Bird Citing: On the Aesthetics and Techno-Poetics of Flight.

By Christopher Schaberg

The first flash of a bird incites the desire to duplicate not by translating the glimpsed image into a drawing or a poem or a photograph but simply by continuing to see her five seconds, twenty-five seconds, forty-five seconds later—as long as the bird is there to be beheld.

-Elaine Scarry, On Beauty and Being Just

In *The Open*, Giorgio Agamben illustrates how humanity and animality are bound together in an irreducible conceptual pairing. Throughout his aphoristic chapters, Agamben lingers on historical images of figures such as the humanoid *acephalous* that either remains headless or receives the cranium of a beast; such images illuminate caesurae between the elevated human and the lowly animal. It is this visible yet indeterminate space between subjects that Agamben probes:

...man has always been thought of as the articulation and conjunction of a body and a soul, or a living thing and a *logos*, of a natural (or animal) element and a supernatural or social or divine element. We must learn instead to think of man as what results from the incongruity of these two elements, and investigate not the metaphysical mystery of conjunction, but rather the practical and political mystery of separation.¹

In this article I would like to build on and contemporize Agamben's investigation of man/animal incongruities and the conceptual *space* necessitated therein. Here, I would like to suggest that we might also learn to investigate the practical and political mysteries of commonplace *figurations* that reveal how humans struggle to attain a *certain* animality. To this end, the following pages explore an aesthetic and poetic trend around human air travel that I call *bird citing*.

A first order bird citing appears as simple as the citation of a bird in an aesthetic object such as a poem, such as in Wallace Stevens's widely anthologized Modernist paragon, "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird." The first paragraph stanza reads:

Among twenty snowy mountains, The only moving thing Was the eye of the blackbird.² In these lines the blackbird is cited as a poetic object worth visualizing. Yet as the reader catches sight of the blackbird, the blackbird's own ocular perception is cited, and object becomes subject. In these lines, bird *citing* becomes a double bird *sighting*—the view zooms from panoramic to the point of a blackbird's eye, from distant topography, to intimate anatomy:





Over the following pages, my aim is to outline a network of allusive avian vectors and spectacles that intersect along lines of flight. Such lines of flight can be imaginative and imagistic, as in Stevens's poem; they can be straight forwardly symbolic, as in the bird insignias that appear on the tails of many commercial jets; or, bird citing can be starkly literal, as in errant birds flitting in and out of sliding doors at the baggage claim. In other words, I am particularly curious about how bird citing appears where many lines of flight converge: at airports. I want to suggest that there are curious overlaps in the multiple significations of bird forms that collide and collude in this networked space.

I will begin by examining airports as human sites that emanate a skein of animality via bird citing, and I argue that the technologies of human air travel rely on an animal imaginary that draws the human subject into play of wild and cultivated significations. For instance, In 1920, American journalist William G. Shepherd evoked bird citing as a way to describe the influx of air travel:

The Audubon Society knows every domestic whim o[f] every desirable American bird, and no farm home is complete without its neat little home for birds. What we need today is an Audubon Society of American cities and towns for the cultivation of the welfare of our linen-winged, aluminum-lunged, unfeathered friends.⁵

This passage reflects how ornithology and air travel have been historically linked: to promote airports is, in a way, to promote something related to the aesthetically oriented

collecting mentality of the bird watcher. Yet via this analogy, Shepherd also implies how air travel disseminated across the nation—artificially, by a 'society' that might cultivate airports, as well as organically, as it were, through biological dispersion of 'winged' and 'lunged' aircraft. In other words, the call to birdlife is both a grasp at a natural order of things, as well as an enculturation of new technologies. Airport historian Martin Greif cites this case as unique: "Never before nor since, one imagines, has the airport been likened to a bird house."⁶ In fact, however, this ornithological impulse has haunted the histories of air travel, and along the way, airports hardly escape comparison to birdhouses. Avian spectrality is a common airport strategy, and seemingly simple bird citing is often in the service of obverse aesthetics of aerospace technologies.

Airports involve many forms of bird citing. Around these sites, avian appearances can become layered, unpeeling where the real and the symbolic overlap. Readymade montages of bird sightings abound; for instance, in one recent photograph that I snapped at Sacramento airport, a common starling balanced on barbed wire, and in the background, the tail of an American Airlines jet flashes a bird icon between two capital As:



To rephrase Wallace Stevens, among twenty jet planes, everything moving is a bird.

