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Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm that this project was written by me and in my own words, except for quotations from other authors and any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors. These are all clearly marked within the text, or in the footnotes, and acknowledged in the bibliographical references.

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As anybody who has ever written anything longer than a shopping list knows, the process of writing is tedious, lonely and a constant battle against self-doubts and the strong desire to just give up and watch Netflix instead. However, as I finish this paper and make the last revisions, I also realize that it might be the end of my academic journey and I can't help feeling a wave of nostalgia washing over me. As I look back, I have to admit that this journey was not as lonely as it felt at times and that I was actually in good company. This is where I stop being self-indulgent and start thanking those who stood by me and kept listening to me, even when all I could talk about was this paper.

I'll start at the beginning, with my mother, whose belief in education is coupled with a fierce sense of self-reliance and an enviable strength of character that have been a constant presence in my life. She may not realize it, but she has been a true role model in more ways than I can count. While other mothers pushed their children to do 'something more useful and lucrative', like being a doctor or a plumber, she encouraged and enjoyed my love for academics and indulged my insatiable yearning for pop culture and literature. She probably also realized early on that I was not outdoorsy, very social or made to work with my hands. So, my path worked out. For both of us.

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1 Introduction

It is 1962. A mysterious man is playing a game of baccarat at a prestigious London club. As he wins the game, he leaves all the other players and onlookers stunned by his expertly played moves. When one of the players, a beautiful, dark-haired woman, demands to know his name, the camera slowly pans across the table. As it comes to a stop on the handsome man, he casually lights a cigarette, looks into the camera and introduces himself as: "Bond. James Bond" (*Dr. No*). And with this, film history is made. Over the next 50 years, James Bond goes on to fight evil in 24 films (1962-2015), consistently attracting millions of viewers all around the world and morphing into a globally recognized pop culture icon. The films are based on a series of equally successful books by Ian Fleming (1908-1964), spanning twelve novels and two collections of short stories, published between 1953 and 1966. When Bond transitioned to the screen, Fleming's dark spy thrillers were transformed into action-packed spectacles, filled with an array of beautiful women, shamelessly evil villains and ironic humor. As a pop culture icon, Bond has not only fascinated audiences but also scholars alike.

Academic interest in Bond began to emerge in the mid-1960s. Novelist, poet and critic, Kingsley Amis's 1965, *The James Bond Dossier,* is the first critical analysis of Fleming's novels. While Amis's approach is at times tongue-in-cheek, he still offers the first detailed analysis of the world of Bond and his phenomenal commercial success. The commercial success of Fleming's novels is also what spawned Umberto Eco's interest in Bond. In his 1965 seminal essay, "The Narrative Structures in Fleming," Eco locates the series' success within the narrative structure of the novels, which he describes in terms of underlying patterns of binary oppositions. His work opened the door to Bond's existence within academic discourse, which continues until this day. It also sparked the beginning of this thesis.[1]

Fleming's novels and the films often mediate ideological mindsets of their time. For example, Fleming's first villains were usually Russians or criminal minds

[1] The origins of this project can be traced back to two research papers, which were produced in classes attended at the University of Vienna. "Moments of Bond: The M-Bond Relationship in the Novels and Films" from 2016, is, as the title suggests, an examination of the M-Bond relationship. "'A Labor of Love:' Cold War and Containment Era Ideologies in James Bond's *From Russia with Love*" from 2017, examines the relationship between Bond and Cold War culture. When I finished these papers, I realized that I had not done the topic justice, hence this project.

sponsored by the Russian Secret Service. During the Cold War era Fleming appears to have created ‘super-villains’ inspired by current political events. As soon as political situations changed, however, so did his villains. Bond was able to transition from a hero of the Cold War to a hero of the Détente. Through the films his career continued, as he also become a hero of the post-Cold War era and the new Millennium. While Eco mentions Bond’s relationship to political and socio-cultural events, he slightly dismisses the connection as an opportunistic move by Fleming who, in Eco’s opinion, only added these references in order to pander to his mass audience and generate more sales (Eco 161). However, what Eco dismisses, is what Bennett and Woollacott built their research on, most notably, in their 1987, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*. They discuss various aspects of Bond and his relationship to ideological frameworks of the time. They argue that Bond functions as a stand-in for his audience’s “ideological preoccupations” (Bennett and Woollacott 29) and, more importantly, that Bond is always able to adapt to changing preoccupations. This adaptability has guaranteed his success with his audience, and, according to Bennett and Woollacott, marks Bond as a “mobile signifier” (43) within culture.

This research aims at analyzing the narrative structures of Bond novels and films and examine the connection to prevailing ideologies in regards to nationality, class and race, with a specific focus on gender and sexuality, especially in regards to the female M. It is based on key concepts and analyses of the films and novels advanced by Umberto Eco, Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott. The analysis will narrow down on the M-Bond relationship, as M builds the core to the ideological discourse in regards to nationhood, gender and sexuality. As such, M functions as a stabilizing force within traditional patriarchal structures. As Bond transitions into the films, this core is put into question, mostly due to Bond’s re-configuration as a figure of modernization. The most significant shift occurs when the patriarchal core becomes a woman after Judi Dench takes over the role of M in 1995. Her trajectory, however, reflects a trend within the world of Bond, namely that in Bond the othering of women and their spaces, as well as non-conforming gender expressions are used to enhance and confirm the superiority of traditional expressions of masculinity and male authority.

While Eco’s analysis provides insight into the mechanisms of Bond’s narrative structures, he glosses over the inherent connections to prevalent ideologies, which function as a point of identification for the audience, enhance the conflict within the binary pairs, drive the plot forward and, most importantly, allow a reading and an

examination of the figure of Bond as a cultural signifier at the intersection of race, class, nationhood, gender, and sexuality.

The first section will discuss Bond's rise to a worldwide phenomenon and examine the development of his relationship to his audience. The second part will address Eco's analysis and its problems, thereby leading to a reevaluation of his ideas by incorporating Bennett's and Woollacott's reading and understanding of Bond in regards to the connections to prevailing ideologies. Here Fleming's novels will be under discussion since they provide the basis of Eco's work as well. The third section will discuss the Bond films by focusing on the Bond-M relationship. Here, key scenes and sequences will be analyzed within the scope of the established theory. The analysis will mostly focus on M's office, which in the films functions as a visual signifier of nation and nationhood, as well as normative gender and sexual expressions. This chapter is divided into three sections and discusses the films in chronological order, starting with the films from 1962 until 1989. This is followed by an examination of the films from the 1990s. The final section will analyze the Bond films of the current era, starring Daniel Craig.

1.1 Literature Review

The basis of this work is Umberto Eco's "The Narrative Structures in Fleming" or "Le strutture narrative in Fleming", which was first published in 1965 in *Il Caso Bond: Le origini, la natura, gli effetti del fenomeno 007.* This collection of essays about the figure of James Bond was edited by Umberto Eco and Oreste del Buono in their native Italian. One year later the English translation (by R.A. Downie), *The Bond Affair*, was published. This collection of essays signifies a crucial milestone within Bond studies. It constitutes the first noteworthy attention given to the fictional British spy form the academic world. Eco's essay is especially significant, not only due to the author's prominence, but also because it offers a discussion of popular fiction within the framework of semiotics[2].

[2] This seminal essay has not only provided the basis for multiple works about James Bond, but has also been reprinted in various works within the field. This brief history of the text is mentioned here, due to the fact that there seem to be different reprints of the text, e.g., in Christoph Linder's *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* from 2003. Here, certain passages are missing in comparison to other prints. While this does not appear to alter the message of the text, the reasons for the alterations are not clarified by the editor. This paper will, therefore, rely on the version as printed in Eco's 1976, *The Role of the Reader*, since the author edited it himself in English.

Bennett's and Woollacott's seminal work, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* form 1987, which can be classified as a significant contribution to the field of Bond studies, will also be a focal point of this research. Their work can be viewed as following in the footsteps of famous *Bondologist* Eco. What makes their work outstanding in the field, is their focus on Bond as a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43) within popular culture. They do not just focus on the novels or the films as separate entities, but examine the figure of James Bond within a broader cultural and political history. They look 'beyond' the texts of Fleming and describe Bond as a "cultural phenomenon" (1). Their

> purpose in examining the organisation of this phenomenon and the means by which it has been produced, is to convey something of the scope and reach of Bond's popularity as well as to specify and account for the peculiar nature of his appeal as a popular hero. (Bennett and Woollacott 1)

John Pearson's detailed biography of Ian Fleming's life, *The Life of Ian Fleming*, from 1966 and Raymond Bensons 1984, *The James Bond Companion*, provide not only insight into Fleming's life, but also offer an understanding of Fleming's approach to his work and help to clarify his ideas about his own writing and his struggles to find a connection to his audience.

In regards to Bond's relationship to politics, the research will rely mostly on Jeremy Black's 2000, *The Politics of James Bond: From Fleming's Novels to the Big Screen*. Here, Black examines the novels and films in terms of their relationship to political events, especially the Cold War. In her 2005, "James Bond's 'Pussy' and Anglo-American Cold War Sexuality", Tricia Jenkins also discusses the relationship between Bond and politics, with a specific focus on the Cold War and Containment Culture in the U.S., and examines how the filmmakers tried to appeal to the U.S. audience during that period.

The discussion of M's office is based on Paul Stock's 2003, "Dial 'M' for Metonym: Universal Exports, M's Office Space and Empire". He discusses the importance of M's office as a visual signifier of British Imperial strength and power. While he discusses the appearance of Dench's M as well, it is Tom McNeely's 2010, "The Feminization of M: Gender and Authority in the Bond Films", which addresses Dench's gendered role in the traditionally masculine space.

James Chapman's 2008, "The James Bond Films", Jim Leach's 2003, "'The World has Changed': Bond in the 1990s – and Beyond?", and Martin Willis's 2003,

“Hard-wear: The Millennium, Technology, and Brosnan’s Bond”, discuss the Brosnan era films, including production details, as well as Bond’s function in the world after the Cold War, and his relationship to new technologies and his female boss.

Lisa Funnell’s 2011, ““I Know Where You Keep Your Gun”: Daniel Craig as the Bond-Bond Girl Hybrid”, and Karen Brook’s and Lisa Hill’s 2015, “Resurrecting Bond: Daniel Craig, Masculinity, Identity and Cultural Nostalgia”, focus on Craig’s masculinity, which differs and departs from the previous Bonds as Craig’s Bond is signified by a physicality that is new to the series. He is often placed into the position, traditionally ascribed to the Bond girl, signaling a fluidity of his masculinity, which reflects his audience’s changing views.

Furthermore, Steven Woodward, in his 2004, “The Arch Archenemies of James Bond”, discusses the M-Bond relationship over time with a focus on its link to Oedipal issues. While he also discuss Dench’s M, his focus remains on the male Ms. Lori Parks, on the other hand, in her 2015, ““M”(O)THERING: Female Representation of Age and Power in James Bond” and Brian Patton in his 2015, “M, 007, and the Challenge of Female Authority in the Bond Franchise” narrow their focus to the relationship between Bond and the female M, and how the themes of gender, identity, and age are played out between them.

2 "Moments of Bond"[3]

"James Bond was born at Goldeneye on the morning of the third Tuesday of January 1952, when Ian Fleming had just finished breakfast and had ten more weeks of his forty-three years as a bachelor still to run" (Pearson 266). This is how John Pearson describes the origins of the worldwide phenomenon in his 1966 biography about Ian Fleming, *The Life of Ian Fleming.* Ian Fleming was born on May 28, 1908. After serving in the British Naval Division during World War II, followed by a long and successful career as a journalist, he began writing his first novel only a few weeks shy of his forty-third birthday. During his annual two-month vacation on his estate in Jamaica, Goldeneye, he began to produce about 2,000 words each day. Raymond Benson, in his 1984, *The James Bond Bedside Companion,* recounts Fleming's reasons for beginning the writing process at this particular stage of his life: at this point, Fleming viewed his writing as a distraction from the stress of his pending nuptials (chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 3) or as Anne Fleming put it later, as "something to amuse himself" (chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 4). What began as a mere distraction, was send off to publisher Jonathan Cape after Fleming's return to London. The finished product, *Casino Royale*, was published in April 1953. "The first printing amounted to 4,750 copies, and was sold out by May. … There was a second printing in May of 1953, and a third in May of 1954" (Benson chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 19). Fleming's first novel was also greeted with positive reviews. He was compared to other writers within the thriller/detective genre, such as Eric Ambler, John Buchan or Peter Cheyney (Pearson 316). While Fleming enjoyed the critical recognition, he was also eager to be commercially successful. The initial sales were considered successful by his publisher, especially considering that Fleming was a rather unknown, first-time author. Fleming himself, however, was disappointed. He was eager to "squeeze the last dirty cent out of it" (Pearson 303), which is why he tried to find an American publisher as quickly as possible. After multiple rejections, Macmillian published *Casino Royale* in the U.S. but sold less than 4,000 copies within the first year (Pearson 355). For the next years, this continued to be James Bond's fate: solid sales and good reviews in England, but none to moderate recognition elsewhere. By 1955, Fleming considered his fifth novel, *From Russia, With Love,* to be his last (Bennett and

[3] The title for this chapter is appropriated from Bennett's and Woollacott's chapter "The Moments of Bond" (22-44), in *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero.*

Woollacott 24). At this point, James Bond was far from being the worldwide phenomenon he is today. The now infamous figure had no audience and was about to be killed off by his creator, after only five novels. Obviously, Bond lived on. The reasons for why and how Bond eventually morphed into the worldwide phenomenon and successful film franchise, and his relationship to his audience, will be explored in further detail throughout this chapter.

The lasting worldwide success of the James Bond franchise suggests a broad range in the types of audiences that are continually drawn to the British spy and his adventures. The question of who this audience is has been raised throughout academic discourse regarding Bond, most notably by Eco and Bennett and Woollacott[4]. In their respective works, they explore Bond's commercial success and the link to his audience. More precisely, they focus their analysis on different types of audiences and their possible relations to Bond. This chapter is designed to explore the origins and the development of the figure of Bond, thereby establishing the background for the following analysis. When discussing the success of James Bond, the following must be considered: First, the phenomenal success of Bond as an internationally recognized figure within popular culture can be traced back to right marketing and publicity strategies at the right time. Bond is a prime example of how these strategies can morph a relatively unknown character into a worldwide phenomenon. Second, part of Bond's success is due to his ability to function as a stand-in for his audiences' preoccupations. Be it as a hero of the Cold War, the Détente, the 1990s or 2000s Bond always functions as a way to negotiate conflicts and contradictions his audience may be struggling with at the time. This ability has made him into a steady presence within popular culture for almost 70 years. His ability to transform and re-invent himself (through various mediums and texts), makes Bond, according to Bennett and Woollacott, a "mobile signifier" (43) or a "moving sign of his lifetime" (19).

The following section discusses these ideas in further detail. The first part will detail the character's humble origins and the slow discovery of his audience. Specifically, Fleming's struggle to understand his audience and the changes in marketing and publicity boosts, which did not only let the creator understand his potential readers better, but also led him to finalize the "formula for James Bond"

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[4] Eco's and Bennett's and Woollacott's views and conclusions in regards to Bond's audience will be the topic of more detailed analysis in the following chapter of this paper.

(Pearson 410)[5]. The second part will explore the connection between ideology within the world of Bond and his audience, starting in the 1950s until today, thereby exploring his status as a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43).

2.1 Fleming's Audience

The question of who Bond's audience is and what attracts them to the British spy has been raised throughout academic research on the topic. In his 1965 essay, "Narrative Structures in Fleming", Umberto Eco ascribes two types of readers to Fleming's works: the *sophisticated* and the *average* reader. Bennett and Woollacott, in their 1987, *Bond and Beyond*, also discuss this question. In their chapter titled "Moments of Bond", they use the term *sophisticated* to refer to Bond's initial audience. Since these designations will be the discussion of the following chapter, this chapter is designed to explore the possible origins of the term. As will be argued in the next chapter, the terms are problematic and arbitrary. Most importantly, they are based on conjecture, and, as will be shown here, possibly influenced by early marketing strategies, which instigated Bond's success. When discussing Bond's audience, the interplay of Fleming's initial intentions, his assigned genre, and marketing have to be taken into account.

Fleming's accounts of his writing process suggest that he initially did not ponder the question of his target reader, since he started the writing process as a form of stress relief. When asked about the reasons for beginning *Casino Royale,* Fleming's most common response was that he needed to take his mind off "the shock of getting married at the age of forty-three" (Person 268). The other reason was that he was "tired of being 'Peter Fleming's[6] younger brother'" (Benson chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 3). These two comments indicate a certain struggle within Fleming when it came to evaluating his own work. On the one hand, he brushed it off as a joke, since he had

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[5] It has to be noted that concrete statements from Fleming about his intentions in regards to his targeted audience from the start or early market research from the publishers are not available. This section is primarily based on interviews and letters Pearson relied on when writing Fleming's biography (*The Life of Ian Fleming)*, as well Raymond Benson's findings in his Fleming biography (*The James Bond Companion*). Additionally, Bennett's and Woollacott's section "Moments of Bond" (in *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*) provides sales details and describes the rise of Bond as a worldwide phenomenon. This section is mostly based on their analyses and the conclusions they draw from the circumstantial evidence.

[6] Peter Fleming (1907-1971) was Ian Fleming's older brother and an accomplished adventure and travel writer. Jonathan Cape was also his publisher.

started the writing process as something to amuse himself and calm his nerves. On the other hand, he did carry the hope of becoming a well-received and successful author, just like his older brother, whose success appears to have been looming over his own career. Pearson adds the following:

> It was typical of him that he would usually shrug off *Casino Royale* along with the rest of his books as something of a joke between himself and his public, a mere entertainment he had knocked off with his tongue in cheek. (270)

Pearson, however, continues to point out that "[t]he one quality the books lack entirely is humour. Each is written in deadly seriousness, and nowhere is this more so than in *Casino Royale*" (270). Pearson ascribes Fleming's self-deprecating attitude to him "being terrified as ever of making a fool of himself in public" (290). Making light of his first attempt as a fiction writer could indeed be interpreted as a way of deflecting possible future criticism or unfavorable comparisons to his successful, older brother. Still, while he mocked his novel, he was also delighted by the attention he received from his friends, such as William Plomer[7] and W. Somerset Maugham, whose work Fleming admired (Pearson 378). While Fleming may have shrugged off his writing, his hopes for success and his enjoyment of his friends' feedback, encouraged him to continue writing. It is difficult to pin down Fleming's intended audience, at least at first, since the origins of his first venture into the world of literature seem to have sprung from personal conflicts during that particular period of his life and through a stream of writing, which Fleming only reflected about later. According to Fleming, he began writing spontaneously. All he had thought of was his hero's name[8]. Other than that, he had not made other perpetrations (Pearson 267). Considering Fleming's process, it may be safe to assume that Fleming did not give much thought about his potential audience. This was to be determined later.

Fleming's critics, his publisher, and his literary friends, assigned Bond novels to the thriller genre, but his style did not fit into the specifications publishers had in mind

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[7] Willam Plomer (1903-1973) was a South African and British novelist, poet and literary editor. He was a good friend of Fleming's and encouraged his writing. He also worked as a literary advisor for Jonathan Cape and edited multiple novels in Fleming's Bond series. While Cape was not familiar with publishing thrillers and disliked them in general, it was Plomer's persistence about publishing Fleming's work that eventually led Cape to take the risk; a move that proved financial success (Allison).

[8] Fleming appropriated the name from the author of *Birds of the West Indies*.

for the category. Fleming's critics compared him to Ambler, Buchan or Cheyney (Pearson 316). He seemed comfortable with these comparisons. In a letter to Plomer, Fleming describes his writing style as such: "It remains to be seen whether I can get a bit closer to Eric Ambler and exorcise the blabbering ghost of [Peter] Cheyney" (Pearson 294). While it can be considered high praise to be favorably compared to these authors, it also restricted Bond to a specific genre and audience. While it can be a rather large and international audience, it is also a saturated field where Bond had to prove himself at first. This proved even more difficult in the U.S. Fleming knew that in order to gain commercial success, he would have to break into the U.S. market, but he was soon disappointed by the slow sales. He was turned down by three different publishers, who mostly commented on its slow pace (Pearson 319). To them, the style did not fit the requirements of the thriller genre. Fleming summed up this sentiment: "This thriller genre is a fly-by-night affair – a light-weight read with a portable ceiling of around ten thousand copies" (Pearson 320). Even the renaming of *Casino Royale* did not help further sales[9]. The assigned genre seems to have doomed Bond to failure, since he did not fit its requirements. Fleming and his publishers (British and American) had a difficult time to find a broader audience for the novels.

While Fleming himself does not seem to have given much thought about his reader when he began his novel, his British publisher did target a specific audience when publishing *Casino Royale*. Since Jonathan Cape was Fleming's publisher, the novels carried a certain prestige (Benson chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 20). Cape had many prestigious literary names under his belt. His "[e]arly successes by T.E. Lawrence and Ernest Hemingway were soon joined by James Joyce, [and] Christopher Isherwood" (Penguin Random House UK). However, Cape had previously "not delved into the suspense genre before" (Benson chapter 1, section 2, paragraph 20). Bennett and Woollacott argue that Cape (the publishing house) marketed the early novels to a specific audience, which was perhaps one they knew best. They point out that the jacket cover designs of the first hardcover editions "typically consisted of objects associated with either espionage or luxurious living, or both, and connoted a category of superior quality, 'literary' spy fiction" (Bennett and Woollacott 23). Cape was targeting a "knowing reader" (Bennett and Woollacott 23). This reader would also

[9] When *Casino Royale* was published in paperback in the U.S., it was titled *You Asked for It.* The change was done, because the publishers thought that 'Royale' might be too difficult to pronounce for Americans (Pearson 356).

understand that the parts of the novels which could be read as chauvinistic, racist or sexist, were actually tongue-in-cheek and that they, as the *knowing reader,* were in on the joke (Bennett and Woollacott 23). Thus, Bond was

> [i]nstalled ambiguously between the aesthetic and marketing categories of 'literature' and 'popular fiction', the Bond novels thus initially reached only a limited readership, largely restricted to the metropolitan literary intelligentsia. (Bennett and Woollacott 23)

This restricted Bond not only to a genre (thriller/detective), but within that genre also to a specific subcategory. This marketing strategy, the association with Cape's previously published work and Cape's bias towards this type of novel may have attracted a more high-brow, but smaller type of audience while diverting a broader, perhaps less *sophisticated* audience.

Since his British publisher had settled on an audience for Bond, Fleming also began to adhere to his assigned readership, mostly by attempting a more literary experimental style for his fifth novel, *From Russia, With Love.* Perhaps Fleming had considered the moderate sales and praise of his friends (all critically acclaimed authors) as an indication for the type of reader he attracted, namely a literary versed one. At this point, Fleming seems to have not been set on a type of audience or style. He was still open to experimentation, mostly encouraged by Raymond Chandler, with whom Fleming had become good friends. Fleming admired Chandler and once they became friends, Chandler encouraged Fleming to write *From Russia, With Love* in an attempt "to elevate James Bond to a higher literary level" (Pearson 380). Pearson states the following about Fleming's ambitions: "The truth was that although James Bond was a projection of the hard, tough man of action he dreamed of being, Fleming had never really overcome his longing for a resounding intellectual success" (378). Chandler had already achieved this form of success and Fleming saw himself following along the same lines (Pearson 378). It seems that he hoped to find a voice as a writer and perhaps through that a place within the genre and the broader market.

What eventually led to the commercial success of the novels was less Fleming's experimentation with style, but changes in the marketing strategies of the novels. Bennett and Woollacott argue that the turning point of Bond's social reach and popularity was due to Pan's publishing of the paperback edition of *Casino Royale* in 1955 (24). That year the sales went up to 41,000 copies (Bennett and Woollacott 24). In 1957 Fleming also agreed to publish a serialized version of *From Russia, With Love*

in the *Daily Express*, followed by a daily strip cartoon a year later (Bennett and Woollacott 25). These steps further infused the sales in Britain. James Bond became a "household name" (Bennett and Woollacott 25). Bennett and Woollacott argue that these publishing and marketing moves can be considered "the first moment in the history of Bond as a popular hero" (25). An additional publicity boost can be attributed to the fact that Prime Minister Anthony Eden chose Jamaica to recover from his health issues in 1956. Due to Anne Fleming's connections to English high society, Eden and his wife were guests at Goldeneye. While the *Daily Express* and the paperback editions boosted the public's knowledge of James Bond, Eden's visit also put Fleming into the spotlight (Pearson 426). At this point, the author and the figure became 'household names', and one boosted the fame of the other. The newfound success on the British market, did not, however, immediately translate to the coveted U.S. market. At least not until 1961, when in a *Life* magazine article about his reading habits, John F. Kennedy named *From Russia, With Love* as one of his ten favorite books (Pearson 470). And so, the "development of the cult of James Bond in the United States began" (Pearson 471).

It was the publicity boost and the changes in the marketing strategy between 1955 and 1957 that eventually lead Fleming to understand and establish a James Bond formula, which would cement his future success.

> After the dangerous experiment of trying something new in *From Russia, With Love* Fleming seemed to have made up his mind that he would play *Dr No* very safe indeed. And that autumn the formula for James Bond was finally established. From now on, quite consciously, as he told Al Hart [Fleming's American publisher], Fleming would write 'the same book over and over again', with only the setting changed: from now on it was the best-seller stakes and an abandonment of Raymond Chandler's belief in him as a writer capable of higher things. (Pearson 410)

This signifies a shift in Fleming's understanding of his audience and a rejection of aiming for literary sophistication. Instead, he aimed at adopting a formula that could reach multiple readerships. While Fleming, or his biographer, Pearson, do not provide any further details on the composition of this *formula,* Fleming most likely referred to the repetitive patters in terms of characters, structure and plot, which is what scholars like Eco point to as the reasons for Bond's commercial success[10]. Here, Fleming

[10] It should be noted that Fleming, for the sake of completeness, occasionally depart from the formula, most notably in *The Spy Who Loved Me* from 1962, which is a first-person narration by a young girl,

displays an understanding of his audience which he only began to know over time. Later in his career he wrote the following to CBS in 1957 about his audience:

> In hard covers my books are written for and appeal principally to an 'A' readership, but they have all been reprinted in paperbacks, both in England and in America and it appears that the 'B' and 'C' classes find them equally readable, although one might have thought that the sophistication of the background and detail would be outside their experience and in part incomprehensible. (Pearson 430)

The latter part of the quote is difficult to pin down precisely since Fleming does not specify what he means by the "background and detail" (Pearson 430). He could refer to the locations, such as the Caribbean, Istanbul or even the upper-class clubs of London, which Bond frequents at times. This may include his attention to luxury, such as Bond's obsession with fine clothes and food. Fleming could also refer to his careful research and detailed descriptions, e.g., his knowledge about diamonds and the diamond trade in *Diamonds Are Forever,* or the details about Voodoo and attention to the vernacular and accents of black characters in *Live and Let Die*[11]*.* Fleming may also have considered his novels high-brow. This would make sense, especially considering the feedback he received from other writers and his friends. However, these were the only people Fleming was in contact with, personally and professionally. His entire circle consisted of upper-class acquaintances (mostly due to his wife's social connections) and other writers. Therefore, his views may have been skewed by his surroundings. Also, due to early marketing, this was the only audience reached, and it was initially also the only audience targeted by Cape. This indicates that the term *sophisticated* was very likely a product of retrospection and hindsight, and applied after the success to explain the initial lower sales.

