EDITION 13

IJ

Interesting Journal

IJ

EDITION 13

Publication Information

Team

Editors-in-Chief

Editors

Graphic Design

Cover Design

Interesting Journal

Edition 13

Table of Contents

Editor's Note

Edition 13 of Interesting Journal is made up of 20 pieces of work from the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts. This collection consists of independent academic works that have been written by undergraduate students during Semesters 1 and 2 2021, Summer School 2022, and Semester 1 2022. All works have been peer-reviewed by our editorial team, and reviewed by a University of Auckland staff member who taught or marked the course that produced each work, and are experts in each respective field.

For the last two years, our Editors' Notes have begun—unsurprisingly—with an acknowledgment of Covid-19. This year, too, we found ourselves limited by the pandemic, albeit in new ways. For the first time in my tenure as an editor, our annual essay selection meeting—usually a companionable affair in our office, carried out with plenty of food and drink—was relegated to Zoom. However, the spirit of the meeting was the same as always: A lively discussion between a group of passionate students about the fantastic work we had received. I would therefore like to depart from our recent tradition of acknowledging the pandemic, and to acknowledge some people instead. Those people are my amazing fellow Editor-in-Chief, Jacca, and our 2022 editorial and graphic design team: Nancy, Katie, Gali and Rayna. This year's edition would not be what it is without their hard work.

Interesting Journal has never been an explicitly political publication. Nevertheless, much of the student work we received this year suggested that academic writing has not been left untouched by what is happening in our world morally, culturally and geo-politically. Some tend to see emotion and academia as entirely separate, as if the presence of feeling in an academic work might be fatal to its credibility. At *IJ*, we know better than anyone that this is false. All good academic writing is born from an indescribable spark of something *deeply felt.* While narrowing down our plethora of submissions into a final line-up was extremely difficult, the essays that made the final cut were those that indisputably reflected this feeling.

As always, this year's essays are diverse in their thematic and theoretical preoccupations. We begin with a chapter on gender and sexuality, canvassing a diverge range of topics including queer hyper-pop and an account of Stopes' birth control movement. We then move to a chapter on body, physicality and the mind, which comprises essays addressing topics ranging from European Modernism, to "the black and brown body as sites of memory" (Davies-Zwarts). Our next chapter contains a collection of works touching on the concept of time, spanning everything from a beautiful close-reading of a digital poem to an essay exploring the artists Fred Wilson and Arman. Our fourth chapter addresses historical perspectives, moving from an analysis of the Norman Conquest to a meditation on the Irish immigrant experience. The edition closes with a set of essays on power, including a brilliant discussion of Bong Joon-ho's *Parasite*, and a personal essay on the value of theatre and drama.

2022 marks my last year on the *IJ* team. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the fabulous editors I have worked with over the past four years—particularly Paula Lee, my 2021 Co-Editor-in-Chief. I would also like to acknowledge Paula for her significant assistance during the handover process this year, and for consistently being available to show me the ropes. I am incredibly proud of what our journal has achieved so far, and look forward to seeing what it achieves in the future.

The IJ team would like to thank everyone at the Faculty of Arts Student Development and Engagement Team for their support, with special thanks given to Eleanor Almeida. We also

STOPES, SHAKESPEARE AND SONG: ISSUES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY

2022 has been a profound year for women. Many things were learnt, but even more things were *taught*. We were taught what we could and could not do with our bodies. We were taught that our abuse of two years could be Tik Tok-ed in two minutes; that telling our stories could be met not only with disbelief, but also with public shaming, silencing and slander. Perhaps most terrifyingly, some of us were told that the basic rights to dignity and healthcare—that we, in our relative utopia, have always taken for granted—could be ripped away from us in a matter of minutes. In this chapter, we are pleased to present four excellent essays that deal with the themes of gender and sexuality in different ways.

The chapter begins with Morrison's essay, a feminist reading of Bikini Kill's song "Alien She". Skilfully navigating the powerful—and sometimes visceral—lyrics, Morrison examines the song's handling of power, patriarchy, and the feminine body. The essay grapples throughout with dichotomies and dualities: 'self' is pitted against 'other', 'feminine' sentimentality against 'masculine' rationality, and 'good girl' submissiveness against 'bad girl' rebellion. Gender, Morrison argues, might exist not only as a limiting binary, but also as a *performance*: different versions of femininity war with one another in the lyrics of the song.

Our next piece is also grounded in music. Clapperton deals with the notion of "experimental music", focusing on the context of the queer hyper-pop movement. Drawing on a range of examples from the queer music scene including SOPHIE, Arca, and Dorian Electra, Clapperton focuses on how the technical aspects of queer hyper-pop—including time signatures, sound transitions and lyrics—serve to explore ideas about what it might mean to be queer. Negotiating a diverse range of ideas including identity, assimilation and difference, this essay makes fundamentally important points about the role that music can play to "subvert and even parody normative ideas surrounding conservatism, gender and sexuality". Readers, whether familiar with Clapperton's subject or not, will find this an engaging and informative work.

The third essay, Optican's response to Shakespeare, provides a delightfully fresh take on an oft-discussed play. This essay considers the relationship between death and erotic love in *Romeo and Juliet*. Shakespearean tragedies, though frequently taught in a painfully serious manner, are often brimming with bawdy lines and sexual innuendo. Optican is deeply attentive to Shakespeare's language, close-reading parts of the play to draw out the nuanced relations between death, sex and love. The essay proposes that the sexual themes of the play cannot be isolated from the tragedy that underpins it, concluding that the "depiction of death itself as an erotic force" might be the thematic engine that ultimately "[propels] the play's narrative to its inevitable tragic conclusion".

The chapter ends with an essay that tackles a very contemporary topic while paying homage to its historical links. In our last piece, Walsh presents a beautifully written essay on Marie Stopes' birth control movement. The essay covers an incredible amount of ground, discussing the movement not only in terms of its positive implications for maternal health, sexual liberation and the wellbeing of children, but also some of its more problematic underpinnings. Walsh notes, for instance, Stopes' "eugenicist sensibilities", including the belief that those from different racial and social classes should not have children together. A timely piece of work in light of the recent assault on *Roe v. Wade*, this essay has value not only as an analysis of a historical movement, but also as an ever-relevant meditation on the importance of reproductive freedom.

We are confident that you will enjoy this chapter, and the wealth of knowledge and analysis it contains. It was a privilege to work with these four talented authors, and a pleasure to be able to learn from their ideas. Gender and sexuality have always been contested issues engendering a range of diverse views. As an academic publication, we are committed to encouraging respectful debates and discussions about these views. I began this introduction with a lament, of sorts, about teaching. I want to end with the far more uplifting notion of *learning*. I hope that your encounter with these essays presents to you some new ways of looking at the world, and that you remain open to that learning. Above all, I hope that this chapter serves as a reminder of the transformative power of language, particularly in the hands of women.

Nithya Narayanan

Music 243

Music in Society

Colette Morrison

The Self, the Other and the Space Between: A Feminist Close Reading of Bikini Kill's 1993 Song "Alien She"

Bikini Kill's song "Alien She"—in their 1993 debut album *Pussy Whipped*—is an exploration of the multiplicities of female identity and the challenges in meeting feminist and/or patriarchal expectations. Reflecting the ideas of and contributing to third-wave feminist discourse, Bikini Kill's pioneering attitude helped further the 1990s Riot Grrrl punk rock movement, bringing to music and popular culture the concerns of feminist art, literature and academia (Henry, 2004). "Alien She" discusses the conflict born of trying to adhere to a single performance of femininity, and the turmoil that comes from the inevitable failure to do so.

The text opens with a four-line stanza repeating the same two sentiments: "She is me/I am her". While the pronoun "she" provides little context aside from a gender, the following self-referential "me" serves to identify a narrator and establish the first person perspective. "She" is quickly established as the other, so in saying "she *is* me", the narrator juxtaposes two contradictory identities, introducing the central premise of the text. The following "I am her" inverts the previous statement, engendering a sense of reciprocity, whereby the other is equal to the self. By inhabiting the same space, a Jekyll-and-Hyde situation is implied wherein "she" and "me" are two parts of a single identity. This interpretation is supported by the opening line of the following stanza: "Siamese twins connected at the cunt". Here it is made clear the song is centralised around a discussion of sex, gender and expression, with "cunt" used to indicate a general focus on bodily femininity. The use of subversive, explicit language and common vernacular is a convention of the punk genre, and particularly of Riot Grrrl which, as Evelyn McDonnell puts it, allows women to "be nasty, aggressive, vitriolic, and outraged, to howl and roar and raise a ruckus" (Carson, Lewis, Shaw, Baumgardner, & Richards, 2004, p. 91). In a context where aggression is typically a symbol of masculinity, female anger is inherently subversive. The combative emotionalism seen in "Alien She", and Riot Grrrl punk as a whole, was instrumental in bringing third-wave feminist theory out of an insular academic sphere and into youth consciousness (Dunn, 2014).

What follows "cunt" is an expanded list of connected body parts, delivered as "heart brain heart brain heart brain lung gut", furthering the interpretation that the narrator and the other share a single body. The repetition of "heart" and "brain" creates a sense of mania and introduces stereotypical elements of gendered expression: an identity divided and controlled by either the heart (sentimentality; a traditionally feminine trait), or the brain (rationality; traditionally masculine). Mirroring the order of the introduced pronouns, "she" is connected to the heart, and "me" to the brain, invoking associations of the traditionally feminine other as defined by patriarchally condemnable emotionalism. This connects the social expression of gender with the physical body upon which it is expressed, and situates the song's narrative in the occupation of a single body by two conflicting performances of the female gender.

Much of third-wave feminist art and literature focuses heavily on the role of women's bodies and their relationships to society (Koskoff, 2014), and as artist Tracey Emin argues in her ground-breaking *My Bed,* a great deal of what it means to be both female and feminine is rooted in a bodily experience (Jabri, 2002). In "Alien She" the bodily duality of the self and the other is furthered by the following lines, which feature the first textually explicit expression of emotion: "I want to kill her/but I'm afraid it might kill me". These lines distinctly change the tone of the work. Whereas before the narrator was merely establishing the shared space between her and the other, here she expresses her dissatisfaction with it. In

saying "but I'm afraid it might kill me", the narrator addresses the central issue in defining the self in contrast to the other. As implied in the "Heart/Brain" sequence, the other occupies a space of traditional femininity. To kill the other would be to compromise the identity of the self, as it loses the standard against which it is measured.

The third stanza and chorus draw increasingly direct links between the themes of the text and the society on which it comments. "Feminist/Dyke, whore" are framed as derogatory titles applied to the narrator by the patriarchal society in which she exists. However, the irreverent delivery of these lines undermines this effect, and complicates the interpretation of the following line. The "I'm so pretty/Alien!" sequence epitomises the conflict in the text. While the narrative perspective remains in the first person, the "I" of "I'm so pretty" refers not to the self, but to the other. As to how the narrator inverts the connotations of "Feminist/Dyke, whore", she here uses what might normally be complimentary as an insult; mocking the other for adhering to patriarchal standards of prettiness as an indication of value. By using the first person "I" rather than the third person "she", the statement gains a higher degree of intimacy, as the narrator momentarily positions herself *as* the other—thus, the rigid boundaries between the two are briefly transgressed. Despite its subsequent rejection ("Alien!"), the following line sees the first explicit representation of the other's desires, suggesting that for the narrator to know that "she wants [her] to go to the mall" or to "put the pretty, pretty lipstick on", some communication between the self and the—seemingly irreconcilable—other has occurred. This alludes to the concluding stanza, in which the narrator acknowledges this binary to be arbitrary.

The final stanza casts the established narrative in a different light. The first two lines feature significant changes in tense ("And all I really wanted to know/Who was me and who is she"), which implies a fluctuation of the narrator's self-perception across the self/other binary. The conflict that underpins the whole text is ultimately revealed as futile, with "I guess I'll never know". If the expectations of a patriarchal society and the feminist movement exist in polarity, then this identity conflict is irreconcilable. The song's acknowledgement of this can be seen, in part, as a criticism of the third-wave feminist movement's exclusion of women who chose to embody conventional femininity. If, as gender theorist Judith Butler claims, a "phallocentric economy … produces the feminine as its constitutive outside" (Acker, 1995, p. 80), then in the condemnation of the feminine other, the feminist self/narrator occupies the same position as the patriarchy. Germaine Greer furthers this discussion in *The Whole Woman*, where she denounces some applications of the term 'girl power' as upholding a reductive good girl/bad girl dichotomy (Munford, 2004, p. 266). As "Alien She" acknowledges with its closing line, enforcing a contrived binary between the submissive 'good girl' other and the rebellious 'bad girl' self ultimately acts to uphold damaging perceptions of women as existing within a Madonna/whore dynamic.

From their place within the Riot Grrrl movement, Bikini Kill critiques both the third-wave feminist movement and the patriarchy for each perpetuating a single (and therefore contradictory) performance of femininity. "Alien She" explores the tension that this contradiction creates within women trying to adhere to either expectation, and notes its ultimate futility. Being mindful of its feminist audience, the song implicates third-wave feminism in contributing to this tension, and suggests that in constructing 'right' and 'wrong' ways to be a woman—and by extension, a feminist—the movement invokes patriarchal

binaries and thus undermines itself. As the concluding lines reveal, there is little essential distinction between the self and the other. Therefore, such conflict within the disadvantaged can only serve to perpetuate existing power structures.

Reference List

Acker, K. (1995). Seeing Gender. *The Critical Quarterly*, *37*(4), 78–86. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1111/j.1467-8705.1995.tb01099.x

Carson, M., Lewis, T., M. Shaw, S., Baumgardner, J., & Richards, A. (2004). *Girls Rock! : Fifty Years of Women Making Music.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Dunn, K. C. (2014). Pussy Rioting. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 16*(2), 317– 334. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/14616742.2014.919103

Henry, A. (2004). *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jabri, V. (2002). The Self in Woman as Subject of Art and Politics: Reflections on Tracey Emin. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *4*(1), 122–128. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/14616740110108758

Koskoff, E. (2014). Out in Left Field/Left Out of the Field: Postmodern Scholarship, Feminist/Gender Studies, Musicology, and Ethnomusicology 1990–2005. In S. Cusick, & E. Koskoff (Eds.), *A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender* (pp. 168–179). Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Munford, R. (2004). 'Wake Up and Smell the Lipgloss': Gender, Generation and the (A)politics of Girl Power. In S. Gillis (Ed.), *Third Wave Feminism: A critical exploration* (pp. 142–153). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Music 346

Experimental Music in the 20th and 21st Centuries

Eden Rose Clapperton

Queering Popular Culture and Music: Hyper-Pop and its Experimental Crusade

Experimental music comes in a diverse set of sounds, formats and colours. The queer hyper-pop movement is one of its many forms. Queer artists are at the forefront of the hyper-pop genre, demanding that the issues of the LGBTQIA+ community are heard as well as respected throughout popular culture and beyond. Queer artists 'queerify' gender and sexuality expectations by subverting key musical and lyrical themes in mainstream pop music. The queer hyper-pop movement simultaneously challenges and transforms governing gender ideologies and musical traditions in popular culture through the subcultural production of experimental music. Experimental production practices and instrumentation are at the forefront of the queer hyper-pop movement and are exemplified in the musical works of SOPHIE, Arca and Dorian Electra.