To add another dimension to this multiplying figure of figuration, historically airports have been designed to resemble or allude to birds. Thus airports are also places for bird *siting*, through which location itself can be shaped like a bird. Consider Eero Saarinen's 1962 TWA Terminal in New York. Airport historian Alastair Gordon describes this piece of modernist architecture in reference to its bird form: "The larger sections were like the wings of a bird that stretched laterally in daring cantilevers to the north and south." The TWA Terminal exaggerates the scale of birdlife for effect:



Similarly, Berlin's 1941 neoclassical Tempelhof Aerodrome was created to look like a mighty eagle in flight. A Google Earth view shows the outward/upward curving concourses, which would be the wings of the bird. One can compare an aerial view of Tempelhof with the eagle icon in the Homeland Security logo to get a sense of the bird shape cited (the eagle's head at Tempelhof, which is not exactly perceptible in this schema, would be located on the white tarmac).



In the case of Tempelhof, this bird citing challenges notions of scale and point of view: an airport *on the ground* is supposed to look like it is a flying creature—but we can only see this from an *already elevated* aerial view. Airport bird citing through architecture tends to warp scale by magnifying birdlife, thus diminishing the human subject.

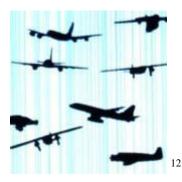
Bird forms become more confusing when airplanes—the obvious corresponding object of flight—are drawn into the semiotic mix. Take, for instance, the art installation "Rara Avis" (2001) by Ralph Helmick, at Chicago's Midway airport:



This diaphanous sculpture of a cardinal is suspended above a bank of escalators in the main terminal; a bird form is achieved by the careful arrangement of 2000 tiny metal airplanes. Miniature airplanes actually *comprise* this huge bird; the monstrous animal is made of toy machines—the airport itself is turned into a surrealist display case of sorts. The human viewer is both larger than the airplanes, and smaller than the great bird—a vertiginous subject position, indeed:



Internally, this sculpture twists scale one more time: contemporary airliners are made to appear the same size as antique bi-planes, WWII fighter planes, and helicopters from the 1960s:



As I have already hinted, perhaps one of the most banal acts of bird citing appears in the crest of the Department of Homeland Security, in the ubiquitous form of patriotic eagle.



This bird citing is absorbed into the unconscious, all-encompassing sign system of the airport, yet given its historical fascistic register, we might pause to put additional pressure on this icon. This particular crest was located on a flat screen hanging from the ceiling in the Sacramento airport as one approached the security checkpoint to Terminal A. The Homeland Security sign 'welcomes' me—but into what space or concept? Am I being welcomed into the airport? If so, it is too late—I have already entered and am about to be subjected to the absurd regime of post-9/11 security procedures, including removing my shoes and shuffling through a surveilled magnometer. Furthermore, the bird citing on the Homeland Security crest undoes the inside/outside dichotomy so crucial to the sterile/non-sterile designations of airport security: these *must* be clear and distinct categories, and yet suggesting birdlife on the inside of the airport makes the site an

aviary, at best, and a veritable wilderness, at worst. Might the sign, then, be welcoming me to the country? Again, too late—I'm here, and furthermore, I might be *departing* the country through this air-port. Perhaps I am simply being welcomed to this security stage, this identity checkpoint. If so, I would like to argue that bird citing works in the favor of this spatial initiation: bird citing posits a natural order in the guise of national security. The eagle on the Homeland Security crest asserts dominance and watchfulness, harnesses power and boundless knowledge. The eagle watches over the airport. The eagle *is* the airport.

One can begin to see how birds are cited around airports as common yet strange figures that disorient the human in flight as well as the human in *viewing* flight. In these airport cases, I am articulating the ways in which birds are *cited*—observed, called upon, and indicted—and how they are *sighted* visually: birds are seen, represented in order to be recognized, symbolically appropriated, and used to re-mark acts of flight and acts of visualizing flight. Then, birds are also *sited* as locational, architectural, sculptural, and topographical registers. These tracts demonstrate the scope of bird citing: how airports confusingly reference avian imagery and ornithological visuality, creating an interpenetrating system of signification.

I now turn to several specific cases of bird citing that evince a Northern California ecosystem of localism, militarism, and the ornithology of air travel.