Vivienne Michaels, who takes the reader through her life's journey. As she accidentally gets involved in a mob related hold-up, she is rescued by Bond. Bond shows up two-thirds into the novel and the story is told from her perspective only. Fleming also wrote several short stories which feature Bond, but differ from the formula and could be considered more experimental. These were published in *For Your Eyes Only* (1960) and *Octopussy and Living Daylights* (1965, published after his death).

[11] It should be noted that it was only Fleming and Chandler who considered Fleming's depiction of his black characters' vernacular as accurate (Pearson 376). It does not seem that actual (linguistic) research was conducted by Fleming. Instead, his depictions are based on a few visits to New York and Harlem, and Fleming's understanding and interpretation of the different accents. Today, his depictions would be considered rather problematic, even racist.

It is, however, Fleming's mention of the hard and soft cover versions of his novels and the connection he draws between them and the broadening of his audience that shows his understanding of the inherent link between commercial success and marketing, in this case, packaging. The cover, a more expensive hardcover or a cheaper softcover, with either items connoting luxury or simply a female silhouette, attracts different audiences. The potential readers buy what they can afford, but also what they can identify with. Perhaps most importantly, they buy things that project an image they want to be seen as. Fleming himself came to a similar conclusion when he wrote: "while thrillers may not be Literature with a capital L, it is possible to write what I can best describe as 'thrillers designed to be read as literature'" (Bennett and Woollacott 22)[12]. This quote from Fleming suggests that he was able to appeal to a *sophisticated audience* or at least one that wanted to think they were one, even when they were enjoying 'just a thriller'. Fleming understood that in order to appeal to a wide range of audiences, he did not only have to write a certain way, but also market his work and himself accordingly. This understanding lead to success with a so-called *A, B,* and *C* audience, and many more, and also established Bond's long-lasting relationship with a multigenerational and international audience.

2.2 Worldwide Phenomenon and Ideologies

While the marketing and the promotional strategies were highly effective in reaching a wider audience for Bond, they do not adequately explain why Bond's readers (and later his theater audience) were and are continually drawn to the figure and the products attached to him. Bennett and Woollacott argue that by reaching a wider audience, e.g., through the introduction of the cheaper softcover editions, Bond's function as a stand-in for his audience's "ideological preoccupations" (29) was established and further sparked his audience's attachment. Due to his ability to adapt to changing times and changing "ideological preoccupations" (29), Bond has drawn a multigenerational and diverse audience worldwide, especially due to the films' success.

In his 1957 letter to CBS, Fleming also refers to the different types audience as "classes" (Pearson 430), which does not only indicate different types of readers, but also points to a social stratification among them. While Fleming may sound

[12] Bennett and Woollcott cite this quote and include the following reference: Fleming, Ian. "How to write a Thriller", *Books and Bookmen,* May 1963, p.14.

condescending in his remarks, Bennett and Woollacott suggest that there is a link between the release of the (less expensive) paperback editions, as well as the serializations published in the *Daily Express* and a growing audience, mainly from the lower middle classes.

> Although no detailed research has been done that would establish the point conclusively, it is reasonable to assume an approximate fit between the readership of the Bond novels and that of the *Daily Express* and similar papers; It is, accordingly, in relation to the concern of this class that the functioning of the figure of Bond in this period must be assessed. (Bennett and Woollacott 25)

Bennett and Woollacott discuss Bond's rise as a "political hero of the middle class" (25), especially during the late 1950s and 1960s. During this period Bond functioned as a "Cold War hero, an exemplary representative of the virtues of Western capitalism triumphing over the evils of Eastern communism" (Bennett and Woollacott 25). The Soviet Union did function as Fleming's number one enemy in his first novels. His early villains all had ties to the Soviet Union, e.g., Le Chiffre (*Casino Royale*), Mr. Big (*Live and Let Die*), Hugo Drax (*Moonraker*), Dr. Julius No (*Dr No*), and Rosa Klebb, with the entire Soviet apparatus behind her (*From Russia, With Love*). Bond took on the role of defending Western ideals and as such "functioned, in this period, as a site for the elaboration – or, more accurately, re-elaboration – of a mythic conception of nationhood" (Bennett and Woollacott 28). Through Bond, the audience was able to negotiate historical and political events and threats. The character of Bond functioned to negotiate and resolve "the real historical contradictions of the period" (Bennett and Woollacott 28). As a stand-in for Western ideals and values, he managed to triumph over Communist threats posed by the villains.

> In short, during the first phase of his career as a popular hero, the way in which the figure of Bond was constructed and made to stand in relation to the ideological preoccupations of the period enabled Bond to function primarily as a political and sexual hero of the lower middle classes. (Bennett and Wollacott 29).

Bennett and Woollacott link the rise of Bond and his success to marketing and publicity, but also conclude that he fulfilled the ideological needs of the audience of that period.

Of course, a significant turning point for Bond's rise as a worldwide phenomenon were the James Bond films. Starting with *Dr. No* in 1962 (directed by Terence Young), the Bond films have "significantly broadened the social basis of Bond's popular appeal in Britain and extended the horizon of his popularity internationally" (Bennett and

Woollacott 29). Cubby Broccoli[13] and Harry Saltzman struggled at first to secure financing for *Dr. No*. In the end, they settled for a production budget of $950,000 (Bennett and Woollacott 30). *Dr. No* eventually earned them a global profit of $22 million (Bennett and Woollacott 30). These earnings continued for the following films. At the same time, the films also spiked the sales of the novels, especially internationally (Bennett and Woollacott 31). Bennett and Woollacott argue that through the films, Bond was not just a hero of the Cold War, but he also became "a hero of modernisation" (29). They pin this success to his ability to transform and ideologically remodel himself accordingly.

While Bond in the novels functions in relation to ideologies in regards to nation and nationhood, the films transform these ideas, making him also a modern hero who appeals to a broader audience. An essential part in this transformation was the casting of Scottish actor Sean Connery. In his 2000, *The Politics of James Bond: From Fleming's Novels to the Big Screen*, Jeremy Black discusses the thoughts of the producers when it came to casting the right actor for the role. Fleming had suggested David Niven because he thought that the famous actor reflected the character since he was also a "stylish, public-school educated gent, used to playing such roles" (Black 113). Broccoli, however, was not interested in Niven or any other English actor who represented traditional stereotypes of Britishness (Black 113). According to Broccoli, "Bond was to have a "mid-Atlantic" image, able to appeal to American moviegoers as a man of action without putting them off with jarring British mannerisms" (Black 114). Connery was physically fit, tough, and his "Scottish accent lacked the social connotations and social locations of English accents" (Black 114). In other words, Connery was not a traditional British stereotype and Bond would therefore not be in danger of becoming one as well. Instead, he expressed "a new style and image of Englishness" (Bennett and Woollacott 34). It was a type of Englishness that the nation was wishing to be seen as, specifically in the context of "swinging Britain" (Bennett and Woollacott 34). The scenic version of Bond

> provided a mythic encapsulation of the then prominent themes of classlessness and modernity, a key cultural marker of the claim that Britain had escaped the blinkered, class-bound perspectives of its traditional ruling elites and was in the process of being thoroughly modernised as a result of the implementation of a

[13] Albert R. Broccoli, better known as 'Cubby' Broccoli, founder of Eon Productions and Harry Saltzman produced the Bond films until 1975 when Broccoli took over by himself. After his death in 1996, his heirs took over the production company and continue to co-produce the series until this day.

> new, meritocratic style of cultural and political leadership, middle-class and professional rather than aristocratic and amateur. (Bennett and Woollacott 34)

Through Connery, who fit right in with the Hollywood image of a leading man of the time (e.g., Rock Hudson or Steve McQueen), Bond began to represent the changing values of a modern British nation, or at least how this nation wanted to see itself and wanted to be seen by others at that moment.

Additionally, Broccoli and Saltzman found it essential to appeal to the moral standards and codes, which dominated the American film industry at the time in order to reach the coveted U.S. film market. In her 2005 essay, "James Bond's 'Pussy' and Anglo-American Cold War Sexuality", Tricia Jenkins discusses the role of Bond's body as a defense from Cold War contagion, especially in regards to homosexuality. Jenkins also mentions that Broccoli and Saltzman "chose to erase much of the sexual deviance-national deviance theme found in Fleming's novels in order to cater to a more prudent US film industry" (310). The scripts eliminated as many explicit sexual references as possible in order to guarantee a wide release and attract mass audiences. Jenkins further argues that the U.S. audience was drawn to Bond, because the filmmakers changed Fleming's formula just enough, portraying homosexuality and queerness as a deviation and Cold War threat, which aligned with dominant beliefs and fears of that period[14]. The American audience was able to negotiate current political and social issues through the figure of Bond, who was able to defeat Communist threats through his expression of traditional masculinity/heterosexuality, thereby reflecting prevalent Western ideals and values.

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[14] Cold War politics and McCarthyism highly influenced the U.S. audience of the early 1960s. During the period of the Cold War "[d]eviations from the norms of appropriate sexual and familial behavior" (May 12) were seen as conditions which "might lead to social disorder and national vulnerability" (May 12). This was especially prevalent in the U.S. during McCarthyism. Homosexuality was viewed as a risk to national security, which ignited a widespread campaign against the supposed threat posed by homosexuals, especially in government positions. Popular culture was complicit in perpetuating these ideas at the time. Since these norms also guided morality codes and regulations, filmmakers had to adhere to them. So did the makers of Bond, thereby gaining access to the U.S. market with its millions of viewers.

In terms of additional literature relevant to the connection between political ideologies and popular culture during the Cold War and Containment era in regards to gender norms and hetero- and homosexuality, the following works can be recommended: Elaine Tyler May's 2008, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* offers a comprehensive insight into the culture's effect on U.S. families, and especially woman. Robert Corber's 2001, *Cold War Femme: Lesbianism, National Identity, and Hollywood Cinema* offers insight and analyses of the representations of lesbianism in Hollywood films of the time. John D'Emilo's and Estelle B. Freedman's 2012, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* provides a history of America's relationship with sexuality, including an in-depth discussion of Cold War attitudes as well.

However, with the Cold War's peak behind him and the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, the political climate changed and so did Bond's villains and Bond as well. There was still evil in the world, but it was not necessarily related to Communism. Instead, global terrorists were seeking financial gains. The Bond films following *From Russia, With Love* (1963, directed by Terence Young) were "detached from ideological co-ordinates of the Cold War period and adjusted to the prevailing climate of détente" (Bennett and Woollcott 32).

In the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, Bond was once again revived and reinvented. Pierce Brosnan took over the role. This cinematic reincarnation of the former Cold War hero was after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the fall of the Soviet Union. The question was if Bond would be able to transition successfully into the new era. Bond in 1990s had to readjust significantly to the new climate. In "Hard-wear: The Millennium, Technology and Brosnan's Bond", Martin Willis argues that the "Bond films continually re-invented themselves by looking outward to the world around them" (151). Willis argues that Brosnan's Bond was "technological, rather than physical" (151) and that this was demanded due to "fears over the destructive power of computer technology or 'cybercultures' [which] pervaded society" (152). In this climate, Bond is once again able to serve as a figure of negotiation. "James Bond's role is to uphold the central position of the capitalist nation-state in the face of the technoculture that threatens to dismantle it" (Willis 153). To this it can be added that the films of the 1990s also deal with the aftermath of Communism. In the first Brosnan film, *GoldenEye* from 1995 (directed by Martin Campbell), Bond dismantles Communist statues in the title sequence, visually indicating that a new era has begun, for the world and for Bond. The later Brosnan films also deal with greedy Media moguls, the oil industry and climate change issues, which are exploited for evil purposes. The villains of the 1990s do not show allegiance to countries or value systems, e.g., Communism vs. Capitalism, but look out for their own advantages.

In 2006, James Bond was once again cinematically revived, when Daniel Craig took over the role. In their 2015, "Resurrecting Bond: Daniel Craig, Masculinity, Identity and Cultural Nostalgia", Karen Brooks and Lisa Hill argue that the figure of Bond in the 2006 reboot is mostly characterized by a "reconfiguration of masculinity and gender on-screen" (Brooks and Hill 121). While the character of Bond in the 1990s faced a new political climate and new types of villains, he still retained his heteronormative masculine qualities of the past (Brooks and Hill 122). In the 2000s, Bond's

representation of masculinity had to be reconfigured, in order to speak to “changing notions of masculinity and a more diverse fan base” (122). Craig’s Bond is physically more vulnerable. His body is exposed to regular beatings, torture, knives and shots. He also shows emotional vulnerability. After Vesper Lynd’s (Eva Green) death in *Casino Royale* (2006, directed by Martin Campbell), Bond’s (self-proclaimed) mission is to take revenge in *Quantum of Solace* (2008, directed by Marc Forster). His next enemy, Silva (Javier Bardem), in *Skyfall* (2010, directed by Sam Mendes), is taking personal revenge on M (Judi Dench). When M dies, Bond takes it upon himself to avenge her in *SPECTRE* (2015, directed by Sam Mandes), thereby stumbling upon an entire global plot to take revenge on him personally. While Brooks and Hill point to the personal nature of the current Bond, their research ends with *Skyfall*. *SPECTRE,* ties all the Craig films together (at least up to this point in 2018) and leaves the audience with the idea that one global terrorist organization (SPECTRE) conducts all of global terrorism. The organization is headed by Ernst Stavro Blofeld (Christoph Waltz), who is taking personal revenge on Bond, whom he blames for stealing his father’s affection as a child. While the implication that all of global terrorism hinges on one person’s hurt feelings seems very far-fetched, it can be argued that this also reflects questions and conflicts of the current audience, faced with constant attacks on its democracy. While these attacks appear senseless and are symptoms of more complex global political conflicts, the world of Bond offers an answer to the unanswerable. These *re-elaborations* (Bennett and Woollacott 28), show once again the transformability and mobility of Bond.

Another significant change, which occurred in the 1990s, was that Bond was finally confronted with his sexist attitudes within his own world, due to Judi Dench taking over the role of M. This twist of M’s gender can be seen as a reflection of more women rising to high positions of power. According to James Chapman in his 2008, “The James Bond Films”, the inspiration for the female M would certainly be Stella Remington who was appointment Director General of MI5 in 1992 (154). Through Dench joining the film series, the M-Bond relationship was revived. The Bond-M relationship holds a central position in the world of the Bond novels, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. In short, M represents the moral code of Bond’s world and is associated with ideals and values regarding duty and nationhood. M also represents traditional patriarchal structures and norms, which Bond defends. When a woman is placed in the position, this order is put into question from within,

making Bond's existence uncertain. While Dench's casting revived the Bond-M relationship and the character's importance, which had diminished in the last films, her poor judgment of people and situations often lead to problems, which Bond eventually solves through more traditional means known to him, e.g., his masculinity. Here, her gender is the main culprit and also leads to her demise and return of a more traditional and male M (Ralph Fiennes) by the end of *Skyfall.* If Bond is a representative of his time, then the characterization and development of Dench's M must also be seen as a reflection of socio-cultural attitudes and trends[15]. The character of the female M reveals one of the most critical aspects of Bond's status as a "moving sign of his time" (Bennett and Woollacott 19), namely that Bond is not an agent of change. He does not change attitudes of his audience or is ahead of his time, but as a signifier of his time, he adjusts to his audience at the moment. Bond is not a vehicle for change, just its reflection.

The purpose of this section was to shed light into the rise of James Bond from an initially relatively unknown British spy, to the figurehead of a worldwide, million-dollar franchise. While the basis for the success can be traced back to the narrative and its repetitive patterns, the right marketing strategies and publicity surrounding Fleming also helped Bond reach a broader audience. Furthermore, it was the ideological implications inherent in the novels, and later the films, that helped the continual success. In discussing this rise, the importance of audience and ideology became reoccurring factors. When it comes to James Bond's relationship with his audience, it cannot be discussed without ideology. As Bennett and Woollacoott argue, "'James Bond' has been a variable and mobile signifier rather than one that can be fixed as unitary and constant in its signifying functions and effects" (42). Bond serves as a stand-in for his audience and as such negotiates prevailing conflicts and contradictions within the discourse of politics, gender, sexuality, and class. Brooks and Hill summarize his function rather eloquently:

> Having survived the Cold War, the demolition of the Berlin Wall, the sexual revolution and feminism, and successfully adapted to technological transformations and the impact of global terrorism, the world's most famous British spy functions culturally as a social and political barometer. The contexts of the Bond films often indicate the geopolitical stance and concerns of the western world, but the James Bond character can also be read as a fluid signifier of sex, gender, class, and identity that responds to rapidly changing times. (121)

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[15] Dench's M will be the topic of a detailed discussion in the 4th chapter of this paper.

Bond has been able to survive, due to his ever-changing nature. At the same time, he remains in constant modification, always adapting to his audiences' changing needs. In Bond, the audience is always implicit (Brooks and Hill 121), but also complicit, making their relationship symbiotic and long-lasting.

It can be argued that the narrative, the marketing and publicity, as well as the ideological influences are all part of the *James Bond formula.* The following sections will address these ideas by examining Eco's analysis of Fleming's narrative structures, as well as Bennett's and Woollacott's revisions and additions, especially in regards to ideology and audience.

3 Narrative Structures and ‘Beyond’ in Fleming’s Novels

As discussed in the previous section, Bond’s audience and Bond’s success are related to the figure’s ability to not only reflect his audience’s conflicts but to also negotiate them. This inherent quality makes Bond a figure who cannot be separated from prevailing ideologies. In this context, Bond can be seen as a cultural artifact. He is an active and adaptive agent within culture, or as Bennett and Woollacott argue: a “moving sign of his lifetime” (19).

This section aims at discussing the link between Bond and his audience. The approach is threefold. The first part examines Umberto Eco’s analysis of Fleming’s narrative structures. Eco is concerned with the reasons for Bond’s commercial success. Through his approach, which is based in the field of semiotics, he links Fleming’s narrative structures, its binary elements, the archetypal characters and the repetitive nature of the narrative to the novels’ success with a broad audience. His analysis provides the basis for the analysis of Bond in this paper. Eco was the first academic scholar to approach Bond on such a level. He gave serious attention to this work of fiction, thereby opening up new grounds of inquiry (Bennett and Woollacott 79). While his work is groundbreaking, there are certain points which invite criticism. These will be addressed in the second section of the paper, mostly following along the lines of Bennett’s and Woollacott’s criticism of Eco. Bennett’s and Woollacott’s analysis of the figure of Bond that looks ‘beyond’ the closed world of the text and connects the figure of Bond to his audience’s socio-cultural and socio-political surroundings. Since Eco focuses the analysis on the novels, the final section will also focus on Fleming’s work. The discussion will center on the narrative structures as a point of connection with the audience and prevalent ideologies. The M-Bond relationship will be the focus, since M builds the core to Bond’s ideological discourse in regards to nation, nationhood, gender and sexuality. The section will conclude with a new model, which links the binary structures of the narrative to prevailing ideologies in regards to nationality, race, gender and sexuality

3.1 Eco's Narrative Structures

Since Eco's background lies in the field of semiotics, he places his analysis of Fleming's novels within the same area. Eco follows a reader-oriented approach to his analysis, which is based on Roman Jakobson's model of linguistic communication[16]. The reader-oriented approach argues that the text itself cannot express its own meaning, but that the reader has to deduce and extract meaning for himself or herself. The author, on his or her end, has to

> rely on a series of codes that assign given contents to the expressions he uses. To make his text communicative, the author has to assume that the ensemble of codes he relies upon is the same as that shared by the possible reader. (Eco 7)

In other words, the author communicates mainly through codes to his or her reader, such as through certain linguistic codes or literary styles. During this process, however, codes can be differently interpreted as intended by the author. Here, Eco makes the distinction between *open* and *closed texts*. He argues that *closed texts* have an "average addressee" (Eco 8) in mind and lead their reader on a fixed path, with very little room for different interpretations. *Open texts*, on the other hand, "invite the reader's collaboration in the production of meaning" (Selden, Widdowson, Brooker 5). He argues that Fleming's novels can be categorized as *closed texts*, characterized by an inflexible narrative structure that leads the reader on a "predetermined path" (Eco 8). In his essay, Eco describes the narrative structure, and the types of reader Fleming's work attracts. Eco is interested in finding the reasons for the commercial success of Fleming's novels and argues that the success is linked to the narrative structures, which he describes as formulaic. He focuses his analysis of the novels on five main points: "(1) the opposition of characters and of values; (2) play situation and the story as a 'game'; (3) a Manichean ideology; (4) literary techniques; (5) literature as collage" (Eco 146). The following section will summarize these main points in order to provide the basis for the criticism and its reevaluation.

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[16] For an overview of the Jakobson's model, see Selden Ramen, Peter Widdowson, and Peter Brooker. *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory.* 5th ed., Pearson Education Limited, 2005.

According to Eco, the narrative structure in Bond novels is based on a “series of oppositions” (Eco 147), consisting of four opposing characters and ten opposing values, which the characters represent:

Table 1

Eco’s model of opposing characters and values in Bond novels (Eco 147)

Characters	1	Bond – M
	2	Bond – Villain
	3	Villain – Woman
	4	Bond – Woman
Values	5	Free World – Soviet Union
	6	Great Britain – Non-Anglo-Saxon Countries
	7	Duty – Sacrifice
	8	Cupidity – Ideals
	9	Love – Death
	10	Chance – Planning
	11	Luxury – Discomfort
	12	Excess – Moderation
	13	Perversion – Innocence
	14	Loyalty – Disloyalty

Source: Eco, Umberto. The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts. 1970. Indiana University Press, 1994.

Table 1 schematizes the opposing character pairs and values. It works as a visual aid to understand the relationships as grouped together by Eco. Within the Bond-M pair, for example, M is the one who assigns Bond his missions and sets everything into motion. He also functions as a moral guide and represents such values as “Duty, Country and Method” (Eco 148). It is only through M’s guidance and his moral code that Bond gains the endurance and mental strength, which makes him exceptionally heroic and gives him not just his extraordinary physical abilities but also mental strength to fight the villain. Once on his mission, Bond engages with the other characters, and within these relationships, represents the values M stands for, namely Great Britain, the free world and Western ideals and values. Within the Bond-villain relationship Bond also represents beauty and virility. Eco points out that Bond villains always have a non-Anglo-Saxon background and are physically deformed. The contrast with the “monstrosity of the Villain” (Eco 148) enhances Bond’s national and

physical superiority. When it comes to the women or ‘girls’, the characters are usually introduced as attachments to the villain. The typical Bond girl is beautiful, but has suffered some sexual trauma. In the end, however, she enters into a (sexual) relationship with Bond, which Eco characterizes as “purifying-purified, saving-saved” (155). Through this experience, she is drawn back to the values of Bond (and M) and thereby saved from further corruption. Contrasting these pairs and their values is not just a device of characterization, but also a way to create conflicts, which then moves the plot forward.

Eco describes the interaction of these poles throughout the novels as repetitive, schematic and formulaic, and as such, finds them to be the hallmark of escapist literature. Repetitive patterns guide the novels’ structure. To further specify the rigidity of the formulaic structure, Eco describes these patterns through mathematical terms, such as “*ars combinatoria*” (Eco 155) (referring to Gottfried Leibnitz), as “algebra” (Eco 155) and even compares them to a (Chinese) game as played at the beginning of *You Only Live Twice*. Eco calls this “play situation” (155) and argues that

> if these games occupy a prominent space, it is because they form a reduced and formalized model of the more general play situation that is the novel. The novel, given the rules of combination of oppositional couples, is fixed as a sequence of ‘moves’ inspired by the code and constituted according to a perfectly prearranged scheme. (Eco 156)

Like a game, Fleming’s novels follow a specific rule book. While there are moves left to chance (depending on the rolling of the dice), the basic structure is always the same. In the case of Bond, the winner is always the same as well. Eco describes these moves as depicted in Table 2:

Table 2
Eco's description of the narrative scheme in Bond novels (Eco 156)

A.	M moves and gives a task to Bond
B.	Villain moves and appears to Bond (perhaps in vicarious forms);
C.	Bond moves and gives a first check to Villain or Villain gives first check to Bond
D.	Woman moves and gives a first check to Villain or Villain gives first check to Bond
E.	Bond takes Woman (possesses her or begins her seduction)
F.	Villain captures Bond (with or without Woman, or at different moments)
G.	Villain tortures Bond (with or without Woman)
H.	Bond beats Villain (kills him, or kills his representative or helps at their killing)
I.	Bond, convalescing, enjoys Woman, whom he then loses

Source: Eco, Umberto. The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts. 1970. Indiana University Press, 1994.

While the moves are always present, Eco notes that the sequence is not always in the same order (156). He concludes this section with the observation that this repetition of moves is one of the reasons for the novels' success with a so called 'mass audience'. According to Eco, the repetition of the familiar generates comfort. Unlike in detective novels, for example, were the reader usually will not know the murderer/villain until the end, Bond novels identify the characters and roles from the onset and let them walk down familiar paths (i.e., *closed text*). Eco describes this as a hallmark of escapist literature and writes: "The novels of Fleming exploit in exemplary measure the elements of foregone play which is typical of the escape machine geared for the entertainment of the masses" (161). According to Eco, for these "masses" (Eco 161), the pleasure lies in the familiar and not the unfamiliar.

Eco further argues that these mechanisms do not intend to express any ideological standpoint for the purpose of proselytization, but deduces that Fleming did weave popular ideological viewpoints of his time into the plot in order to cater to the political taste of his target (mass) audience to further entice them. Eco observes that in Fleming's novels the villains' nationalities and motivations change according to political changes. While at first the villains usually have ties to the Soviet Union and/or Nazi Germany, the villains of the later novels, as the Cold War is nearing its end, do not have national loyalties and subscribe to self-serving ideals and international terrorism. According to Eco, this is proof that Fleming uses these villainous archetypes not out of his own political and nationalistic beliefs but "purely for rhetorical purposes.