Experimental practices appear in multiple subject disciplines including art, music and science. The word *experimental* is defined as something "based on untested ideas or techniques and not yet established or finalised" (Stevenson). However, the origin of the word 'experimental' stems from the late 15th-century medieval Latin *experimentalis* and the Latin *experimentum*. The word was then defined as "having personal experience" or "experienced, observed" (Stevenson). Contextually, experimental music can be defined as music based on untested ideas or techniques that are not yet established. The definition of experimental music remains a site of contention, perhaps due to the nature of the phenomenon; the vastness of the concept and its artistic works is hard to capture entirely. Mauceri (1997) explores the definitions and historical context of experimental music, stating that it is a historical category "informed by a social agenda", and which "privileges and aligns particular differences" (p. 187). Hailing primarily from American music, the historical category of experimental music was—and still is—often categorised as new music opposing the old (Mauceri, 1997). Furthermore, critics have hailed non-experimental (old) music as inherently natural, and experimental (new) music as artificial (Mauceri, 1997). Consequently, new musical techniques developed from such experimental music threaten to "displace not only the expressive order but also the values and institutions of the tradition" (Mauceri, 1997). Admittedly, one could compare this to the queer hyper-pop movement's displacement of the traditional aesthetics and techniques of popular music within their new experimental production practices in the 21st century.

Hyper-pop, pioneered by queer artists, adheres to its name, functioning as a hyper-maximalist version of popular music and culture. Thus, hyper-pop can be considered experimental. The aesthetics and techniques typical pop producers utilise are exactly what hyper-pop producers will exaggerate and manipulate to the fullest extent, thereby experimenting with extreme contrasts of predominantly electronic sounds. The queer hyper-pop movement encompasses a diverse range of LGBTQIA+ individuals who express their identities and subvert expectations through their musical works. Queer hyper-pop has risen in popularity in recent years, functioning as a disruptive force cutting through Western popular culture as a primarily Western music movement. In the context of this research, mainstream pop music is music made to be palatable to mass Western audiences, typically heteronormative and fixated on binary gender. Moreover, a recent vital resource to the creation of self-identity is the production and consumption of popular music (Taylor, 2013). Hailing back to the origins of the word experimental meaning "having personal experience" (Stevenson), the experimentation and unabashed queerness of hyper-pop inherently links to experiencing diverse personal identity. Therefore, the queer hyper-pop movement establishes itself as a

proud figure for queer identities within the Western music industry, subverting and disrupting the natural, normative and canonical through hyper-experimentation (Taylor, 2013). Inadvertently, through its practice, the queer hyper-pop movement formulates a queer subculture which harbours the continued production of experimental works.

Further, Jodie Taylor (2013) expresses that "queer theory is meant to agitate, subvert and disrupt notions of the natural, normative and the canonical, problematising historical meta-narratives, deconstructing social privilege, hierarches and power relations" (p. 195). Queer cultural products function with a similar capacity to deconstruct and displace the same structures. Additionally, the queer hyper-pop movement functions as a queer subculture that creates cultural products in rejection of the notion of community and assimilation (Halberstam, 2003). Queer subcultures tend to portray narratives and lives that lie outside of conventional narratives of birth, marriage, reproduction and death (Halberstam, 2003). Halberstam (2003) suggests the concept of community is inherently linked to the conservative history of communities that stems from the Christian ritual of communion, and focuses on a sense of something which is lost. Therefore, queer communities are driven through communal traditions to assimilate into mainstream conservative narratives that define hegemonic ideals of family, sexuality and gender. In comparison, queer subcultures constantly strive for difference, and critique of hegemonic, heteronormative narratives often upheld by the broader queer community in popular culture (Halberstam, 2003). Knowledge of the functions of queer subcultures can be likened to hyper-pop and its effort for difference not only in aesthetics, but also in its experimental music practices. For example, Sophie Xeon (stage name SOPHIE), a pioneering artist of the queer hyper-pop movement, wrote, produced and mixed her debut album *Oil of Every Pearl's Un-Insides* (2018)*, which utilises experimental production practices and instrumentation to express genderqueer narratives.

SOPHIE'S *Oil of Every Pearl's Un-Insides* consists of nine contrasting tracks: "It's Okay to Cry", "Ponyboy", "Faceshopping", "Is It Cold In The Water?", "Infatuation", "Not Okay", "Pretending", "Immaterial" and "Whole New World/Pretend World" (2018). Before releasing her album, SOPHIE was a well-known UK producer aligned with London's PC music collective, producing songs for other artists and singles (Ravens, 2020). Notably, SOPHIE used an Elektron Monomachine (Ravens, 2020) and synthesised the majority of sounds in her music—besides vocals—using raw waveforms (Westcott-Grant, 2014). To quote SOPHIE from a conversation with Kristin Westcott-Grant (2014):

> … [synthesising] means considering the physical properties of materials and how those inform the acoustic properties … why does metal clang when struck and what is this clanging sound in terms of pitch and timbre over time? How do I synthesise this? Perhaps after learning these things it might be possible to create entirely new materials through synthesis.

The experimentation in SOPHIE's works lies within the synthesisation of various sounds, and the exploration of the physical and acoustic properties of materials. For example, SOPHIE has used and synthesised sounds of clanging metal, snapping latex, bubbles, pops and fizzing (Crooked, 2021).

In particular, "Faceshopping", from *Oil of Every Pearl's Un-Insides*, highlights the construction of identity, especially in the new age of social media and the process of genderqueer transitioning. The first chorus conveys the recent influencer market developing on social media, connoting that presently there is an increasing demand to sell yourself and your identity: "my face is the real shop front" (SOPHIE, 2018). Additionally, the last line of the chorus states "I'm real when I shop my face" (SOPHIE, 2018), which—accompanied by the verse lyrics stating different methods genderqueer people use to transition—confirms this song is expressing a genderqueer narrative of finding and presenting oneself. Rather than the instrumentation accompanying the vocals and building up gradually to a climax, as in mainstream pop songs, "Faceshopping" interweaves impactful and climactic instrumentation throughout the lyrics, sonically mirroring their meaning. SOPHIE defies traditional pop phrasing by offsetting the phrasing of the instrumentation and vocals in "Faceshopping". Moreover, it is evident SOPHIE has utilised the monomachine to create highly synthesised and electronic instrumental sounds, including an imitation of metallic clangs, which further portrays the song's meaning of 'artificial' identity construction. The songs in SOPHIE's album all contrast in atmosphere, but are connected through genderqueer narratives and experimentation production practices. As a pioneering artist for the hyper-pop movement, SOPHIE set the stage—with ground-breaking experimental musical works—for artists like Arca and Dorian Electra to flourish.

A newer queer artist is Alejandra Ghersi, whose stage name is Arca—a Venezuelan experimental musician whose works fall into the realm of queer hyper-pop (Sherburne, 2020). Arca's album *KiCk I* (2020) explores genderqueer narratives, identification and states of being through experimentation in the production of their music. The title of the album, described by Arca in an interview with Philip Sherburne, originates from the idea that "when a child is brought into the world, kicking is the first manifestation of its will", thus making it "a metaphor for individuation". *KiCk i* (Arca, 2020) consists of 12 heavily contrasting tracks that combine reggaeton, hyper-pop experimentation and electronic dance music. "Nonbinary", the first track on the album, is an unabashed statement against conservative gender narratives, with lyrics declaring "I don't give a fuck what you think, you don't know me" and "what a treat it is to be Nonbinary" (Arca, 2020). The song "Nonbinary" is characterised by irregular time signatures, heavily electronic bass with considerable depth, and gunshot sound transitions. Arca's use of irregular time signatures emulates a rejection convention and expresses a binary-defying genderqueer narrative. Similar to SOPHIE's works, the confrontational instrumentation complements the confrontational lyrics in "Nonbinary". Arca's musical works exemplify how queer hyper-pop parallels the fluidity of queer identities through experimentation, thus disrupting conventional music practices and traditional narratives.

Another significant artist within the queer hyper-pop movement is Dorian Electra, a Houston-born songwriter and vocalist who identifies as gender-fluid, stating, to *The Guardian*'s Ben Beaumount-Thomas, "the core of my being is not gendered at all" (Beaumont-Thomas, 2019). Dorian Electra has released two albums, *Flamboyant* (2019) and *My Agenda* (2020), that herald queer discourse and activism. *Flamboyant* consists of 11 tracks: "Mr. to You", "Career Boy", "Daddy Like", "Emasculate", "Man to Man", "Musical Genius", "Flamboyant", "Guyliner", "Live by the Sword", "Adam & Steve" and finally "fReAky 4 Life" (Dorian Electra, 2019). *Flamboyant* challenges ideas of toxic masculinity and

machismo that permeate conservative ideologies. Judith Butler (2004) postulates that regulatory power and social discourse "[act] upon a pre-existing subject but also [shape] and [form] that subject" (p. 41). Thus, "the conflation of gender with masculine/feminine, man/woman, male/female, [performs] the very naturalisation that the notion of gender is meant to forestall" (Butler, 2004, p. 43). Queer hyper-pop artists attempt to forestall binary notions of gender. However, they are constrained linguistically by the regulatory discourse of the binary. Thus, the experimentation in their musical works displaces—and supports the disruption of—such regulatory discourse. For example, Dorian Electra's *Flamboyant* takes the binary notions of gender and violates them through vocal manipulation, queer aesthetics and raunchy lyrics.

Notably, Dorian utilises pitch shifting and auto-tune in their musical works to manipulate their vocals to achieve a genderfluid effect. "Adam and Steve" subverts the biblical story of Adam and Eve, an argument against LGBTQIA+ people regularly spouted by homophobic (typically religious) people. A significant lyric in the song is "[they] say I'm an abomination but I'm god's creation" (Dorian Electra, 2019). In this section of the song, the instrumentation dies down to single-note drones, and the vocals have significant amounts of reverb. As the lyrics become increasingly violent—"they all want to crush me, say I am so disgusting"—the electronic sounds and vocal distortion build into a fiery chorus: "And God made me" (Dorian Electra, 2019)**.** Other tracks on the album also subvert and even parody normative ideas surrounding conservativism, gender and sexuality. For example, "Musical Genius" is written from the perspective of an egotistical genius artist who is "in the body of a man" (Dorian Electra, 2019). It functions as a parody of canonical music traditions that predominantly feature male-identifying composers, artists and producers. A compilation of identifiable musical features of various genres is heard at the beginning before being suddenly interrupted by the distorted maximalist vocals. Vocal distortion in "Musical Genius" emphasises words like "grand", in a manner sonically similar to works by SOPHIE and Arca. Humorously, the first verse even begins with the line "pitch perfect", despite the vocals being heavily manipulated and 'artificial'. Dorian Electra's musical works continue queer hyper-pop's bold revelations of identity and disruption of gender ideologies through experimental vocals and electronic sounds.

Other queer artists like Chav and Janelle Monaé interweave between the lines of popular culture and queer hyper-pop subculture. Both Chav and Janelle Monaé have influences of queer hyper-pop visible in their musical works such as "Patient Zero" (2019) and *Dirty Computer* (2018) in aesthetic and sound. Interestingly, Chav has worked with queer hyper-pop artists such as Dorian Electra, stating that Dorian maintains "a beautiful community of queer folks that are so thirsty to be seen" (Daw, 2019). Artists like Chav and Janelle Monaé bring queer culture into the popular culture realm, providing great exposure for queer issues and art(ists). Queer voices need to be heard. Unfortunately, mainstream popular culture, governed by normative ideologies, tends to absorb subcultures and subcultural practices. Halberstam (2003) articulates this absorption of queer subcultural practices, her example being vogueing, which "highlights the uneven exchange between dominant culture scavengers and subcultural artists" (p. 317). Whilst exposure for queer artists is vital for the continuation of their practices and for intellectual records of queer culture (Halberstam, 2003), the tendency of mainstream popular culture to demand the assimilation of queer subcultures must be acknowledged.

The queer hyper-pop movement simultaneously challenges and transforms dominant gender ideologies and musical traditions in popular culture through the subcultural production of experimental music. Experimentation develops new musical techniques that threaten the displacement of the expressive order, values and institutions of tradition (Mauceri, 1997). The queer hyper-pop movement displaces popular musical traditions, aesthetics and techniques within its new, experimental production practices and instrumentation. Through shared experimentation and displacements, queer artists formulate the queer hyper-pop movement into a subculture, thus creating space for the continued production of experimental musical works and production techniques. SOPHIE, Arca and Dorian Electra show experimentation in their musical works through the synthesisation of various sounds, confrontational instrumentation, vocal manipulations and compelling lyrics. The queer hyper-pop movement is a vital source of identity-finding and identity-making for queer people. The influential movement aims to tear down the conservative structures that have hurt LGBTQIA+ people for too long. Alok Vaid-Menon (2020), in their book *Beyond the Gender Binary*, speaks of the shame cast down by our parents because "their parents shamed them and because theirs shamed them, and so on. A cycle of violence" (p. 34). Queer movements and subcultures want to end the cycle of violence for past, present and future LGBTQIA+ people. It is important for queer people to feel empowered to, in the words of Vaid-Menon, reclaim our bodies, our identities and our worth from other people's shame (2020, p. 34).

Reference List

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Arca. (2020, June 26). *KiCki*. XL Recordings Ltd. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/album/6fumIfDEAppI5NCGHQEBSr?si=IAQXrwuPSQOOMoUldU51WQ&dl_branch=1

Arcand, R. (2020, October 16). Dorian Electra just wants to make you squirm. *The Fader.* Retrieved from https://www.thefader.com/2020/10/16/dorian-electra-just-wants-to-make-you-squirm

Beaumont-Thomas, B. (2019, July 12). Pop sensation Dorian Electra: 'I'm not a woman dressing as a man. It's more complex'. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/music/2019/jul/12/pop-sensation-dorian-electra-im-not-a-woman-dressing-as-a-man-its-more-complex

Burgess, R.J. (2013). *The Art of Music Production: The Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Cafolla, A. (2019, July 16). SOPHIE: Changing the Narrative. *DJMag*. Retrieved from https://djmag.com/longreads/sophie-changing-narrative

Chav, B.C. (2019, October 18). *Patient Zero*. Flat Pop Records. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/track/04hDngBsI45bhFalmZkPnF?si=d3745afbb0454425

Cornelius, S., & Natvig, M. (2018). Music and Gender. In *Music: A Social Experience* (2nd ed., pp. 91–110). London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Crooked, E. (2021, August 29). What I learned reading every Sophie interview ever. *GQ*. Retrieved from https://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/culture/article/sophie-what-i-learned

Daw, S. (2019, October 18). Future-Pop Singer Chav Is Reclaiming 'Patient Zero' for Queer People Everywhere: Listen. *Billboard.* Retrieved from https://www.billboard.com/articles/news/pride/8533479/chav-new-single-patient-zero

Demers, J. (2010). *Listening through the Noise*. New York: Oxford University Press.