On California's Interstate 5 nearing the Sacramento Airport, one will often see flocks of migrating birds in enormous V patterns undulating in the skyline beneath 737s on final approach. According to an article about "bird strikes" at the Sacramento airport, "Rice fields, the Sacramento River and the Yolo bypass create a paradise for waterfowl and wading birds, like herons. And above it all is the Pacific Flyway, a major migratory route for birds."¹⁴ On the ground, the airport's elaborate network of runways and taxiways interrupts and sprawls across this "paradise." Because of its location, Sacramento airport has one of the nation's highest numbers of "bird strikes," or when a plane upon takeoff or landing hits a bird—a potentially disastrous clash.

As if to reflect on this dangerous proposition, several huge birds come into view as one exits Interstate 5 and approaches Terminal A:



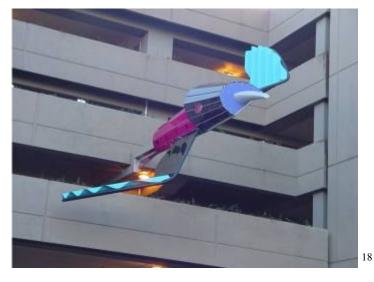
Dennis Oppenheim's art installation "Flying Gardens" (2004) consists of twelve exoskeletal, car-size bird sculptures scattered around Terminal A—many of them are hanging off of the parking structure, actually appearing to fly *out of* the building:



These sculptures are a postmodern pastiche of the phoenix myth: colorful, futuristically articulated birds fly out of the uniform wreckage of a parking garage—sunset glow and the interior lighting can make the structure appear to be a smoldering ruin.



The birds appear triumphant and sleek against the monochromatic stack of the parking structure. Originally the birds were designed to include foliage growing all over them, replete with climbing vines, as if to project an overgrown, post-apocalyptic aura. However, the airport authority forestalled this plan: as living gardens, these icons of wildness might have become a little *too* wild, allowing *real* birds to nest in the art, and thus incurring unnecessary labor costs of cleaning up bird poop.



Without any actual flora on the birds, the name of this installation is a non sequitur: there is nothing garden-like nor organic about these creatures aside from their avian shapes. Interestingly, there *are* plants growing beneath the sculptures, but to extend figurative logic to the sculptures we would have to imagine the birds themselves as growing out of the parking garage, their solid iron gray anchors serving as roots or shoots. In this

schema, the birds become blooms, and the parking structure something of a potted plant. Or, the airport becomes a strange biology lab bloated in scale, in which hybrid bird plants are grown. What is interesting is that the construction materials and sutures of these sculptures are left exposed, as if ironically to demystify any organicized ideals about commercial air travel. In other words, while the homage to birds celebrates human aviation as if it is natural, the self-referring madeness of these sculptures undermines the very comparison implicit in the shape. Birds can fly, and human beings can fly airplanes; but a prefabricated bird the size of a minivan and tethered to a parking garage pushes the avian metaphor into a realm of absurdity.

Looking out at these birds from the *inside* of the parking structure, one might wonder: if these birds are flying *out* of the garage, are they then flying *into* the airport, in the notorious style of 9/11? Two camera-phone shots would suggest so:



This perverse view exposes comparable angles of banking that denote abrupt, tactical piloting. Oppenheim's birds are not aimed skyward, but rather are headed into the built space of commerce and privileged mobility. In other words, to put it plainly, "Flying Gardens" is eerily reminiscent of Boeing 767s banking into the World Trade Center; these hijacked birds mimic terrifying maneuvers. The installation thus reveals a double geographic imperative: the object of flight serves both as a harmless reminder of the airport's ecosystem (a bird migration zone), and also conjures other forms of anxious banking in New York City (World Trade/Global Terrorism). Designed as a pleasant distraction for passengers, these avian aesthetics in fact riff on repressed anxieties of flight and predation that leak out of a globalized unconscious.

As if to underscore this coupling, the article about bird strikes at the Sacramento airport puns its title as "Clear-cut for takeoff: Citing wildlife and terrorists, the airport wants to destroy more native oaks." The article goes on to explain that both migrating birds and calculating terrorists can use the cover of trees in ways that threaten to disrupt airport traffic. "Clear-cut for takeoff" highlights very real tensions that exist between airports and birds; indeed, the article frankly claims, "Birds and aircraft don't mix."²⁰ Yet whether through art or ecology, mixtures of aircraft and birds are widespread around the Sacramento airport.