"By 'rhetoric' I [Eco] mean an art of persuasion which relies on *endoxa*, that is, on the common opinions shared by the majority of readers" (161). In other words, Fleming is opportunistic in his creation of characters and places them in such a manner in his narrative apparatus, not because of his own ideological opinions, but because he knows what will appeal to most of his audience at the time.

Eco argues that in order to convey these points of view, Fleming leans on familiar elements, such as archetypal figures known from fairytales, which depict a simplistic worldview. These archetypal figures "have proved successful in fairy tales" (Eco 161). Eco ascribes fairy tale stock figures to the characters in Bond, e.g., M is the King, Bond is the Knight or Prince, the villain is the Dragon, and the Bond girl is the Lady (161). These stand for binary principles: the girl and villain stand for Beauty and Beast and the Prince/Knight has to rescue her (Eco 161). Fleming depicts a simplistic worldview, which Eco terms Manichean, referring to a worldview characterized by a "dualistic contrast or conflict between opposites" (New Oxford American Dictionary). It is a world occupied by characters and plots that are very familiar to a 'mass audience'. They are quick to understand the characters and can follow along easily, already knowing the outcome from the beginning. Again, the pleasure comes from the comfort provided by the familiar and being guided down a known path.

Eco also ascribes the pleasure of the familiar to Fleming's literary technique. Eco observes that in his writing Fleming tends to elaborate on moments that do not contribute much to the action, which is also a reflection of the binary structure:

> The moment of descriptive reflection, particularly attractive because they are sustained by polished and effective language, seem to sustain the poles of Luxury and Planning, whereas those of rash action express the moments of Discomfort and of Chance. (Eco 166)

For example, in *Casino Royal* Bond explains the game of baccarat to Vesper at much length, namely for four pages (Fleming *Casino* 77-81). In comparison, the critical moment of Le Chiffre's death spans two paragraphs (Fleming *Casino* 155). To Eco, this also reflects Fleming's strategy of capturing his audience through the known, instead of the unknown. This means that learning the rules to a card game is more familiar, and something very likely to happen to any reader, instead of witnessing the cold-blooded murder of a criminal mastermind by a professional henchman. This serves as a point of identification for the reader (Eco 167) and provides a balance to the unfamiliar elements in the world of Bond.

With the establishment of the narrative structures and the characters' familiarities with fairytale stock figures, Eco extracts two types of readers, the *average reader* and the *sophisticated reader.* He continues to specify the types further: the *average reader* finds pleasure from the familiarities within the text, explaining the commercial success of the novels. The *sophisticated reader*, on the other hand, sees the irony which, according to Eco, is "revealed only through incredible exaggeration" (162). While the *average reader* is drawn to the familiar structure and the well-known ideologies, which cater to their own (simplistic) political opinions of the time, the *sophisticated reader* enjoys the fact that they can see through these structures, detect these archetypes, and see the irony of the Manichean ideology. According to Eco, the *sophisticated reader* has an understanding that goes beyond the text's structures, which he elaborates on in his final section.

In the final section, termed "Literature as Collage" (168), Eco identifies literary allusions in Fleming's writing, which he believes to be especially luring to the *sophisticated reader*. Eco argues that Fleming, due to his education, is familiar with various literary styles, techniques, and genres, and therefore weaves his knowledge, perhaps not consciously (169), into his novels. This is unknown to the 'masses', but delights the educated readers (Eco 168), like Eco himself. According to Eco, Fleming's knowledge, as gained through education, leads him to create an ironic collage of literary styles, in which Eco even detects traces of *Faust* (169) and Milton (170). He also sees Fleming's technique as a revision of "the technique that had made Rocambole and Rouletabille, Fantomas and Fu Manchu famous" (Eco 170). For Eco, these allusions cannot always be described as successful. However, he argues that they are still thoroughly enjoyable to the *sophisticated reader,* who shares the same educational background as Fleming.

In his final section, Eco descends into an analysis based on assumptions about Fleming's state of mind, which he recognizes himself as problematic and begins to deflects. He argues that Fleming's choices of these *codes* (those described in 'Literature as Collage') can be traced back to the author's education. This knowledge materializes in the form of these allusions in the text, whether Fleming was aware of this or not. This analysis of a man's subconscious is problematic, and Eco recognizes this in his closing argument for this section:

> However, we are not here concerned with a psychological interpretation of Fleming as individual but with an analysis of the structure of his text, the relationship between the literary inheritance and the crude chronicle, between

> nineteenth-century tradition and science fiction, between adventurous excitement and hypnosis, fused together to produce an unstable patchwork, a tongue-in-cheek *bricolage*, which often hides its ready-made nature by presenting itself as literary invention. (172)

Here Eco reels back from his assumptions about Fleming's state of mind and sums up his argument about the dualisms in Fleming, which affect all levels of the narrative: the characters, their values, the plot structure and the literary technique and styles.

He concludes his essay by referring back to the basis of his research and his reader-oriented approach.

> Since the decoding of messages cannot be established by its author but depends upon the concrete circumstances of reception, it is difficult to guess what Fleming is or will be for his readers. When an act of communication provokes a response in public opinion, the definitive verification will take place not within the ambit of the book but in that of the society that reads it. (Eco 172)

This statement leads back to Jakobson's model and Eco's semiotic approach, which argues that the author can only communicate a specific message through *codes* and try to evoke a reaction in their audience. If this message is received in the manner in which it was intended, eventually depends on different influences, which the author cannot fully control. Eco opens the door for different interpretations of the readers' responses, even for generations to come.

The last paragraph, as well as the final sections of Eco's analysis, opens up many questions about his approach and interpretation. While Eco's analysis of the narrative's binary nature and the characters describes a formula already suggested by Fleming himself (Pearson 410), the conclusions he draws about the twofold readership are problematic. Also, Eco does not further elaborate on the relationship between the binary structures and the prevalent ideologies they reflect. This, however, is the key point of connection between Bond and his audience, as well as part of Bond's success. The next section will, therefore, address these issues through a criticism provided by Bennett and Woollacott.

3.2 'Beyond' the Narrative Structures: Bond and Ideologies

The crux of Eco's approach is that it forces him to define two types of dramatically opposed readers instead of leaving the focus on the dualisms within the narrative structure, the binary relationships, and the values they represent. While Eco argues that they communicate certain ideologies of the time, he dismisses them as Fleming's opportunistic pandering towards his *average reader*. However, the point does carry a certain validity. As discussed in the previous chapter, Fleming did attempt to reach a broad audience and tried to cater to his readers' expectations on many levels. Still, the dismissal of the ideological coloring of his work as sheer opportunism might be premature. When discussing Bond dominant and influential socio-political situations cannot be ignored in the conversation. They appear to have influenced the creation of Fleming's characters, even before he knew who his audience was. Bond cannot be examined without discussing his connection to the prevailing ideological climate, not even by Eco. Bennett and Woollacott, on the other hand, focus on these ideological markers as a vital point of connection and way of communication between Bond and his audience. These ideological influence (opportunistic, or not) are also a vital part of the *James Bond formula*. The following section will discuss these ideas.

3.2.1 Intertextuality vs. Inter-textuality

Bennett and Woollacott identify Bond as a product of *inter-textuality,* thereby defining him as an ever-changing character within popular culture. They make the distinction between the term *intertextuality* and *inter-textuality. Intertextuality* (as coined by Julia Kristeva) describes a "system of references to other texts which can be discerned within the internal composition of a specific individual text" (Bennett and Woollacott 44)[17]. Bennett and Woollacott define *inter-textuality* as "the social organisation of the relations between texts within specific conditions of reading" (45). They argue that the figure of Bond has not only been formed by one text, e.g., Fleming's novels but also by the films, as well as by the comics, TV series and all other manifestations of the

[17] Bennett and Woollacott offer a paraphrased definition of Kristeva's concept. For more detail see her 1980, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*.

character (advertisement, video games, etc.). For Bennett and Woollacott Bond functions as a

> moving point of reference within post-war popular culture, the figure of Bond has been constructed and been operative in the relations between a considerable and accumulating set of texts, different in its total size and composition as well as in its internal configuration at different moments in Bond's career as a popular hero. (44)

The figure of Bond is what all these texts have in common, and they influence the readers'/audiences' interpretation of Bond in different moments. It is also important to note that no text is privileged over the other and that they are constantly changing and mutating (Bennett and Woollacott 54). The figure of Bond is a construct of various text, influenced by changing political and historical situations, making him a constantly moving and changing signifier. According to Bennett and Woollacott, this is the reason why the 'Bond phenomenon' can only be adequately examined by looking at the various manifestations of the figure, hence their extensive research of the films, as well as of the novels.

It is, however, also important to note that the problem with Eco's analysis is not that he does not take the films into consideration, but that his approach and intentions lead him to divide the reader into two groups, whose supposed responses are based on conjecture on Eco's side. While the *average reader* mostly derives pleasure from within the text, Eco's *sophisticated reader* is able to make *intertextual* connections, thereby enjoying "the system of literary and cultural allusions which are at work **(or can be read into)** [emphasis added]" (Bennett and Woollacott 69). Here what is said in the parenthesis is very telling of Bennett's and Woollacott's interpretation, namely that it is very likely that Eco might have over-interpreted the high-cultural and literary allusions that are supposedly featured in Flemings work.

Eco's reasons for his focus on the audience is due to his approach, which is to link the reader's response to the commercial success of the novels, which forces him to 'design' two simplistic and reductive types of readers. He ends up doing what he tried to avoid, namely a psychological analysis of not only Fleming (Eco 172) but also his audience. That this part of his analysis is problematic can be seen from his sampling and his conclusions, which are purely based on conjecture. An indication is a decrease of samples from Fleming's work (which Eco supplies plenty in previous sections of his analysis) and the increase of hedging and assumptions about Fleming's

education and psychological mindset. This can be seen in one of the paragraphs in the final section:

> We **might** [emphasis added] think that such influences, part of the reading of well-bred gentlemen, **may have** [emphasis added] worked in the mind of the author without emerging into consciousness. **Probably** [emphasis added] Fleming remained bound to a nineteenth-century world, of which his militaristic and nationalistic ideology, his racist colonialism, and his Victorian isolationism are all hereditary traits. (Eco 169)

And:

> It **may be** [emphasis added] that Fleming had not pursued such varied and sophisticated reading, and in that case **one must only assume** [emphasis added] that, bound by education and psychological make-up to the world of today, he occupied solutions without being aware of them, reinventing devices that he had smelled in the air. (Eco 170)

The pleasures of the *sophisticated reader* encompass a realm which cannot be genuinely explored because it is built on assumptions about the mindset of an author, which is impossible to tap into. The pleasure of the 'masses', on the other hand, is confined to simplistic structures and obvious pandering towards their political and social views. This analysis is flawed because it reduces the readers either to an uneducated and easily manipulated mass or an elitist few, who find the pleasures of the masses ironic. Also, while it connects the *average reader* to the world created by Fleming, the *sophisticated reader* is only connected to Fleming himself, since they share the education and sophistication with him, not necessarily his creation.

Of course, Eco's points about the different types of audiences are reminiscent of Fleming's own ideas about his audience and the way his publisher marketed the novels at an early stage. Fleming's publisher at first targeted an exclusive audience, versed in literature. They also marketed the parts of the novels which could be considered offensive (e.g., racist or misogynistic) as ironic and tongue-in-cheek, allowing the reader to be in on a joke between themselves and the author (Bennett and Woollacott 23). Bennett and Woollacott refer to this type of reader as the "knowing reader" (23). Eco's evaluation of the *sophisticated reader* sounds similar to the "knowing reader" (Bennett and Woollacott 23), suggesting that these early marketing strategies might have influenced Eco as well. However, just like Eco did not want to concern himself with a "psychological interpretation of Fleming" (172), this paper will also stay away

from such an evaluation of Eco. Still, as was noted in the previous chapter, marketing intentions should be separated from Fleming's possible intentions. What stands out, over time and for many different reasons, is that the audiences became so manifold that dividing them into only two simple types does not do Bond's complex relationship with his audience justice, nor does it advance further understanding of Bond. In the end, Bond cannot be understood separately from dominant ideologies. As his audience is subject to these, so is Bond. Bennett and Woollacott elaborate further on these connections.

3.2.2 Narrative and Ideology

Within the narrative structures of Bond, Bennett and Woollacott detect certain balancing/imbalancing forces, which are ideologically motivated. Bennett and Woollacott group these into three sets: Nation and Nationhood, Bond and 'the girl' and the Oedipus complex (98).

> The first concerns how the discourses of nation and nationhood are articulated with discourses of class and the manner in which the disequilibrating/equilibrating tendencies of the narrative are worked across these. (Bennett and Woollacott 98)

Here, Bennett and Woollacott mainly discuss how crucial ideas of nation and nationhood are elaborated in the world of Bond. The figure of M is essential because he represents England and English and Western ideals, which Bond then represents outside of England.

> The second concerns an additional series of narrative tensions, centred principally on the relationship between Bond 'the girl', which are worked across discourses of gender and sexuality alongside those of nation and nation and nationhood. (Bennett and Woollacott 98)

In the second part, they argue that the Bond girl, due to (sexual) trauma in her past, does not fit into the ideals of patriarchal femininity and this imbalance makes her often an aid to the villain. Eventually, Bond puts her back on the 'right track' and instills his/Western values in her. In the last section of the chapter, Bennett and Woollacott address the Oedipal issues at play within the novels. They argue that "[t]he means by which this overlapping is effected are supplied by the references to the Oedipus

complex which are present in all the novels" (98). The Oedipal issues play out between Bond and M and influence the other relationships as well.

Like Eco, Bennett and Woollacott are concerned with the audience's reception. For them, the pleasure of the reader/audience can be found within the process of self-identification, especially with Bond. A part of their later discussion is concerned with "reading practices of male readers of the Bond novels in the 1960s" (95). In a nutshell, this demographic seemed to identify with Sean Connery's portrayal of Bond, e.g., his type of masculinity and defiance to order. This shows how historical and political issues shape the audience's understanding of Bond and that readers of the novels are influenced by the films (*inter-textuality*), as well as that "as a subject within ideology [the audience/the reader] is 'rubbed' by the process of narrative" (Bennett and Woollacott 94).

The strengths and weaknesses of Eco and Bennett and Woollacott are similar. Both provide an analysis of a piece of popular culture, trying to

> illustrate how the reading of popular fiction may be culturally stratified. In thus pointing to the way in which relations of cultural superiority/inferiority may be organized in relation to popular fiction, rather than solely in the form of a distinction between 'literature' and popular fiction. (Bennett and Woollacott 76)

Both of their approaches also attempt to find reasons for the audience's pleasure (or the audience reception overall). Additionally, Bennett and Woollacott link "the process of narrative" (94) to the ideological framework of the audience. However, both analyses lead to focus on the pleasure of a specific group or demographic, e.g., the broad *average* and *sophisticated reader* or, very specifically, male readers in the 1960s. As discussed in the previous chapter, however, Brooks and Hill argue that the

> British spy functions culturally as a social and political barometer. The contexts of the Bond films often indicate the geopolitical stance and concerns of the western world, but the James Bond character can also be read as a **fluid signifier** [emphasis added] of sex, gender, class and identity that responds to rapidly changing times. (121)

While Brooks and Hill focus on the films, their analysis is also applicable to Fleming's novels. They point to Bond's fluidity as a signifier and an inherent intersectionality. Because of Bond's nature as a "moving signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43), and the intersectional nature of the needs he fulfills, his audience cannot be defined without allowing any fluidity or constant re-evaluation.

Instead of trying to define yet another demographic of readers, this project seeks to look closer into the inner structures of the narrative and their connections to popular ideologies of the time. Within the formula of Bond there is a connection between the inherent dualisms and the socio-cultural and political climate of the time, especially in regards to class, gender, sexuality and race. Both analyses, Eco's and Bennett's and Woollacott's, already provide the basis for this research project: Eco's evaluation and labeling of the main pairs is at its core. Bennett's and Woollacott's assessment of the three sets of conflicting forces build the connection between Bond and his audience's preoccupations. The following section will therefore be an analysis of Fleming's novels along the lines of Eco's, as well as Bennett's and Woollacott's analysis in order to showcase the complex relationship between Bond's dualistic structures and prevalent ideologies.

3.3 Narrative and Ideology in Fleming's Novels

While Eco characterizes the world of Bond as black and white, it does not mean that there are no inherent complexities within the dualistic structures. When examining the binary structures of the narrative, it soon becomes apparent that it is impossible to see the poles as equal. If Bond is the hero and is placed in opposition to the villain, then Bond is automatically denoted as 'good' because the terms *hero* and *villain* carry inherent connotations. This creates an imbalance of power and tips the scale in favor of the hero, i.e., Bond. To keep the balance between good and evil on a larger scale (e.g., politics) these power dynamics on the micro-level (e.g., Bond's mission) have to be kept in check. The conflict that arises from these power dynamics between the characters and the values they stand for will be explored in the following section. As will be demonstrated through selected samples from Fleming's novels, these power dynamics are further infused with prevailing ideologies. By linking the narrative structure, the inherent dualisms and power dynamics to the ideological climate in regards to geopolitics and socio-cultural concerns, Bond can be read a "fluid signifier" (Brooks and Hill 121) or a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43). As such, Bond moves at the intersection of race, gender, sex and class. In addition to establishing Bond's complex role as a cultural signifier, this section will also propose that the role of M is key in further understanding the dynamics of the Bond formula.

3.3.1 A Black and White World

The fairytale stock figures, which rule Bond's world, build the binary poles and are infused with dominant political and cultural bias of the era, add a power dynamic favoring Bond and Western ideals. If we apply fairytale characters and structures to Bond, as Eco does (161), Bond's world would be described as follows: Bond is the hero and goes to fight the villain. Here we have two archetypal stock figures representing oppositions. They represent opposing values and are placed in conflict. This is the building block of the narrative. In order to continue building this world, details have to be added. Bond is British, and the villain is not. This already reaches beyond the text and draws from current geopolitical conflicts of the era. By making the hero a specific nationality (and ethnicity, since Bond is also Anglo-Saxon), Bond automatically becomes associated with the 'good side', especially when put into contrast with the

villain, who has a different ethnic background, which happens to correspond with prevalent political and national enemies of Britain. Eco points out the same dynamic. For example, when Eco describes the Bond-villain relationship, he points to a "racial quality common to all Villains" (151) and continues to elaborate on their backgrounds, which are never Anglo-Saxon and/or British. He argues further that Bond's patriotic ideals in regards to Britain and the Free World always take the upper hand (Eco 153). Eco concludes that the figure of Bond "calls also on the racist need to show superiority of the Briton" (153). While Eco is dismissive of these elements, they still connect the narrative apparatus with prevailing ideologies to which the reader is subjected. These moments serve the process of the readers' self-identification with Bond, since the reader "as a subject within ideology is 'rubbed' by the process of narrative" (Bennett and Woollacott 94). Also, when further adding the details in regards to race and nationality the poles cannot be seen as equal any longer. One side is portrayed as inherently better than the other. The scales tip in favor of Bond the hero and representative of the West and Britain (as well as heteronormative masculinity).

When reading Fleming's first novel of the Bond series, *Casino Royale* from 1953, Bond shows awareness of the dualism within his world and his role as a hero, which he begins to question. After Le Chiffre brutally tortures Bond, his French colleague Mathis visits him at the hospital. He finds a convalescing and philosophical Bond. While debating the concepts of good and evil, Bond actually calls out the dualism Eco describes almost verbatim:

> Now in order to tell the difference between good and evil, we have manufactured two images representing extremes – representing the deepest black and the purest white – and we call them God and the Devil. (Fleming *Casino* 172)

This describes the dueling poles and the values they represent. Bond further discusses his role within the battle between good and evil and between heroes and villains. Earlier Vesper points out that as a Double-O he is seen as a hero within the British Secret Service. Bond is not necessarily excited by this description and points out that it is not difficult to become a Double-O, as long as "if you're prepared to kill people" (Fleming *Casino* 74). The burden of having killed two people in order to reach his status, which defines his identity, burdens Bond's consciousness. This is heightened after his traumatic torture experience, which lets him to further elaborate on his role as a hero, thereby alluding to fairytale stock figures similar to Eco's analysis:

> Now … that's all very fine. The hero kills two villains, but when the hero Le Chiffre starts to kill the villain Bond and the villain Bond knows he isn't a villain at all, you see the other side of the medal. The villains and heroes get all mixed up. (Fleming *Casino* 170)

With his Double-O status, Bond is seen as a hero within the secret service. Even though Bond questions the motives and the moral values behind his work, this schematization of his own existence still reflects the core of the narrative as uncovered by Eco.

What is most interesting about Bond's observation and the following conversation, is that Bond observes that defining good and evil is not a simple task. He argues that

> patriotism comes along and makes it seem fairly all right, but this country-right-or-wrong business is getting a little out-of-date. Today we are fighting communism. … History is moving pretty quickly these days and the heroes and villains keep on changing parts. (Fleming *Casino* 170-171)

And Bond continues:

> It's simple enough to say he [Le Chiffre] was an evil man, at least it's simple enough for me because he did evil things to me. If he was here now, I wouldn't hesitate to kill him, but out of personal revenge and not, I'm afraid, for some high moral reason or for the sake of my country. (Fleming *Casino* 171)

Bond addresses three important issues here: the fallibility of patriotism, the futility of keeping up this fight within an inevitably changing historical climate and the possible benefits of personal revenge. First, on the issues of patriotism, Bond acknowledges the fact that good and evil depend on the point of view and that the villains also think that they are fighting on the 'right' side. Both Bond and the villains usually have their strong patriotic beliefs in common, making them two sides of the same coin or "medal" (Fleming *Casino* 170). Second, history is always in the making and the enemies of today might not be the enemies of tomorrow. Here Bond indicates the futility of his work and his existence within the world. If everyone is fighting for what they believe to be right, then why should anybody bother to fight at all, since there is no way to convince the other side? And, since political and historical changes are inevitable and today's enemy could be tomorrow's ally, why should he bother to fight them either? Third, when considering these issues, would it not be better if Bond would just take revenge on Le Chiffre for hurting him personally? Why stir up issues on the macro-

level of politics, if Bond can gain satisfaction on the micro-level through personal revenge. He tells Mathis that if he could have killed Le Chiffre for the torture he endured, he would have taken revenge out of personal reasons, and not "for some high moral reason or for the sake of my country" (Fleming *Casino* 171). While the wish to directly inflict pain is understandable, the call for revenge creates disorder on a larger scale. In Enlightened societies of the 20th century the idea of personal revenge is considered primitive and a danger to the social order ruled by laws. Individuals do not issue punishment, the state does. While Bond has the right to feel differently, as a representative of the state, he should rise above his personal feelings. He should be fighting to protect the rules and laws that govern Western societies. In order to do so Bond has to be morally fit as well. His views become problematic since he is supposed to keep and protect this order.

In this moment of enormous doubt Mathis eventually stops Bond's introspection and tells him the following:

> "Well, when you go back to London you will find there are other Le Chiffres seeking to destroy you and your friends and your country. M. will tell you about them. And now that you have seen a really evil man, you will know how evil they can be and you will go after them to destroy them in order to protect yourself and the people you love. You won't wait to argue about it. You know what they look like now and what they can do to people. You may want to be certain that the target really is black, but there are plenty of really black targets around. There's still plenty for you to do. And you'll do it. And when you fall in love and have a mistress or a wife and children to look after, it will seem easier." … "Surround yourself with human beings, my dear James. They are easier to fight for than principles." He laughed. "But don't let me down and become human yourself. We would lose such a wonderful machine". (Fleming *Casino* 175-176)

Mathis touches on multiple important points. First, he clarifies Le Chiffre's purpose in this tale: he is the villain and as such has to be destroyed. While Bond argues that the roles of heroes and villains can "get all mixed up" (Fleming *Casino* 170), Mathis's argument suggests that this is not the case. When one villain goes, another takes his place, while Bond remains the stable hero, which implies an inherently fix structure. Second, he points out that it is M who will tell Bond who these villains are, leaving no room for doubt, thereby placing M at core of the structure as its stable focal point. Third, he suggests that Bond will continue fighting because now that he has seen pure evil, he will not have another choice, especially if he does it for those he loves. Mathis conflates duty and love, making the fight against evil not just a job, but a personal matter. Fourth, he argues that at the end Bond is a protector, and as such stands above

regular mortals and is essentially a ‘machine’. As such he does what he is told, without questions or doubts. This also cancels out the wish for personal revenge. This summarizes the most important factors of Bond’s identity as a hero and the structure of his world.

This is a significant moment for Bond and for the formation of his world. While Bond’s introspections about good and evil are valid and could perhaps be the source of conflict, Mathis’s speech puts this line of argument to rest. This realigns the black and white world view and affirms Bond’s position as the hero. At the same time, it indicates the importance of M as the moral guide in this world and Bond as his loyal machine.

3.3.2 M the Omnipresent, Omnipotent and Omniscient

The first pair that Eco discusses is the M-Bond relationship, which he immediately defines as a “dominated-dominant relationship which characterises from the beginning the limits and possibilities of the character of Bond and sets events moving” (Eco 147). This indicates a power dynamic within the pair, which puts M in the superior position since he defines Bond, not the other way around. Additionally, M does not only have the higher rank, but he also has more knowledge about the missions and a “global view of the events” (Eco 147), which he may not always disclose to Bond. The opening line of Fleming’s *The Man with the Golden Gun* (1965) states this idea explicitly:

> The Secret Service holds much that is kept secret even from very senior officers in the organization. Only M. and his Chief of Staff know absolutely everything there is to know. (Fleming *Golden* 1)

M also plays a permanent role in Bond’s life by being always on his mind. In *Casino Royale*, the basic structure of the Bond novel and the characterization of the main figures is already established. This is also true for M, who is introduced first by a brief mention from Bond. The novel opens with Bond already on his mission. It is revealed that Bond always has the feeling of “being watched and judged by those few cold brains that made the whole show work” (Fleming *Casino* 7). While this is an indirect reference to M, it is still the first mention of him. This short line immediately communicates not just M’s position, but also Bond’s relationship towards him. Bond is not only “watched” but also “judged” (Fleming *Casino* 7). Bond is, or at least feels, always under scrutiny and the mere possibility of being watched lets him strive to be

on his best behavior. Additionally, he refers to M and his team in London as “cold brains” (Fleming *Casino* 7), thereby characterizing intelligence work as a “show” (Fleming *Casino* 7), directed by these brains. This subscribes logic, rationality, and wisdom to M. In this description, M is the man behind the curtain and similar to a director of an elaborate show, who guides everyone and everything. He is omniscient and God-like, and as such also prone to manipulate and control those within the ‘show’ (e.g., Bond) and those watching, such as the public in the realm of the book, but also the reader, who self-identifies with Bond and is further drawn to the ‘right’ side as defined by Western ideals and norms.

