in both the scholarly and popular literature of the time and reinforced by much of the content in the mass media. In a history of women in modern America, Banner points out: "In contradistinction to the movement of women in the work force, and partly because of it, an emphasis on the importance of marriage and motherhood became widespread in the late 1940's and 1950's" (1974: 211). In the scholarly literature, Freudian views on the importance of the early years on personality development still had currency in the 1950's (Banner, 1974: 213). An example of this is reflected in a *Maclean's* article, "How Freud Changed Your Life" (15 February, 1951). Dr. Spock, whose influence was widely spread, recommended maternal allowances so that mothers could stay at home with their young (Banner, 1974: 214). "Moms" who left the nursery and kitchen were "vipers", according to Philip Wylie, and were subject to his vituperative attacks (1942/1955). Sociologist Philip Slater termed "the magnification of the child-rearing role the most important factor in the ultradomestication of the American woman in the 1950's" (Banner, 1974: 220). Mitchell points out the shift in emphasis from "a cult of the biological ordeal to a celebration of mothercare as a social act" (1971: 153). Even among the various perspectives in the psychological, anthropological and sociological literature, a single message to mothers echoes: stay at home and mother your babies. It is no wonder that Simone de Beauvoir's existential work depicting the subordinate position of woman as the "other" was considered "a great social threat in the fifties" (Guettel, 1974: 20).

In the popular literature, there is evidence of reinforcement of these pressures. In a study of Canadian mass circulating magazines 1930-1970, very few fictional heroines were portrayed as being employed and almost never if they had children (Wilson, 1977: 43). The hostility towards the working woman is exemplified in this extraction from a *Maclean's* editorial:

As Rosie the Riveter moves back to the old stand, trying to win or prevent yet another war — we can't help adding that if those muscle bulges and grease smears affront the feminity at the physical level, she helped to bring them on herself by her own disdain of femininity at the political and moral level (15 February, 1951).

Rosie the Riveter, as the feminine model is disapproved, while Hannah the Happy Housewife is idealized (see Banner, 1974: 215).

In film, the female stars of the 50's were por-

trayed as the innocent sweet type, Doris Day, or the naive seductive type, Marilyn Monroe (Banner, 1974: 215; Haskell, 1973: 231-276). Sweet Barbara Ann Scott was at the top of the Canadian star list (*Maclean's*, 6 January, 1951). Women in the mass media were either "symbolically idealized or symbolically annihilated" (Tuchman *et al.* 1978). Wilson finds that the dominant values of the society are not merely reflected and upheld but the media is more an agent of control imposing a view contrary to the reality (Wilson, 1977).

THE COMMUNITY: CRESTWOOD HEIGHTS

Within this context, we will now look at the middle-class woman in a suburb "somewhere in central Canada... in the years immediately following World War Two" (Seeley *et al.*, 1956:4) in relation to maternity, family, absence from production and public life, sexual inequality. In Crestwood Heights, we are informed that,

Nowhere is the transience of the social norms and roles more evident that in the career of the woman in Crestwood Heights... The woman must pursue two goals and integrate them into one. The first goal has to do with a job, the second with matrimony and motherhood. The second... is realized at the expense of the first (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 139).

Marrying and mothering are the prime expectations for the Crestwood woman:

Upon marriage, the woman takes charge of the home. When children come they are her main responsibility. It was exceedingly difficult to find women in Crestwood Heights who had continued their vocations past motherhood. After marriage, the claims of the husband and, later of the children, on the woman's time and energy are so dominant that she must abandon her aspirations towards a career (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 140).

Though a few Crestwood women did have a "downtown career", as the men did, very few went into careers dominated by men, i.e. law, medicine, business. For most, acceptance of her housekeeping role was linked to the other goals of "child-rearing, making her husband happy or entertaining" (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 140). Many contented themselves further with voluntary service to community institutions (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 141).