At this point I want to return to our original sense of bird citing: the simple noticing or mentioning of a bird. As in Wallace Stevens's perspectival poem "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird," bird citing often turns on visual disorientation. To further illustrate the problem of disoriented visuality, I turn to Gary Snyder's 2004 poem "No Shadow," which records the ornithological impulse in terms of foreground and background views. The speaker of the poem is looking out over the Sacramento River Valley; this panoramic landscape view initiates a bird citing that ricochets off a technosphere of military aviation.

The poem begins as a prose tour of the Yuba Goldfieds. The first paragraph focalizes a scene, "at the lower Yuba River outflow where it enters the Sacramento valley flatlands, a mile-wide stretch between grass and blue oak meadows. It goes on for ten miles."²¹ The second paragraph describes "a female osprey hunting along the main river channel. Her flight shot up, down, all sides, suddenly fell feet first into the river and emerged with a fish. Maybe fooling the fish by zigzagging, so—no hawk shadow."²² The poem proper commences shortly after this ornithological citation: two prose paragraphs give way to streamlined poetry as a new object of perception comes into view:

Standing on a gravel hill by the lower Yuba can see down west a giant airforce cargo plane from Beale hang-gliding down to land strangely slow over the tumbled dredged-out goldfields —practice run shadow of a cargo jet—soon gone

no-shadow of an osprey

still here ²³

This poem draws uneasy parallels between a mammoth Air Force cargo plane and an osprey. They both fly in the river valley, and at first glance they seem to beg comparison. Snyder, however, contrasts the "no-shadow" fishing technique of the osprey with the "strangely slow" vector of the aircraft "hang-gliding down to land"—in the end, the osprey is "still here." The jet, on the other hand, will be "soon gone"-both in the immediate context and also, to take a deep ecological view, in the longer future of the planet in geologic time. In this schema, the osprey is a metonymy for animality in general, while the cargo plane seems to stand for a repressive state apparatus at large. Upon closer inspection, however, he division is not a reductive binary opposition of aggressive human and passive animal. The bird is not simply cited as more naturally aesthetic; nor is the air force cargo plane purely militarized. Remember, the poem contrasts the Air Force *cargo* plane, in all its silence (because "hang-gliding") and spacious (even potentially humanitarian) capacity, with the stealthy tact of an *actually hunting* osprey. The osprey is paramilitary; the Air Force cargo plane is, in this instance, a benign object of perception—it is on a "practice run," after all. What might seem to be a politicized critique of certain modes of flight breaks down, not in the least because the poem's ornithological impulse conjures specters of empiricism and surveillance. It is this point of view that allows these two phenomena to exchange foreground and background throughout the poem; in other words, only from an already elevated vantage point can the viewer notice that these incommensurate lines of flight serendipitously share scale.

If we take Snyder's elevated vantage point to the extreme, these lines lead to another nearby bird citing.



Google Earth's "satellite view" of Beale Air Force Base captures the background topography of Snyder's poem, and a "Blackbird" punctures the tarmac. Beale was the home base of the Lockheed SR-71 "Blackbird"—a supersonic, high-altitude spy plane developed secretly in the early 1960s and used for reconnaissance missions over North Vietnam. This is the black figure in the diamond-shaped, white center of the Google Earth image. The unofficial appellation off to the side, "Blackbird," cites a link between avian classification and militarized air/force.

The Google Earth image, however, offers a disorienting satellite view of the spy plane. Aerial perception has been inverted and rendered horizontal: one stares at a computer screen in order to view the ground from high above. One essentially swaps subject positions with the Blackbird, so that the personal computer user now spies on the grounded spy plane. Yet this leads to a query inspired by Snyder's "No Shadow": we might speculate and wonder, is the plane in the satellite image really a plane, or could it rather be the *shadow* of the very plane from which we are spying? If we are viewing this base from the imaging technologies of a satellite (which could as easily be equipped on a spy plane), we could almost be seeing our own shadow on the ground. In one stock photo from a Google image search, we can see the Blackbird from a meta-aerial perspective, in which Beale Air Force Base lies somewhere near the edge of the frame, below the foothills:



To reformulate Wallace Stevens yet again: among twenty snowy mountains / the only moving thing / was a blackbird / taking pictures / of itself.