While M’s power and control are always on Bond’s mind, conflict arises when Bond begins to gravitate away from the center of control. When Le Chiffre traps Bond, he doubts M for a moment: “Had M. underestimated their resourcefulness? He stifled the desire to place the blame on London” (Fleming *Casino* 135). Bond catches himself immediately and falters for even thinking negatively about his boss for a moment. During Bond’s torture, however, Le Chiffre specifically attacks M and their relationship: “… it was very foolish of your nanny in London to have sent you out here with your spade and bucket” (Fleming *Casino* 145). Le Chiffre infantilizes Bond and places M in the position of a caretaker, who has not done his job well. While Bond deflected previous criticism, he does not during his torture, which draws him away from M and results in his doubts later in the hospital. Additionally, he is not saved by M or anybody working for him, but by a henchman working for the enemy, which further weakens M’s influence in that moment. Even though Le Chiffre is killed shortly after this moment and Bond survives, he is literally scarred for life, since the henchmen from SMERSH scars his forehead with the Russian symbol for spy. It is after this torture and during his convalescence in France that he begins his introspections. With each step that leads him further into the web of the action, he is pulled further away from M’s realm, until he is virtually on his own with the villain. This is when doubt sets in. It is in this moment of greatest doubt and distance that Mathis reminds Bond of his duties and of M. When Bond is at his most vulnerable, it is the influence of M that pushes him back to the stable and safe orbit around the center, as represented by M.

M’s control and power also extend to Bond’s body. In his final remark, Mathis calls Bond a “wonderful machine” (Fleming *Casino* 176). If Bond is a machine, he has to be guided by an operator. In this case, it is M controlling the ‘show’ and the ‘puppet’, i.e., Bond. It has already been established that M controls Bond’s mind. Bond, for

example, always thinks he is being watched. The question is: how does M control Bond's body? One way in which M exacts control over Bond's body is illustrated in *From Russia, With Love* (1957) when M sends Bond on a mission to seduce a Russian agent. Although he does not tell him explicitly to have sexual relations with her, he does suggest that it would benefit the success of the mission, or as M puts it delicately: "It is up to you [Bond] that you do come up to her expectations" (Fleming *Russia* 150). Bond's body is not his own. It belongs to the state and has to protect it from outside threats.

In order to keep Britain and the West in a superior position, Bond has to follow M's orders and has to be prevented from thinking about his moral dilemmas (e.g., killing people). M controls his body, e.g., he tells Bond where to go, orders him physical treatments and doctors' visits (such as in *Thunderball*) and may even ask him to exchange sexual favors for information (*From Russia, With Love*). Most importantly, M also has a strong mental grip on Bond. As a 'machine', Bond is at his best when he is free from emotion and moral dilemmas. M dictates his purpose and, at the same time, M also instills his moral values in Bond, allowing Bond to think that what he does serves a higher purpose. This is the core of Bond's identity: He is M's machine, which is fueled by a sense of purpose and moral integrity. This allows Bond to be the hero, which is a thought that lets him continue working in the service of M and the nation.

3.3.3 M and Identity

According to Bennett and Woollacott, M functions as a "go-between between Bond and the centres of interpellation in relation to which Bond is recruited in the service of England" (106). In this capacity, he is also in the position to provide Bond with his identity as a hero in service of his nation.

When Bond is away from M's control and not on a mission, he slips into an identity crisis, from which only M can rescue him. Kingsley Amis refers to Bond as "moderate on the heroic secret-agent scale" (18). Bond is not a hero by nature. It is through hard work and especially through the guidance of M that Bond comes to display

> an obstinate fidelity to the job – at the command of M, always present as a warning – that allows him to overcome superhuman ordeals without exercising any superhuman faculties. (Eco 148)

Only through M's guidance and moral code, Bond becomes exceptionally heroic. This is best illustrated in the novels when Bond is not on a mission. During these times he succumbs to drinking, gambling, and laziness. In the opening of *Thunderball* (1961), Bond is not on a mission and wakes up with a hangover, not only regretting the previous night but also the last weeks of drinking and gambling. He falls into a spiral of self-hate, referring to himself as a "[s]tupid, ignorant bastard!" (Fleming *Thunderball* 2) with nothing to do. Only when the direct line from headquarter rings, Bond gets excited. M's call enlists him back into the service of the nation and

> resolves his identity crisis by stitching him back into place within that chain of interpellations, giving him a mission and an identity, set into motion as the delegated representative of all that stands behind M. (Bennett and Woollacott 106-107)

The sheer prospect of a mission from M elevates Bond's spirits, showing that without M, Bond is less than average, not heroic at all and that he is addicted to his heroism. Since only M can provide this identity, he is Bond's true master and Bond his (and the nation's) loyal servant.

When taking the relationship as described under consideration, questions about the reciprocity of the Bond-M relationships come to mind, since M appears to always have the upper hand within the relationship. In Bond, M has a 'machine' at his disposal, but what does Bond gain from M, if anything?

> Bond may gain exceptionality and is seen as a hero, which will come with many personal benefits, such as the love of beautiful women. Yet, it is always clear to Bond that M has the power to take everything away. When Bond is not on assignment, he is at his most anxious. (Khanakah *Moments* 6)

When Bond receives the call from M in *Thunderball* (1961), he feels true excitement for the first time in months:

> James Bond, his heart thumping faster than it should have done, … pulled out the chair and sat down and looked across into the calm, grey, damnably clear eyes he knew so well. What could he read in them? (Fleming *Thunderball* 3)

Bond's excitement manifests itself through a physical reaction, while M remains calm and collected in the situation. M's position at this moment is more powerful because he does not display emotions and excitement, giving him the upper hand over an over-excited Bond. Bond is aware of this imbalance of power. M leaves Bond in a constant

state of fear of losing his status and along with it his identity, which Bond admits to being very important to him. For example, in *Dr No* (1958) he says: “The license to kill for the Secret Service, the double-o prefix, was a great honour. It had been earned hardly. It brought Bond the only assignments he enjoyed, the dangerous ones” (Fleming *Dr No* 24). Here M counts on the fragility of Bond’s ego and manipulates him. Bond, on the other hand, is encouraged to do his best to stay in M’s good graces and fulfill his duties. The reciprocity in their relationship lies in Bond’s need for meaning and identity. M, on the other hand, needs a ‘machine’ to defend his values and country. Yet, it is also clear that M is in control of the situation and that Bond’s sense of identity is very fragile, which M knows and takes advantage of for his and the nation’s sake.

3.3.4 M and Phallic Authority

This reciprocal and yet often unequal dynamic also reflects a father-son dynamic within in the pair, which further shapes Bond’s core and identity. As the provider of the moral core and giver of Bond’s purpose and identity, M also takes the role of a symbolic father figure within Bond’s world. Eco describes the dynamic as a “reciprocal love-hate” (148) relationship, which indicates that the extent of their relationship goes beyond the professional. This also leads back to Mathis’s hint at the connection of love and duty as a motivation for Bond to keep working. Bennett and Woollacott point out that the structure of the British Secret Service is constructed like an imaginary family, in which M functions as the father and the agents as his children (129). This makes them more than colleagues, namely family, adding additional pressure on the agents to do well on their assignments. Bennett and Woollacott explore these dynamics in regards to Oedipal issues[18] which seem to be at play and which further influence the characters’ dynamics. In the world of Bond, the entire British Secret Service functions as an “imaginary household” (Bennett and Woollacott 129). Within this dynamic M functions

[18] In their discussion of Bond’s Oedipal issues, Bennett and Woollacott do not critically address Freud’s theory. The following should be noted: “This model of how sexual ‘*difference’* begins to be assumed in very young children has been strongly contested. Many people have questioned its speculative character. On the other hand, it has been very influential, as well as extensively amended by later analysts” (Hall 227). While the theory may be contested, the relational structures of a (traditional) family it depicts and the conflict between father and son can still be detected in Bond’s relationship to M, which is why this paper will follow along Bennett’s and Woollacott’s arguments. It provides another level of M’s power and influence over Bond which will be discussed in further detail.

as the symbolic father, Moneypenny as the symbolic mother and the agents and staff as children.

Underling the M-Moneypenny relationship is a father-mother dynamic, which proves to be the backbone of the British Secret Service. Moneypenny's role proves crucial in securing the country's defense, since she is the source of emotional support the agents often need, but M cannot provide. As such, she often functions as a go-between between the agents and M. For example, in Fleming's *Thunderball* she explains M's actions to a furious Bond and shows concern for his wellbeing:

> Miss Moneypenny gave a secret smile. 'You know he thinks the world of you – or perhaps you don't. Anyway, as soon as he saw your Medical he told me to book you in.' Miss Moneypenny screwed up her nose. 'But, James, do you really drink and smoke as much as that? It can't be good for you, you know.' She looked up at him with **motherly eyes** [emphasis added]. (Fleming *Thunderball* 10)

She shows motherly concern for his excessive lifestyle, which Bond recognizes. She also shows him that the British Secret Service cares about all aspects of their agents' lives. Of course, they would have to since they need their agents to be fit. However, by adding the motherly and personal connotation to the situation, it has more impact. The agents believe that their employer cares, making them more motivated to perform well. Within the office the dynamic is the following: M is the caring, but stern father, while Moneypenny adds a motherly component and emotional encouragement. M needs efficient machines, but he is faced with human machines, an oxymoron in itself. In order to bridge this contradiction, the emotional, human components have to be controlled as well. This family dynamic is crucial in keeping the agents tied to the British Secret Service. They think they are also fighting for their families. M cannot cancel out their human emotions, but he can manipulate them, by motivating his agents with ideals about love and duty. In the end, a successful spy must love his country. The best way for him to do so is by associating actual faces and voices with it. Here, the binary opposition created between M and Moneypenny bridges the gap between an inherent contradiction, namely human and machine trying to be one. These family dynamics prevent possible identity crisis and function as a motivating factor, at least on a subconscious level.

These dynamics also suggest an underlying Oedipal conflict, defining the basis of the relationship on a psychological level between M and Bond.

> [T]he 'phallic code' … in the novels informs the relationship between the various principal characters, particularly M, the central axis around which this system of signification revolves, and Bond. It is clear that M functions as a surrogate father in relation to Bond and that the relations between the two are worked through in terms of the Oedipus complex. (Bennett and Woollacott 129)

Within Bond's and M's relationship the underlying Oedipal issues functions as such: M, in contrast to Bond, is in a position of power, due to his job and his capacity as the boss. Furthermore, M is "a place of pure being, complete and final, the operating source of all action and the centre of meaning" (Bennett and Woollacott 131). In other words, because M knows his own identity and purpose, he is in the position to give others meaning and identity, which places him into the position of the father, who also forms the child's inner moral compass or *Super-Ego*. Within this structure, Bond, in the position of the child, has to align himself with M, since M is the one who has the power to give him meaning and his identity.

Within the Bond-M relationship, the image of the gun becomes the symbol of M's symbolic phallic power. Bond's gun plays an important role in his life. Its importance goes beyond its use as a weapon of self-defense. This is well showcased in *Dr No,* when Bond is forced to let go of his Beretta, due to problems it caused during his last mission. Bond describes his relationship with the gun:

> He thought of his fifteen years' marriage to the ugly bit of metal. … He thought of the days when he had dismantled the gun and oiled it and packed the bullets carefully into the springloaded magazine and tried the action once or twice, pumping the cartridges … Then the last wipe of a dry rag and the gun into the little holster … Bond felt unreasonably sad. How could one have such ties with an inanimate object, an ugly one at that, and, he had to admit it, with a weapon that was not in the same class as the ones chosen by the Armourer? But he had the ties and M was going to cut them. (Fleming *Dr No* 29)

Judging from this description, it appears that Bond's longest relationship so far has been with his gun. The passage is very intimate and sexually charged. He does not only describe the relationship as a "marriage" (Fleming *Dr No* 29), but the passage also carries masturbatory connotations, clearly pointing at its phallic symbolism. In this moment, where he has to let go of his gun, it becomes clear that M is in charge because he threatens Bond with symbolic castration (he will cut the ties). At the same time, M also gives him a new gun, which is more powerful. This shows that M can take away Bond's gun and all it symbolizes, and also endow him with new phallic authority. By

giving him the new and better gun, M makes Bond the representative of the phallic power again.

Bennett and Woollacott argue that the constant fear of castration is the reason why Bond's Oedipus complex is never resolved (133), to which must be added that M puts Bond in a constant state of anxiety, from which M eventually profits. As an orphan, Bond is more likely to be vulnerable and susceptible to these forms of manipulation. His status as an orphan may have also been a crucial factor in his recruitment. When M takes on the role of the symbolic father, he adds yet another dimension to his position. M does not only control Bond's body, thoughts, identity and moral values but also manipulates Bond emotionally. Still, he does offer Bond heroism and all the advantages that come with such a status. Also, M's manipulations are sanctioned by the state and serve high ideals of duty and sacrifice, which separates his manipulations from the villains, who follow 'wrong' ideals, such as Communism or their personal monetary advantages. These moral codes, the strong ties to nation and nationhood, which M represents, warrant the state of anxiety he leaves Bond to endure.

3.3.5 M, Bond and the Girl

As 'state property', Bond's body also embodies ideals which M represents and which have to be kept intact (with the guidance of M). The moral code that M provides is informed by ideas about England and Englishness, as well as nation and nationhood. Bennett and Woollacott examine the relationship between nation and nationhood and the figure of M in detail. They argue that M, as a former Navy Admiral, represents the British Empire and its greatness and strength (Bennett and Woollacott 106). This is especially crucial, considering the time the novels were written in. After World War II British influence on the world stage had further suffered. In the world of Bond, however, Britain is still an important global player. Here, Bond represents not only English traditions and ideals, but also Western ideals, and as such serves as a site of wishful thinking. The Bond-M relationship does not only affect Bond but extends beyond the confines of the British Secret Service, since Bond, as M's 'machine', represents M's values and the nation abroad and at times even in the public eye. Away from London, Bond consequently engages with the villain and the girl. Within these pairings it is up to Bond to display his heroism and show not only his superiority but also that of his nation and race. It is within the binary pairing between Bond and the villain/the girl that

difference is marked in terms of ideology in regards to nation, ethnicity and race, as well as gender and sexuality.

The relationship between Bond and the girl is primarily defined by gender and sexual norms, and the girl's deviation from standards set by the patriarchal order. The Bond girl, "a 'girl' never a woman" (Bennett and Woollacott 115), functions in the narrative as a contact point between the villain and Bond. She constitutes a problem or "troubling enigma" (Bennett and Woollacott 115), which Bond has to solve. The Bond girl can be characterized by a sense of "out-of-placeness" (Bennett and Woollacott 115).

> The 'place' which 'the Bond girls' are 'out of', so to speak, is that allotted to them – that which, ideologically, they should occupy – in a patriarchal order. Defined, socially and sexually, in relation to men. (Bennett and Woollacott 115)

Her deviation from the patriarchal norm is shown through non-normative expressions of sexual and gender identities, such as the fact that she might be lesbian (Tilly Masterton in *Goldfinger*), or through displaying sexual frigidity (Gala Brand in *Moonraker*). She might also have a physical deformity, not as grotesque as the villain's, but still noticeable enough to put a smudge on her otherwise very beautiful appearance (e.g., Honnychille's broken nose in *Dr No*). Her deviation is justified by her having only been in contact with the 'wrong type of men', which also explains her initial alignment with the villain, placing her in the "ideological divide between good and evil" (Bennett and Woollacott 116). It is part of Bond's job to realign her to the 'right' side, i.e., the patriarchal order. He eventually sexually, and thereby ideologically, realigns her through his own masculinity. His body, the 'machine', is in this case also a weapon or a cure for sexual deviation which symbolizes ideological skewness.

This scenario is well illustrated in *Goldfinger* (1959), where Bond encounters two 'enigmas' in this novel: Tilly Masterton and Pussy Galore. He finds Tilly very attractive, but finds her sexually distant. It is much later into their adventure that he realizes that she is a lesbian. In the world of Bond, lesbianism is a consequence of sexual trauma or, in Tilly's case, women's suffrage: "He knew the type well and thought they and their male counterparts were a direct consequence of giving votes to women and 'sex equality'" (Fleming *Goldfinger* 313). According to Bond, the world has deviated from the patriarchal structures by giving women the right to vote. Tilly is not homosexual by nature, but a victim of and a warning against feminism and sex equality, which has "produced citizens who embody gender traits not traditionally associated with their sex,

such as effeminacy in males, “butchness” in females, of homosexual desire in general” (Jenikns 311). Traditional femininity and masculinity are skewed. It is, therefore, part of Bond’s job to correct this. In Tilly’s case, he is, however, not able to. She does not follow his masculine strength and logic. Instead, she falls for Pussy Galore and eventually dies when she does not take the help offered by Bond. To this, he has the following to say: “Poor little bitch. She didn’t think much of men” (Fleming *Goldfinger* 341). In the case of Tilly, death is the only possible consequence. If Bond cannot ‘cure’ her, she must be eliminated to realign the order. Her actions, as guided by her sexual deviations, lead to her death and also threaten Bond’s mission and thereby also national security. Bond is, however, more successful with Pussy. As it turns out her ‘brand’ of lesbianism is a consequence of childhood sexual abuse. Bond treats her to a ‘cure’, namely his body. He understands that she only needs T.L.C., or “Tender Loving Care treatment” (Fleming *Goldfinger* 341). “[I]n repositioning Pussy Galore sexually, Bond also repositions her ideologically, detaching her from the service of the villain and recruiting her in support of his own mission” (Bennett and Woollacott 117). The characters’ bodies reflect the character’s moral integrity and cultural supremacy. Through his body Bond manages to flaunt British supremacy and keep the nation’s moral core safe. By realigning the girl to patriarchal order, he cuts off the connection with the villain and weakens his position further, making the (sexual) conquest of the girl a vital part of his mission’s success.

3.3.6 M, Bond and the Villain

The ultimate battle Bond engages in is between him and the villain. This fight between good and evil is fought at the intersection of nation, ethnicity and race, as well as gender and sexuality. Bond showcases the supremacy of his race and nation. His masculinity and heteronormativity are his main weapons in this fight. M proves again to be the core of Bond’s strength and supremacy, and functions as the secure core of British moral strength and patriarchal order which Bond seeks to protect.

Bond villains, for example, are usually marked through three characteristics: their unusual and deformed appearance, their ‘abnormal’ sexuality, and their non-Anglo-Saxon or mixed heritage. Eco summarizes the following about the typical characteristics of the Bond villains:

> To make more constant the Bond-Villain relationship, there is also a racial quality common to all Villains. The Villain is born in an ethnic area that stretches from Central Europe to the Slav countries and the Mediterranean basin: usually, he is of mixed blood, and his origins are complex and obscure. He is asexual or homosexual, or at any rate is not sexually normal. … Gathered in the figure of the Villain, in fact, the negative values which have distinguished in some pairs of opposites, the Soviet Union and other non-Anglo-Saxon countries (the racial convention blames particularly Jews, the Germans, the Slaves, and the Italians, always depicted as halfbreeds), Cupidity elevated to the dignity of paranoia, Planning as technological methodology, satrapic Luxury, physical and psychical Excess, physical and moral Perversion, radical Disloyalty. (151)

When Bond is placed in direct contrast with the villain he is, of course, better looking and displays a 'healthy' form of sexuality, which conforms to the prevalent patriarchal standards. As the hero, Bond represents an idealized version of this 'norm', while the villain, on the other hand, drifts away from these norms and is thereby placed into (negative) opposition to Bond. In the world of Bond, the villain's physical deformities are the first visual signs of his or her inner depravities, which are then further defined through non-conforming sexual and gender expressions (e.g., homosexuality, asexuality, impotence, etc.). Most importantly, their 'abnormal' sexuality is then linked to their nationality and ethnicity, which happens to coincide with current enemies of Britain and her Western allies. Here, the binary structures of the narrative build the basis for a multi-level ideological approach to marking difference and thereby establishing the cultural and national supremacy of Britain and the West.

The contrast between Bond and the villain is usually established through descriptions of the villain's traits and characteristics, which, while at times similar to Bond's, vary in crucial details, thereby othering the villain in regards to sexuality and nationality. When introducing the villain to the audience, Fleming often includes not only 'abnormalities' but also similarities to Bond. The villain's 'abnormalities' help in enhancing Bond's 'normality'. For example, Le Chiffre's description in M's dossier states the following about his habits: he is an expert driver and gambler, adept in small arms and personal combat, he dresses well, and he is considered a good (Soviet) agent (Fleming *Casino* 19). The same things could be said about Bond. The differences, however, is in the added details:

> Complexion **very pale** [emphasis added]. Clean-shaven. Hair red-brown, 'en brosse'. Eyes very dark brown with **whites showing all around iris** [emphasis added]. **Small**, rather **feminine mouth** [emphasis added]. False teeth of expensive quality. Ears small, with large lobes, indicating some **Jewish blood** [emphasis added]. Hands small, well-tended, hirsute. Feet small. Racially, subject is probably a mixture of Mediterranean with Prussian and Polish strains. (Fleming *Casino* 18)

The report continues to ascribe a "[l]arge sexual appetite" (Fleming *Casino* 19) to him, adding "[f]lagellant" (Fleming *Casino* 19) as further detail. These descriptions of Le Chiffre show how Fleming's characterization of the villain connects their 'abnormal' physical traits (e.g., the small mouth) with their non-normative gender and sexual identities (e.g., the small mouth that is also feminine) and ethnical heritage (e.g., the shape of the lobes indicates a Jewish heritage). The similarities between Bond and Le Chiffre (they both dress well, smoke a lot and are excellent agents) also recall Bond's contemplations about villains and heroes being different sides of the same medal (Fleming *Casino* 170). The difference, however, is that Le Chiffre displays these elements in excess, or as Eco describes it as "physical and psychical Excess, physical and moral Perversion, [and] radical Disloyalty" (151). This excess and perversion in all traits are what marks them as evil. Mathis tells Bond that he will always know and recognize the villain (Fleming *Casino* 175). It is through these markers and differences that not only Bond, but also the audience will recognize them. In Bond, the villains' 'abnormal' sexuality (or queerness) and their non-Anglo-Saxon background tip the scale within the relationship in Bond's favor. His national and sexual 'goodness' is based on the othering of the villain, which only heightens his national and cultural superiority, thereby manifesting his status as a hero.

Bond's heroism and national superiority also extend to a higher level of national representation, as Bond represents his nation and the British Secret Service outside of London and in the public eye. When Bond does well, his heroism reflects well on Britain and their security services. This does not only strengthen public pride and support within the country but also enlists fear in the enemy and elevates Britain's standing on the world stage. Appearances are important and have to be kept intact. The importance of public appearance in regards to the nation's safety and strength cannot be underestimated, especially within Cold War culture. Jenkins argues that in these instances Bond reflects historical circumstances: "This warning against homosexuality and its ability to weaken Great Britain would have held real-life

relevance for British readers given the betrayal of the Cambridge Spies" (311). The Cambridge Spy scandal involved four high ranking British officials within the secret service passing information to the KGB (1930s-1950s). Most importantly, the men involved were rumored to be homosexual. It is not clear if all of them were homosexual or if their sexuality had anything to do with their betrayal, but the fact that it became part of the narrative made it a crucial factor in the public eye and "provided a legitimate link between communism and homosexuality during the Cold War" (Jenkins 311). During this period non-normative behavior, especially in regards to gender and sexual expressions, were linked to moral decay and viewed as risks to national security. Bond villains reflect these ideas, since "a character's "deviant" behavior in the Bond series is used to mark that person's national weakness" (Jenkins 311). In Bond, the Soviets (and other enemies) suffer from moral decay and sexual perversion, and this reflects on the nation they represent. Bond, on the other hand, is morally strong, due to M's strong influence, and with him the entire nation and the secret service. Again, M and the secret service, the "cold brains" (Fleming *Casino* 7), work behind the scenes to keep the nation safe from all forms of threats, physical and moral. To do so, they have to be 'good' from within in order to leave no doubt about their effectiveness within the nation and the enemy.

The central premise in *From Russia, With Love* (1957), is based on the fact that the Soviets and the Brits want to keep up the appearances of being great nations, with an excellent intelligence apparatus behind them. Fleming, uncharacteristically, opens the novel with a look into the inner workings of the Soviet intelligence service and their secret spy unit, SMERSH, "a contration [sic] of Smiert Spionam – Death of Spies" (Fleming *Russia* i). The reader is first introduced to the commanding officers, the agents, and their plans. In the following section, Fleming (re-)introduces M, his staff and Bond as they make their plans. The structure of the novels offers a contrasting view of similar situations on both sides: the introduction of the secret services, recruitment of an agent and the devising of a plan. While the plots, characters, and situations mirror, the scale tips in favor of the British and their national ideals. Even when the story is told from the Soviet perspective, the reader is still made aware that the British side is superior. A high commanding Soviet officer even remarks on the quality of the British Secret Service, especially as compared to the Americans, whose only quality is their money. The British, however, are outstanding and a genuine threat to the Soviets. General Vozdvishensky states the following about the British M.I.5.:

> Their Security Service is excellent. England, being an island, has great security advantages and their so-called M.I.5. employs men with good education and good brains. Their Secret Service is still better. … we are constantly finding they have been there before us. Their agents are good. They pay them little money … but they serve with devotion. Yet these agents have no special privileges in England … And yet these men and women continue to do this dangerous work. (Fleming *Russia* 57-58)

The Soviets are surprised by this dedication. The British Secret Service does have not only good standing within the intelligence community but also within public opinion. The Soviets seek to destroy this reputation by sending a "honey-trap" (Jenkins 316) to seduce and humiliate Bond in public and with him his country's reputation, which he has to represent and protect. The premise of the novel is reflexive of the idea that it is essential to keep up appearances during times when national identities are under attack.