D'Escrivan, J., & Collins, N. (2007). *The Cambridge Companion to Electronic Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1017/CCOL9780521868617

Dhaenens, F. (2016). Reading Gay Music Videos: An Inquiry into the Representation of Sexual Diversity in Contemporary Popular Music Videos. *Popular Music and Society*, *39*(5), 532–46. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/03007766.2015.1068530

Dhaenens, F., & Burgess, J. (2019). "Press Play for Pride": The Cultural Logics of LGBTQ-Themed Playlists on Spotify. *New Media & Society 21*(6), 1192–1211. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818808094

Electra, D. (2019, July 17). *Flamboyant*. Independent. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/album/1NcvdqVDbyvZFaZW0cptZe?si=UGseQ1QST_K0G c8HN_o-qA&dl_branch=1

Electra, D. (2020, October 16). *My Agenda*. Independent. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/album/2QFXjy3u6Bl6ctdK9FS9eF?si=a-D2tShsRGyUY6cQ m5R6zg&dl_branch=1

Halberstam, J. (2003). What's That Smell? Queer Temporalities and Subcultural Lives. *Intern ational Journal of Cultural Studies*, *6*(3), 313 – 33. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10. 1177/13678779030063005

Hankins, S. (2014). Queer Relationships with Music and an Experiential Hermeneutics for Musical Meaning. *Women & Music (Washington, D.C.)*, *18*(1), 83–104. Retrieved from https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A392999122/AONE?u=learn&sid=bookmark-AONE& xid=6da307f7

Hilderbrand, L. (2013). "Luring Disco Dollies to a Life of Vice": Queer Pop Music's Moment. *Journal of Popular Music Studies, 25*(4), 415–438. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1111/jpms.12044

Hutcheon, L. (2002). *The Politics of Postmodernism*. London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Inglis, I. (Ed.). (2006). *Performance and Popular Music: History, Place and Time*. Brookfield: Taylor & Francis Group.

Lee, G. (2020). Queer Music Theory. *Music Theory Spectrum*, *42*(1), 143–153. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1093/mts/mtz019

Mauceri, F. X. (1997). From Experimental Music to Musical Experiment. *Perspectives of New Music, 35*(1), 187 – 204. Retrieved from https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A21109815/AONE?u=learn&sid=book mark-AONE&xid=94aba95f

Maus, F.E., & Whiteley, S. (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Queerness*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://www-oxfordhandbooks-com.ezproxy.aucklan d.ac.nz/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793525.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199793525

Monáe, J. (2018, April 27). *Dirty Computer*. WEA International Inc. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/album/2PjlaxlMunGOUvcRzlTbtE?si=A0zM85jLTyuZqIkjs K6MRg&dl_branch=1

Ravens, C. (2020, May 29). SOPHIE: behind the mixing board and under pop's bonnet. *The Face*. Retrieved from https://theface.com/music/sophie-behind-the-boards-pop-scottish-producer

Sherburne, P. (2020, May 20). Live from Quarantine, It's the Arca Show. *Pitchfork*. Retrieved from https://pitchfork.com/features/interview/live-from-quarantine-its-the-arca-show/

SOPHIE. (2018, June 15). *OIL OF EVERY PEARL'S UN-INSIDES*. MSMSMSM INC/Future Classic. Retrieved from https://open.spotify.com/album/2PjlaxlMunGOUvcRzlTbtE?si=A0zM85jLTyuZqIkjsK6MRg&dl_branch=1

Stevenson, A. (Ed.). Oxford Dictionary of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0281230

Taylor, J. (2012). *Playing it Queer*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-0351-0420-2

Taylor, J. (2013). Claiming Queer Territory in the Study of Subcultures and Popular Music. *Sociology Compass*, *7*(3), 194-207. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1111/soc4.12021

Vaid-Menon, A. (2020). *Beyond the Gender Binary*. New York: Penguin Workshop.

Westcott-Grant, K. (2014, August 19). U.K. Producer SOPHIE Q&A: On Secrecy, Synthesis & What's Next. *Billboard.* Retrieved from https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/6221915/sophie-producer-interview

English 214

Early Texts: Modern Inventions

Samantha Optican

"Death-Marked Love": The Relation Between Death and Erotic Experience in *Romeo and Juliet*

In the Prologue which opens William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the Chorus speaks of the titular protagonists' "death-marked love" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, Prologue, 1.9). The paradoxical notion embodied in this antithesis is one explored throughout the play in Shakespeare's portrayal of the relation between death and erotic or sensual experience. This connection is conveyed both in the depiction of death itself as an erotic force, and as resulting in an ultimately irresolvable dilemma, the violence of which will propel the play's narrative to its inevitable tragic conclusion.

In the play, the relation between death and erotic experience is conveyed in part through the portrayal of death itself as an erotic force. This is suggested throughout the play in the recurring use of the image, as Mahood (1968) describes it, of "Death as Juliet's bridegroom" (p. 57). In many instances where this motif is used, death itself is personified as a sort of sexual partner that presents, in the binary options afforded to Juliet, the only alternative to Romeo, such as in her initial response to Romeo's banishment. Believing his expulsion will prevent them from consummating their marriage, Juliet proclaims "death, not Romeo, take my maidenhead" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 3.2.137). Although Juliet is in fact expressing her conviction to die chaste in that event, death itself is notably portrayed as the only other alternative suitor who may be responsible for the loss of her "maidenhead", or virginity. This notion is developed further in the reaction of Juliet's father Capulet when she is discovered presumably dead from the effects of Friar Laurence's sleeping potion on the morning of her planned marriage to Paris. In a use of dramatic irony, Capulet declares to Paris that "the night before thy wedding day/Hath death lain with thy wife. There she lies… deflowered by him" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 4.5.35–37). As Capulet perceives it, the personified figure of death has in fact plucked Juliet's "maidenhead", part of the use of visual imagery of flowers which occurs throughout the play.

Furthermore, the specific language Shakespeare utilises also draws explicit associations between death and the erotic, such as in the continued punning on the word "die". For instance, in the course of Juliet's soliloquy in Act 3, Scene 2, she declares "Give me my Romeo; and, when I shall die,/Take him and cut him out in little stars" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 3.2.21–22). This double-entendre plays on the common Elizabethan innuendo of 'die' as 'orgasm', thus making direct connections between the language of death and that of the erotic. This wordplay continues in the final words Juliet utters before her death: "O happy dagger!/This is thy sheath; there rust, and let me die" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 5.3.169–170). As Mahood (1968) elaborates, this further punning on the word "die" serves the dual dramatic purpose of reinforcing the specific linguistic relation between death and erotic experience, and as a final instance of the personification of death as an erotic figure. As she states, "Death has long been Romeo's rival" in the course of the play, and in Juliet's ultimate submission to her tragic fate, this personified figure of death "enjoys Juliet at last" (Mahood, 1968, p. 59). This juxtaposition of death and sexual love underscores the strict, binary nature of the lovers' erotic, immature passions. Juliet will have her Romeo or her death; they are her only acceptable suitors. As she is forbidden one, she consigns herself to the other—and thus to her own demise.

The relation of death and erotic experience is additionally part of the violence that ultimately propels the play towards its inevitable tragic conclusion. As Mahood (1968) observes, the

paradoxical antithesis of "death-marked love" used in the Prologue marks a view of the "love of Romeo and Juliet as tragic passion that seeks its own destruction" (Mahood, p. 57). It is thus self-destructive not merely because of the lovers' self-imposed binary choices, but because of the backdrop of family rivalry, violence, and sexual aggression in which their love is situated. Against this backdrop, their erotic union seems doomed to failure. This lends a rather different meaning to Juliet's aforementioned soliloquy in Act 3, Scene 2. Viewed in the context of the play's broader narrative arc, it is not merely an expression of Juliet's anticipation of sexual experience. Rather, in the use of the motif of "stars", Juliet references the language of fate, recalling the Prologue's description of her and Romeo as "star-crossed lovers" both bound together and doomed by destiny, which is written in the stars and thus beyond their control (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, Prologue, 1.6). In fact, in just the previous scene—and in an instance of dramatic irony—Romeo has already committed an act of violence in killing Tybalt, which sets in motion the play's trajectory towards an inevitably tragic conclusion, despite the comedic mode of the first two acts.

This notion of violence in the relation between death and the erotic is further reflected in the shift from the Prologue's high romantic mode to the bawdy low comedy of the play's first scene. There, the lewd wordplay between Sampson and Gregory, two Capulet servants, is loaded with sexual aggression and quickly escalates towards an outbreak of physical violence between the lovers' rival families (Mahood, 1968). Specifically, in declaring his willingness to fight any member of the house of Montague, whether male or female, Sampson proclaims that he "will cut off … the heads of the [Montague] maids, or their maiden-/heads" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 1.1.24–25). This is a grotesque pun in which Sampson openly vows to murder and commit heinous acts of violence against women, either decapitating them and removing their "heads", or raping them and taking their "maidenheads", and thus their dignity. This atmosphere of sexual aggression is continued in Mercutio's retorts to Romeo's protestations of lovesickness for Rosaline, such as in Act 1, Scene 4: "If love be rough with you, be rough with love,/Prick love for pricking" (Shakespeare, trans. 2016, 1.4.27–28). In yet another crude pun, and in the brutal connotations of the word "rough", Mercutio thus evokes the language of both physical violence and male sexual arousal. Such banter suggests a world where not only interfamily violence, but also sexual aggression, rape and murder of women is present. This wordplay further underscores the connection between violence and eroticism and, in the face of a union that challenges family rivalries, paves the way for the lovers' inevitable destruction. As Kottman (2012) observes, "the dialectical tension between the lovers' individual [erotic] desires … and some particular form of social, familial, or civic life" is pushed "to a fever pitch—unto death" (pp. 2–3). In other words, the only way the conflict between their families—forbidding Romeo and Juliet to love freely and openly—is eventually resolved, is in their love's very self-destruction in death.

The relation between death and erotic experience is presented as one of violence, where death is portrayed as an erotic force in itself, and which propels the play towards tragedy. It is thus a work of dialectical tensions, both between the lovers' own desires and the family conflict which constrains them, and between the forces of love and death themselves, initially presented as binary options. In choosing to love one another, despite the violence in which that love is situated, Romeo and Juliet also consign themselves to death. In their self-destruction, the forces of love and death are ultimately unified, and the dialectic resolved—but at a devastating cost.

Reference List

Kottman, P. A. (2012). Defying the Stars: Tragic Love as the Struggle for Freedom in *Romeo and Juliet*. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, *63*(1), pp. 1–45.

Mahood, M. M. (1968). *Shakespeare's Wordplay*. London, England: Taylor & Francis.

Shakespeare, W. (2016). *Romeo and Juliet*. (P. Holland, Ed.). New York, NY: Penguin Classics.

History 367

Health, Medicine and Society

Xavier Walsh

On the Importance of Sex: The Stopes Birth Control Movement in the Inter-War Years

"Motherhood should be voluntary and guided by the best scientific knowledge available."
— inscription on the Stopes-Roe Mothers' Clinic wall, 1921 (Reynolds, 1994, p. 69).

Marie Stopes' birth control movement became incredibly popular in the inter-war years, just as the reduction in birth rates, known as the 'population question', became synonymous with birth control in the 1920s (Soloway, 1982). *Married Love*, Stopes' sex manual, became a best-seller and was incredibly vital to ensuring accessible knowledge, education, and freedom on the importance of sex, procreation, and birth control (Cook, 2004). It remains ever apparent that education is essential to sexual liberation and freedom. Even if this discussion focuses solely on Stopes' birth control movement, violent policing of reproductive rights is currently a highly-debated topic. For instance, Politico's recent reporting on the United States Supreme Court's draft opinion to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark decision on abortion rights, correlates with a surge of interest in birth control history (Gerstein & Ward, 2022). The inter-war years saw a new generation of activists who struggled in the pursuit of establishing well-written sex manuals for married couples, a new network of birth control clinics and, more importantly, more comprehensive access to information and knowledge that so many needed. To explain the popularity of Stopes' birth control movement, expansion on five issues will ensue: the issue of birth control and changing fertility patterns, sexual liberation for married women by shifting understandings of sex in marriage, the eugenics-based shortcomings of the movement, the movement's stance on mothers' health and broader racial questions and, finally, understanding the advocacy for contraception.

Notably, Stopes' birth control movement received blame in the inter-war years for the population problem. This was despite there also being historically significant shifts in fertility patterns occurring concurrently with the birth control movement. While *Married Love* and other manuals which advocated for the utilisation of birth control methods faced blame for the declining birth rate, to place such blame would be to forego understanding the interconnectedness of this issue to other factors (Weeks, 2012). The decline in birth rates started at least in the 1870s, and according to Weeks (2012), by the 1920s, manual workers were restricting births to similar levels as non-manual workers—joint decisions, fuelled by economic conscience, restricted families in what was an increasingly industrialised and urbanised society (Bryder, 2022). Advocates of the birth control movement believed that carefully spacing and planning for children would better preserve the mother's health and result in loved and wanted offspring and, importantly, also result in sexually-satisfied relationships (Soloway, 1982). For this reason, Stopes firmly believed in and advocated for quality over quantity in family sizes (Porter, 1999).

However, well-detailed oral histories by the likes of Fisher (2006), among others, explain that it was still difficult for laypeople to have access to services. Particularly in rural areas, access to information was scarce, at best, and Fisher details the experience of Beatrice, a barmaid, and her miner husband Jack, who did not take precautions "'cos we didn't know anything in them days, just had what came" (Fisher, 2006, p. 41). Stopes referred to this as sex-ignorance, and it was such a widespread issue that she recounted an anecdote, either amusing or concerning, that a young middle-class woman thought she had lost her virginity when she slept in the same bed with her fiancé but did not have sexual intercourse (Cook, 2004). Stopes

rightly perceived that the time was right post-Great War, both individually and societally, for people to consider the use of birth control more broadly as social norms changed. Belief in particular fundamental rights was increasing: married people and their right to sexual enjoyment, women and their right to happy motherhood, and children and their right to be loved and desired. As Soloway (1982) rightly argues, these beliefs were the means through which Stopes ensured her movements acquired respectability despite opposition.

Furthermore, Stopes would forever change the future of sexual liberation with her manuals, with her first marriage being the reason she saw the need for an immense societal shift in the understanding of sex in marriage. Stopes' personal reflection on her first marriage is somewhat melancholic, and in *Married Love*, she states: "in my own marriage I paid such a terrible price for sex-ignorance that I feel that the knowledge gained should be placed at the service of humanity" (Stopes & McKibbin, 2004, p. 11). Cook (2004) rightly argues this work would come to transform discourse on heterosexual female sexuality and practice, and that change was needed in this space. Sex manuals were a guide to sex for married couples as sexual liberty was vital for both men and women. In particular, young women were often ignorant on this matter, with justification placed on a desire to maintain their purity and innocence. By placing specific emphasis on romantic love and sexual fulfilment, Stopes hoped to free young couples from the prospect of unwanted pregnancies whilst still allowing for sexually-satisfied marriages (Soloway, 1982). Updating traditional views that married women should view sex as a form of work and not something to enjoy was paramount in changing the ideological narrative of phallocentric presentations of sexual intercourse as the 'right thing'—women should not associate sexual desire with guilt, and the act should be fully enjoyed (Cook, 1982). In *Married Love*, Stopes (2004) gives a poignant example of sex-ignorance where a husband's lips caressed the breast of his wife, and she then melted to his tenderness, although unaware of her feelings of euphoria: Wives should be open with their husbands about what pleasures them. On the same page, Stopes (2004, p. 33) states what should not have been a forward-thinking view: it is "a *rape*" for a husband to insist upon his 'marital rights' without his wife's consent so that they may both fully enjoy their union. Stopes' work changed the view of sex in marriage; women should have more freedom to express themselves and should find pleasure in the act and associated acts of sexual intercourse.