The advent of a child was as carefully planned "as a trip to Europe or the purchase of a new car" (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 86). With reproduction, Crestwood woman brings her prime function literally to fruition. The central basis of the family in Crestwood is "the life-long relationship between one man and one woman for the procreation of children" (Seeley *et al.*, 1956: 162).

In this child-centered community, while the family as a whole is ultimately responsible for child-rearing, the onus falls greatly on the mother. These are normative expectations through which a woman must "tight-rope" walk. The socialization of the young in Crestwood is demanding. The mother must find some balance between being the "good" mother who is warm, loving and nurturing and the mother who disciplines and conditions the child from birth towards separation, individuation, independence, respect for property and "success"; the prime values of Crestwood Heights.

In Crestwood Heights, women's role in the family correlates with the scheme outlined above: maternity, family, absence from production and public life, sexual inequality. Women are defined by their biological function. The socialization of children in the family is regarded as full-time work in itself. Her fulfillment is not in the realization of her own potentialities and equality with the male, but is in full service to husband and child as the "other"; a contradiction in terms of the seeming liberties of what the middle-class can afford, and a contradiction that the Crestwood women would deny. The ideology that breeds inequality is upheld by the males and the females.

THE RADIO DRAMA

To turn to "The Way Through The Wood", and the main female character, Jean, who in the words of the author is a "type" of Canadian woman (p. 2), there are aspects which correspond to the Crestwood woman and the "maternity, family, absence from production and public life, sexual inequality" cycle. We have the impression that Jean too lives "somewhere in a suburb in central Canada" in the years following World War Two. Jean's career parallels that of the Crestwood woman. Jean has pursued two goals, a job before marriage and then marriage and motherhood. In typical middle-class fashion, upon marriage Jean no longer worked outside the home. We must assume that for eight years Jean had accepted her housekeeping role and her role as wife, keeping her husband happy as he pursued his career as a businessman.

When Jean realizes that she is about to become a mother, her attention centers on the prospects for the best emotional and social environment for her child. As the Great Mother archetype, Jean displays a positive image in her anticipation "to protect her young; to nourish it; to keep it warm; to hold it fast" as she leads it "through the wood up the crystal mountain to Truth". Crestwood woman is also a great mother. She too "protects her young, nourishes it, keeps it warm and holds it fast" as she leads it "through the Crestwood up the Heights to middle-class Success."

As Jean is about to realize her "natural destiny" in reproduction, there is a critical point in the drama. Jean decides to leave her husband and the comforts of

her middle-class life with him. She is prepared to go against the values that Roy stands for and believes in (pp. 7, 8). This appears as an emancipatory move: a move towards independence and maturity, one that displays strength and determination. Jean is risking and taking an existential leap into the unknown of single motherhood. In contrast, divorce in Crestwood Heights is not customary. The Crestwood woman withstands many conflicts and cross-pressures of her demanding role, possibly for the sake of material comforts, certainly for the sake of the children.

While Jean's decision to leave Roy is a departure from the Crestwood norms of the 1950's, Jean is not unlike another literary heroine portrayed just a few years later (1954). In Ethel Wilson's novel "The Swamp Angel", Maggie

> moves out to a wilderness setting out to find herself... Maggie has cut away from her small-minded husband, her job, her home in Vancouver to "rough it in the bush". Here she can grow in freedom... But eventually her flight becomes anti-social... Maggie's is a triumph of withdrawal rather than of commitment (Waterson, 1973: 73).

Does Jean presage the Swamp Angel's fate? Where is Jean's existential leap through the wood leading?

It is not an emancipatory leap as the surface content of the drama suggests.The archetypal and symbolic interpretation reveals the underlying implication of Jean's decision. Yes, Jean is the archetypal Great Mother leaping into the total responsibilty of birthing and rearing her young; ready to protect her child, even from its natural father. Instead of liberation for Jean, we find a magnification and idealization of the reproductive and socialization roles. This is reinforced by the opposing archetypal image that Jean also characterizes. Jean is the Terrible Mother when she rejects her husband and the dominant values of the society. The drama ends depicting Jean, like Maggie, alone: her flight too is ultimately anti-social — a triumph of withdrawal rather than of commitment.