One of the most critical elements in terms of showcasing cultural and national supremacy is through the contrasting of the characters' different gender and sexual expressions. In *From Russia, With Love,* this is explored during the recruitment of Tatiana Romanova by Rosa Klebb. In this scene, the young woman is mortified to talk to Klebb. Klebb aggressively asks her about her sexual life, tells her that she has to have sexual relations with Bond because her "body belongs to the State" (Fleming *Russia* 113), and even makes a rather blatant sexual advance at her, which sends Tatiana running out of the office. In contrast, a similar scene occurs between M and Bond in London. M tells Bond that he has to seduce Tatiana in order to gain intel and a decoding device. He also asks Bond to use his sexuality but does so in a respectful manner. Obviously, M does not make any sexual advances towards Bond. Here the contrast is significant. It shows how the Soviets motivate through fear, while the Brits operate under mutual respect through an intact moral core, as represented by M, who is not only respectful of Bond's private matters but also displays and encourages hetero-normative expressions of sexuality. On the other side, Klebb's sexuality and queerness indicate her monstrosity from the start. Here, the villain's physical deformity and (his or) her non-normative sexual and gender expressions, are put into stark contrast with Bond's (and M's) undoubted masculinity and heterosexuality (e.g., M never doubts that Bond could not seduce a woman). In the world of Bond, queerness is exclusively linked to the villain and is a sign of his or her deviation. While London displays patriarchically approved heterosexual norms, the Soviets are out of control.

In *From Russia, With Love*, we see that M and the British Secret Service know what they are doing and the Soviets are doomed to failure from the onset.

The center of British success is M, whose logical mind and omniscience is paired with his unfailing sense of duty and morality, which he instills in Bond as his representative in the world. This function of M extends through all novels and is already established in Fleming's first novel, *Casino Royale*. For example, M's dossier shows how much detail the British Intelligence has been able to gather about Le Chiffre. They were, for example, able to figure out his plan to play the baccarat game at the casino in Royale, not because they were told, but only through deductive reasoning. In contrast, the SMERSH agent, who kills Le Chiffre, tells Bond that he did not know that Bond would be present and therefore had no orders to kill him. He tells Bond the following:

> I have no orders to kill you. Your life has been saved twice in one day. But you can tell your organization that SMERSH is only merciful by chance or mistake. In your case you were saved first by **chance** [emphasis added] and now by **mistake** [emphasis added], for I should have had order to kill any foreign spies who were hanging round this traitor like flies round a dog's-mess. (Fleming *Casino* 156)

Apparently, the Soviet's intelligence relies on 'chance' and 'mistake', while the British rely on planning and strategy, which is the core binary defining the difference between the British Secret Service and the enemy. Here the game of baccarat serves as a metaphor. When M instructs Bond, Bond mentions the rules and the odds but realizes right away that M knows this already: "Bond was stopped by the cold eyes. M. knew all this already, knew the odds at baccarat as well as Bond. That was his job – knowing the odds at everything, and knowing men, his own and the opposition's" (Fleming *Casino* 25). M knows the rules to the game (of espionage and the Cold War) better than anybody. He is also powerful enough to decide whether to play the game or not. It is his 'cold brain', guided by logic and a strong sense of duty and nationhood, which keeps the national moral core intact and the nation safe from moral decay and sexual depravity.

3.4 A Dynamic Model of Bond

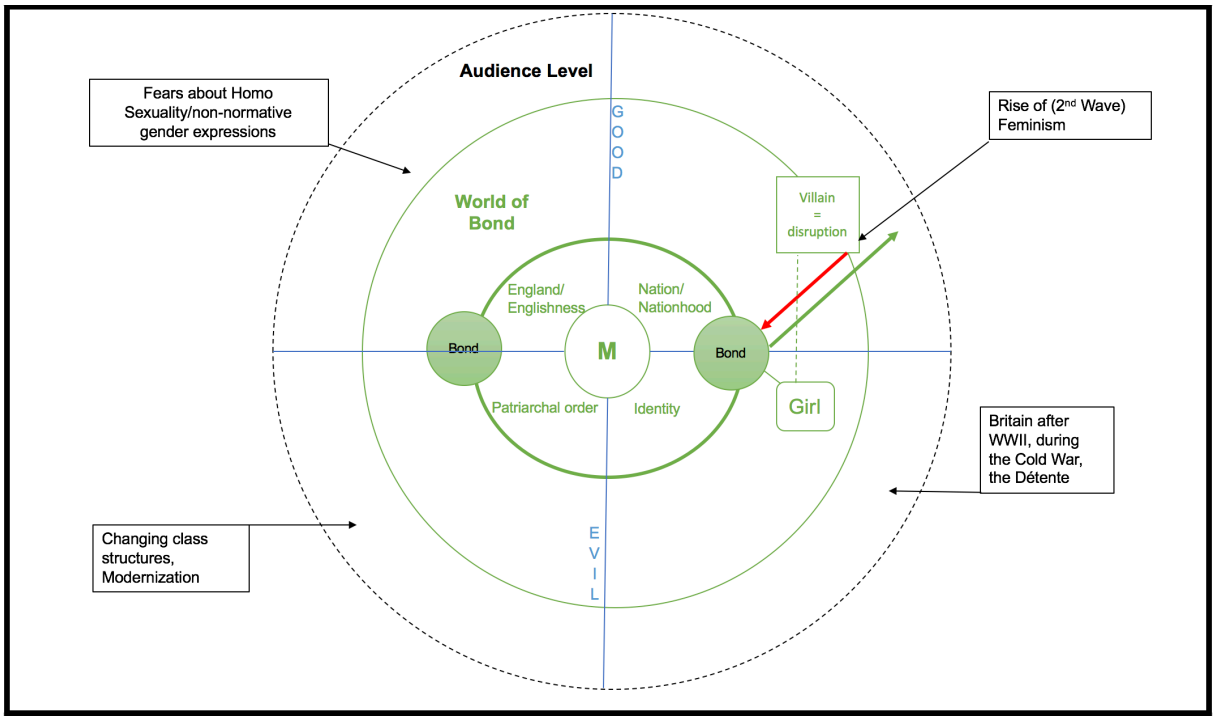
This analysis of Fleming's work aimed at establishing Bond's complex role as a cultural signifier. The analysis is based on Umberto Eco's work on the narrative structures in Fleming's novels. Eco describes the narrative in Bond novels as a binary relationship between the characters and their values. He also characterizes the world of Bond as black and white. Eco argues that Fleming enhanced his narrative with certain expressions of values colored by the political and social climate of the time. For example, the villains' nationalities in Bond tend to align with prevalent enemies of Britain. Eco, however, dismiss these connections, deeming them as the author's opportunistic pandering towards his audience. While Fleming was admittedly interested in commercial success and reemployed the patterns which proved to be successful (Pearson 410), these connections should still not be dismissed, since they are a part of Bond's success. Bennett and Woollacott recognize this and focus their work on these ideological markers. They see these as important elements for the audiences' connection and identification with Bond. Bennett and Woollacott argue these moments serve the process of the readers' self-identification with Bond, since the reader "as a subject within ideology is 'rubbed' by the process of narrative" (94). This section aimed at showcasing the relationship between these ideological markers and the repetitive patters of Bond's narrative as they build the so called "formula of James Bond" (Pearson 410).

Here, the goal was to show that Eco's depictions of Fleming's narrative reveal an inherent connection between the structures and prevailing ideologies. Due to this intrinsic quality, James Bond has become and has remained, a stable figure within popular culture for over 60 years. By linking the narrative structures and the inherent power dynamics to geopolitical and sociocultural concerns of the time, Bond can be read as a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43). Within this quality lies his success. Bond remains in constant negotiation with his audiences' conflicts and contradictions. The section did not only aim at pointing these elements out, but also worked towards establishing a model of Bond's formula that incorporates these influences and shows the dynamic nature of the relationship with the audience.

As Eco's depiction of the narrative structures is rather static, this analysis hopes to present a more dynamic model. Eco relates the characters' roles within the narrative to fairy tale figures (Eco 161). These stock figures build the binary poles of the

characters and their values. As building blocks, they are infused with dominant cultural and political bias, always favoring Britain and Western values. Also, these oppositional pairs carry power dynamics which create conflict and drive the narrative forward. For example, if Bond is the hero than he is automatically superior when paired with the villain, because the term 'hero' carries a positive connotation, while 'villain' is negatively connoted. This superiority is linked to nation, ethnicity, gender and sexuality, which always places Bond and Britain on top. In Bond, crisis of national and patriarchal standards are fought and solved by Bond, who keeps the moral core and security of the nation intact. Here, M's role is crucial, since he represent and establishes the values and morals Bond seeks to defend. While Eco depicted the characters and values they represent as static, which is represented in the structure of Table 1 (see page 24). The following table aims at visualizing the dynamic nature of Bond and the relationship to audience and ideology:

Table 3: A Dynamic Model of Narrative Structures in Bond[19]



[19] The visual representation of the analysis aims at showing the complexity of the analysis, especially when compared to the visual representation of the original model in Table 1. However, it still remains a two-dimensional representation that cannot fully capture the complex nature of audience perception. The table is only meant as an additional visual aid in order to compare and contrast the development of the analysis.

Table 3 can be read as such: First, the audience on the outer circle is looking in on the world of Bond (by reading the novels or, later, watching the films). The audience is subject to political and cultural influences. These influences their reading and understanding. The dotted line indicates the penetration of these conflicts onto the audience level. Second, these cultural and political conflicts and crisis are also influencing conflicts within the world of Bond. Here, the villain stands for current enemies of Britain and the West and, as such, tries to attack Bond. Third, the villain confronts Bond, who is placed between M, as the core of national and moral superiority, and the villain, who represents evil as showcased through physical deformity, gender and sexual deviation and obscure national and cultural heritage. Bond's stable core (in the form of M) builds his identity as a hero and signifies his superiority over the villain, as showcased by his physical fitness, Anglo-Saxon background and hyper-heterosexuality and hyper-masculinity. Bond serves as a protective shield from the villain's physical and moral attacks. Forth, as final proof of his superiority, he also manages to realign the girl, who has been victim to these influences and has skewed from the norms. She is 'put back on track' through Bond's body. The realignment of the girl serves as proof of Bond's winning, superior nature. Within this model M plays a crucial role, as it is his job to balance good and evil. He is the center of Bond's identity as a hero. Only through M Bond can do his work, which makes M the key focal point of the narrative apparatus.

The table aims at showing the relationship between the narrative structures of Bond and his audience. In Bond, the audience is always 'implicit' and 'complicit', which helps him to keep relevant and successful through decades to come. This inherent quality of Bond has formed him into a "moving sign of his lifetime" (Bennett and Woollacott 19) and has brought him continuous success. While the structure was also carried over to the films, the roles began to shift in the first era of Bond films to serve the purpose of Bond's modernization. The most significant rift within this structure came with Judi Dench taking over the role of M in the 1990s. Making M (the core of patriarchal authority) female disturbed a balance, which the world of Bond could not cope with. These points will be the focus of the following discussion.

4 M and Bond on Screen

In 1962 James Bond made his film debut in Terence Young's *Dr. No*, starring Sean Connery. Connery went on to portray the British spy six times between 1962 and 1971[20]. So far, George Lazenby remains the only actor to portray Bond only once, namely in Peter Hunt's *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* form 1969. Roger Moore, took over the role in 1973, starring in Guy Hamilton's *Live and Let Die*. He played Bond in six additional films, until 1985, when he was followed by Timothy Dalton, who portrayed Bond in two films, from 1987 until 1989. In the span of 27 years, James Bond was portrayed by four actors. M, on the other hand, was played by two actors during the same period, namely by Bernhard Lee (1962-1979) and Robert Brown (1983-1989). This time period also marks Bond as a hero of the Cold War era and the Détente. The next chapter of Bond films began in 1995 with Pierce Brosnan claiming the leading role in Martin Campbell's *GoldenEye.* After a six-year hiatus, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union, Bond's heroism was transitioned into the 1990s. *GoldenEye* also brought the most surprising change to the series, namely a twist in the portrayal of M, when Judi Dench took over the role of Bond's stern boss. She also transitioned into the newest era of Bond films, starring Daniel Craig, starting with Martin Campbell's *Casino Royale* in 2006. Dench portrayed M in seven installments of the series until her character's death in Sam Mendes's *Skyfall* in 2012. In the last scene of *Skyfall*, the audience is introduced to her replacement and the current M, portrayed by Ralph Fiennes, who is also featured in the last film (so far), *SPECTRE* from 2015 (also directed by Sam Mendes).

The cinematic version of Bond brought changes to the portrayal of the character, while also maintaining his function as a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43). The Bond of the films was less brooding, philosophical, or tortured by the demands of his work (at least until Craig). This was a deliberate choice of the filmmakers, as they were fueled by the need to reach a broad and international audience. They positioned Bond as a transitional figure in the context of a modern Britain, thereby breaking away from old stereotypes about Englishness. In the history of James Bond, the films mark

[20] He also starred as Bond in *Never Say Never Again* (1983, directed by Irvin Kershner), but unlike the other films, this one was not produced by EON, which is why it is often not considered as a part of the official Bond film canon.

the most significant turning point within Bond's rise as a worldwide phenomenon. Bennett and Woollacott argue:

> The most significant changes in the cultural and ideological currency of Bond during this period are attributable to the effects of the films, particularly to the way they transformed to plot elements of the novels and subtly modified the characterisation of Bond. (33)

During his film career, elements within the formula of the narrative were remodeled in order to present Bond as a "hero of modernisation" (Bennett and Woollacott 29). Here, Bond's success hinged on his ability to *re-elaborate* "the real historical contradictions of the period" (Bennett and Woollacott 28). While the main characters and the binary structures of Fleming's narrative were transitioned into the (visual) narrative of the film, the relationships and power dynamics within these poles were modified to serve the purpose of modernization. This can be examined through the character of M. The variations and transformations of M in the Bond series will therefore be discussed in this chapter.

While M's role varies over time, M's office becomes a stable visual signifier of his role and his relationship with Bond. In the films, M is visually linked to his office, which is the place where Bond receives his missions, his gun, and his gadgets. In "Dial 'M' for Metonym: Universal Exports, M's Office Space and Empire", Paul Stock refers to M's office as a "metonym for England" (215). He argues that "M is the iconic representative of England and Englishness" (215) and that his office is the place where "[t]he real business of keeping the nation state safe is engaged behind the soundproofed doors of M's office, the administrative core of the British Secret Service" (215). As such,

> [i]t is a place where ideology, iconography and office fittings converge; where changes and challenges to that 'office space' are juxtaposed; and where cognitive maps and resonance of a British signifier on the margins of Empire can be examined. (215)

As a former Navy Admiral, M represents Britain and Britishness, especially as related to Britain's former imperial and colonial power. Of course, this power had declined dramatically by the 1960s. Stock, however, argues that M offers a revisionist version of history and that his office serves as a visual reminder of this glorious past. "It is a site that hails recollections and fabricated memories of a past, retaining its stability through mooring to a bygone period of Imperial ascendency" (Stock 216). His office is

a visual representation of this point of view. Due to the never-changing set design of M's office, Stock describes it as "stable, conservative and dependable" (216). There might have been minor changes in terms of size or placing of the furniture, but there is always a certain set of items never missing from M's office, such as

> numerous framed paintings of tall sailing ships; a scale model of a ship, contained in a glass cabinet; tiny replica cannons; busts of reputable historic figures; luxurious green curtains; and antiquated world globe, with Britain's Imperial conquests pretty in pink. (Stock 216)

These items reflect on M's career as an Admiral in the British Navy and (implicitly) point to the strength of British Imperialism. These associations, however, began to decline in the later films of the Moore and Dalton era. During this era, M's office becomes a visual reminder of obsolete views about British Imperial power. Here the revisionist attempts become outdated and so did M. With views changing, M also begins to be seen as out of place and out of touch, turning his office into a museum of a mythical past and him into a dusty antiquity. These changes in the (visual) narrative, enhance Bond's status as a hero of the modern era. He takes over roles formally ascribed to M and bridges the gap between a bygone era and the modern present, until his complete rejection of M by the end of the 1980s. During Dench's era, M's office remains a visual signifier. This time it becomes the space where her failures and gender conflicts are elaborated, at least until the position and the office are brought back to its former (male) strength with the introduction of Ralph Fiennes.

The following analysis will focus on the Bond-M relationship on screen, chronologically. The first section will look into the period of films between 1962 and 1989. During this period, M morphed from a representative of British nationhood and heteronormativity to an old "fuddy-duddy Establishment figure" (Bennett and Woollacott 34). His office space is the focus of the discussion. The first films in the series already establish a trend within the cinematic formula: in Bond, the othering of women, their female spaces, and non-conforming gender expressions work to enhance the superiority of traditional expressions of masculinity and showcase the importance of male spaces. For example, Moneypenny's space in *Dr. No* and Rosa Klebb's space in *From Russia With Love* are put into contrast with M's space, which is positioned as superior in contrast to their feminine or queer spaces. However, M's space is also more often used to place him in an inferior position to Bond. The more old-fashioned and antiquated (also in regards to women) M is appears, the more

modern and forward-thinking Bond seems in comparison. With each film, Bond takes over roles and responsibilities of M and modernizes them, turning himself into a Bond-M hybrid. The second section will discuss the films of the 1990s and how Dench's M provides a challenge to the sexist treatment of women in previous Bond films. M's space once again becomes the site of gendered thinking that eventually rewards the male, ironically even when M is a woman. While her appointment represents the rise of women in positions of power, her feminist discourse falls short, and her failure as a leader only functions to prove Bond's masculine instincts as superior. The final section will discuss the current era of Bond films, where the relationship is again at the center of Bond's identity development. While M represents traditional values of British strength and mythical ideals in regards to heroism, her gender eventually pushes her into the mother role, which at the end turns her into a martyr. The re-installment of a male M signals the return to the old orders, thereby validating male authority.

It is through the character of M, and especially the female M, that Bond's inherent quality as a "moving sign of his time" (Bennett and Woollacott 19) or a "social and political barometer" (Brooks and Hill 121) can be examined. M's position is similar. If M is a "metonym for England" (Stock 215), then the female M can be seen as a metonym for women positioned in traditionally male-dominated spaces. As such, her development and treatment in the film series can be viewed as a reflection of prevalent ideologies. Bond, as always, remains in negotiation with his audience as subjects to ideology and reflects these attitudes at the moment. He does, however, not serve as a vehicle of change, thereby securing his continuous success.

4.1 M and Bond between 1962-1989

The M-Bond relationship of the Bond films between 1962 and 1989 is characterized by a slow, but steady shift of power from M towards Bond. With each film, M's role as the representative of nation and nationhood, as well as phallic authority and donner of identity declines. Bennett and Woollacott describe this shift within the power dynamic as a modernization of the character. They argue the following:

> Bond's functioning in relation to ideologies of nation and nationhood was significantly modified. This was, in part, a consequence of the ways in which the relations between Bond and M were represented, with Bond being increasingly distinguished from and constructed in opposition to the films' portrayal of M as a fuddy-duddy Establishment figure. (Bennett and Woollacott 34)

In the films, M's function is more and more reduced to a foil for Bond. M's old-fashioned attitudes and age only serve to enhance Bond's modern thinking, as well as his youth and virility. This shifts the traditional power dynamic, as established by the novels, thereby tipping the scales towards Bond, making him the modern hero the audience demands.

This shift takes place chronologically (more and more with each film) and is characterized by four steps. The first step is in the introduction of M and Bond in *Dr. No.* Here, M is established as the holder of phallic authority and his office as the center of national power linked to masculinity. This characterization is, however, only established by putting his space in contrast with Moneypenny's office. Here, gender is used as an othering device in order to elevate ideas about male spaces and their importance. Also, the sympathies of the viewer are drawn towards Bond as the victim of rigid authority. The second step, demonstrates M and his office space as the center of moral authority, by othering the office space of the enemy, Rosa Klebb, and marking a woman's claim to a traditionally male space as the queer evil. *From Russia With Love,* also shows Bond as more open to questions of women's equality, at least when directly compared to M's attitudes, placing him in a more sympathetic position again. Third, M is more often shown away from his office and what it visually signifies, starting with Guy Hamilton's 1973, *Live and Let Die.* Here, the new Bond (Roger Moore) is introduced as a popular and modern hero, who takes on the roles previously held by M (e.g., the values in regards to nation and nationhood). He also modernizes them, thereby forming into a Bond-M hybrid. The final moment in the development takes

place in the last film featuring a male M (at least before Ralph Fiennes takes over by the end of *Skyfall* in 2012). In John Glen's 1989, *License to Kill,* starring Timothy Dalton, Bond criticizes M as a complete moral and political failure. He rejects his authority, and the identity M provides him with, thereby emancipating himself from M and his hold over Bond's life.

The following section will examine these steps in the development by analyzing key scenes in each of the films. Here, M's office (or the lack of his office) serves as a visual signifier for M's role and the shift of power towards Bond.

4.1.1 M, Phallic Authority and Identity

M's office space is recognizably masculine, even before it appears on screen, due to visual contrast created by first introducing his secretary's office space, which is marked as feminine and domestic. Viewers meet M for the first time in 1962. The stern head of MI6 is portrayed by Bernard Lee, in Terence Young's *Dr. No.* However, before the audience meets M, they are introduced to his secretary, Miss Moneypenny, played by Lois Maxwell. As Bond walks into her office, he hangs up his coat on a coat rack. The coat rack already signals the purpose of the room as an anteroom to a more important place (coats would not be hung in M's office; it is too important). Furthermore, Moneypenny's office space includes her desk, a typewriter, and filing cabinets surrounding her. Besides this typical office interior, her space is marked as feminine, due to flower pots on the windowsill, pictures of flowers on the wall and a tray with teacups and a teapot behind her, as can be seen in Figure 1.

Fig. 1. Still from Young, *Dr. No* (00:09:27)

Stock argues that the set design offers crucial visual cues:

> Perhaps props are easily overlooked, but flowing from this a clear distinction can be drawn between Moneypenny's and M's workspaces when Moneypenny's secretarial role and the corresponding functions of the offices are identified in the scene. Cups and saucers are not stored in M's office. Domestic duties aren't his forte. (215)

Moneypenny's space may be a workspace, but it is visually marked as feminine and domestic. Most importantly, the feminine and domestic nature of her space coincide with markers of less importance, as signaled by the coat rack. Due to the domesticity and femininity of Moneypenny's space, M's office appears as a contrast when shown in the following scene. This visual binary mediates information about the characters and their roles within the world of the film. Moneypenny's feminine space, juxtaposed with M's space, enhances the inherent masculinity of his space, which is also linked to importance and power.

M's office space, on the other hand, lacks the domestic and feminine markers and is established as the professional core of the British Secret Service, since his office provides the background for the showcasing of ideals in regards to order and control. After Bond closes the door behind him, he takes a few steps into the room, coming to a stand in front of M's desk. M is first seen from behind, sitting at his desk, smoking a

pipe, with Bond standing in front of him. He is slouched over papers and does not acknowledge Bond's presence. M tells him to sit down, and the camera shifts to Bond's point of view, letting the audience see M for the first time, in a medium close-up. M is a gray-haired man in his mid-50s, wearing a gray suit and thick-rimmed glasses. This first encounter on screen between M and Bond establishes their relationship and the function of M's office. First, M's presence signals a different side of Bond, namely the professional spy. M is actually the first male character (except for the staff at the casino), who engages with Bond on screen. So far, Bond has only interacted with women, whom he either seduced or flirted with. In this space, Bond's charm and sexual prowess takes a back seat to the task at hand, namely saving the nation. Second, M's office background adds strength and power infused with a sense of nationalism to the situation. As he stands up for a moment, M is seen in a medium shot (in Figure 2), framed by his office interior containing symbols of his naval career, implying British strength (e.g., painting of a ship).

Fig. 2. Still from Young, *Dr. No* (00:11:18)

M represents field experience and a strong sense of duty, as well as British strength and power. Bond shows respect for M and his space, thereby adjusting his tone. Third, his office links professionalism to masculinity. No woman is present in M's office and items associated with domesticity (e.g., the tea set) are confined to Moneypenny's

office. Here, the men can focus on getting the job done and secure the safety of the nation. M and his office space are a visual signal for introducing Bond the professional and competent secret agent, who serves his nation and secures its future strength.

The office is further marked as masculine through the following gun exchange, which establishes M's phallic authority and threatens Bond's status as a Double-O agent, as well as his gender and sexual identity. The gun exchange establishes multiple levels of meaning within the M-Bond relationship. First, M links the gun to Bond's gender identity of which he puts himself in charge. When Bond takes out his Beretta, M and the Armourer proceed to shame Bond for his choice of gun, referring to it as a gun "for a lady's handbag" (*Dr. No*), thereby feminizing a traditionally phallic symbol. Bond cannot use it any longer since it would question his masculinity from now on. As the symbolic father, M must also secure Bond's masculinity and this can only be done by discrediting the feminine. In his 2010, "The Feminization of M: Gender and Authority in the Bond Films", Tom McNeely argues that "Bond appears too effeminate for M's satisfaction, and M attempts to make Bond more masculine by giving him a larger, more powerful gun" (155). Second, M recognizes the gun as insufficient. Apparently, the gun had malfunctioned during his last mission and Bond had to recover for six months. This is a waste of a good agent, making the gun unreliable and costly. Here M shows his concern for Bond's life, but also implies the importance of sufficiency, which can be measured in numbers. M further mentions his success rate: "Since I've been head of MI6, there's been a forty percent drop in Double-O operative casualties" (*Dr. No*). While M could come across as a bureaucrat at this moment, the set design which indicates his successful career in the field shows that he also has firsthand field experience, which guarantees him authority and respect. Here, M is established as a competent leader on multiple levels. Third, the audience also learns that the gun is linked to Bond's identity as a Double-O. Bond points out that he has been using it successfully for ten years, indicating the length of his experience as a Double-O and the vital part the gun has played in his life. M threatens him with the loss of identity by demanding the gun and by suggesting desk duty if he refuses the exchange, a clear demotion. M links Bond's identity as a Double-O and his masculinity to the gun and shows his power over the situation, since he can take away both, gun and identity. Bond understands these challenges to his status, identity and masculinity, in the form of symbolic castration, and stops arguing. He takes his new gun (Walther PPK), leaving his old gun reluctantly on M's desk. This scene plays on the dominant-

dominated binary, as described by Eco, with M as the almighty boss and symbolic father who holds the phallic authority and controls Bond's identity as a Double-O, as well his gender and sexual identity.

While M's phallic authority and dominance is in the foreground, the scene still signals a new and modified approach to M's authority by shifting the sympathies to Bond through the composition of the gun exchange. The staging of the gun exchange captures the tension, caused by the threat of symbolic castration.