However, to discuss Stopes' birth control movement as an entirely positive social movement would be an injustice to the many for whom her views were damaging. Despite forward-thinking views such as in *Radiant Motherhood*, where she argued that a meaningful career would make women better wives and mothers, Stopes' birth control arguments had clear impediments. At times, she presents wholly classist, racist and subjective assessments of social worth which, arguably, limit her ability to advocate for birth control. Stopes' personal eugenics ideology is present throughout her advocacy. Stopes was a firm believer in the prevalent eugenics mindset of 'like produces like'; the idea that only those of the same racial and social class should breed together, or the outcome would be disastrous—a now-discredited scientific theory (Grier, 1998). In her personal life, Stopes actively discouraged her son from marrying a woman with eye glasses for this reason (Porter, 1999). Although care should be taken not to judge what had become an increasingly popular view at the time, definite shortcomings in Stopes' advocacy appear as a result of her eugenic sensibilities. These sensibilities made Stopes unable to perceive the lower classes of English

society as being able to overcome their 'thoughtless, animalistic instincts' for instant orgasmic gratification to understand that they, too, desired birth control in much the same way as her so-called 'elevated' audience (Soloway, 1982). To justify the birth of well-cared-for and spaced-out children, Grier (1998) explains that Stopes had a grading system for children—somewhat akin to cattle—where poor children were deemed a detriment to society, even suggesting the medical profession should become "arbiters of who should conceive" (p. 445–448). Stopes, in an incontestably abhorrent manner, states that "every newborn child [w]as potentially an asset or a liability to the state ... After all, it is better to have a controlled A1 nation than an uncontrolled C3 nation" (Grier, 1998, p. 446). It does not seem unfair to state that Stopes had shortcomings: There is no simple way to do away with the social wrongs of her birth control movement, even if it ensured many social rights.

Subsequently, Stopes' movement also came to impact the question of mothers' health as well as broader racial questions, her work occupying a significant space in the attitudes of social policy and diffusion of sexual knowledge (Weeks, 2012). In 1921, Stopes founded the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress. The Society's foundational objective was to offer conscious, constructive control of conception and the illumination of sex-life as the paramount basis of racial progression (Jütte, 2008). Stopes would come to emphasise three types of birth control in her work as part of the Society: negative control (control of conception for those who should not have children), positive control (advising those who wanted to have children but were unsuccessful) and finally, optimum control or 'geroception' (the spacing of children to help ensure the birth of healthy babies to healthy mothers) (Weeks, 2012). Stopes' arguments for contraceptive provisions found better reception than other, earlier attempts among married mothers, regardless of class. Her emphasis on the positive aspects of birth control was viewed as a form of humanitarian aid to ensure frequent childbirth did not overburden women (Grier, 1998). However, Stopes (1920) maintained a profound ignorance about the working class. For example, in *Radiant Mother*, she argues that a new mother should lie in bed for six weeks to recover, an entirely laughable notion given the working class' social conditions at the time. In a concession to earlier arguments regarding her eugenicist sensibilities, her adaptation of these arguments helped overcome traditional hostilities against artificial contraception by successfully linking racial and sexual preoccupations in an acceptable and Christian manner, and setting her apart from earlier free-thinkers (Weeks, 2012). It is important to understand that while Stopes did supposedly advocate for racial progression, her actions more distinctly represent a belief that socially undesirable births should not be allowed to occur.

Above all, despite the shortcomings of her movement, Stopes' advocacy for contraception was essential in the inter-war years as it allowed for better family planning. Its popularity is of enormous societal significance. In her lecture, Bryder (2022) suggests Stopes, who was against abortion, was not being an abortion advocate or birth control advocate to all. Stopes stated: "the only births I would suggest stopping are those which lead to nothing but misery, ill-health, and moral and mental and physical deterioration" (Bryder, 2022). Whilst she knew that abortion was common among working-class women, Stopes argued that it was illegal, dangerous, and unnecessary if they could instead spend a few shillings on a recommended small rubber occlusive pessary (Soloway, 1982). Stopes and other reformers believed already publicly-funded maternal welfare centres were an opportunity to provide contraceptives for better maternal health outcomes (Hall, 2000). Nonetheless, Stopes opened the first English

sexual advice centre in north London, where a handful of nurses assisted a midwife and provided free advice to married women, particularly working-class mothers. As a result, further equity in this area was made possible (Jütte, 2008). Stopes' efforts to publicise contraception were a success, and with this came a flurry of medical debate (Cooter & Pickstone, 2003). However, while medical understanding of sexual hormones and birth control increased, few doctors and scientists were willing to undertake research in this area given its political and social unacceptability, except in the case of involuntarily childless women where positive control held good social standing (Cooter & Pickstone, 2003). Stopes' birth control movement contributed to crucial healthcare access—its popularity is a testament to its founders' hard work and dedication to ensuring positive health outcome advocacy.

In summary, much of what Stopes advocated for remains relevant to this day. Parenthood must be a voluntary act guided by complete and proper education; this is essential to the health of both parents and children. While the birth control movement cannot be blamed entirely for the decline in birth rates, it did contribute to better health outcomes for families in numerous ways; economically, socially and, of course, sexually. Despite Stopes' eugenicist sensibilities being a shortcoming of the movement, *Married Love* was the beginning of a more significant societal change which saw women being allowed greater bodily autonomy and access to sexual pleasure, something wrongfully withheld from them for the sake of purity. An immense social change occurred in the inter-war years, and access to contraception information and sexual liberation is paramount to understanding how this movement became popular—it is for this that Stopes deserves recognition.

Reference List

Bryder, L. (2022). *Birth control* [PowerPoint Slides]. Retrieved from University of Auckland History 367: Health, Medicine and Society Canvas site.

Cook, H. (2004). *The long sexual revolution: English women, sex, and contraception, 1800–1975*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooter, R., & Pickstone, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Companion encyclopedia of medicine in the twentieth century*. London: Routledge.

Fisher, K. (2006). *Birth control, sex, and marriage in Britain, 1918–1960*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gerstein, J., & Ward A. (2022, May 2). Supreme Court has voted to overturn abortion rights, draft opinion shows. *Politico*. Retrieved from https://www.politico.com/

Grier, J. (1998). Eugenics and birth control: Contraceptive provision in North Wales, 1918–1939. *Social History of Medicine*, *11*(3), 443–448. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/11.3.443

Hall, L. A. (2000). *Sex, gender and social change in Britain since 1880*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Jütte, R. (2008). *Contraception: A history*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Porter, R. (1999). *The greatest benefit to mankind: A medical history of humanity from antiquity to the present*. London: Fontana Press.

Reynolds, M. D. (1994). *Women advocates of reproductive rights: Eleven who led the struggle in the United States and Great Britain*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co.

Soloway, R. A. (1982). *Birth control and the population question in England, 1877–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Stopes, M. C. (1920). *Radiant motherhood: A book for those who are creating for the future*. London: Putnam's.

Stopes, M. C., & McKibbin R. (2004). *Married love*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weeks, J. (2012). *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulations of Sexuality since 1800* (3rd ed.). New York: Pearson.

BODY, PHYSICALITY AND MIND

Minds, bodies, and physicalities have immense value—most of us would never leave home without all three. In our scientific name, *homo sapiens*, the word *sapiens* means wise, while the word *homo* is rooted in the earth that forms our bodies. One might say we have our heads in the clouds and our feet firmly on the ground. These insightful essays choose to tell human history by paying attention to body, to mind, and most importantly, to how each of those reflects and expresses the other.

Bloomfield opens this chapter by telling the story of the Modernist art movement in Europe, shot through the lens of three influential artworks treating the human body. The essay depicts Picasso's unconventional painting *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* as the birth of Cubism, Kollwitz's expression of grief at war in the drawing *Woman with Dead Child* and Miller's subtle surrealist photograph *Dead SS Guard in the Canal*, all against the backdrop of European war and artistic turmoil. Each artist's interpretation of the human body tells us about their place in history. Bloomfield explains how these reinventions of art were catalysed by broader social and political revolutions or by the world wars.

If Bloomfield's focus is how individual artists responded to society, then Lindeman holds to light the opposite side of history: society's treatment of individuals with mental illness. The essay explores legal, industrial and social reasons for how asylums operated through 1800s England. At first, Lindeman writes, the growth of mental institutions was spurred by a belief that mentally ill patients could be treated humanely, which later gave way to asylums for the sake of easing the burden on the rest of (newly industrialising) society. Out of sight, out of mind. The essay surveys many of the societal forces that shaped mental institutions towards what they have become today.

Towers compares cultural differences between how people experience psychosis in India and the United States. The United States is associated with a more individualistic attitude, which Towers argues could be a reason behind its patients' poorer experiences with hallucinations. The other possible cause offered by the essay is that Indian society allows patients to believe they can recover from psychosis, rather than blaming them for it. Towers suggests that both of these cultural differences could be used to improve Western society's treatment of psychotic disorders.

Finally, Davies-Zwarts looks at memories of colonisation in the poetry of Grace Nichols and Tusiata Avia. The essay posits that memories that can encode themselves into physical things, like a body, a landmark, or the written word. Even when repressors would rather plaster over an unsavoury past, physicalised memories resist being forgotten. In the end, the essay metamorphoses into an original poem.

Bloomfield, Lindeman, Towers and Davies-Zwarts all offer nuanced and informed analyses of bodies, minds, and the physicality that links one to the other. Their essays prepare us for the future by reminding us who we are, where we come from, and what we are made of.

Gali Mortimer-Webster

Art History 115/115G

Global Art Histories

Isabel Bloomfield

The Development of European Modernism

European Modernism is a pivotal movement in art history which emerged from significant social and political reforms. Throughout Europe, Modernism created new art forms by rejecting traditional art techniques and focusing on abstraction and expression, resulting in the rebirth of artistic freedom. This essay outlines the development of European Modernism, featuring three influential artworks which demonstrate principal styles and subject matter. The first part provides an overview of European Modernism and the defining artists, movements, and themes of the era, followed by an analysis of Pablo Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907). The second half of the essay explores the impact of war on the European Modernist movement, focusing on two examples: *Woman with Dead Child* by Käthe Kollwitz (1903), and *Dead SS Guard in the Canal* by Lee Miller (1945). A conclusion then completes the essay.

European Modernism is generally considered to have emerged in the late 19th century and continued to the mid 20th century, with Paris viewed as its capital and where artistic freedom flourished (Samuels, 2011). Modernism materialised in Europe in response to political instability such as the Franco-Prussian War, and the resulting societal changes (Levenson, 2011). The movement diversified the commission and patronage of art into individual ownership, thus overpowering previous power systems. A fundamental feature of European Modernism is that it does not consist of one art style alone, but encompasses many avant-garde movements such as Impressionism, Symbolism, Surrealism, Fauvism, Cubism, Expressionism, the Bauhaus Movement, de Stijl and Dada. These movements became a medium for personal expression as well as political and social criticism. In addition to the development of new styles, Modernism saw the emergence of radical subject matter and innovative techniques and materials.

Europe's modern artists challenged the traditional art features of linear perspective and mimesis by experimenting with concepts such as non-representational colour, abstraction, and meaning. For example, Henri Matisse (1869–1954), the co-founder of Fauvism, used vivid colours to develop an unreservedly expressive style which absorbed his works in the liveliness of the moment (Macleod, 1999). Modernism also oversaw significant change in the role of the artist and the viewer by expelling the belief that art should be an open window through which the world is replicated (a theory known as Alberti's Window). European modern artists instead sought to portray their personal expression of deeper feelings. Claude Monet (1840–1926), the founder of Impressionism, subverted Alberti's Window by creating various layers of reality and an ephemeral quality in his work. When studying Monet's work, one can see the impression and perceptions of the artist behind the brush and not merely an exact representation of the literal world.

Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) is one of the most celebrated artists of the European Modernism movement. Influenced by Paul Cézanne's exploration of geometric structure, Picasso was the founding father of Cubism alongside Georges Braque (1882–1963) (Macleod, 1999). Picasso's 1907 work *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* is widely considered to be the catalyst for artistic revolution and the birth of Cubism, arguably the most dominant art form of European Modernism. Inspired by Cézanne's *Bathers*, Picasso's work rejects conventional beauty standards and experiments with distorted shapes and figures (Macleod, 1999). Although painted with the traditional method of oil on canvas, Picasso subverts conventional academic standards with fragmented shapes and shading, unconventional use of colour, and the absence

of linear depth and perspective. The basic geometric forms of the five nude women acted as a medium through which Picasso expressed his eroticism and lust, shocking conservative viewers. Picasso integrated strong African influences into *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, albeit through an idealised Orientalist lens. The three women on the left are based on Iberian sculptural reliefs from Osuna (circa 200 BC), with the two women on the right inspired by Teke totem figures from Congo (Picasso's African-influenced Period – 1907 to 1909, n.d.). However, despite the radical innovations of the European Modernism movement, women such as in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* continued to be depicted nude, objectified and weakened through the male gaze.

War and its consequences had a fundamental influence on many European modern artists. One example is Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), who created his haunting surrealist works dealing with the profundity of death and life in response to the Spanish Civil War. Notably, prior to the events of the First World War, Italian Futurism was strongly motivated by the notions of machinery and warfare. As a Modernist movement, Futurism attempted to instigate change across Italy and Europe by embracing war as a means of erasing the power structures of the past (Casden, n.d.). The Futurist Manifesto declared "[w]e will glorify war…militarism, patriotism, the destructive power of the anarchist, the beautiful ideas which kill" (Marinetti, 1909). Umberto Boccioni, a leading Futurist artist, explored dynamism, muscularity and a sense of movement within a still object by comparing humans to machinery. Most of the artists involved in the Futurist movement, including Boccioni, ironically lost their lives in World War One.

Käthe Kollwitz's *Woman with Dead Child* (1903) is a deeply evocative artwork focusing on the war-inflicted suffering of working-class women and children. Kollwitz (1867–1945) produced *Woman with Dead Child* alongside her *Peasants' War* collection, illustrating the poverty, hunger and death resulting from the German Peasants' War (1522–1525) (Prelinger, 1994). Kollwitz created her unique style by combining the printmaking chine-collé technique with soft-ground etching. Prelinger (1994) explains that wove paper was placed over a soft-ground-covered copper plate before being drawn over with a hard pencil, resulting in "softer and grainier" lines than typical etching (pp. 38–39). The image conveys the depth of grief, loss and helplessness felt by the mother, with "the bestial pathos…[laying] bare the savage force of the deepest human emotions" (Prelinger, 1994, p. 43). Kollwitz succeeds in capturing the intensity of the moment by erasing all beauty, colour and comfort from the image, instead elevating the seriousness of the form in this entanglement with death. The mother is depicted almost animalistically, imparting a primal instinct to protect her child even in death. The two bodies are entwined into one, as a child in the womb is one with the mother. The image pares away any remnant of dignified mourning to explore the dark social realism of war.

World War One was a pivotal event which altered the course of European Modernism by questioning the concept of human progress and the role of art. One prominent movement to emerge in response to World War One was Dadaism. Founded in Zurich in 1916, Dadaists rejected the technology and political and social institutions that had enabled mass destruction on an unimaginable scale (Samuels, 2011). Dadaism artwork is defined by irrationality, absurdity and a strong anti-bourgeois approach (Cottington, 2005). Dada artists such as Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) created satirical works which mocked societal structure by focusing on destroyed civilisation. Further artists inspired by the War include Otto Dix (1891–1969), whose expressively-charged works depict the sorrow and brutality of war, and André Masson (1896–1987), who unlocked the hidden fears, nightmares and trauma of war

through surrealist automatism. Modern artworks influenced by World War One demonstrate how political and social context was a crucial driver of the European Modernism movement.