Jean's path also follows the maternity to inequality scheme but with an exacerbation of the conditions: from "maternity, family (husband-wife-child), absence from production and public life, sexual inequality" to "maternity, family (mother and child), presence in production as a single parent, sexual inequality". It is the "double ghetto" syndrome: Jean will work at home — to mother her child; Jean will work at work — to sustain both. Like Crestwood woman, Jean is defined by her biological function. The socialization of her child is her prime consideration. Her fulfillment is not in the realization of her own potentialities and equality with the male, but in full service to her child. While it is unlikely that Crestwood woman would reject her husband's values

and beliefs, Jean does. However, Jean's actions do not lead to emancipation but to greater constraints. Another alternative is disclosed in the text (p. 26). Jean looks to a man like Paul Chasik for Truth. For Jean to go to a man like Chasik and perhaps re-marry is to fall back to a dominant-subordinate relationship. It is not a way out of wood to egalitarian values either.

In conclusion, we can begin to see how the play is structured with respect to the maternity to inequality scheme. To realize a homology of structures, it was first necessary to set the boundaries of the structures. The drama itself — the characters, themes, mode — guides the delimitation of the structures. The themes of motherhood, mothering, the role of the main female character, the male-female relations led to the consideration of the maternity, family, absence from production and public life, sexual inequality schema as a framework for analysis. The schema was then used to examine items of data which were inserted for illustrative purposes relevant to the conditions of women in Canadian society at large in the 1950's and this radio-drama. It is by way of this procedure that the ideology of women is elucidated.

The literary analysis of the drama reveals a contradiction between the meanings at the manifest or surface of this drama and the symbolic and archetypal meanings. At the manifest level, there is not the expected stereotypic vision of women. Just to focus on the main female character, Jean the literary heroine, is ready to protect her young and to lead the way. Contrary to this image, on the symbolic level, Jean is the victim of her own doing, finally alone and lonely. As a coherent whole, the drama maintains the ideology of woman: that her biological nature is her destiny and her source of happiness. Ultimately, the drama is saying: if Jean is to attempt to brazen her way through the wood, there are to be serious consequences.

In the life of the period, in the 1950's, two contradictory forces were significant for women; one was the trend toward greater participation by women in the labour force, and by implication, greater independence; the other was the pressures on women towards matrimony and maternity. The ideology of woman: that her biological nature is her destiny and her source of happiness is evidently sustained at the societal level. While the data is clear that there was an increase in the participation rate for women, possibly an indication of the move towards greater independence, in 1951, "women worked to make the ends meet and not for emancipatory reasons" (Maclean's, 15 May 1951.) Even with greater numbers of women in the labour force, because of the division of labour along sex lines, women's conditions were not ameliorated. The rate of marriage and birth increases support the ideas that there was general acceptance of the ideology and the

implications that marrying and mothering were considered biological imperatives. To sum up, the procedure used bears out Goldmann's basic hypothesis on the homology of structures "to the point that we can speak of the same structure manifesting itself on two different planes" (1975: 8). The radio-drama does not simply reflect the collective consciousness but is rather an essential contituent element of it.

NOTES

1. The Archives and related services are open to interested scholars. Information may be obtained by writing: The Radio-Drama Project, Department of English, Concordia University, Montréal, Québec, H3G 1M8.

2. *The Way Through the Wood* by Alan King; Producer and Director: Peter McDonald; Music by Lucio Agostini; Conductor: Samuel Hersenhoren. Broadcast C.B.C. (stage 52), Toronto to Trans-Canada Network, December 9, 1951. Quotations from the play are cited by script page numbers.

3. For an argument which maintains a continuity between the younger dialectical Goldmann and the older genetic structuralist Goldmann, cf. Zimmerman (1979).

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