Fig. 3. Still from Young, *Dr. No* (00:12:09)

As can be seen in Figure 3, within the frame (a medium shot), the characters are positioned in a triangle: Bond is standing in the middle, the Armourer is to his right and M is sitting at his desk to Bond's left, with his back towards to audience. According to Michael Ryan and Melissa Lenos in their 2012, *Film Analysis: Technique and Meaning in Narrative Film*, this composition indicates the following:

> While symmetrical compositions would seem to lend itself to a sense of implied order in the world, it can also be qualified by conflict – a symmetrical balance between contending elements. And symmetry can also be used to depict negatively a social order that is too rigid, authoritarian, and unfair and that is imposed on people against their will. (Ryan and Lenos 44)

The “implied order” (Ryan and Lenos 44) is represented by M and the national strength and control he stands for. The scene, however, also reflects conflict between the characters. Bond’s own (phallic) authority and masculinity are challenged at this moment. This is especially harsh, considering that in the first moments of his existence on screen his masculinity and sexual prowess are at the center of his identity (he seduces the woman from the casino and flirts with Moneypenny). M’s shaming of Bond’s gun and what it stands for are seen as unfair, and the forced nature of the exchange signifies an imposition on Bond’s autonomy. Bond is the center of this conflict and mistreatment, as indicated by his central position within the triangle. The audience has the best view of Bond since they only see M from behind and the Armourer from the side. Bond is placed in the position of the hero (at the center), who is mistreated within social orders that are “too rigid” and “authoritarian” (Ryan and Lenos 44). In the previous scenes, Bond dominated the women with his sexual prowess. In this scene, he becomes the sympathetic and relatable underdog. His sexual prowess and success with women might be less relatable to an audience, but being shamed and mistreated by a superior is relatable. Through the composition within the frame he is seen as the sympathetic victim of the Establishment and hero of the working classes, which the audience is likely to identify with. Just like the reader of the novels, the film audience is “‘rubbed’ by the process of narrative” (Bennett and Woollacott 94). While Bond’s position is threatened, in terms of symbolic castration, it is also strengthened because he is framed as the sympathetic hero.

In his first appearance on screen, M’s role is to define and secure Bond’s masculinity within his own patriarchal, heteronormative views. As representative of England in the world, Bond’s masculine strength cannot be put into question. This would reflect negatively on the whole nation. M’s office becomes the center of this operation. An important factor in establishing the office as a masculine and professional space is not only the focus on traditionally male or phallic symbolisms in the room, but also contrasting it first with Moneypenny’s feminine and domestic workspace. Defining the space as superior by othering female spaces is a notion that is continues in the next film of the series, *From Russia With Love.* Here, M’s office is not only the sight of logic but also ideology linked to gender and sexual identity.

4.1.2 M, National and Gender Identity

In Terence Young's 1963, *From Russia With Love,* M's office serves again as the site of national pride and, what Jeremy Black refers to as "ostentatious conventional masculinity" (107). M's office space is a visual signifier for British national values and power, which are linked to heteronormative expressions of gender and sexual identity, mostly showcased by othering a female space. In this case, it is not Moneypenny's workspace that is feminized in order to enhance M's office's masculine connotations, but Rosa Klebb's (Lotte Lenya) office. Klebb's space, due to her queerness, as well as the lack of national symbolism in her office and their devaluation, is seen as inferior. These points can be discussed by analyzing two key scenes in the film. The first scene is the moment when Tatiana and Bond receive their summons and missions in their supervisors' offices. While the scenes introducing the Soviet and the British side of the mission are characterized by mirroring elements in terms of plot, characters, and set design, details within the visual presentation regarding nationality and gender identity eventually mark the West as superior. In a second scene in M's office, Bond establishes himself again as a modern hero, who, compared to M, is more foreword thinking and open in regards of women's roles.

While Klebb's and M's office space share the same function, the background details in both spaces eventually diminish national strength in Klebb's office, thereby enhancing M's and British superiority. The office spaces share a similar layout which mirror each other. For example, while Klebb's desk is placed on the right side of the frame (as can be seen in Figure 4), M's is placed on the left side (as can be seen in Figure 5). The spaces include a large desk, lamps, chairs, and paintings. Still, the similarities only function as visual markers of difference, due to details and context. First, Klebb's office is placed in an abandoned building in Istanbul. The location is far away from Moscow (the center of Soviet strength), in a dilapidated building, which adds a level of secrecy and seediness. The meeting does not, for example, take place at the Soviet Embassy, where Tatiana works. The British MI6, on the other hand, may be disguised as Universal Exports (thereby incognito), but the location is still in central London, the center of the nation. Second, Klebb opens the door herself, unlike M, who has a secretary coordinating his visits. This signals more authority and status, which is also linked to his gender. Third, while M's furniture is antique and finely polished,

Klebb's appears old, worn and dusty. Most importantly, Klebb's office features visual signifiers which diminish Soviet national strength.

Fig. 4. Still from Young, *From Russia With Love* (00:15:03)

Fig. 5. Still from Young, *From Russia With Love* (00:19:40)

As can be seen in the Figure 4, the architecture and the faded murals in the background link the space to middle-eastern and Ottoman culture, such as the arched doorways, the carved ornaments on the door or the faded mural of a camel with a rider wearing a traditional, white thawb. Klebb's office ironically alludes to the strength of a former foreign power, which was defeated after World War I, partially by the British. The décor is ironic since it alludes to a fallen empire (Ottoman Empire) that was once at odds with the West, similar to the Soviet Union at this point in history (early 1960s), making it a somewhat foreboding image. Furthermore, British strength is implicitly present in the background, due to the historical implications, which further weakens Soviet strength in the space. M's office, on the other hand, features the naval maps and other naval paraphernalia, alluding to his career and British Naval power (see Figure 5). He also has a rather large and highly ornamented, golden pen holder (or writing set) prominently placed on his desk, as can be seen in Figure 5. It may not be very functional, but signals a sense of wealth and power, a feature visibly lacking from Klebb's space. These visual contrasts in the office spaces undermine Klebb's and the Soviet's status and authority while affirming British/Western cultural supremacy.

Klebb further diminishes Soviet strength within her space, by marking herself as the villain when she makes Tatiana the object of her queer gaze. In the world of Bond, homosexuality and queerness are often used as a marker of evil. This is also true for Rosa Klebb, who rejects prevailing gender and sexual norms. Her position as Colonel signals a high rank within the military. This means that Klebb has been able to make a career in a field traditionally dominated by men. While this could be positively framed as an act of trailblazing, her scene with Tatiana marks her as devious. Tatiana presents as traditionally feminine. Her hair is coifed, she wears make-up, and her skirt and jacket are form-fitting, accentuating her feminine figure, making her the character the audience can identify with most. In contrast, Klebb's hair is not only short, but also resembles a classic male style, and while she is wearing a skirt, it is still part of a military uniform, thereby associating her with a traditionally masculine line of work. Most importantly, in a key moment, Klebb makes Tatiana the victim of her gaze. She commands Tatiana to take off her jacket. The young woman is at the center of the frame. The camera focuses on her upper body in a medium close-up. The audience shares Klebb's gaze, fixated on Tatiana, as can be seen in Figure 6.

Fig. 6. Still from Young, *From Russia With Love* (00:15:29)

Tatiana is immediately objectified by Klebb and through her by the audience as well.

> While the objectification of female characters is not an unusual occurrence in cinema, it is traditionally an act ascribed to men, not women. This moment is uncomfortable, not just because a superior is taking advantage of an underling, but mostly because a woman is playing the role usually designated to men. Her abuse of power and especially her challenge of these gender norms mark Klebb as evil. (Khanakah *Labour* 8)

By the end of the scene, Klebb's behavior marks her as the queer evil. In contrast, in M's office Bond and M discuss the mission in a professional manner. Their 'proper' behavior is accentuated through Klebb's 'improper' behavior in a space that should be kept professional. Adding the details of her office's background, her authority, gender and the standing of the Soviet Union are severely weakened.

In contrast to Klebb, M and his space are characterized as the center of logic and professionalism, virtues linked to unquestionable masculinity, which comes at the price of excluding women. In Fleming's novel, M's prejudice in regards to changing sexual attitudes and women's roles is described as "the relic of a Victorian upbringing" (Fleming *Russia* 142). His old-fashioned attitudes are also carried over into the films. In the scenic version, however, Bond is shown, at least when placed in contrast to M, as displaying more modern attitudes in regards to women's roles. These attitudes are

showcased during a short scene in M's office. M and six high-ranking officers are listening in on a conversation between Bond and Tatiana. The room is filled with "ostentatious conventional masculinity: uniforms and cigarettes. No beards, baldness or long hair are in sight" (Black 107). 'Miss', not 'Ms.', Moneypenny is the only woman in the room. While she is an employee of the British Secret Service, she has the only job considered acceptable for unmarried women, namely secretary. Similarly to Klebb, she is often the only woman in a room filled with men, but unlike Klebb, Moneypenny has a position acceptable for a woman. Klebb, on the other hand, exemplifies everything the British Secret Service tries to avoid, such as seeing women in high ranks traditionally filled by men. M's office signifies as a place where everyone knows their place and traditional values are still intact. As the scene continues, Tatiana keeps interrupting Bond's questioning, by asking him about Western women and their sex lives. Bond starts alluding to an incident about a sexual adventure involving M. At this point, M stops the recording and waits for Moneypenny to leave the room, indicating that the story would be too scandalous or sexually charged for a proper English woman to hear. While brief, the moment carries significance since it is not only Moneypenny who does not get to hear the story, but also the audience. M has the power to exclude everyone from sensitive information that could damage his and the secret services' reputation. At the same time, M's attitude can be viewed as old-fashioned and even patronizing, not just towards Moneypenny, but also the audience. While Bond finds Tatiana (and the audience) capable of hearing the story (and is never shy with suggestive innuendo towards Moneypenny), M dismisses Moneypenny's maturity and professional skills (Moneypenny would never share any of M's secrets). This infantilizes her. Bond, on the other hand, is more open about his sexual discretions and includes the women around him. This is not to say that Bond is a feminist, but this slight difference in attitude between Bond and M again hints at a more modern nature of Bond within a growing feminist discourse. Bond carries the sympathies of the modern audience, leaving M to his Victorian attitudes. And again, women and their agency is exploited to elevate the male agenda to highlight Bond's modern character.

4.1.3 M and the Shift of Power

While M's symbolic phallic authority and his position as the moral core of the nation is prominently featured in the first two films of the series, sympathies are increasingly transferred to Bond, thereby heightening his appeal and establishing him as a representative of "a new style and image of Englishness" (Bennett and Woollacott 43). The changing political atmosphere of the Détente also changes England's role within the world of the Bond series. Now, Bond is asked to keep the balance between the Soviets and the Americans, thereby suggesting a peacekeeping function of England. This is an implicitly powerful position and differs from the explicit power of the British Empire, with its colonies and naval power, which can be seen on maps in M's office. This new role cannot be drawn on a map. Here, Bond is the one who can showcase it in the world. The world had changed, but M's office did not, making him as antiquated as his furniture. These ideas became more explicit when Roger Moore took over the role in Guy Hamilton's 1973, *Live and Let Die*. The Moore era causes a significant shift within the power dynamic between Bond and M. In this phase of Bond's career as a popular hero, he rises to his function as a "political and sexual hero of the lower middle classes" (Bennett and Woollacott 29). Bond takes on more and more symbolic roles formally fulfilled by M. However, he also endows these symbolic markers with a sense of modernization. As such, he develops into a Bond-M hybrid, leaving less need for M. As a consequence, M is signified by a sense of 'out-of-placeness'. He is more often shown away from his office, or in a traveling version of his office, e.g., in a pyramid in Egypt (*The Spy Who Loved Me)* or the wreck of the RMS Queen Elizabeth near the Hong Kong harbor (*The Man with the Golden Gun*). "Removed from the trappings of his office, M is unsettled, and confusion gains the ascendancy" (Stock 217). When removed from his office (even when it travels with him), M's power declines, which equalizes the relationship between him and Bond, and over time elevates Bond's authority. This 'out-of-placeness' signals the change of M's character into an "English fuddy-duddy" (Bennett and Woollacott 34).

In *Live and Let Die*, the shift of power within the M-Bond relationship can be examined through a twist of the traditional briefing scene, which links Bond's youth with symbols and imagery of national strength and power. Tradition is broken in this new era of Bond. First, M comes to Bond's home to brief him on an urgent mission. M's home visit is significant, since it is Bond who is usually summoned to M's office.

This signals a decline in M's status. Second, the costume design also signifies a change in attitudes and creates a stark contrast between M and Bond. This is the first time that Bond is not properly dressed in M's presence. Bond is still in his pajama pants and robe, while M is wearing his suit. M's attire signals professionalism, but it also appears to be out of place, due to the early hour and him being removed from his office. Finally, the set design of Bond's living room is surprisingly evocative of M's office. Bond's living room is also wood-paneled and features a bottled ship, a painting of a 19th-century naval officer prominently displayed above the fireplace, and various framed prints of naval maps and the code of arms. The décor has a twofold function: While the background provides a sense of the familiar to the Bond-M relationship (even with a new Bond in place), it must also be noted that it is Bond's naval career as a Commander that is celebrated, not M's career as an Admiral. It is therefore Bond who is also linked to images signifying past British strength and power, not M.

Fig. 7. Still from Hamilton, *Live and Let Die* (00:08:14)

The painting, as seen behind Bond in Figure 7, carries the most significance since it appears to be featuring a 19th captain or commander, not an admiral[21]. In his 2001,

[21] Unfortunately, it was not possible to find information specifically in regards to the painting. However, an internet search of British naval uniforms led to images similar to the one featured in Bond's painting. While it was not possible to identify the man in the painting, he is very likely wearing a captain's or commander's coat, as compared to an image of a uniform found on the Royal Museums Greenwich website (http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/71310.html).

“Commissioned officers’ careers in the Royal Navy, 1690-1815”, Professor N.A.M. Roger notes that the post of Master and Commander are the ranks below Post-Captain (88). “In social terms the officers’ entry and training system instituted in the 1670s envisaged that this rank would be occupied by men of humble birth, from the lower deck or the merchant service, who would normally rise no further” (Roger 88). The lower, but more achievable rank, prominently displayed, signifies a “mythic encapsulation of the then prominent themes of classlessness and modernity” (Bennett and Woollacott 34). It is a sign for the “implementation of a new, meritocratic style of cultural and political leadership, middle-class and professional rather than aristocratic and amateur” (Bennett and Woollacott 34). Bond does not only represent the values of nation and nationhood, but he also represents a modernized and less elitist version of those ideals, which are more relatable to his audience. Bond has become a figure who bridges the gap between British Imperial strength of the past and a modernized Britain of the current era.

As the scene continues, M is even further removed from the visual markers of national strength and masculinity of his office, which only further enhances Bond’s status as a modern hero. The sequence continues in Bond’s kitchen. The scene is characterized by a strong visual focus on Bond’s youthful and contemporary nature. Bond starts making M a cup of coffee, using a stylish espresso maker that takes Bond a while to navigate. The process seems elaborate and causes a lot of noise and commotion in the kitchen. Bond, however, navigates the machine knowledgeably and with ease, while M looks at him incredulously. When Bond gives M the finished product, M sarcastically asks: “Is that all it does?” (*Live and Let Die*). McNeely notes that M “repeatedly shows disdain for Bond’s refined tastes” (155), considering them too effeminate (155). Yet, the complicated gadget, Bond’s knowledge of it and his sense for style and taste, actually put him in the superior position, as compared to M. Here, the composition of the shots signal Bond’s superiority. The sequence mostly consists of a series of reverse shots between M and Bond.

Fig. 8. Still from Hamilton, *Live and Let Die* (00:08:55)

Fig. 9. Still from Hamilton, *Live and Let Die* (00:09:00)

As seen in the image in Figure 8, M is framed in a medium close-up, in the middle of the frame, looking straight ahead. On the left side of the frame, he is surrounded by kitchen cabinets and a window with the blinds drawn on the right side. Bond's kitchen also features tiles with a 1960s/1970s design. M, in his gray suit, appears old-fashioned and out of place against the backdrop of the modern tiles. Also, he is not given much space to move within the frame. The medium close-up shot, his position between the cabinets and the window encloses him within the frame. He appears stagnant, unmovable, and closed off from the world, as symbolized by the closed blinds. In contrast, the shots of Bond feature him in a medium shot, as seen in Figure 9. He stands slightly to the left of the frame, with his body turned sideways, as he is making coffee. The background features framed naval maps. The framing of Bond is more open and dynamic. He is not trapped in his frame and is actually moving around. Furthermore, Bond is not only surrounded by symbols of his own naval career, but also symbols representing British strength and power. Also, the kitchen would be a traditionally feminine and domestic space. As discussed before, M distances his office space and himself from these associations. Now he is 'trapped' in this space he normally rejects, while Bond adds masculinity to it, thereby showing his fluidity and mobility. Bond moves away from M's ideas in regards to masculinity and gender expressions. Not surrounded by his mementos of a mythical and glorious past, M is seen as antiquated as his office décor. Bond (visually) bridges the gap between the mythical past of British dominance and the modern era. He takes over roles that were initially ascribed to M, but also reinvents them and transitions them into the present, leaving M to the status of an "English fuddy-duddy" (Bennett and Woollacott 34).

4.1.4 M and the Loss of Identity and Power

By the end of the 1980s, Bond's arc and his transformation into a Bond-M-hybrid is completed, when Bond deprives M of his phallic authority and claims his own identity. The last appearance of M (before the 1990s reboot) is in John Glen's 1989, *License to Kill,* starring Timothy Dalton. When Bond's best friend, Felix Leiter form the CIA, is kidnapped, brutally mutilated and his wife murdered, Bond sets out on a mission of revenge. The idea of revenge is a reoccurring theme in Bond, but it had not been explored on this personal level in the films before (not even after the murder of Bond's wife in *On Your Majesty's Secret Service*). The concept of revenge was also a theme in Fleming's first novel, *Casino Royale*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Bond of the first novel contemplates the idea of personal revenge. This, of course, is a problematic thought, since personal revenge causes disorder within social structures. Punishment is issued through the state, not by individuals. As a representative of the state, Bond must rise above personal feelings, mainly because he is supposed to guard the state and its order. In the novel, the thought of M is evoked by Mathis, who reminds him that M will put him back on the right track. This order on a larger scale (of laws and morality) is also reflected in Fleming's narrative structures. As was illustrated in Table 3, M is the core of all order and Bond orbits around this core and protects it. By the end of the 1980s, however, the scenic version of M loses moral and political competence, thereby breaking the center and violating the structure. M, for example, shows enormous cruelty in regards to Leiter's fate. When Bond and M meet in Florida (far away from M's office or its symbolisms) Bond openly criticizes M's failures and his moral integrity. On this note, M revokes his license to kill and demands his gun. As Bond is about to give it to him, he distracts one of the guards and jumps off the balcony, leaving a stunned M behind. Compared to M's first moment on screen in *Dr. No,* his last moment on screen (at least in the line of male M's until Ralph Fiennes) reverses his symbolic phallic authority. Again, he demands Bond's gun, but Bond refuses and claims his own phallic authority, thereby rejecting the sense of identity that M provides for him. Bond shows the audience and the world that "[a]uthority is not benign, and Bond has a personality able to confront issues of duty and responsibility" (Black 152). Since the audience (and not M) is privy to their friendship, Leiter's wedding and his subsequent torture, as well as his wife's death, they shift their sympathies towards Bond and sanction his self-declared mission. M's approval is not needed, because the

audience can approve of an autonomous Bond. Here, Bond changes the formula that structures his world by becoming the core and its defender. He navigates around the questions of failing and immoral governments, as represented by a cruel and powerless M, and follows his own moral compass. At the end of the 1980s Bond finally claims both, moral and phallic authority, leaving a stunned and obsolete M behind on the balcony, removed from his office, and thereby from nation and power. Bond is successful on his self-declared mission, and M does not appear again, suggesting that Bond and the world, indeed, do not require M and what he stands for any longer.

The development of M in this first era of Bond films ends with his scene on the balcony in Florida. It is emblematic of the decline of authority of the figure, who originally represented ideals about nation and nationhood, and also defined Bond's masculinity, however, always by othering women and female spaces. When ideas of the mythic past of British strength had become outdated, as well as his attitudes towards femininity and masculinity, Bond stepped in and took control. Bond, again, lives up to his status as a "mobile signifier" (Bennett and Woollacott 43) and distances himself ideologically and visually from M, until he completely rejects his old boss. He does not only reflect social and political changes, but also cultural changes his audience is subject to. Again, this guarantees him continual success, which eventually allowed for his revival in the 1990s.

4.2 M and Bond in the 1990s

In 1995 James Bond was once again brought back to the screen after a six-year hiatus. *GoldenEye*, directed by Martin Campbell, marks a few firsts in the history of Bond films. It is not only the first film to take place after the fall of the Soviet Union, but it also introduces Pierce Brosnan in the lead role. The film also surprises the audience with a major twist in the form of Dame Judi Dench taking over the role of M. Even though James Bond is known as a hero of the Cold War era, the filmmakers were determined that his heroism was also required after the fall of the Berlin wall and the Soviet Union. In his "'The World has Changed': Bond in the 1990s – and Beyond?", Jim Leach summarizes Bond's new status in the 1990s:

> It soon became clear, however, that, even if the world had changed, the new situation was not going to produce a new world order in which secret agents would be declared redundant. The bloody civil wars that followed the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe, the Gulf War, the growth of global terrorism, and even the vague anxieties about the coming millennium created a sense of political instability that could challenge the abilities of any 'single hero'. (249)

In the course of *GoldenEye*, the audience will realize that Bond is needed more than ever. Just because one threat is down, it does not mean the world is safe. The opening sequence finds Bond on a mission in the familiar past, namely during the Cold War. The following title sequence has him destroying Communist monuments, thereby signaling the end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War. The filmmakers acknowledge Bond's past importance and allow him to (visually) transition to the present. *GoldenEye* builds a bridge between Bond as a hero of the Cold War and Bond as the hero of a post-Cold War era, thereby redefining his status as a modern hero. The new era also addresses Bond's relationship with women, which had become more and more problematic within growing feminist discourse. The series tried to adapt to the changing role of women in society and the workplace, mainly by retiring the male M and placing a middle-aged career woman in the powerful position (Chapman 154). Here, the film reflects on "the real-life appointment of women such as Stella Rimington [Director General of MI5, 1992-1996] and Judith Manningham-Butler [Director General of MI5, 2002-2007] to positions of authority in the intelligence service" (Chapman 154).

The following section will examine how the films communicate issues of female authority in traditional male spaces, Bond's adjustment to technological advances, and

M's struggle with her gender identity. At the end of the 1990s, M's gender marks her as doomed to failure, which puts Bond's changing discourse in regards to women into question. The section will examine these points by analyzing key moments of M's introduction into the series, as well as the accumulation of failures in the following films.

4.2.1 M and Female Authority in the 1990s

The M of this era tries to reintroduce and enforce her authority more firmly in Bond's field experience, thereby challenging Bond and his methods. Before M is introduced to the screen, the thought of the powerful boss is evoked twice, signaling a regained importance in this new era of Bond. In order to keep the change of gender a surprise for the audience, M is never referred to by personal pronouns. The first mention of M occurs right after the title sequence during the car chase. The psychologist in Bond's car is telling him that she has been sent to evaluate him. While she does not say who sent her, it is clear that there is a higher authority involved. In the world of Bond this can only be M (later M confirms this). As she questions his macho attitudes, Bond ends the unwanted evaluation by seducing her. However, not before claiming that he actually has "no problem with female authority" (*GoldenEye*). Of course, the comment becomes more ironic, when M is revealed to be a 'female authority' as well. M is mentioned a second time by Moneypenny over transmission when Bond is given a brief about Xenia Onatopp (Famke Janssen). Moneypenny tells Bond that M authorizes him to observe Onatopp, "but no contact, without further approval" (*GoldenEye*). Moneypenny stresses 'contact', adding a slight pause, turning the comment into innuendo. Here, M tries to regain control over Bond's mission, which was not assigned by her, but was born out of a car chase and flirtatious banter between Bond and Onatopp. This mission is based on Bond's instinct, which M had to approve in hindsight in order to exercise some control. Also, by suggesting that 'contact' could in Bond's case mean sexual contact, she tries to tame his sexual appetite, even when it is only mediated through a quip by Moneypenny. Before M is even seen on screen, the M-Bond relationship is already challenged, as she tries to assert herself in Bond's work in the field and control his body and mission. In her 2009, "Male Masochism in *Casino Royale*", Audrey D. Johnson concludes that these are signs of M's feminist agenda being meaningless and superficial, because in *GoldenEye,* M and Moneypenny "may chastise Bond, but they do so only within the office or from a

distance" (114). When on his own, Bond rejects 'female authority' unto his male body and his instincts. The conflict between (masculine) instinct and (female) control will continue to define the binary of their relationship in this new era.

As Bond finally arrives at the headquarter, the new Moneypenny (Samantha Bond) is introduced as a more active and energetic character, thereby signaling another change in terms of women's agency and roles in the world of Bond. First, it is important to note that Moneypenny is not sitting at her own desk, swooning over Bond, the minute he walks in. Instead, she in M's office busily sorting through papers, obviously at work.

Fig. 10. Still from Campbell, *GoldenEye* (00:35:11)

Second, her office space is less feminine or domestic as seen in previous films. The image in Figure 10 shows her desk area. The landscape painting above her desk evokes associations with waiting rooms. There are also framed code of arms on the other wall, which adds a sense of national significance to her space. Moneypenny's space is a workplace and an anteroom to M's office, but unlike before, it is neither domestic nor feminine, just professional. Third, Moneypenny is introduced as a modern woman, and, for the first time, is allowed to express her sexuality. She is wearing a black evening gown, which is low cut and tight, revealing her feminine figure (see Figure 10). This builds a contrast to the more conservative and even matronly outfits of Maxwell's Moneypenny. Also, the only piece of personal effect in her office is a single pink rose, as can be seen on her desk in Figure 10 as well. While pink roses have a feminine connotation, the single rose suggest that it was a romantic gesture.

Later she explains that she was on a date when she was called in (thereby also explaining her outfit). This suggests the existence of a private life. Unlike the former Moneypenny, she does not wait for Bond and his love and affection. Instead, she is actively perusing a love life. Forth, she outwits Bond by suggesting that his constant innuendo might be considered sexual harassment. Even though it is jokingly delivered, the comment reflects the "impact of modern political correctness" (Black 161) and the changing role of women in the workplace, which is obviously still a problem for Bond. Finally, the scene twists the familiar, due to the characters' constant movement. The sequence is shot in one take, and the camera moves along with them as they walk out of the office and towards the Situation Room. Due to the movement, the scene appears dynamic and active. It is a stark contrast to the familiar scenes between Bond and Moneypenny, during which she usually remains at her desk, and he moves around and past her (see the image from *Dr. No* in Figure 1 for comparison). In this scene, the new Moneypenny is active and involved. She is clearly a vital member of MI6 since she is called in the evening and knows the code to the Situation Room (even though she does not walk in). Moneypenny is the first sign that the discourse in regards to women in the world of Bond may be changing.