World War Two played a similarly decisive role in influencing European Modernism, overseeing the emergence of documentary photography of the ruins of war. Lee Miller (1907–1977) was a pioneering photographer who covered pivotal events of World War Two such as the liberation of Dachau concentration camp. It was at Dachau in 1945 that Miller photographed the disturbing, yet mesmerising, image of the *Dead SS Guard in the Canal*. The image is an example of early surrealist photography, and captures a German SS guard who died in the US liberation of Dachau. Surrealism explored the unconsciousness in an effort to unlock artistic innovation, and created "unexpected juxtapositions" in order to subvert the traditional conventions of art (Macleod, 1999). Miller certainly achieves this with *Dead SS Guard in the Canal*. The rippling movement of the water juxtaposes the stillness of death, and the guard's black uniform contrasts the dappled sunlight on his peaceful face. The photograph expertly brings together the surrealist aesthetic of clashing values, with the lyricism of the image contradicting the context of war and death. The photograph challenges the viewer to go against their natural instinct of empathy for the dead man, as he was likely responsible for the deaths of many innocent people. Miller's photography was profoundly impactful as it enabled many people to view the horrors of war for the first time (Wallace, 2019).

This essay outlined the development of European Modernism using three examples of influential works: *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, *Woman with Dead Child* and *Dead SS Guard in the Canal*. The rejection of traditional art conventions and the innovative changes surrounding subject matter, style and material created the revolutionary and sometimes radical movement of European Modernism. Social and political events acted as drivers of change for European artists, whilst the cataclysmic events of World War One and Two created new avenues down which Modern Art evolved. European Modernism revolutionised the world of art and resulted in many outstanding artworks still relevant and thought-provoking today.

Reference List

Casden, E. (n.d.). *Italian futurism: An introduction.* Retrieved October 3, 2021, from
https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-1010/xdc974a79:italian-art-before-worl
d-war-i/art-great-war/a/italian-futurism-an-introduction

Cottington, D. (2005). *Modern art: A very short introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University
Press. Retrieved from
https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/auckland/detail.action?docID=3052610

Levenson, M. (2011). *Modernism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Retrieved from
https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/stable/j.ctt5vkzjf

Macleod, G. (1999). The visual arts. In E. Levenson (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to
Modernism* (pp. 194–216). Retrieved from
https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1017/CCOL0521495164

Marinetti, F.T. (1909). *War, the world's only hygiene.* Paris: (n.p.). Retrieved from
https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/war-worlds-only-hygiene

Picasso's African-influenced Period – 1907 to 1909. (n.d.). Retrieved October 5, 2021, from
https://www.pablopicasso.org/africanperiod.jsp

Prelinger, E. (1994). *Käthe Kollwitz*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in
association with the National Gallery of Art (Washington). Retrieved from
https://www.nga.gov/content/dam/ngaweb/research/publications/pdfs/kathe-kollwitz.pd
f

Samuels, M. (2011). France. In P. Lewis (Ed), The Cambridge Companion to European
Modernism (pp. 13–32). Retrieved from
https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1017/CCOL9780521199414

Wallace, E. (2019, October 25). How early photography changed the world. *CNN Style.*
Retrieved from
http://edition.cnn.com/style/article/eye-of-sun-national-gallery-photos/index.html

History 367

Health, Medicine and Society

Midori Lindeman

Causation Versus Correlation: The Expansion of Mental Institutions in 19th-Century England

Over the hundred years spanning from 1800 to the end of the century, more than a quarter of a million people in England and Wales went through the system of mental institutions, in all its forms (Wright, 1997). The beginning of the 19th century saw a growing optimism towards the effectiveness of these reformed institutions. Yet it is no secret that by the 20th century, asylums had returned to their former notoriety of desolate, hopeless warehouses for the "chronically insane" (Shorter, 1997). It may seem at first glance that the rise in mental patients was simply a product of industrialisation, and a general rise in population. This belief, however, is reflective of correlative historiography, not causative. The expansion of mental institutions in the 19th century was triggered by a combination of governmental reform and changing societal values, particularly around the family, and was only subsequently supported by the feedback loop of industrialisation. The reform movements and optimism surrounding lunacy care during the early and mid 19th century eventually gave out, however, and the state of the asylums by the advent of the First World War was a bleak reminder of the failure of these institutions in the face of unmanageable numbers and increasingly unsalvageable reputations.

The study of the history of madhouses, or 'asylums,' as they were rebranded in the 1820s, has been dominated by a few key scholars over the decades. In the 1960s, Michel Foucault put forth the idea that the rise in asylums was tied to the growing intolerance towards those deemed to be 'undesirable' in society (MacKenzie, 1992). Klaus Doerner built on Foucault in the 1980s to say that the growing industrialisation of society contributed to this new form of societal control (MacKenzie, 1992). These constructivist theorists blamed an industrialised society, which no longer tolerated 'unproductive' members of society, as the trigger (Shorter, 1997). Foucault and Doerner were revolutionary for looking into social explanations for the expansion of mental institutions, but more recent historians, such as Andrew Scull, have pointed out that the first major asylums in England (apart from Bethlem) were all private institutions and, therefore, unlikely to be measures of social control implemented by higher powers (MacKenzie, 1992). A contemporary of Doerner, Michael MacDonald, also raised the issue that there was already a noticeable expansion of asylums in England before industrialisation really took hold of the country. Therefore it is chronologically incoherent for social control via industrialisation to have been the primary catalyst (MacKenzie, 1992). While all of these arguments have strong points, the authors often seem too intent on disproving one another to consider that many of their theories are closely linked. This essay will aim to differentiate between historical causes for the rise of asylums, and the consequences of these causes which may in turn have led to reactionary feedback.

Prior to the end of the 18th century, the concept of third-party treatment of insanity was rare, and those which did exist, like the infamous Bethlem Hospital, treated their patients more like animals or prisoners than people in need of medical care (MacKenzie, 1992). The majority of people who were considered 'mad' were either taken care of at home, incarcerated, or in poorhouses wasting away (Bryder, 2022). It was around this time, in the final years of the enlightenment and revolutionary mindset, that people like Philippe Pinel and William Tuke began experimenting with the idea of moral therapy. They replaced treatment based on force and torture, with kindness, reason, and non-restraint (Bryder, 2022). This was met with surprising success and gave rise to a sense of optimism towards cases of lunacy which were previously considered incurable (Porter, 1992). The advancement of moral therapy, combined with public disgust toward established institutions such as Bethlem, laid the foundation for

the possibility of a more organised and more humane system of mental asylums in England (Porter, 1992).

Following these moral reforms, by the start of the 19th century, there were about fifty newly licensed mental institutions in England, all of them private (Porter, 1922). It was not until the County Asylums Act of 1808 that the state began putting money towards the establishment of pauper asylums in various counties (Porter, 1992). Further acts in the first half of the 19th century, including the Poor Law Amendment Act, strengthened the position of these public asylums, and instituted a level of standardisation and regulation (Smith, 1999). These laws not only facilitated the expansion of asylums, but also led to a rise in reputability, and the belief that regulated, institutional treatment could actually be effective (Wright, 1997). It is from this legislation that Foucault's theory of social control arises, but Leonard D. Smith (1999) argues that the number of patients seeking care at these institutions increased only when the stigma surrounding mental illness *lessened*, not the other way around. This line of reasoning is strengthened by David Wright's (1997) analysis on the role of changing family values in relation to the increased commitment of mental patients.

In 18th-century England, the majority of mental asylum patients fell into one of two categories: They were either 'pauper lunatics', previously held in workhouses or prisons and institutionalised by the state, or middle- to upper-class patients committed by their families. A notable portion of the *initial* increase in asylum patients were people simply transferred over from other welfare institutions, but by the mid 19th century, a clear majority of asylum patients were being committed by their families (Shorter, 1997; Wright, 1997). Two factors worked hand in hand to create a culture of committing one's loved ones to institutions, rather than caring for them at home. First is precisely the idea of a 'loved one.' For a long time, members of a 'family' were simply cogs in the machine of property and succession, rather than an 'emotional unit' (Shorter, 1997). It is not a far leap to assume, then, that as sentiment became more important to family life, the desire for better care of one's mentally ill family members heightened as well (Shorter, 1997). Previously, there was not much one could do about someone deemed 'lunatic', apart from confinement and restraint. Yet the growing optimism towards treatment, and even cures, for mental illness offered the English population a much more appealing and trustworthy alternative for their 'mad' family members (MacKenzie, 1992). The mental institution was no longer a 'last resort for unmanageable lunatics', but something which families actively sought out. A large part of the stigma of institutionalisation was lost, and as these institutions proliferated, general tolerance for abnormal behaviour diminished as a result (MacKenzie, 1992). It is at this point in history that Foucault's theory of industrialisation and social control becomes most relevant.

Although Scull has used historical chronology to dispute Foucault's main thesis, industrialisation did seem to contribute to the demand for institutions in the latter half of the 19th century, especially as it became a "long-term phenomenon" (Wright, 1997, p. 155). As institutionalisation of the insane became less stigmatised and a bigger part of everyday society, two things occurred as a result: Confinement of the mad came to be seen as a legitimate and profitable business venture, and the general public became less tolerant of individuals who were not contributing to this capitalist society (Wright, 1997). As historian Roy Porter (1992) notes, England, as an industrialising society, saw the expansion of not just mental institutions, but also schools, prisons, and hospitals, to meet the demands of a

population on the rise. This means that the historians of the 1960s and 1970s were not entirely wrong; industrialisation just happened to be a later piece of the puzzle than previously believed (MacKenzie, 1992). Industrialisation and urbanisation did also contribute greatly to the fall in the quality of mental asylums in the latter part of the century, but it is important to acknowledge that certain aspects of the asylum did show reasonable improvement prior to this.

As noted previously, the 19th century saw the public condemnation of inhumane mental institutions, and the introduction of much more moral and optimistic practices. MacKenzie (1992) writes, however, that while many asylums boasted of high discharge rates, asylums were more a place of comfortable management and care rather than of focused, consistently successful psychiatric treatment. In short, they were places of 'protective custody', and the only reason they could manage their patients in such a manner was because they were not yet overwhelmed by numbers (Shepherd, 2014). Under these circumstances, even if the asylums were not necessarily 'curing' all of their patients, the institutions themselves were still providing a positive service for the public and for the mentally ill. They aided those in need of specialised care, and did their best with the limited psychiatric knowledge and precedent that they had to work with. Even in the present day, there are many mental illnesses which cannot be cured—only managed—so in this sense, I would not term these reformed, early to mid 19th-century mental institutions 'failures'. In the span of a few decades, however, the main function of these institutions reverted back from rehabilitation to custodianship (Shorter, 1997).

The main cause of decline in the quality of care at these institutions was the unmanageable increase in the number of patients. As stated previously, before the reforms of the early 19th century, treating those termed mentally ill at an institution rather than at the home was seen as the last resort. As the reforms continued and the reputability of the institutions rose, however, patients with psychotic conditions were admitted more quickly and more frequently, to the point of it often becoming the first response (Shorter, 1997). It is important to remember also that England was not yet a strongly centralised state. Collective action to deal with incoming patients of these numbers was not possible in the way that a state could, say, face an oncoming pandemic today (Wright, 1997). At the start of the century, when the asylums began to hit their stride, half of the people who were committed were doing so as a temporary solution (Wright, 1997). As more patients transferred in from prisons or workhouses, the proportion of patients with pre-existing low physical and mental health led to lower recovery rates and more cases of lifetime patients (Shepherd, 2014). Porter (1992) notes that as time went on, the asylum no longer functioned as a 'safe haven,' like its namesake, but rather a "dustbin for hopeless cases" (p. 299).

The state of mental institutions by the turn of the century would not have been at all what the early reformers envisioned. The optimism of moral therapy had vanished, and was taken over by new ideas of genetic degeneration and social Darwinism (Wright, 1997). The debilitating effect of overcrowding and the push on resources meant that in order to manage their confinement, institutions had to return to old methods of constraint and sedation. It would certainly have been a different story if the newly emerging science of psychiatry had been able to successfully diagnose and treat the most serious and recurring mental disorders by this point, but the profession had only recently been conceived. The public's mistrust toward

mental institutions naturally brought about a mistrust towards psychiatry as a profession as well (Shorter, 1997). The number of chronic patients and the curative failures of moral therapy led in a new wave of pessimism, and a return to harsher treatment methods such as electroconvulsive therapy (Porter, 1992). By the 20th century, the 'asylum' had become a place for hopeless cases, where the level of care was at best questionable, and at worst, immoral and ineffective. Shepherd (2014) calls these patients the "'residual' asylum population" (p. 115).

It cannot be denied that the developments made in the 19th century in the realm of mental institutions and psychiatry were significant. A new moral ideology, a society on the brink of industrialisation, and the subsequent legislation arising from all of it, paved the way for considerable positive advancement. However, the system did not have enough time to finetune its care for an exponentially increasing psychiatric patient population, and crumbled under the weight of it all. The profession of psychiatry was still in the process of developing, and the people running the asylums simply did not have the ability to cure patients as fast as they were admitting them. With the commitment of mental patients to asylums as the new norm, and the ever-increasing fallout of industrialisation, there was nowhere else for the mentally ill to go. Pessimism of psychiatric care quickly settled over England and much of the Western world, and it would be decades again before the next revolution in the treatment of mental illness came around. Some might say we are still in the midst of it.

Reference List

Bryder, L. (2022). History of mental health and psychiatry [Lecture]. Retrieved from https://auckland.au.panopto.com/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=930e525b-3c8c-4729-b0f5-ae670054e9e6

MacKenzie, C. (1992). *Psychiatry for the rich: A history of Ticehurst Private Asylum 1792-1917*. London: Routledge.

Porter, R. (1992). Madness and its institutions. In A. Wear (Ed.), *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* (pp. 277–302). Retrieved from doi:10.1017/CBO9780511599682.010

Shepherd, A. (2014). *Institutionalizing the insane in nineteenth-century England*. London: Routledge.

Shorter, E. (1997). *A history of psychiatry: From the era of the asylum to the age of Prozac.* New York: Wiley.

Smith, L.D. (1999). The county asylum in the mixed economy of care, 1808-1845. In B. Forsythe & J. Melling (Eds.), *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914* (pp. 33–47). Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203025789

Suzuki, A.L.D. (1999). Framing psychiatric subjectivity: Doctor, patient and record keeping at Bethlem in the nineteenth century. In B. Forsythe & J. Melling (Eds.), *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914* (pp. 115–136). Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203025789-14

Wright, D. (1997). Getting out of the asylum: Understanding the confinement of the insane in the nineteenth century. *Social History of Medicine 10*(1), 137–155. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/10.1.137

Anthropology 372

Biosocial Medical Anthropology

Frankie Towers

Cultural Embodiment and Psychosis: A Cross-Cultural Analysis Between India and the West

While psychosis and psychotic symptoms are generally accepted to be universal across human societies, there are significant differences in how these symptoms are expressed, experienced, and treated within specific cultures. This essay will discuss how cultural embodiment can create local biologies, leading to differential experience of psychotic symptoms, focusing primarily on Indian and Western cultural contexts. Furthermore, I will explore how illness narratives and aetiology can further impact experience and recovery from psychosis. Finally, drawing this knowledge together, I take an applied anthropological approach to critically assess if a cross-cultural analysis can provide methods to improve psychosis experience and recovery for patients.