Furthermore, Google Earth displays a visual surface that becomes a palimpsest for the *textuality* of the "Blackbird." As Snyder's "No Shadow" cites the visual overlap of the osprey and the cargo plane, Google Earth registers a corollary overlay at Beale Air Force Base. Each text cites collusions between militarized flight and ornithological reference–perception: Snyder's poem sights a bird, and then sees how an Air Force plane does *not* act like a bird; Google Earth overlays the word "Blackbird" on the topographical visual field of a military air base.

Through bird citing, these two texts also deploy distinct environmental aesthetics. Snyder's lines on the page mimic the logic of a riparian ecology, at times mimicking the "springtime rush" of prose paragraphs, and elsewhere streaming like the "main river channel"—flowing enjambment creating bends, and short, widely spaced lines undulating like rapids:



Beale Air Force Base, on the other hand, places the SR-71 Blackbird on display in the middle of a grassy lawn right next to the tarmac, suggesting connections between militarized pavement and verdant domesticity:



The topos of the military airfield is multiply superimposed: first with a neat grass lawn; then with a not-so-secret spy plane; and finally with the word "Blackbird." What emerges is a chiasmic imbrication of avian and techno-cultural forms: No mapping without the airbase; no airbase without grass; no grass without spy planes; no spy planes without birds; no birds without open space; no open space without mapping. Google Earth's scopic economy of Beale Air Force Base implicates a looped chain of referents with no stable ground. As if self-reflexive about this blackbird citing, look what happened when I searched for blackbird images on Google:



Which came first, the blackbird or the bomb? Which has priority, a military spy plane, or a common blackbird? Contra Wallace Stevens, a Google Image search suggests that there are "about 1,020,000" ways to look at a blackbird, and this includes everything from military spy planes to a T-shirt that metaphorically depicts a person with a migraine headache who is unzipping his skull in order to let out a flock of blackbirds.

I wish to end, if inconclusively, with the image from a magazine advertisement for Hawaiian Airlines from 2003:

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In this image, an airliner is cleverly folded into a grid of native Hawaiian bird species. The Hawaiian Airlines Boeing 767-300ER is juxtaposed with snapshots of resident bird species; the wide-body jet is figured into native framework by way of catalogued birdlife. The reader becomes a naturalist, however, only to come across an object that is indisputably out of scale and out of place: while these practically weightless birds rest on tree branches, the 400,000-pound jet full of human beings is not at its arrivals gate, but is flying. From this basis of scalar inversion, the birds must either be monstrous, or else the airliner has undergone incredible miniaturization. Either way, the scale is inescapably *off*, and as I have tried to show, this is a common trope of bird citing. We cannot find our bearings in this ad; to take one subject position is to be caught in the absurdity of another corollary subject position. Meanwhile, flight has been cited as a naturalizing linkage between indigenous ecologies and commercial airlines.

We then must grapple with the splintered point of view assumed by the Hawaiian Airlines ad. The birds suggest that we are on their level: observing them from a tree, perhaps, or from on the ground. Yet the 767 lies at a great distance *beneath* the viewer— and it is also captured *in flight*, cruising, most likely, at upwards of 30,000 feet. So we have assumed an impossible bird's eye view of a jet in flight: we are positioned far above the plane, spying from an oxygen-depleted altitude. It would almost seem that we have found ourselves looking down from a high altitude bomber—back in the cockpit of the SR-71, as it were. We have swung from the naturalist comportment of collecting and cataloguing, to a vantage point of military aerial perception. The ad in fact suggests that subject positions in flight are dangerously indiscriminate, and endlessly overlapping.

Furthermore, the birds all appear as collectives in groups of two or three, presumably as female/male identifiers, with an occasional juvenile sharing the branch. On the other hand, the aircraft is singular, seen alone. One might extend collectivity to the interior of the plane, and envision happy families eating Hawaiian Airlines breakfasts on the way to their vacations, but then the lonely subject position of the viewer is revealed: 'we' are outside of and alienated from the imaginary groups of human beings. Thus, the ad holds naturally occurring collectives (even at the level of the mind's eye) against an isolated culture machine.