The Situation Room is a new addition to the MI6 offices, and does not only signal a new era of technology and surveillance, but also links these innovations to traditional ideas about masculinity and masculine space. The room features a large screen, which covers an entire wall. People are placed around computers in front of the wall and are busily typing and walking around. The room is a highly technological, functional, and professional space, as well as a masculine space and an expression of national supremacy. First, Bill Tanner (Michael Kitchen), M's chief of staff, calls Bond '007', unlike Moneypenny who calls him 'James'. This hints at a change in the character, from flirtatious and sexual to professional. Also, Bond is, once again, only able to evoke this change to professional agent when he is not in female company. Second, the name and purpose is taken from the White House's Situation Room, which is where the U.S. President is briefed on matters of national security and overseas' intelligence[22].This

[22]"The Situation Room is a 5,000 square foot complex of rooms in the ground floor of the West Wing, some of which have windows looking out the west side of the building. It is sometimes called "the woodshed." Contrary to popular belief, the White House Situation Room is not a bunker that is located deep underground. … The staff of the Situation Room—primarily the National Security Council (NSC) Secretariat—helps the president connect with intelligence agencies and important people overseas. The "Sit Room" staff is composed of approximately 30 personnel, organized around five "watch teams" that provide 7-day, 24-hour monitoring of international events and brief the president every day" (White House Museum)

room, at the British MI6, is a signal of national supremacy, suggesting that this type of intelligence work may be primarily associated with the Americans, but that the British can hold their own, even in this new era. And third, it is also an inherently masculine space. When Bond enters, Moneypenny does not join him. The room is filled with analysts at computers[23]. When Tanner starts briefing Bond he congratulates Bond on having the right instincts and for not listening to "the evil queen of numbers" (*GoldenEye*), who is revealed to be the new and female M. Since M is a woman, Tanner's comment marks Bond's instincts form the outset as masculine and positive, and her reliance on numbers and statistics as feminine and negative. Tanner, however, uses the room and the information generated in it in a masculine manner, because he uses the intel to prove Bond's instinct right. This implies that Tanner, as a man, can use the room 'properly', which in this case means to prove the validity of traditional masculinity in the form of Bond's instinct. M, on the other hand, uses the room and the information to discredit this form of masculinity, making her the "**evil** [emphasis added] queen of numbers" (*GoldenEye*) and an intruder in the male space.

Since M is placed into the role of an intruder, the power-dynamic and sympathies shift towards Bond, making his heroism in the new era based on the othering of M, which is solely informed by her gender. It is immediately clear that she deviates from the familiar version of M.

> If M of the first sixteen films of the franchise is a stern father attempting to guide his young charge toward a more acceptable presentation of masculinity, the female M, who arrives on the scene in *Goldeneye* [sic], seems to be an interloper in a male-dominated profession. (McNeely 156)

M's introduction to the screen suggests as much. When Tanner utters his remarks, the camera remains on a close-up of him and Bond. In the background, a door slides open. While the focus is on the men, a woman can be seen (out of focus) walking into the room behind them. Tanner realizes that M has just walked in and has heard his dismissive remarks. As they turn around the camera focuses on a medium close-up of M. She is framed by the men's shoulders. Also behind her, to the right, sits a male staff member turned towards her. Tanner starts to shift around and deflect the situation uncomfortably, but M remains calm and unmoved, saying: "If I wanted sarcasm, Mr. Tanner, I'll talk to my children, thank you very much" (*GoldenEye*). Her introduction

[23] Only one woman can be briefly seen at the left corner of the frame. However, she remains out of focus and unnamed. Everyone else in the room is male.

can be characterized as such: first, she spoils the masculine atmosphere and even shames it, making her unwelcomed and at odds with her staff from the first moment. Second, while she is the only woman in the room (as in, she is a named character, who has lines) and the most powerful person, she is still framed from a male point of view. The first shot of her indicates as much, which can be seen in Figure 11.

Fig. 11. Still from Campbell, *GoldenEye* (00:36:31)

The shot frames her within a triangle between her male staff, signaling that she does not own any space within this world, not even within the shot that introduces her to the audience. Positioned in the middle of the triangle the men create, she spoils the balance the triangle would usually signal and causes disharmony. Third, M's gender is the first issue she addresses herself. She immediately positions herself as a (biological) mother. Such private information was never disclosed about the male M. And, while the male M's fatherhood was symbolic and encouraged the expression of heteronormative masculinity, the female M is an actual, biological mother. She could also act in a symbolic capacity, but this would diminish her authority, since (in Bond) the male has been traditionally linked to professionalism and the female to domesticity. She cannot function as the symbolic mother or consider her agents and staff as her symbolic children. Under her reign, there will be no conflation of duty and love, work and family. This signals the end of the "imaginary household" (Bennett and Woollacott 129), which could prove as problematic in the long run, since it had been the basis of the British Secret Service's success. Her introduction signals change and the rise of tension, mainly brought on by her gender and her navigating a space that is not receiving her with open arms or minds.

In M's new office space the conflicts with her gender identity are showcased visually, especially during her confrontation with Bond. While the male M's office space conflated masculinity with professionalism, the female M's space rejects gendered connotations and remains a purely professional space. The office appears more functional. Even though the wood-paneled walls remain, the drapes have been replaced by blinds, and the painting of the British Naval ship has been replaced by a screen, which she uses during her briefing as a means of illustration (as can be seen in Figure 12). The room features the framed code of arms, thereby linking the room to Britishness. The office is, however, "not as self-indulgent" (Stock 226) as her predecessors and lacks personal memorabilia, such as the old M's bottled ships, suggesting that the new M rejects sentimentalities. M tells Bond that she knows that he dislikes her and considers her a "bean counter" (*GoldenEye*). This implies that she probably did not climb up the ranks through a career in the field, like her male predecessor, but rather through the civil servant path, which makes it difficult for field agents to respect her decisions based on statistical analysis (McNeely 156). In contrast to M in *Dr. No.,* Dench's M seems not to be able to balance the inherent binary of her position, numbers vs. field experience. M is aware of the situation, letting Bond know that his feelings are very transparent. Yet, she reminds him that the feeling is mutual and that she considers him a "misogynist" and "relic of the Cold War" (*GoldenEye*). This places Bond's carefully cultivated masculinity in the past, and symbolically even in the office of the past M. In her new space, she takes on the masculine role, stating that she does have the "balls" (*GoldenEye*) to send him to his death, but she would not make this decision lightly. Here, she exerts her power, but also links power to maleness, "suggesting an over-compensation for her lack of masculinity" (McNeely 156). Transferring this idea to her space, it suggests not a lack of femininity, but a lack of masculinity. This would not matter, but the feminine is so vehemently rejected and the lack of masculinity so exaggeratedly compensated for that the binary between male and female eventually sides more with the male, making her a fraud, since she is clearly not a man. This is also reflected in the staging of their conversation, which can be seen in Figure 12.

Fig. 12. Still from Campbell, *GoldenEye* (00:44:22)

While discussing this, they are both sitting diagonally from each other, visually hinting at a conflict of oppositions. The scene consists of a series of angle-reverse shots of medium close-ups between them both, emphasizing their tense facial expressions and their oppositional views. Yet, M is framed with Bond's shoulder in the corner of the frame, but not the other way around. He is always slightly visible in her shots, thereby intruding again into her space, which suggests that we (the audience) share his perspective of her. The sympathies remain with him. In M's office, the suggested feminist discourse comes up short, since by framing it in such a manner it becomes "a matter of rebuke and chastisement" (Johnson 215) and "reaffirms the stereotype of the humourless feminist" (Johnson 215).

While the introduction of a female M also introduces new binaries based on gender into the M-Bond relationship, thereby creating new dynamics and causing some introspection, it still falls short of a positive feminist discourse, due to the portrayal of M as essentially incompetent. This is not only a conclusion drawn from *GoldenEye*, but a general trend, extending through all the Brosnan films. McNeely argues that this is due to the secret service being seemingly "overrun with double agents" (156). "In fact, the only double agents in previous Bond films were Americans" (McNeely 157). While Alec Trevelyan (Sean Bean) technically becomes a traitor well before M's time, his plot to destroy the British banking system happens under her watch. Also, her reliance on numbers and statistics leads him to get as far he can without being noticed, since her statistics told her that his JANUS syndicate did not have the finances and technology to get such a job done. It is only through Bond's instincts that Britain and the trust in British banks are secured again. Bond proves that

he is still relevant and that some of his old-fashioned approaches may still be important when it comes to safeguarding the nation. While the Bonds of the previous films always embraced new technologies and M became more and more weary of the new gadgets Q presented, Brosnan's Bond is technologically apt, but he does not completely rely on technology, unlike Dench's M, who is eventually failed by it. Here, Bond becomes a bridge between the reliance on human instinct and technology, thereby also placing himself within a contemporary frame as the "saviour against millennial anxieties of technological domination" (Willis 151). Since M fails the task, her failure is linked to her gender and his success is automatically linked to his masculinity. This marks M (and her gender) as incompetent and doomed to failure, which continues to define her character throughout the Brosnan era.

4.2.2 M: Doomed to Failure

In the end, the female M is faced with challenges women faced and still face when they are placed in positions traditionally dominated by men, namely finding a way to assert authority and defy stereotypes. Dench's M exemplifies the challenges and struggles. She has to defy gender expectations, but at the same time, she is not allowed to act like the men around her. She has to assert herself in a male space, without being an alienating force. She cannot rely on her intuition, but when the men around her do so, they are rewarded. She is criticized for relying on logic, but when she thinks outside of the constraints, she is seen as irrational and incompetent. The problem is that these expectations are impossible to balance, because they are contradictory and set up by men. As such, they always reward men, in this case, Bond.

These conflicts are further explored in Michael Apted 1999, *The World Is Not Enough*, where M is conflicted about how to balance instinct and rules, while Bond does so with ease. In the film, M is confronted with her past. She had once assisted an old family friend, multimillionaire and oil tycoon Robert King, when his teenage daughter, Elektra King (Sophie Marceau), had been kidnapped. At the time, M had followed the rules and did not negotiate with the terrorist. This led them to hurt Elektra, who was eventually able to escape on her own. However, unknown to anybody, even M, she conspired with her kidnappers and is now determined to get revenge. She devises a plan that kills her father and blows up the MI6 building right under M's watch. As M and Bond try to find those responsible, Elektra plays on M's guilt and causes

them to unknowingly walk into her trap. M follows her instincts and trusts Elektra. She goes to her alone, against Tanner's cautions, which causes M's kidnapping. M makes the mistake of not listening to Tanner (a man), following her (female) instincts and leaving the safeguard of her office. While Elektra is technically not a double agent (she does not work for MI6), she still betrays M and with her the entire British Secret Service, by playing M's own guilt against her better judgment. Ironically, in *GoldenEye* M is criticized for not allowing judgments based on instincts or intuition, while in *The World Is Not Enough,* she breaks her rules and gets punished. M puts herself, Bond, the nation's security at risk, and has to be rescued by Bond in the end.

In *Die Another Day* (2002, directed by Lee Tamahori), her actions reach a peak in regards to questionability and incompetence, which turns M into a 'double-esque-agent'. Because of an infiltrator Bond's mission in North Korea is compromised and he is brutally tortured for over a year. When he is released (due to American efforts, not M's), M scolds him for not having taken his cyanide. She also lets him know that she would have left him to die there. In a final blow, M takes away his license to kill until it is proven that he has not been turned. The mistrust is, however, mutual. Bond escapes and goes on his own mission of finding the truth. He makes a deal with the Chinese intelligence, who give him money and a passport, i.e., an identity, and advise him to go to Cuba to find more answers. In Cuba, he is further aided by the intelligence network and is even given a gun, indicating a regaining of phallic authority. Here, it is important to note that Bond is reclaiming all aspects of his identity, but without M, making her power obsolete. Back in London, he is contacted by MI6. Yet, it is not an official summon, since it does not take place in M's office. He meets M in an abandoned tube station where they brief each other. M puts Bond back on the job, at least unofficially. While this may signal trust, her following scene with Miranda Frost (Rosamund Pike) indicates the opposite. Frost, an MI6 agent, who is posing as Gustav Graves's (Toby Stephen) assistant, is, however, also a double agent, which M does not know at this point. M wants her to keep an eye on Bond, indicating her distrust in him and his loyalty. Here, M becomes a type of double agent herself. In the tube station, underground, she presents as one version, and back in her office, she presents as her official self. Her 'split' indicates a problem within the "imaginary household" (Bennett and Woollacott 129). The non-familial nature of her reign causes mistrust and disloyalty, not just among her agents, but also in herself. At the same time, she taints the symbolic center of power, which her office represents, by trying to pin her agents

against each other. M, as a woman, is not trustworthy and neither is the agent she trusts, also a woman. In the end, Bond proves to her that he can regain his identity without her, leaving her not only obsolete, but an actual threat to the nation's security. He also proves to his audience that male authority and instincts are superior over women's, thereby questioning women's places in traditionally male dominated fields.

At the end of the Brosnan era, the portrayal of M falls short of its proposed feminist discourse and falls upon clichés about women working in male-dominated fields becoming conflicted about their gender identities, which supposedly leaves them incompetent. During her time, MI6 is plagued by double agents and, more significantly, threatened by untrustworthy women (M herself included), putting the achievement of women in male-dominated fields into question.

> In both *The World Is Not Enough* and *Die Another Day*, the female M places her trust in a young woman who is revealed to be a villain. So while Bond's instincts about a situation are usually correct, the female M is portrayed as having poor instincts. (McNeely 157)

In the end, Bond proves that he is not a "relic of the Cold War" (*GoldenEye*), but able to adapt to the new threats, such as technology, surveillance, and even women in positions of power. What remains from the Cold War, is Bond's gender bias, which appears to be an element that has become ingrained in the cinematic formula of Bond. As a hero of the Cold war period, Bond's masculinity served as the first line of defense against the 'sexual deviations' of the villain or the expressions of gender-non-conformity of the girl. In the case of the villain, his masculinity would put him in the superior positon, which would result in the villain's elimination. In the case of the girl, he would sexually possess her and 'cure' her form her deviation. This was all sanctioned and encouraged by M. In the 1990s, Bond is, however, challenged by a female M. She does not conform to gender norms and takes a position in a space traditionally not assigned to her. Bond cannot eliminate her, because she is not the villain and he cannot sexually possess her, because of her age and position. She is a challenge to Bond and to the whole structure, since she, as M, is supposed to be the stable core (see Table 3). Through Dench's M the core of Bond's world begins to shake, which causes herself to stumble and fall. M is doomed to failure from the start because her gender violates the narrative. When Bond claimed the core for himself by the end of that 1980s it was seen as positive. However, when she questions the core, she is punished. Again, her treatment signals that Bond might be able to adapt to some

changes, but that gender politics are not on his progressive agenda. While it appears that Bond does not adapt to the feminist agenda of his time, which challenges him from the start, he probably reflects the time accurately, since the treatment of M fulfills every stereotype of society's image of women in positions of power, especially that of the "humourless feminist" (Johnson 215). Again, all Bond does, is reflect his audiences' conflicts. He is not a vehicle of change, just a reflection of it. This characteristic of Bond and the dynamics between him and Dench's M are further explored in the following era of Bond films.

4.3 M and Bond in the 2000s

In 2006 Martin Campbell's *Casino Royale* arrived at theaters worldwide. The audience was not only introduced to a new Bond, Daniel Craig, but was also able to see a Bond film since the 1980s that is actually based on a novel by Fleming. *Casino Royale* is (loosely) based on Fleming's novel by the same name and shows the origin story of Bond, starting with his initiation into the Double-O rank. Interestingly, Dench reprised her role as M, even though this does not make sense within the timeline established by the previous films. The films starring Craig are characterized by darkness and depth, which has not, at least up to this point, been associated with the Bond film formula. The films feature a cynical Bond, who is plagued by doubts and rage. The Bond films of the 2000s are also marked by visual and thematic binaries, indicating a return of classic structures. M, however, is once again portrayed as failing these structures, which causes her demise and the reinstatement of traditional order as represented by the return of a male M.

The following section examines Bond's and M's roles in the various installments of Bond films in the 2000s, starting with *Casino Royal.* Here the audience is introduced to a Bond whose identity is not fully formed yet. M, on the other hand, is in her most stable position of authority within Bond film history. However, while she guides Bond through his development from a 'blunt instrument' to a 'wonderful machine', she begins to conflate the roles causing the first rifts within the structure. This leads her towards a trajectory, which results in her complete loss of control, peaking in *Skyfall*, where her authority is challenged throughout the film by men. In the end, her death is inevitable and leads to a realignment of traditional structures within male spaces, thereby confirming traditional patriarchal roles as a solution to disorder caused by women.

4.3.1 M: Re-Establishing Order and Structure in the New Millennium

Casino Royale stands out in many aspects within the history of Bond films. It shows Bond at the very beginning of his career as a Double-O agent and includes the only opening sequence, or scene, in the series that was shot partially in black and white. The opening sequence also links the famous spy visually and thematically with a different genre, namely film noir. Film noir is a "style of filmmaking characterized by such elements as cynical heroes, stark lighting effects, frequent use of flashbacks,

intricate plots, and an underlying existentialist philosophy" (Encyclopedia Britannica). The approximately three-minute sequence includes these elements. The sequence establishes themes which continue to shape the film, Bond's development as a Double-O agent and as a cynical and conflicted hero of the new millennium. Most importantly, the opening sequence of *Casino Royale* also reintroduces traditional structures into the narrative of James Bond.

The sequence visualizes the theme of opposing binaries within the world of Bond, thereby exposing a character who is not completely formed yet and struggles with defining his identity. The opening is characterized by two different moments in Bond's life being intercut with each other. The scenes in Prague take place in the present and are intercut with flashbacks from Bond's first kill in Lahore, Pakistan. The scenes both feature Bond confronting his assigned target, but other than that, they are visually and thematically opposed. The scene in Prague is not only shot in black and white, but the black outweighs the white, while a saturated and bright color scheme characterizes the scene in Lahore. Also, the quality of the image in the flashback is grainier, reflecting the grid and imperfection of the kill. The Prague scene, on the other hand, features clear and sharp images, symmetrical/asymmetrical compositions, deliberate gestures, and limited movement. It builds a stark contrast to the fast-paced action scene, the violence and the physical combat in the bathroom in Lahore, which is not a 'clean' fight or a stylized martial arts sequence. Also, Bond loses his gun, which is why the two men have to engage in physical combat in the first place. In the Prague scene, Bond does not only have his own gun ready but has also managed to disarm Dryden, before he even notices. This kill is 'clean' and deliberate. The sequence also visualizes the two conflicting sides within Bond, namely the cool assassin and the brutal killer, or as M later calls him, the "blunt instrument" (*Casino Royale*), relying mostly on his body and his instincts. *Casino Royale* depicts Bond at the beginning of his life as a Double-O agent. In this moment of his life, he often relies on his body and physicality, with mixed results. Bond has not pinned down his identity yet. However, this sequence foreshadows the possibilities.

During the scene in Prague, Bond mentions M, thereby evoking and linking the ideals of nationhood and order which she represents to the controlled environment of his second kill. Bond speaks the first line in *Casino Royale* as he confronts Dryden: "M really doesn't mind you earning a little money on the side, Dryden. She'd just prefer it if it wasn't selling secrets" (*Casino Royale*). This makes M the first thing mentioned in

the film. Even though she is never seen in the opening, M is still part of Bond's missions, and the one who gives him his Double-O status with this assignment, thereby symbolically creating him in this moment. Also, we learn that M values loyalty and nation, especially over money. This places her as the epitome of moral integrity. Bond is her mediator of justice and eliminates threats to her authority, as well as threats to the stability of the nation. M is linked to control and order since she is only mentioned in the highly structured scene in Prague, and not during the chaotic fight scene in the flashback. Here, Bond connects her to the side of his persona that seeks and executes justice, control and order in the name of duty.

As the stable core of moral integrity and duty M tries to form Bond's contradicting identity as a loyal servant of the nation and guides him through his dillemas. In his 2015, "M, 007, and the Challenge of Female Authority in the Bond Franchise", Brian Patton discusses the nature of Bond's identity as an agent and his relationship with M. He argues that the term 'agent' carries a contradictory meaning: "An agent may be an efficient cause, a prime mover, a significant and autonomous force in the world. … However, an agent may also be someone who acts on another's behalf" (Patton 249). 'Agent' connotes both *autonomy* and *instrumentality* (Patton 249). While cinema audiences have come to know Bond as an agent who often takes matters into his own hands and rebukes authority, Craig's Bond is shown to fail when he follows his instincts and goes against his orders. This makes sense, since *Casino Royale* illustrates his birth as a Double-O and his first steps, making him prone to stumble and fall. When Bond takes steps that are a "threat of instrumentality" (Patton 249), he causes problems on a larger scale, because "he is after all, not only a secret agent, but a secret *servant*" (Patton 249). Bond serves the Commonwealth and its 'common wealth'. It is M's job to instill the importance of this form of servitude. For example, after Bond mishandles his mission in Madagascar because he does not follow protocol, M sits him down and tells him that "arrogance and self-awareness seldomly go hand in hand" and that "any thug can kill. I want you to take your ego out of the equation and to judge the situation dispassionately. I have to know I can trust you, and that you know who to trust" (*Casino Royale*). M urges him to put his ego aside and follow logic and order, because Bond serves a higher purpose. He is not supposed to kill out of his instinct, like a 'thug'. When he kills it must be approved by the state and only to re-establish order and control of the state. This conflict was also a theme in Fleming's novel of the same name, where Bond is called a "machine" (Fleming *Casino* 176) by

Mathis. Here, M defined his identity by finding the balance between the contradicting ideas of being a human and a machine at the same time. M does not want Bond to be just a 'simple' but a "**wonderful** machine [emphasis added]" (Fleming *Casino* 176) (as are Mathis's exact words). The cinematic version of M also tries to guide Bond through his conflicts and help him exercise better judgment. M's role and function re-establishes the structures of Bond's world and guides the audience through the process of Bond finding his place within this structure.

4.3.2 M: Masculinity and Femininity in the New Millennium

While M re-establishes her role as the moral core and donor of identity within the traditional structures of the world of Bond, she is not linked to the physical and instinctual part of his identity. M is, for example, not connected to the violent and physical scene in Lahore. Also, M does not shape Bond's sexual and gender identity, as has been traditionally the case. In the 2000s reboot Bond's sexuality and masculinity do not function in the same manner as before, his sexuality, for example, is not used to establish him and the nation as superior over a sexually 'deviant' and non-British villain. This can be viewed as a significant change concerning masculinity and heteronormativity in Bond. Brooks and Hill argue that Craig's Bond offers a reconfigured masculinity (122), thereby speaking to "changing notions of masculinity and a more diverse fan base" (122). Here, Bond's masculinity is redefined, mostly by himself.

As Bond goes through his development from 'blunt instrument' to 'wonderful machine', he is at first reduced to his body and even becomes the object of the gaze in a manner traditionally ascribed to the Bond girl. According to Lisa Funnell in her 2011, ""I know Where You Keep Your Gun": Daniel Craig as the Bond-Bond Girl Hybrid", Craig's Bond takes on aspects traditionally assigned to the Bond girl. Bond's role as a Bond-Bond Girl Hybrid conflates the structure of the narrative. The Bond girl traditionally positions herself as a "troubling enigma" (Bennett and Woollacott 115) that Bond has to solve. In this case, Bond becomes the 'enigma' and also presents as troubled, thereby reflecting his identity conflicts in this first stage of his development as a Double-O agent. At the same time, it also allows Bond to reject the traditional gender dynamics that usually dictate the narrative and his actions. Funnell especially focuses

on the scene during Craig ascend from the water in the Bahamas, while Solange is watching him on the beach and Dimitrios from his balcony.

Fig. 13. Still from Young, *Dr. No* (00:59:55)

Fig. 14. Still from Tamahori, *Die Another Day* (00:34:55)

Fig. 15. Image from Campbell, *Casino Royale (Moviestore Collection/Rex Features)* [24]

Funnell argues that "Bond's body is exposed, made spectacular and subsequently feminized during scenes of limited physical activity" (464). The moment carries significance on multiple levels: First, Bond is linked to an iconic moment in the history of Bond girls. His male body is visually linked with the female bodies of Ursula Andress in *Dr. No* (as shown in Figure 13) and Halle Berry's homage to Andress's scene in *Die Another Day* (as can be seen Figure 14). Both women ascend from the water in their bikinis with the camera reflecting Bond's gaze. In Craig's case, it is the male body that is placed in this situation, not the female. As can be seen in Figure 15, the image of him is similarly framed as the women's. He does not only become the audience's object of desire, but within the scene, he is the object of Solange's and Dimitrios's gaze. Second, the image of Bond is gazed upon by a woman and a man, but without negative homoerotic connotation. It actually fulfills Bond's plan as he tries to gain their attention

[24] Unfortunately, this is not a screenshot taken from the DVD (like the other stills), because it was damaged. The image is taken from an article by Colin Daniels from 2012, "Daniel Craig: 'Sex Symbol Status is Embarrassing."

and subsequently gain access to information. Third, unlike Andress's and Berry's Bond girls, Bond offers his body willingly. The women did not choose to be objectified, Craig's Bond does. This puts Bond in charge of his own body and sexuality (a privilege not granted to the women). Most importantly, unlike Bonds of the past films, Craig's Bond uses his body and sexuality solely for his job, he is not interested in sexual conquest. For example, as soon as he gets the information form Solange, he leaves her room without having sex with her. This is an unprecedented move for the Bond. This new attitude towards Bond's sexuality is significant, since he is allowed to define and use his own masculinity and sexuality, *autonomously.* He is not directed by M or any other authority.

Bond's new attitudes in regards to gender and sexual identity, however, do not extend to M. While M is in the most powerful and stable position within Bond's cinematic history, it is again her gender identity that causes a disturbance within the structures. The relationship is characterized by professionalism and distance, which in the previous depictions of the (male) M-Bond relationship was a guarantee for success. However, at the end of the film, she crosses over to a more personal relationship. After Vesper's death, Bond talks to M over the phone. While the line, "the bitch is dead" (Fleming *Casino* 229), ends the novel, it does not end the film. When Bond utters those words, M intervenes. She puts Vesper's death into perspective for him, by telling him that she made a deal for his life. In contrast to the novel, where there is no reaction form M, Dench's M challenges Bond's sense of good and evil and forces him to consider the complexities and judge them wisely. Additionally, during this conversation, she also calls him 'James', which indicates a personal moment. While she challenges Bond's worldview, she also conflates the professional and the personal. What makes this move problematic is her gender. The male M of the novels did not respond to Bond, but the female M of the films does, making her reaction a symptom of her gender. This pushes her into an emotional and even motherly role.