For the purpose of this essay, psychosis will be defined as the presence of delusions and hallucinations, whether this be episodic or chronic (Arciniegas, 2015). While different cultures may not define these particular symptoms as psychosis, for ease of understanding and cohesion, this essay will apply a biomedical definition to these symptoms and categorise them as psychotic. Other diseases which contain psychosis as a symptom, such as schizophrenia, will also be used in this analysis, specifically in relation to the presentation of those psychotic symptoms.

The idea of cultural embodiment is a key part of medical anthropology. Embodiment is the process of the physical body absorbing parts of the lived experience and is how social and material worlds are biologically incorporated into the body (Scheper-Hughes, 2019). This embodiment can have a marked effect on illness experience and the understanding of symptoms, as the body can become a symbol, or representation, of the particular culture or society (Douglas, 2002; Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). In other words, the ways in which our culture imprints on and is absorbed by our bodies can cause differential experiences of illness. This can also lead to the creation of local biologies, which refers to non–genetically-determined differences in bodies (and by extension illness/illness experience) caused by differing social, cultural, and physical conditions of people's lives within different societies (Lock & Kaufert, 2001). In the case of psychiatric illnesses (such as psychosis), culture has the ability to shape patients' symptom expression and their understanding and experience of these symptoms (Aggarwal, 2013). For psychosis, the specific cultural understandings of what psychosis is, what causes it, how it should be treated, and the overall cultural opinion of it, have changed the way that psychosis is experienced physically within the body. This highlights the importance of considering cultural embodiment when looking at psychosis cross-culturally, and why it is imperative to analyse the cultural context when trying to understand the differences between psychosis experience.

Experience of psychotic symptoms has been observed to differ quite significantly across cultures, and these differences can have marked effects on the wellbeing and recovery of patients. A cross-cultural study of auditory hallucinations within the USA, India, and Ghana suggested that the cultural conceptions of the mind and body changed not only the patient's relationship with auditory hallucinations, but the auditory hallucinations themselves (Luhrmann, Padmavati, Tharoor, & Osei, 2015). Within the USA, patients often described their auditory hallucinations as a bombardment, and described voices imploring them to hurt themselves or others—often with very explicit detail. Overall, the voices were harmful and violent, and therefore hated by the patient. Despite half of the USA participants describing some positive aspects to their voice-hearing, none had predominantly positive relationships

with their auditory hallucinations. Researchers also noted that American participants mostly did not have personal relationships with their voices, as they often viewed the voices as unreal creations of their brains (Luhrmann et al., 2015). On the other hand, participants in India were far more likely to report positive or neutral relationships with their voice. Even in cases where the voices were viewed as 'bad' or telling the patient negative things, patients still tended to have personal relationships with them—and were more likely to view these 'negative' voices as a nuisance rather than as harmful. Some participants even conceptualised the voices as being 'real,' such as being spirits or souls that they were hearing (Luhrmann et al., 2015). Overall, the experience of voice-hearing in Indian patients was far more positive and manageable than in American patients. Within India (and many other non-Western cultures) people are far more likely to conceptualise themselves as interwoven with others and understand themselves to be 'made' through their relationships with other people (Luhrmann et al., 2015). However, within the USA (and the West in general) there is greater emphasis on independence and individualism, and people are more likely to conceptualise themselves as separate from other people (Castillo, 2003; Luhrmann et al., 2015). Therefore, Indian participants may have embodied the idea that they 'exist' in relation to other people and so find it easier to create relationships with their voices and view them as people that they cannot control, but must accept. Meanwhile, American participants may view these voices as an affront to their independence and individual consciousness, finding them more threatening (Luhrmann et al., 2015). This demonstrates how a difference in cultural conception of the self could be influencing the experience of voice-hearing in psychotic patients.

Another way in which cultural embodiment seems to affect psychosis is in its chronicity, and whether people experiencing psychosis will fully recover or if they will go on to develop a chronic psychotic disorder. Complete recovery from an episode of transient psychosis (psychosis with acute onset and lasting no more than three months) is observed to be ten times more likely in non-Western cultures than in the West (Castillo, 2003). There are many potential explanations for why some individuals' psychosis will be transient, and others' will be chronic, and why this may differ by culture. Studies into the likelihood of transition from subclinical psychosis to clinical psychosis found that individuals who experienced subclinical psychotic symptoms along with a depressed mood were more likely to develop a clinical psychotic disorder than those who did not develop a depressed mood (Larøi et al., 2014). Furthermore, research also suggests that experiencing threatening or distressing hallucinations will lead to feelings of depression more than benign hallucinations (Larøi et al., 2014). Therefore, in cultures where hallucinations are more likely to be benign or positive (such as India, as previously discussed) individuals are potentially less likely to go on to develop a clinical psychotic disorder due to the embodiment of cultural ideas around the mind and self.

The response by family and wider social systems to an individual's psychosis also has a significant impact on recovery, both in determining if a transient episode will become chronic, but also in how an individual with a chronic psychotic illness may fare. Transient psychosis is often triggered by a period of acute stress, and it has been theorised that if these episodes are responded to with social support and practices that reduce stress, then full recovery will be more likely than in cases where the psychotic individual is socially excluded and ostracised (resulting in further stresses) (Castillo, 2003). In the West, aforementioned

culturally embodied ideas of individualism and emphasis on personal autonomy may lead psychotic individuals—and their wider social systems such as friends and family—to believe that they are solely responsible for their illness and recovery. On the other hand, an Indian worldview is generally far less individualistic and instead more family- and community-minded, and therefore it may be easier for psychotic individuals to receive the social support they require (Awasthy & Gupta, 2021; Castillo, 2003). This could contribute to explaining why the West has a lower rate of full recovery in cases of transient psychosis than in more community-centred cultures. Even in the case of individuals who experience chronic psychotic symptoms (such as people with schizophrenia), research suggests that higher levels of hostility, criticism, and emotional overinvolvement (categorised as 'expressed emotion' or EE) towards the psychotic individual by their family can increase their likelihood of recurrent psychotic episodes (Castillo, 2003). British and Anglo-American families with a psychotic member have been found to have higher rates of high levels of EE (48% and 67% respectively) than Indian families (23%) (Castillo, 2003). Furthermore, in a study comparing the level of contact with clinicians by families with a psychotic member, families in Chennai, India were found to have markedly higher engagement than families from Montreal, Canada. This engagement also did not decline over time—as it did in Montreal—and this maintaining of contact was theorised to increase patient engagement and outcome (Iyer et al., 2020). This could contribute to better outcomes and lower rates of recurrent psychosis in individuals with psychotic disorders in India compared with their Western counterparts. Overall, this demonstrates how the wider cultural context and structure can have significant effects on both transient and chronic psychosis.

Illness narratives are an important part of how individuals understand and contextualise their illness, and can provide insight for anthropologists as to the lived experience of a particular illness within specific cultures (Singer, Baer, Long, & Pavalotski, 2020). For a psychotic individual, creating an illness narrative provides a way to control and objectify their disturbing or confusing experiences, and the form that these narratives will take can be highly influenced by wider cultural understandings of psychosis (Larsen, 2004). Illness narratives of psychosis in the West tend to be "chaos stories," where there is confusion, uncertainty, and an overwhelming sense of hopelessness or powerlessness (Castillo, 2003; Larsen, 2004; Mclean, 1990; Singer et al., 2020). This could, in part, be due to the accepted aetiology of psychosis in the West. Psychosis and psychotic disorders are generally understood to have an important genetic component under a biomedical understanding (Castillo, 2003; Mclean, 1990). Multiple studies have observed British and American psychosis patients (especially those who have been treated with psychiatric care for longer periods of time) incorporating a biomedical understanding of psychosis into their illness narratives (Larsen, 2004; Luhrmann et al., 2015). The effect of this genetic, biomedical model is twofold. While the biomedical model is designed to provide a neutral explanation, the popular Western ideology of individualism means that it creates implicit blaming of the individual experiencing psychosis (Castillo, 2003; Mclean, 1990), assuming that there is something wrong with them personally, even if this is out of their control. The biomedical model provides an internal aetiology, where the psychotic individual has no one to blame except themselves. This may further isolate the psychotic individual, exposing them to more stressors which may, in turn, trigger more psychotic episodes, creating a feedback loop (Castillo, 2003). Furthermore, the genetic, biomedical model implies chronicity. Genetics cannot be changed and so the individual

experiencing psychosis may come to believe that there is nothing they can do about their diagnosis except manage it, contributing to feelings of hopelessness and the creation of a chaotic illness narrative (Mclean, 1990). Overall, the illness narrative more often presented by Western individuals who have experienced psychosis reflect the cultural ideas about psychosis as a genetic, incurable disease and individuals may embody this, impacting the course of their illness.

The illness narratives presented by individuals outside the West—in India—are often strikingly different, and this could be influencing the presentation of psychosis within Indian culture. While the biomedical understanding of psychosis is present in India, especially in urban centres, it is far less prevalent as an explanation of psychosis (Varma & Malhotra, 2007). Illness narratives are more likely to blame external forces, which can range from environment, social factors, and life stressors, to supernatural forces or evil spirits (Luhrmann et al., 2015; Varma & Malhotra, 2007). This external aetiology could help to prevent individuals from blaming themselves for their illness, instead having the understanding that it is not their fault, and that it can be fixed (Varma & Malhotra, 2007). Furthermore, since this is a popular cultural view, and because of the community and family driven nature of Indian society (Awasthy & Gupta, 2021), families are less likely to blame their psychotic members, and more likely to provide support (Varma & Malhotra, 2007). Psychotic individuals are not often viewed as a burden on the family, as there is already an expectation of relying on and caring for family members (Varma & Malhotra, 2007). The long-term WHO International Study of Schizophrenia reported a higher rate of recovery from schizophrenia from the Indian cohort (66% of the urban cohort and 61% of the rural cohort), than in other, Western, cohorts—such as the Irish cohort, where only 37% had recovered (Finnerty, Keogh, O'Grady Walshe, & Walsh, 2007; Varma & Malhotra, 2007). The cultural ideas about psychosis and psychotic disorders (such as schizophrenia) being due to external factors may contribute to this trend of better outcomes for Indian individuals with schizophrenia. Illness narratives once more provide insight into the cultural conceptions of psychosis and how these ideas may be embodied in individuals experiencing psychosis—and their families—causing differential outcomes.

Critically analysing this research and taking an applied anthropological approach, there are some potential conclusions that can be drawn regarding psychosis cross-culturally. These conclusions could provide methods for improving outcomes for psychotic patients. While psychosis and psychotic symptoms are accepted as universal across human populations (Azaunca, 1995), there does seem to be a significant difference in psychosis across Western and Indian cultures. This could be due to differing local biologies, where the cultural ontology has been embodied by individuals, changing their experience of symptoms (such as the differences in voice-hearing between Indian and American individuals (Luhrmann et al., 2015)), and the chronicity and outcomes of psychosis. A significant method for improving rates of recovery and reducing chronicity of psychosis appears to be reducing the EE of psychotic individuals' family members (Castillo, 2003) and strengthening family structures to provide greater support for individuals experiencing psychosis (Iyer et al., 2020; Varma & Malhotra, 2007). Furthermore, providing individuals and family members with external rather than internal aetiology for psychosis could reduce social exclusion and provide psychotic individuals with more hope for their recovery (Castillo, 2003; Mclean, 1990;

Varma & Malhotra, 2007). These methods are more prevalent in Indian culture, and the cultural embodiment of these ideas, as well as the wider community and relationship focused ontology, could be contributing to the differences in psychosis as compared to the West. Implementing these methods in the West and trying to move away from hyperindividualism could lead to improved outcomes for Western individuals experiencing psychosis. This could be achieved through focusing on trauma, stress, and life experiences as a cause for psychosis rather than assuming a predominantly genetic aetiology, and through greater involvement of the family and social structures in treatment processes. Overall, this research suggests that individuals absorb and embody cultural ideologies and ontologies and that this cultural embodiment can go on to impact experiences of psychosis.

Medical anthropology largely understands humans to be biocultural beings, meaning that our cultural lives become entwined with our biology—with both influencing each other. A cross-cultural analysis of psychosis in Indian and Western culture demonstrates how cultural ontology and conceptions of psychosis impact the experience of—and recovery from—psychosis in individuals. This is shown through differences in voice-hearing, illness narratives, aetiologies, and rates of recovery. Ultimately, it leads to local biologies that reflect the differences in psychosis due to cultural embodiment. Changing the conceptions of psychosis in the West to align more with Indian understandings has the potential to improve outcomes for Western individuals experiencing psychosis.

Reference List

Aggarwal, N. K. (2013). Cultural psychiatry, medical anthropology, and the DSM-5 field trials. *Medical Anthropology, 32*(5), 393–398. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/01459740.2013.776047

Arciniegas, D. B. (2015). Psychosis. *Continuum: Lifelong Learning in Neurology, 21*(3), 715–736. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1212/01.CON.0000466662.89908.e7

Awasthy, R., & Gupta, R. K. (2021). Unravelling the layers of Indian culture and worldview: An exploratory study. *International Journal of Indian Culture and Business Management, 22*(1), 137–166.

Azaunca, M. (1995). Is it schizophrenia or spirit possession?. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 4*(3), 255–263. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02088021

Castillo, R. J. (2003). Trance, functional psychosis, and culture. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes, 66*(1), 9–21. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1521/psyc.66.1.9.20285

Douglas, M. (2002). *Natural symbols* (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203036051

Finnerty, A., Keogh, F., O'Grady Walshe, A., & Walsh, D. (2007). DOSMeD: Dublin, Ireland. In K. Hopper, G. Harrison, A. Janca, & M. Sartorius (Eds.), *Recovery from schizophrenia: An international perspective: A report from the WHO Collaborative Project, the international study of schizophrenia* (pp. 129–140). Oxford University Press, Incorporated.

Iyer, S., Malla, A., Taksal, A., Maraj, A., Mohan, G., Ramachandran, P., … Rangaswamy, T. (2020). Context and contact: A comparison of patient and family engagement with early intervention services for psychosis in India and Canada. *Psychological Medicine,* 1–10. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291720003359

Larøi, F., Luhrmann, T. M., Bell, V., Christian, W. A. Deshpande, S., Fernyhough, C. … Woods, A. (2014). Culture and hallucinations: Overview and future directions. *Schizophrenia Bulletin, 40*(4), 213–220. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/schbul/sbu012

Larsen, J. A. (2004). Finding meaning in first episode psychosis: Experience, agency, and the cultural repertoire. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 18*(4), 447–471. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1525/maq.2004.18.4.447

Lock, M., & Kaufert, P. (2001). Menopause, local biologies, and cultures of aging. *American journal of human biology, 13*(4), 494–504. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1002/ajhb.1081

Luhrmann, T. M., Padmavati, R., Tharoor, H., & Osei, A. (2015). Differences in voice-hearing experiences of people with psychosis in the USA, India, and Ghana: Interview-based study. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 206*(1), 41–44. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.113.139048

Mclean, A. (1990). Contradictions in the social production of clinical knowledge: The case of schizophrenia. *Social Science & Medicine, 30*(9), 969–985. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(90)90144-H

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Lock, M. M. (1987). The mindful body: A prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology. *Medical anthropology quarterly, 1*(1), 6–41. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1525/maq.1987.1.1.02a00020

Scheper-Hughes, N. (2019). A finger in the wound: On pain, scars, and suffering. *Representations*, *146*(1), 32–58. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2019.146.1.32

Singer, M., Baer, H., Long, D., & Pavalotski, A. (2020). *Introducing medical anthropology: A discipline in action* (3rd ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.