The Hawaiian native species are presented on template of empirical knowledge (they suggest ornithology at work), or as collectible pleasure objects—the Audubon book as luxury item to be viewed leisurely in the comfort of an armchair. Both of these presentations are complicated by internal disparities of power. The jet trumps the birds, but is also surrounded and contained by their comfort and pleasure-inducing qualities. This can be seen as well in the copperplate typeface under each 'bird' image: this script historically displaces the currency of the ad, transporting us, as it were, not westward across the Pacific Ocean in the 21st-century, but rather eastward, back toward styles of 19th-century textual production and consumption. This ad dabbles in diagrammatic constructs for empirical knowledge production as well as for armchair enjoyment: the birds are gridlocked in matrices of capital and global expansion.

Google's image search and Hawaiian Airline's ad campaign are driving at a similarly associative end: the visual equation of birds and planes is achieved by attaining

the view of the surveilling, Googling outsider. Google, in other words, evokes something of a 'window-seat' or 'airport reading' comportment, where fields of knowledge and power unfurl outside and below. All the familiar marks of bird citing are in play: Scale is inescapably skewed, point of view is disoriented, and a local ecology is fetishized. The birds put the reader on the ground or in an armchair, as naturalist or collector; but that airliner is cruising at upwards of 30,000 feet, which places the reader in the gaze of the spy-plane—the moving eye of the Blackbird.

Bird citing involves high stakes, as birds and humans in flight do not go together easily: planes can crash; carpet-bombing can *take place*. Yet as ideas, icons, and animals, birds and humans in flight find themselves linked in many perplexing ways. Bird citing then becomes utterly quotidian: planes and birds share the sky everyday; and birds are used as symbols of national identity (recall the Photoshopped image of an eagle with a tear in its eye after 9/11). These linkages reveal the implications of bird citing, or the startling proximity of human progress and what we might call a raw state of nature, where various animals vie for space, perception, and priority. Bird citing emerges as a series of figurations at the brink of a significant yet impossible separation; bird citing is no simple matter.

¹ Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal* trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 16.

² Wallace Stevens, "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird" *The Palm at the End of the Mind* Ed. Holly Stevens (New York: Vintage, 1991), 166.

 ³ Photo by Greg Keeler: "Twenty Snowy Mountains, Bridger Range, Montana" (2005).
⁴ Public image viewed at

http://farm4.static.flickr.com/3064/2296987387_3aefb37685.jpg?v=0 (accessed 1 November 2008).

⁵ Quoted in Martin Greif, *The Airport Book* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), 41. ⁶ ibid.

⁷ Photo by the author.

⁸ Public image from *The Observer* viewed at

http://www.observer.com/files/imagecache/article/files/Terminal.jpg (accessed 1 November 2008).

⁹ Images provided by Google Earth and http://www.tsa.gov/.

¹⁰ Photo by James Weston Schaberg.

¹¹ Detail of Rara Avis viewed at http://www.handsart.net/raraavis.html (accessed 16 May 2008).

¹² ibid.

¹³ Photo by author.

¹⁴ Paul Ferrell, "Clear-cut for takeoff" *Citing wildlife and terrorists, the airport wants to* destroy more native oaks

http://www.newsreview.com/sacramento/Content?oid=oid%3A47274 (accessed 24 December 2006).

¹⁵ Photo by author.

¹⁶ Photo by author.

¹⁷ Photo by author.

¹⁸ Photo by author.

¹⁹ "Flying Gardens" camera-phone shot by Daniel Glass; anonymous 9/11 camera-phone shot viewed at http://www.apfn.org/apfn/unmasking.htm (accessed 16 May 2008).

²⁰ Paul Ferrell, "Clear-cut for takeoff' Citing wildlife and terrorists, the airport wants to destroy more native oaks."

http://www.newsreview.com/sacramento/Content?oid=oid%3A47274 (accessed 24 December 2006).

²¹ Gary Snyder, "No Shadow" Danger on Peaks (Emeryville: Shoemaker & Hoard, 2004), 85. ²² ibid.

²³ ibid.

²⁴ Image by Google Earth.

²⁵ Image viewed at Wiki Media "Blackbird"

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/97/Lockheed_SR-71_Blackbird.jpg (1 November 2008).

²⁶ Snyder, 85.

²⁷ Images provided by Google Earth.

²⁸ Retrieved from Google image search at http://images.google.com/images?q=blackbird

(11 October 2008).

²⁹ Hawaiian Airlines advertisement in the 2003 journeys issue of *The New Yorker*.