Throughout the film, M serves as Bond's conscience and his guide. While Craig's Bond is ruled by ego and instinct, M functions as a higher moral authority (super-ego). At the same time, she shifts her position within the assigned structures and begins to position herself as a motherly figure[25]. As discussed in the previous chapter, within the structures of the "imaginary household" (Bennett and Woollacott 129) M takes on the

[25] By the end of the next installment, Mark Forster's *Quantum of Solace* (2008), Bond even (jokingly) refers to M as his mother during a conversation with Camille (Olga Kurylenko).

role of the symbolic father and Moneypenny the role of the mother. However, since Dench's M stands alone (there is no Moneypenny), she begins to take on both roles. Her conflation of roles causes disturbances. While Bond, as a man, is allowed to conflate roles within the established structures and morph into a Bond-Bond girl hybrid, M, due to her gender, causes chaos and confusion by shifting the core. These problems begin to unravel in Sam Mendes's 2012, *Skyfall*.

4.3.3 M: Heroes and Villains in the New Millennium

In *Skyfall*, order, authority and identity are the at the center of the narrative, which has been suffering from M's violation of the traditional structures, caused, once again, by her gender. While M's competence is questioned and her authority challenged by men, Silva (Javier Bardem) and Gareth Malory (Ralph Fiennes), Bond's identity crisis also reaches its peak.

The opening sequence of *Skyfall* does not only define the relationship between M and Bond through conflicting binaries, but also puts M's previously unfailing judgment into question. The opening sequence finds Bond (Daniel Craig) on a mission in Istanbul. Bond and a female colleague, Moneypenny (Naomi Harris), as we learn later, are chasing their target through the busy streets. The scenes in Istanbul are intercut with scenes in M's London office. M and her analysts are following the chase live and stand in direct communication with the agents through earpieces. The sequence offers many binaries: active-passive, instinct-logic, East-West, color-coolness. As Lori Parks notes in her 2015, ""M"(O)THERING: Female Representation of Age and Power in James Bond", the scene presents contrasting views of intelligence work by switching "between the dynamic space of action and the institutionalized space that M occupies" (260). Bond's space, the field, is further characterized by a warm color scheme. The busy streets of Istanbul are saturated in a warm, orange and yellow hue. The scenes are also packed with physical action. Bond, and with him the camera, is in constant movement. He is either walking, running, driving, jumping or engaging in physical combat. M, however, is confined to her office. Her office space, which can be seen in Figure 16, is not only visually different from Bond's field experience, but also differs from her previous offices.

Fig. 16. Still from Mendes, *Skyfall* (00:02:29)

It is a modern room, characterized by floor-to-ceiling glass windows, a lack of paintings or anything else that would serve a decorative purpose. Beige, clean walls and glass have replaced the wood-paneled walls of the past. While she still has her desk, it is not a wooden antiquity, but a modern, steel-legged version. Also, her office is not closed off by soundproof doors or drapes. M has a view over the Themes and London behind her and her glass doors make it possible for her to see all of her staff outside sitting at rows of computers. She also does not have a secretary anticipating her needs and sitting outside her office. Her scenes are marked by a grey and blue hue, which adds a sense of coolness (as in cold) to her and her surroundings. Additionally, her scenes mostly feature medium close-ups or close-ups of her face, while Bond's scenes contain a variety of different angles and shots. M's space appears cold, stable, and restrictive, as she is given little to no room to move within her frames. Bond's scenes, on the other hand, are warm, lively and active. The sequence reflects the struggle between logic and knowledge and the body and its instincts. M's and Bond's spaces build dual oppositions, while at the same time being connect thematically (they are perusing one mission) and also literally (through technology), as M guides her agents' bodies through the space of the field with the information generated in her office space. By the end, however, she mistrusts Bond's body and mediates the firing of the shot which wounds him and causes the mission to fail. Most importantly, M fails to successfully bridge the gap between logic and body or numbers and field experience, thereby failing her essential duty in the structure of Bond's world. As such, she marks herself and her "institutionalized space" (Parks 260) as dangerous.

M's failure is problematic because it disrupts the structures of Bond's world and causes conflicting and confusing ideas about identity and purpose. *Skyfall* explores the themes of recognizing and defining good and evil in a world where (as Bond says in Fleming's *Casino Royale*) "[t]he villains and heroes get all mixed up" (Fleming *Casino* 170). Due to his injuries from the opening sequence, Bond loses his physical abilities, which he mostly relied on before and which defined him. Now, he has to find a way to redefine his status as a hero, which proves to be a challenge. M is the figure who is supposed to provide him with a sense of identity, but he mistrusts her, and so does the rest of the country. At this point, the MI6 building and M's office have been blown up and M, and her staff, have to operate out of a makeshift space underground. Her position is weakened, making her unable to help Bond. Here, the motif of the shadow is evoked. M must defend herself in front of a committee, and while she does not know the attacker's identity at this point, she knows that it must be someone with insider knowledge who comes "from the same place as Bond," namely "the shadows" (*Skyfall*). The 'shadows' are the place between light and darkness and good and evil. The shadows also cannot exist without dark and light, or, metaphorically speaking, without good and evil, playing off each other. As such, it is the place where heroes and villains come from. The motif of the shadow also evokes Bond's contemplations about villains and heroes in Fleming's *Casino Royale*, as he tells Mathis that villains and heroes are different sides of the same medal, which is why they all get mixed up (Fleming *Casino* 170). In the novel, Mathis tells Bond that he is the hero and that if he is ever in doubt M will him tell what to do. The thought of M at this moment in the novel puts Bond back on track and reestablishes his function as a hero within the structure of his world. In *Skyfall*, however, M becomes the center of the conflict and cannot realign Bond.

M positions herself at the center of conflicting and confusing ideas in regards to identity and purpose, and foreshadows her own demise. As she stands before the committee, she defends her purpose and evokes ideas about heroism and nationalism by citing the last lines from Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

> Tho' much is taken, much abides; and though
> We are not now that strength which in old days
> Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are;
> One equal temper of heroic hearts,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.
>
> (65-70, qtd. in *The Norten Anthology: English Literature* pp. 1124-1125)

The passage is significant on multiple levels: first, it evokes ideals and values about traditional notions of heroism, a quality that exudes from people's hearts and signifies unfailing beliefs in ideals and moral values. Second, the poem also denotes ideas about England and Englishness. As Matthew Rowlinson argues in his 1992, "The Ideological Moment of Tennyson's "Ulysses"", the poem can be read as an "elaboration of a notion of English culture as system of values – with poetry very near its center – which could be reproduced in societies outside England itself" (267). He argues that the poem is often associated with British strength and colonial power. It makes sense for M to evoke these ideas, since they are traditionally an important part of her function in the world of Bond. However, the use of the poem could also be seen as ironic and foreboding, because third, the passage also addresses issues of age, mortality and exudes a sense of sentimentality for a bygone era. This places M and her ideals in a historical and mythical past, which has faded. Also, in the poem Ulysses address his restlessness and hints at his imminent death. The passage depicts the moment before his last journey out to sea, from which he does not return. Therefore, the passage carries rather foreboding images in regards to M's position and fate. And fourth, the poem also depicts a contradictory and confused hero. Rowlinson also points out that while Ulysses is back home in Ithaca, he behaves at times as if he is in a foreign land and expresses the desire to leave the place again. This contradiction characterizes the poem and its hero and "opens a problematic that critics often noticed in "Ulysses" – namely, that he does not seem to know where he is" (267). The passage, the poem, and its hero conflate heroism and pathos. On the one hand, it evokes ideals and values of the highest order, on the other hand, the poem's inherent irony places M in a conflicting position. Like Ulysses, she does not know her place (as a woman and a leader). These contradictions plague not only M, but also the structures she has to control.

M's path was already signaled in Campbell's *Casino Royale* and the examination of her trajectory, with the benefit of hindsight, pins her gender as the major cause of conflict. M, as a woman, is once again shown incapable of fulfilling all the roles assigned to her. Since the 1990s she has been shown as disturbing the structures of the "imaginary household" (Bennett and Woollacott 129). The problem here is, as Steven Woodward puts in in his 2004, "The Arch Archenemies of James Bond", that the female M is "unsettling the Oedipal dynamics of the narrative" (184). As M, she has to position herself as the symbolic father. However, this is difficult due to her gender.

Dench's M has no phallic authority either (she only gives Bond one gun, however, Q functions as her mediator), she does not control Bond's sexuality, and she is a woman. Since there is no Moneypenny yet, motherly functions are also shifted towards M. However, while the Bond-Bond girl hybridity is possible and even empowers Bond, M's role as a symbolic father-symbolic mother hybrid fails, because in her case one function negates the other.

4.3.4 M stands for Maleness – Confirmation of Patriarchy

Through Silva, M is confronted with the challenges of her job and the problems of conflating the structures that rule Bond's world. Silva, a former agent, who was captured and tortured, but never rescued by MI6, returns to take revenge on M. His disappointment with her lies deep within his psyche – in the shadows – where he equates M with his mother and even refers to her as "mommy" (*Skyfall*). By placing her purely in the role of mother, he negates her other functions. Within the "imaginary household" (Bennett and Woollacott 129) the position of symbolic father becomes available and Silva attempts to claim this part. Since Bond intervenes, Silva sees him as a rival. "Bond's battle is a literal enactment of Freud's oedipal complex as it has shifted between "brothers"" (Parks 263). Here, Silva sees himself as the older brother and tries to replace M as symbolic father, thereby mending the disruption he sees due to M's dual role. He views Bond as his younger brother and rival. Silva's identification of Bond as a brother coincides with the idea of villains and heroes being different sides of the same coin or coming from the same place, the shadows. Silva is not just another Bond villain, he represents another version of Bond as well – his shadow. Silva was once a hero too. He turned into a villain after he was removed from the core that provided him with his identity. He is a warning sign against disruptions and loss of control. The same could have happened to Bond after M ordered the shot that almost killed him. What sets Bond and Silva essentially apart is what Eco referred to as "physical and psychical Excess" (151). "Silva is presented to us deranged, broken, effeminate, and ultimately second best" (Parks 262). He is also not British, which always punts Bond at an advantage. Because of Silva's effeminate, deviant nature and nationality, he does not actually pose the biggest threat to M's authority.

The main threat to M's authority is Gareth Malory, mostly due to his gender. Malory's gender, combined with is career and field experience, gives him an advantage

over M, because he would be a more traditional fit for M's position. Malory challenges M's authority throughout the film. A key scene is a moment after Bond's reinstatement in M's makeshift office. After being reinstated, Bond gets up to leave. As he approaches to the door, Malory (still in his chair) stops him. He questions Bond's motifs and challenges M by calling her sentimental. As he confronts them, Malory gets up and so does M. Standing in their positions, the three characters build a triangle, in which M and Malory are equally far away from Bond. They remain in der positions for a beat, building up tension. Malory decides to leave the room. As he walks out, he tells Bond: "Don't cock it up" (*Skyfall*). Here he warns him against his own ego (as M did in *Casino Royale*) and through the word choice also implicitly challenges his manhood. Until this moment, Dench's M held the role of symbolic father and mother. Now, Malory makes a grab for the role of symbolic father by positioning himself opposite M and with equal distance to Bond, thereby reinstating symmetry and order by pushing M into the mother role (since he is actually a man, he can be a father). He also challenges Bond's masculinity through an implicit threat of symbolic castration, just like his male predecessor in *Dr. No.* This scene signifies the beginning of M's authority shifting towards Malory and foreshadows his replacement of her. At this point, it becomes clear that M's death is necessary to bring back order and structure, and complete Bond's full transition into a Double-O agent, which started in *Casino Royale.* Here, M symbolically gave birth to him, now Malory, as the new symbolic father, can help Bond to form his identity as he emerges from the shadows as a hero. In *Skyfall*, "M is transformed into a tragic figure that has to die in order for Bond to reach his full potential as 007" (Parks 260). Again, Bond shows that male potential can only be reached by othering women and their agency.

Malory's replacement of M reinstates the old and familiar structures, which is visually signaled during the final scene in his office. Bond walks into the new MI6 office building. The building features high ceilings, murals, paintings, marble floors, and wood paneled walls, thereby building a regal contrast to the offices of Dench's M in the opening sequence. As Bond walks in, he is greeted by his colleague from the opening sequence. She has decided not to become a field agent. Instead, she walks behind her own desk, sits down, and finally reveals her name, Eve Moneypenny. M's iconic and loyal secretary is reinstated. This is the first sign of the old structures being back. Then Bond walks through the next door and finds himself in a wood-paneled room,

filled with finely polished antique furniture. The new M's office, as featured in Figure 17:

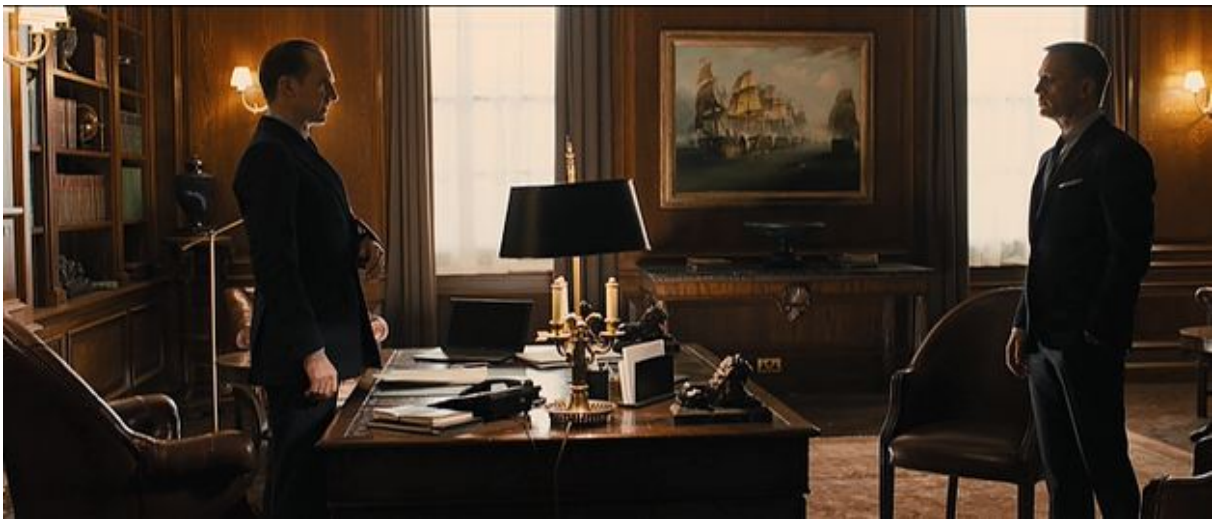


Fig. 17. Still from Mendes, *Skyfall* (02:12:00)

Behind a large, antique desk Malory stands to receive Bond, with his arm in a sling (injured while fighting side by side). Malory slides a file, marked 'top secret' across the desk and asks him if he is ready to get back on duty, to which Bond replies, "with pleasure, M" (*Skyfall*). The final scene provides a bookend to the film, which opened on a scene contrasting Bond in the field and M in her London office. Compared to her office at the beginning, Malory's is a stark contrast. She was surrounded by steel, glass, and technology, while Malory's office exudes regal authority. The ultimate shot, shows Malory and Bond standing across from each other, a painting of a battle scene at sea between them, which can also be seen in Figure 17. According to artist and blogger Judith I Bridgland, this painting is a reference to Thomas Buttersworth's H.M.S. "Victory", which depicts the battle and victory of Trafalgar, during which Lord Nelson defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet, keeping Napoleon from invading England. While the Franco-Spanish fleet lost most of their ships, the English fleet lost none, even though they had been outnumbered. Lord Nelson was mortally wounded, but apparently did not die before knowing that the British had secured the victory. (Encyclopedia Britannica). Considering this in the light of Dench's M's recital of *Ulysses,* the following can be observed: the poem is conflicting and drenched in pathos and a sense of futility in regards to heroism. It features a confused and old hero who goes out to sea to die, while Lord Nelson went out to sea and died as well, but saved England. The painting exudes a sense of duty, sacrifice, national strength and pride. It features an unquestionable form of heroism, now shared between the new M and

Bond. It is a therefore also a type of heroism linked to traditional masculinity, which is now also reinstated in this "institutionalized space" (Parks 260) of M's office. Bond's transition into England's heroic servant is now completed. At this point, Bond has ceased to be an individual and has morphed into a symbol. It is now the new M's duty to guide Bond. The structures of the world of Bond are realigned, due, again, to the othering and the sacrifice of women, e.g., Dench's M gave her life, and Moneypenny gave up her field career to fill a traditionally female role.

The final scene of *Skyfall* can be read as a stark rejection of female authority and signifies a backward thinking return to old-fashioned patriarchal orders. The return of a male M, the old-fashioned office space (which was declared dysfunctional by the end of the 1980s), and Moneypenny's reinstatement as the loyal secretary outside M's office seem like a setback of gender equality, which the female M represented. However, the scene can also be read in the context of the 'glass cliff'. This phenomenon was defined in a study by Michelle K. Ryan and S. Alexander Haslam from 2005, titled: "The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions". The study examined leadership appointments in FTSE 100 (Financial Times Stock Exchange 100 Index) companies before and after the appointment of new board members. They found that

> it appears that women are particularly likely to be placed in positions of leadership in circumstances of general financial downturn and downturn in company performance. In this way, such women can be seen to be placed on top of a 'glass cliff', in the sense that their leadership appointments are made in problematic organizational circumstances and hence are more precarious. (Rayan and Haslam 87)

The risks women in these positions run, are that under the economic circumstances of their appointments the company is likely to do poorly, which is then seen as their failure. Rayan and Haslam also argue that perceptions about leadership quality are often subjective. Here it is more likely that women in these positions "may be differentially exposed to criticism and in greater danger of being apportioned blame for negative outcomes that were set in train well before they assumed their new roles" (Rayan and Haslam 87). This means that women are often set up to fail. Dench's M takes a similar position. While she is allowed to shatter the 'glass ceiling'[26], she is

[26] This refers to the phenomenon that describes the invisible barrier that prevents women from reaching leadership positions usually filled by men (Rayan and Haslam 81).

confronted with the ‘glass cliff’. She is often faced with impossible roles to fulfill, constantly challenged by men, and is set up to fail from the start. The re-setting of known patriarchal structures in Bond are upsetting because they raise questions about the society who watches it. If Bond, as a “mobile signifier” (Bennett and Woollacott 43) of his time and is mediating and negotiating the conflicts of his audience, then this final moment shows that women’s roles in our society are still challenged and seen as a risk to male authority, and as such, must be eliminated.

The next installment of the series confirms this idea and affirms the male M’s status and authority. In Sam Mendes’s 2015, *SPECTRE*, Bond faces a crime syndicate led by Ernst Stavro Blofeld (Christoph Waltz). His organization funds the Nine Eyes program, which Max Denbigh (Andrew Scott), or C, encourages the British Secret Service to join. Nine Eyes is a global surveillance and intelligence program, which would combine the intelligence services of all major nations, and make the Double-O program obsolete. Before even knowing that C is involved with Blofeld, M (Ralphe Fiennes) questions the democracy of this program. During the international intelligence meeting, he, representing Great Britain, is the only one who votes against it. Later, him and his London team (Moneypenny, Q, and Tanner), confront C in his office. The scene in C’s office is reminiscent of Bond’s confrontation of Dryden in *Casino Royale*. Here, M also confronts a traitor in an empty, modern office building. He sits, in prey, and surprises the man with his knowledge of the situation. While Q battles technology on his computer in the background, M engages physically in (old-fashioned) combat and overpowers C. In contrast to Bond in the opening of *Casino Royale,* M’s position here is that of complete control. He is not mediating someone else’s authority but exerts his own. Also, while Bond is relegated to chasing his personal demons and ghosts of the past (his ‘specters’), M leaves the personal out of his job and focuses on saving democracy, Britain and the world. Due to the male M, MI6 is back on top again by the end of the film. Unlike the female M, he is able to identify and eliminate the traitor (even physically by himself), bridge the gap between past ideals about heroism and the current world, run by technology and surveillance. Like his male predecessors, he is capable to balance bureaucracy and field experience. This confirms the importance of reinstating the patriarchal structures and affirms traditional attitudes towards male leadership.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that Bond is defined by a formula of dualistic structures (as argued by Umberto Eco) which are infused with and ruled by prevailing cultural and political trends and shifts. Because of this inherent quality, Bond is a figure able to function as a stand-in for his audiences' "ideological preoccupations" (Bennett and Woollacott 29) and, most importantly, he is able to constantly adapt to changing times. This is why Bennett and Woollacott define Bond as a "mobile signifier" (43) within culture. As such, he has been able to remain a significant figure within popular culture for almost 70 years. His success can be attributed to the symbiotic relationship he has with his audience, who, "as a subject within ideology is 'rubbed' by the process of narrative" (Bennett and Woollacott 94). It is also the other way around. In Bond, the audience is always 'implicit' and 'complicit'.

What Bond is not, is a progressive figure. As this paper showed, Bond is always a reflection of his audience at the moment, never a vehicle of change. This can be best examined within the discourse of nationhood, gender, and sexuality. The Bond of the novels and early films stood firmly within the patriarchal structures. Bond defended these structures, which, on the other hand, supplied him with his identity as a hero. His enemies were always those who did not fit into the structures set by not only patriarchal standards, but also ideals in regards to nation and nationhood. M, stands at the core of these structures, which is also an element that was transitioned (with modifications) into the Bond films.

A reoccurring theme within the formula of Bond became also the othering of women, feminist notions, and non-normative expressions of gender and sexuality in order to indicate the superiority of Bond and the (male) values he represents. A prime example for this form of othering early on is the character of Rosa Klebb, who is not just a villain because of her allegiance to the Soviet Union, but mostly because she exhibits 'deviant' or queer expressions of gender and sexuality. Klebb could have also been portrayed positively as a trailblazer and as breaking the glass ceiling, since she has made a successful career in a male-dominated field and displays her gender-non-conforming looks and attitudes unapologetically. However, all these qualities are framed as villainous and only help to highlight and elevate Bond's sexual prowess in connection to national strength. Of course, her treatment is a symptom of the time. Still, this trend continued in Bond. Even after political changes (e.g., the fall of the

Soviet Union) and as villains became terrorist motivated by greed or personal revenge, not nationalistic ideals, Bond could count on suppressing and negating female agency. This aspect of Bond, is best showcased in the treatment of Dench's M. While the placing of a woman in the position of M, who, until this point, had been the core of these patriarchal structures, can be viewed as Bond's attempt to address a growing feminist discourse and the rise of women in leadership positions, her appointment proves as problematic, conflicting and even dangerous to national security. Again, a woman in a male-dominated field is othered in order to prove male authority right (as can be seen by the reinstatement of a male M). Here Bond was likely 'rubbed' by his audience's mindset, because M's development and failure reflects the concept of the 'glass cliff' and other stereotypical representations of a "humourless feminist" (Johnson 215).

As the Bond series continues, it will be interesting to see how it will address female agendas in the future. The next film in the series, *Bond 25*, will mark the 25th Bond film. Since Craig has a five-film contract, it is also very likely that this will be his last appearance as Bond. This has caused many rumors about his possible replacement. Suggested were actors of color and even a female Bond. While these are just rumors, they can still be examined under the light of this paper. The question these rumors raise is: what will the next Bond say about us? Considering the current media and political landscape under social movements and hashtags like *#MeToo*, it will be interesting to see if they will find their way into Bond's world. However, the next Bond era is still far away. If we just focus on the upcoming film, which is scheduled to be released in early 2020, it must be noted that neither the director nor the writers will be women (IMDb). Again: what does Bond say about us (his audience) here? I pose this question in my final remark, even though the possible answers are complex and go beyond the scope of this paper. Still, as the series continues, we can look forward to some of these issues being addressed, or not. Even the lack of acknowledgment will keep feature Bond scholars, *Bondologists*, busy and spark interesting and in-depth analysis of this pop culture icon.

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Skyfall. Dir. Sam Mendes. Perf. Daniel Craig, Judi Dench and Javier Bardem. MGM. 2012.

SPECTRE. Dir. Sam Mandes. Perf. Daniel Craig, Christoph Waltz. MGM. 2015.

The Man with the Golden Gun. Dir. Guy Hamilton. Perf. Roger Moore. Christopher Lee. MGM. 1974.

The Spy Who Loved Me. Dir. Lewis Gilbert. Perf. Roger Moore, Barbara Bach. MGM. 1977.

The World Is Not Enough. Dir. Michael Apted. Perf. Pierce Brosnan, Sophie Marceau and Judi Dench. MGM. 1999.

8 Appendix

8.1 Abstract: German

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die narrativen Strukturen und ihre Beziehung zu vorherrschenden Ideologien in James Bond Romanen und Filmen. Die Erzählstrukturen von Ian Flemings Romanen basieren auf Dualismen und zugrundeliegenden Mustern binärer Oppositionen, die als Verbindungspunkt zu den Anliegen des Publikums im Diskurs von Nationalität, Geschlecht und Sexualität fungieren. Ein besonderer Fokus liegt hierbei auf der M-Bond Beziehung, da M den Kern dieser Strukturen bildet und als stabilisierende Kraft innerhalb traditioneller patriarchaler Normen fungiert, welche gestört werden, als eine Frau (Judi Dench) die Rolle von M übernimmt. Ihre feministische Agenda stellt sich jedoch als unzureichend heraus. Sie wird schließlich von einem männlichen M ersetzt, der traditionelle Normen wiederherstellt und damit Bonds geschlechtsspezifischen Diskurs und den seines Publikums in Frage stellt.

8.2 Abstract: English

The present thesis examines the narrative structures and their relationship to prevailing ideologies in James Bond novels and films. The narrative structures of Ian Fleming's novels are based on dualisms and underlying patterns of binary oppositions, which function as a point of connection to the audiences' preoccupations within the discourse of nationhood, gender, and sexuality. A particular focus is placed on the M-Bond relationship, as M builds the core of the narrative and functions as a stabilizing force within traditional patriarchal structures. These structures are disrupted when a woman (Judi Dench) takes over the role. However, her feminist discourse falls short, and she is replaced by a male M, who reinstates traditional norms, thereby putting Bond's gendered discourse and that of his audience into question.