Varma, V. K., & Malhotra, S. (2007). DOSMeD: Chandigarh, India. In K. Hopper, G. Harrison, A. Janca, & M. Sartorius (Eds.), *Recovery from Schizophrenia: An international perspective: A report from the WHO Collaborative Project, the international study of schizophrenia* (pp. 115-128). Oxford University Press, Incorporated.

English 113

Global South: New World Texts

Georgia Davies-Zwarts

250th anniversary of James Cook's arrival in New Zealand
By Tusiata Avia

Hey James,
Yeah, you
in the white wig
in that big *Endeavour*
sailing the blue, blue water
like a big arsehole
FUCK YOU, BITCH.

James,
I heard someone
shoved a knife
right up
into the gap between
your white ribs
at Kealakekua Bay.
I'm gonna go there
make a big Makahiki Iuau
cook a white pig
feed it to the dogs
and FUCK YOU UP, BITCH.

Hey James,
it's us.
These days
we're driving round
in SUVs
looking for ya
or white men like you
who might be thieves
or rapists
or kidnappers
or murderers
yeah, or any of your descendents
or any of your incarnations
cos, you know
ay, bitch?
We're gonna FUCK YOU UP.

Tonight, James,
It's me
Leilani, Danielle
and a car full of brown girls
we find you
on the corner of the Justice Precinct.

You've got another woman
in a headlock
and I've got my father's
pig-hunting knife
in my fist
and we're coming to get you
sailing round
in your *Resolution*
your *Friendship*
your *Discovery*
and your fucking *Freelove*

Watch your ribs, James
cos, I'm coming with
Kalaniōpuʻu
Kānekapōlei
Kanaʻina
Keaweʻōpala
Kūkaʻilimoku
who is a god
and Nuaʻa
who is king with a knife.

And then
James,
then
we're gonna
FUCK.
YOU.
UP.
FOR.
GOOD.
BITCH.

The metaphysical is physical, the internal is external, and memory is as much a part of the mind as the world that houses it. Memory exists in permanent and diverse states of body: bodies of nature, language, and human bodies themselves. These safeholds of history are explored within poetry in Tusiata Avia's *The Savage Coloniser Book* and Grace Nichols' *I is a Long Memoried Woman*. Both offer glimpses into the history of colonisation of Pasifika and West Indian peoples and its reflection on the present using the natural world, textual design, and the black and brown body as sites of memory.

The natural world in the writings of Nichols and Avia are physical planes permeated with past events as landmarks (quite literally) of history. In her poem *250th anniversary*, Avia uses Kealakekua Bay as a point of reference in her address to Captain Cook as the voice of the colonised Pasifika people (Avia, 2020). Not only does this mark where James Cook first landed and thus the start of his colonisation of Aotearoa, it is also where he met his end (Mallon, 2020). Avia presents this body of land at the forefront of textual consciousness—a re-remembrance of the colonisation of the Pacific. By naming the place where the addressee of her poem died, Avia reminds us that we are talking *with* history, a history that is still glorified to appease the Western world by covering up the pain of the southern. This piece of history is still present at Kealakekua Bay, the very soil holding the deaths of both the colonised and the coloniser together in one space and one body of land. Where the soil holds death, the ocean holds the coming of the coloniser, the ocean itself is a body of the *va* (Wendt, 1996): It's the space between the coloniser and colonised, now the connection between the event of Aotearoa's colonisation and the memory of it. Where Kealakekua Bay contextualises the Pacific Ocean as a site of the coming of James Cook, Grace Nichols marks the Atlantic Ocean as a site of mass death of West Indian slaves in her poem *From One Continent to Another*. The Middle Passage was the voyage of slave charters from West Africa to the West Indies, where millions of slaves died (Independence Hall Association, n.d.). Where Kealakekua Bay represents the physical memory, the Middle Passage represents the journey across that physical memory. Nichols contextualises the Atlantic Ocean as a birthplace for West Indian enslavement history (Nichols, 1983): Here, she reveals the Middle Passage as the physicalising of all who died at sea. Nichols creates a paradoxical site of history at this body of water: It is the graveyard of countless slaves and the birthplace of the next generation of West Indian peoples in history.

Language is key to communication, and the bodies of words speak forth from these poems out of the depths of history. These bodies of language are the site of historical repression and misrepresentation in Avia's *250th anniversary*, along with the bodies of *James* (Avia, 2020). This grows into a manifestation of rage that physicalises the years of oppression, racism, mistreatment, and colonisation of the Pasifika people's history into something of the present: That history is contained within the address to *James*. It is the transitions in this naming from "you" to "us" to "I" and then to "we" that bring together the collective voice: people from the past, present, and future. With this address, voices of history push forward to the cusp of the text and bring down this gloried Captain Cook to their level; to the level of those he stole from, raped, kidnapped, and murdered (Avia, 2020). The bodies of language continue in Avia's poem *How to be in a Room Full of White People*, where the names of the Pacific—Samoa, Apia, Savai'i, Māori, and Te Reo—are mispronounced by white people (Avia, 2020). Understanding the meaning of Pasifika words is important to understanding postcolonial works such as this (Wendt, 1996). The mispronunciation of these names operates as a site of remembrance of oppression of not only the people themselves, but the *names* of those people. This memorialises the autonomy that colonisation stripped away and how that autonomy is still being disregarded by Westerners. Where Avia contextualises the act of naming itself, Nichols uses the context behind the names to bring history to the surface. In

her poem *Ala*, Nichols uses the goddess as a body of comfort and mourning for a deceased slave (Nichols, 1983). The spirits of the dead go to Ala's womb once they have passed, and she is the mother of all things (Iwalaiye, 2021). The name not only carries the religion but also the history of the suppression of it. This is further evidenced in the poem *I Will Enter*, where these figures of religion and history are buried (Nichols, 1983). But nothing ever remains buried. In the last line of *I Coming Back*, there is a palpable vacancy at the end. I believe that space resembles two words: "for you". Where the *va* connects (Wendt, 1986), this space physicalises the response of the colony: This open-ended body of words voices the Western Indian standpoint "I remember, and I am coming back for you". Both Avia and Nichols use these bodies of language as a resurgence of voices of colonial history in these postcolonial texts.

In *250th anniversary*, Avia uses the rape, murder, and theft of brown bodies to remember the colonisation of Pasifika peoples and the abuse they endured at the hands of James Cook (Avia, 2020). By turning those crimes onto the coloniser, Avia reclaims that history and thus reclaims the narrative autonomy that was stolen. In a casual reference to the "woman in a headlock" outside the justice precinct (Avia, 2020), Avia reveals the ironic nature of historical representation and how the colonisers are protected at the expense of the brown body throughout history and now. This notion of the present history continues in *How to be in a Room Full of White People*, where black and brown bodies are used for art and their deaths are glorified in white writing (Avia, 2020). Their bodies are seen as something to consume; this speaks to how Pasifika people are only "brown" when in reference to white people, due to the history of colonisation revealed by this painting of dead brown bodies as white art. This reference to the coloniser narrative (Fanon, Bhabha, & Sardar, 2008) continues in Nichols' *Love Act*, where the black slave exists as fuel for the white household (Nichols, 1983). This existence only in reference to the white is fuelled by the consumerism—both historical and present—acting on black and brown bodies. Where brown bodies are used for white art, black bodies are used as a source of consumption, with Nichols using animal descriptions indicative of the animalistic way black slaves were treated, being packed like cattle (Nichols, 1983). This portrait of black bodies as livestock reveals the history of consumerism that feeds off that body, since the beginning of slavery through to now, with black bodies constantly being described with food-like adjectives such as 'chocolate skin'. Where Avia reveals history's hold on the brown body, Nichols revels in it and uses it against history by using the witchcraft stereotypes to the black slave's advantage in addressing history (Nichols, 1983). Nichols uses these stereotypes as a vehicle of revenge. Both Avia and Nichols remember the history of consumerism of black and brown bodies, and both reclaim those bodies: The act of claiming the history is the act of claiming the body history has oppressed. For Nichols, this claim is turning the narrative back on the coloniser, and for Avia, it is coming into the postcolonial brown body (Wendt, 1996).

Even when repressed, history has a way of physicalising itself through those that remember it. For Grace Nichols and Tusiata Avia, history has manifested itself into bodies of remembrance in their writing, where they memorialise the history of colonisation, enslavement, and consumerism of Pasifika and West Indian peoples. In their embodiments of the past, they give voice to the colonial history that is still alive and present today. That history exists outside of textbooks written by old white men.

With the breath of a thousand salty swells

O mother awake/s from her coffin beneah the earth

O mother, upon the shifting of soles

Of hands atop her resting place she breathes

O child o mine

The world trembles as she rise

Yes tremble

As she reach, rip at soil at her face

That compacts the between

O child o mine

With the weight of centuries upon her front

O mother, crawls from the chasm of rest

Of sleep buried now unburied at the coming

O child o mine

They too crawl o mother

To you their hands reach

Hands that grip the ground search

Closer

O child o mine
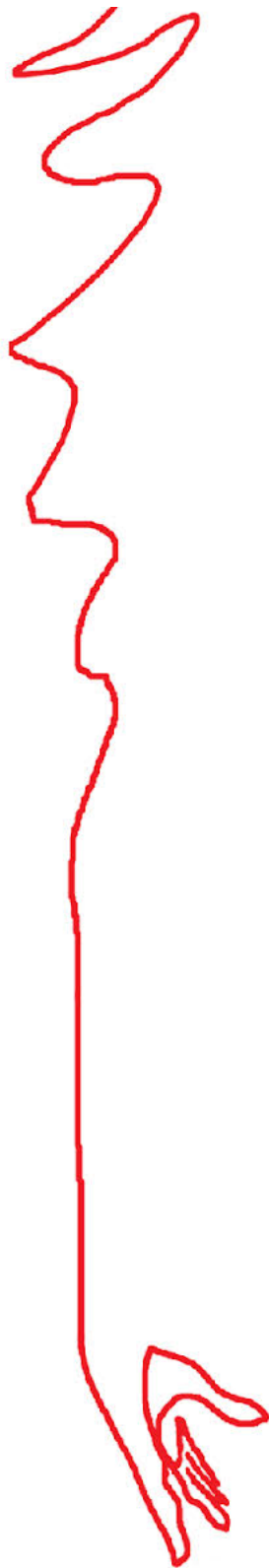
With the memory of forgot/et

O motherbreaks from the cartilage chains

O child o mine

Wrinkled hands splayed to those who wait

They wait

They dig at the low as ignorants point to the high

There is no high

Close

O child o mine

Grip thy hand, bloody and dirty and frail

We dig for

O mother

O child o mine

And with the echoes of mocks and quakes

The pull and push of foam

O mother breaks from her tomb

O child I yours

Reference List

Avia, T. (2020). *The Savage Coloniser Book*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Fanon, F., Bhabha, H.K., & Sardar. Z. (2008). *Black Skin, White Masks*. Chippenham and
Eastbourne: Pluto Press. Retrieved from
https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/auckland/reader.action?docID=3386656

Iwalaiye, T. (2021, June 12). African gods: Ala, the supreme mother of the Igbos. *Pulse.ng*.
Retrieved from
https://www.pulse.ng/lifestyle/food-travel/african-gods-ala-the-supreme-mother-of-th
e-igbos/vf0105h

Mallon, S. (2020) Kalaniʻōpuʻu's gift to Captain Cook repatriated: A sacred cloak returns
home. *Museum of New Zealand Website*. Retrieved from
https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2020/07/10/kalaniopuus-gift-to-cook-a-sacred-cloak-and-it
s-history-of-display/

Nichols, G. (1983). *I is a Long Memoried Woman*. Karnak House.

Independence Hall Association. (n.d). The Middle Passage. *U.S. History Online Textbook*.
Retrieved from https://www.ushistory.org/us/6b.asp

Wendt, A. (1996). Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body. *NZEPC*. Retrieved from
http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/wendt/tatauing.asp

THE SUBJECTIVITY AND MUTABILITY OF TIME

"Time" is the most-used noun in the English language for a reason. It is a concept that has intrigued and excited humankind for as long as we have had the ability to conceptualise it. Yet we tend to think of time as linear and absolute—that we are headed from A to B, all travelling together at the same pace and in the same direction. To physicists, however, time is relative: The rate at which time passes depends on your frame of reference. "Here" and "now" are not universally shared concepts, and the ideas of "future" and "past" do not mean the same thing to everyone everywhere. Some go further and say that time itself is an illusion—only the action of time perception is real. To make things even more enigmatic, in people, this perception is shaped by culture and subjective social customs. In short, time is an idea based on a feeling based on a subjective experience.

The essays in this chapter all draw on the complexity of time, from its subjectivity to its scarcity. Through various disciplinary lenses, these authors inspire us to reflect on how we interact with and utilise the time we are given.

The chapter opens with Brownie's essay, a lyrical examination of a single line from J. R. Carpenter's poem, *Along the Briny Beach*. Brownie explores how varying verb choice and punctuation in this ever-regenerating digital poem influence our perception of distance and time, demonstrating that simple written words on a screen can generate the sensation of momentum. This essay illustrates the subjectivity of our perception of speed and duration—how the same journey can take vastly different lengths of time depending on the perspective from which it is experienced.

While Brownie's take on time is one of personal reflection, Devlin's is one of collective urgency. This second essay tears through New Zealand's façade of societal equality to reveal how centuries of unequal social policies have left Māori and Pasifika populations incredibly vulnerable to diseases such as COVID-19. Using a biosocial approach, Devlin shows how inaction on housing issues such as overcrowding and poor ventilation has left these groups exposed to mortality. In the face of our current pandemic, this adept essay reminds us how deeply the past can impact the present.

Anderson's essay focuses on a different, but equally as relevant, time-sensitive matter: anthropogenic climate change. This piece examines the integral role that local government needs to play in righting the historical failure to address New Zealand's environmental negligence and greenhouse gas emissions. Anderson analyses the history of New Zealand's climate policy and the complexity of the issue at hand to validate how little time we have left to mitigate the climate crisis. Like Devlin's exposé of health inequalities, this essay emphasises the urgency of action required.

Cutt's essay draws the threads of this chapter together. This final piece explores time through a different lens—the contemporary art of Fred Wilson and Arman. Cutt's contemplative essay on found-objects in art challenges readers to reevaluate their understanding of the passage of time. It looks at how objects can effectively drop in and out of time as we choose to either value and remember or discard and forget them. The notion of objective historical "truth" is deconstructed, and, in its place, Cutt instead proposes time and history as subjective creations of human agents.

Katherine McLean

English 323

Contemporary Poetry

Lara Brownie

Movement, Momentum, and the Complex Relationships Between Language and the Environment

This essay will examine one recombinant line from J. R. Carpenter's *Along the Briny Beach (ABB)* in the context of a digital code poem. *ABB* is a born-digital multimedia work which uses looping algorithms to organise its images and text.

drive along the storied wave-washed wind-loud—

This line is the only one of its kind in this ever-generating code poem, though it influences other, similar lines with the alteration of the beginning verb. This allows the line to be recombinant, and relive its meaning and effect in different variations. The recombination is striking in this poem because there are only a limited number of words that are coded to regenerate as new lines. This can be seen as a limitation. However, in reality, given the number of combinations of words available, we are granted access to many new micro-stories. I am interested in the way a line can build movement and momentum in conjunction with the contextual kinetics of image sets and typography in the background and middle ground of the composition, as well as the specific order of nouns, verbs, adjectives and the em-dash continuum. The line physically moves upwards as the poem regenerates, but works in conjunction with the middle ground and other kinetic aspects of the poem. I want to explore how these factors, when combined, change the dynamic of my chosen metaphor.

The line begins with a verb, thus initially setting the line up for movement. The word "drive" is a verb, a motion that is understood to have an endlessness in this context of fast-paced kinetics. When bringing this line off the page, and speaking it aloud and slowly, the word "along", accompanying "drive", also suggests a prolonging. It is no mistake that one of the kinetic lines in the middle ground is the same colour as the background. This is somewhat hidden until the viewer pays close attention to each detail, as anyone would on a walk down the beach. By having a hidden middle ground feature that is so fast paced, the line contradicts itself by causing the reader to slow down and pay attention to what is said. The em-dash brings the kinetic lines of the poem to this stagnant line, implying movement and reference to the scenery. The em-dash can be seen as a horizon—the movement of "drive", or a grammatically incomplete sentence with arbitrary definition—giving the reader access to their own interpretation and coastal experience. The em-dash "—", seen as a grapheme, conceptually suggests that the tidal waves imprinted in the sand tell histories that reach for miles down a coastline. There is also use of a hyphen "-" between "wave-washed" and "wind-loud" that creates simultaneous distance and togetherness of the noun "washed" and adverb "loud", giving further action qualities to already active nouns ("wave" and "wind"). The connection between the symbolic concept of action and legitimate action in the entire composition underpins the complex relationship between language, spatial awareness and the environment. This relationship between perceived action and legitimate action is seen in many examples of active words paired with spatial and directional words such as "along", meaning there is always movement within the line.

The movement is complemented by the photos, graphemes and sentences travelling along horizontally in the middle ground. Some examples of lines that are further recombinations of my chosen metaphor are "crawl along the distant storied wind-loud—", "plod along the fabled uncharted—", and "float along the waiting—". These lines each begin with a different verb; a different action. "(C)rawl" and "plod" are slower, and more intentional than "drive". The word "along" remains consistent in these lines, and throughout many others in the poem,

illustrating the length of the briny beach. The length is arbitrary—we do not know exactly how long it is because we can drive, crawl, or plod along it. These actions all take varying amounts of time when moving towards a destination. This further supports my thesis of a single line being able to convey movement, especially for different lengths of time and vastly different active words. Each recombination of my chosen line is a different length, thus allowing for varying performance durations. Each line is a metaphor for a beach experience, and the different journey lengths someone could take. We can see this in the number of words there are per line. My initial line, "drive along the storied wave-washed wind-loud—" has eight words; "crawl along the distant storied wind-loud—" has six; "plod along the fabled uncharted—" has five; and "float along the waiting—" has four. The number of words in these lines reflects the verb, the movement; the relationship between perceived movement and literal movement. "(D)rive" is an action someone does during a long journey, when the destination is far away. Therefore, the amount of words used in this line is more than in the line containing "crawl", which is shorter, and "plod", which is even shorter again. There is a slowing down of movement. "(F)loat" brings us to a halt; there is no physical movement here. Instead, the environment—typically water—is allowed to move for us.

The concept of "float" is the complete opposite to "drive", altering the notion of a moving line and suggesting there are multiple ways to move. The Editorial Statement of *ABB* states: "The many moving and generated elements create a fragmented scene, with the primary poem building a menacing feeling of a dangerous ocean" (Carpenter, 2012). When reading the primary list poem, we tend to read each line only once. Without rereading, therefore, we tend not to consider the tone or subtext. Considering Carpenter's (2012) view that there is a "menacing feeling of a dangerous ocean" prompted by the junction of movement and fragments, we can imagine that through the jumbling of abstract poetics and typography, there is in fact a dangerous ocean. This dangerous ocean works in tandem with the unknown length of the beach, creating a geographical sense of never-ending assumptions, action and imagery. The movement of this poem that I first intended to illuminate through close reading of my chosen line has altered since my reading of the Editorial Statement, where Carpenter touches on the motive behind the *ABB* remix. I have expanded my understanding, and confirmed that there are in fact fragments that piece together to illustrate my notion that a single line can create movement and momentum.

The arbitrary em-dash supports the concept that the ocean is dangerous and unpredictable, since there is not anything particular showing otherwise. The em-dash prompts readers to finish each line with their own imagination of the scene—and what it means—as they move forward into the next line. In the main list poem, there is no interaction between the reader and the line: The reader cannot stop, start, regenerate and mix new lines. A potential reason for the list of poetic lines being fixed to one coded action is that they are detailing features of the briny beach. These features are what nature has provided itself, and documented in an abstract, rather peculiar way. Because of the way the writer has documented the beach, this is the only interaction we get— his own interpretation. However, there is interaction between the viewer and the middle ground graphemes and imagery. This is representative of walking along a coastline, wading through the foamy breakers, picking up shells, and skimming stones. The list poem represents what is not changeable—the parts of nature that we consume through looking at it from different angles.

Also of interest is the influence of the kinetics of digital performance. There are five horizontal lines that run in the background and middle ground of the screen that take the shape of waves, straight lines, dots, words or images. At first, the background graphemes such as ": . :", ": : :", and "~" generate first. Then, the poetic lines start to generate in a list formation moving downward on the left hand side of the screen. The lines list downward until the screen is filled, then begin moving upward so that a new line can generate below the last. Watching the side of the screen fill only happens once, as if a wave has been generated, and the lines following are breakers meeting the shore. The ocean never stops moving. Whilst this is happening, the kinetic graphemes change to sentences, and cross the screen horizontally. We can assume these graphemes to be representative of an oceanic horizon; a coastline or waves that are varying in anger or calmness; an unpredictability. There is no enumeration of the lines in this poem; nor is there sound, which, along with the constant generation of lines, creates moldable poetics that do not necessarily have to be presented in a specific order. There is limited interaction we can have with these lines by clicking to stop and resume movement, as if we have very limited control over the environment. The symbolic representation of these fragmented graphemes shows that there are many environmental layers along the briny beach. As illuminated by the word "storied", we can also assume these layers are figurative, further implying any historical and cultural significance the reader decides is applicable. The words in the line are not physically jumbling around, but simply moving upward when new lines generate below. Like waves, the generation of lines and scrolling is akin to regeneration of "storied" tide lines in the sand.

There are remixes of *ABB* such as *Taroko Gorge Remixes*, which is similar to *ABB* in the sense that it regenerates lines in a list format. There is no background and middle ground in *Taroko Gorge* that suggest the same kinetics as *ABB*. Thus, we have no available movement or graphemes that suggest the imagery of a beach experience or coastline. However, the *Taroko Gorge* remix has kept the same lack of interaction as *ABB*: We cannot alter what we see generated before us. Nevertheless, both *ABB* and *Taroko Gorge* still allow the cursor to highlight lines, as if to copy and paste. This allows the viewer to copy and paste sections, or specific lines of the poem, to create their own. This is proven by Prof. Lisa Samuels in her curated file of *ABB* (Samuels 2021), which is another variation of how code poems can be presented. Samuels' composition uses the same words and sentences. However, instead of being formatted in a list, they are formatted in a paragraph, forming a prose poem composition. This notion of creating a by-product illuminates my thesis—the one line that you cannot physically interact with can be uplifted from its original scene to become something new. We can understand that each of these remixes—or viewer's curations—are editions of *ABB*, not particularly *authored* compositions. It is considered that *ABB* is an expansion on Lewis Carroll's *The Walrus and the Carpenter* and Charles Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle*. It manipulates the text and moves it into different contexts, but leaves *The Walrus and the Carpenter* and *The Voyage of the Beagle* in the subtext of the composition. As mentioned in the Editorial Statement of the Taroko Gorge remix, "(t)he versatility of its system would serve as the seed for a new poetic form" (Montfort, 2009). This quote also reinforces my thesis—the editor informs us there is a systematic versatility that can provide new forms, new conceptual relationships between literal and perceived action, and further editorials.

Digital code poems are remixable. They create variations of a particular notion or idea—namely, that a single line can conjure imagery that introduces a collection of meanings against the background of a larger picture. The multiple conventions discussed support my thesis about a single line being able to craft movement and momentum, with the support of contributing kinetics. As far as sound goes, readers are limited to imagining what potential sounds there could be that are pieced together by orally performing the poem. We can see from the line "drive along the storied wave-washed wind-loud—" that there is repetition of assonance in "wave-washed wind"; the "w" sound can be a natural sound that strikes the reader as a fast lapping of water against a rock. When speaking lines from the poem, we can identify distinct phonemes that mimic the sounds of a beach environment. The word "washed" has a distinctive "sh" sound that has a common association with the ocean, waves crashing, and the sound of ocean spray. When words are presented orally, and brought into the medium of spoken language, the momentum and speed of each sentence shifts, as the awareness of punctuation and phonemes becomes more noticeable. Our internal reading voices naturally skip along sentences faster. Thus, the composition changes dynamically when spoken aloud. The spoken language brings a new convention to a written poem, and alters the complex relationship between language, spatial awareness and the environment by allowing our voices to build scenes.

Reference List

Carpenter, J.R. (2012). *Along the Briny Beach.* Retrieved from
        https://collection.eliterature.org/3/works/along-the-briny-beach/index.html

Montfort, N. (2009) *Taroko Gorge (WWW)*. Retrieved from
        http://nickm.com/poems/taroko_gorge.html

Samuels, L. (2021). *ENGL 323 Essay File for J.R. Carpenter*, *Along the Briny Beach 2012*
        [Curated file]. Retrieved from ENGL 323 Contemporary Poetry Canvas Site,
        Semester 2 2021.

Anthropology 208

Biosocial Medical Anthropology

Isabella Devlin

New Zealand's Political Ecology and COVID-19: An Examination of the Relationship Between Housing and Mortality

New Zealand has cultivated an international reputation of fairness and equality. An outside view sees a country with a nationalised healthcare system, the haka performed at rugby games, and a robust response to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, a recent article highlights that all is not as it seems (Hurihanganui, 2022). The disproportionate impact of the recent pandemic on the Māori and Pasifika population reveals that the political ecology of New Zealand has left some groups much more vulnerable to disease than the majority. Poverty impacts more than just the emotional and financial wellbeing of a population; it can also become embodied and harm their physical health. Centuries of political choices have resulted in poorer outcomes and widespread health inequalities, and lives continue to be lost because of it.

A political ecology is a complex network of the environmental, social, economic, and cultural factors that impact a society. New Zealand's political ecology has a clear bias against certain members of our population. Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the European majority has prioritised themselves when allocating vital resources. For the first century of New Zealand's existence, this was a deliberate act of malice designed to marginalise the native population. Courts considered the Treaty a "simple nullity" (*Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington*, 1877), children were forcibly separated from their parents, and a colour bar was instituted to bar Māori from well-paying jobs (Harre, 1962). This foundation has resulted in a current population far more likely to live in poverty, have lower education rates, and have less stable housing situations (Came & McCreanor, 2015). A loss of culture and a loss of community have played a significant role in increasing crime rates and isolation from society at large (Shepherd, Delgado, Sherwood, & Paradies, 2017). In the last thirty years, steps have been taken to rectify the symptoms of many of these issues, but these have failed to consider the political ecology as a whole. The ecology of the world around these groups puts them at a greater disadvantage, through no fault of their own. Individuals are far more vulnerable to disease due to their living situations and choices made centuries before they were even born.

Many factors that have resulted in a higher mortality rate for the Māori and Pasifika population can be seen through an examination of housing issues. Multi-generational housing has been a cultural expectation in the Pacific for centuries, and *whānau* (the extended family group) is incredibly important. Children are raised surrounded by extended family and there is a duty to care for family members as they age. This is highly beneficial for both the children and the parents, as the children gain greater social skills and can learn from a wide range of experiences, and the parents do not have to shoulder the whole burden of child rearing and can continue to provide for the family (Liu, 2017). It is a system that provides both emotional and economic support. In our present Eurocentric society, a nuclear family comprised solely of parents and minor children is considered the norm. New Zealand homes are typically not designed for multi-generational living, and the rising cost of property along with the historical deprivation and confiscation of land has resulted in extended family units living in homes without enough space to support them (Faigaa, 2020). In an examination of children's living situations in a low decile South Auckland school, anthropologist Julie Spray found as many as eighteen individuals living in a six-bedroomed home (Spray, 2020). Furthermore, New Zealand housing has notoriously poor ventilation, especially in older low-income housing. Families that are already struggling with poverty and providing the basics are unable to afford new builds that comply with the updated Healthy Home

Standards. Multiple people in a space contributes to the ventilation issue, as it places undue strain on an already inadequate system. Poor ventilation and overcrowding are a recipe for disaster when it comes to health and the spread of disease, and are an example of how poverty can directly impact physical health.

Syndemics is a concept that is inherently tied to political ecology and can explain the disproportionately high mortality rates within the Māori and Pasifika populations. A syndemic is the idea of two or more diseases working in tandem to create a worse outcome than either could produce individually (Singer, 2020). In this case, one could consider the housing issue's impact on disease. New Zealand has high rates of respiratory disease, and Māori and Pasifika populations have the highest incidence amongst the general population—with Māori having the highest total respiratory mortality rate (Telfar-Barnard & Zhang, 2021). It has been found that the most significant risk factor for respiratory disease is inadequate ventilation (Wimalasena, Chang-Richards, Wang, & Dirks, 2021) and, as has been established, there are strong links between poverty and ventilation and between poverty and Māori. Inadequate ventilation and poor air quality results in many conditions, including asthma, rheumatic fever, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) (Telfar-Barnard & Zhang, 2021). This is an epidemic and has been difficult to combat, as no simple drug can cure such a wide variety of chronic and acute conditions. The global COVID-19 pandemic has made the issue significantly worse. It is itself an upper respiratory disease that can result in death and long-term disability on its own, but, when combined with pre-existing respiratory conditions, it can be catastrophic. People with existing respiratory diseases are far more likely to be admitted into hospital after contracting COVID-19, and the use of inhaled steroids (like asthma inhalers) is associated with more severe symptoms (Aveyard, et al., 2021). The two epidemics combined have created far worse outcomes than the patient would have suffered if they contracted either individually. As Māori and Pasifika individuals are far more likely to be at risk for these respiratory conditions, they are the worst hit by this syndemic and are dying at a disproportionate rate (Hurihanganui, 2022). The historical context, economic struggles, cultural expectations, and political decisions that have formed the political economy have resulted in this syndemic hitting Māori and Pasifika much harder than other demographics.

Housing, in particular, is a microcosm of the impact of the political ecology on COVID-19 outcomes. A similar analysis could be done on the relationship between diet, diabetes, and mortality. These issues are so broad and complex that nothing short of widespread, systematic change can possibly resolve the health inequalities that have led to such a high morbidity rate in such a small subset of the New Zealand population. Real people are suffering and losing loved ones, and this pandemic has devastated an already vulnerable community. It has been easier for the general populace to ignore the issues and blame the suffering population than to accept that the political ecology has put Māori and Pasifika people at a permanent disadvantage and greater risk during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Reference List

Aveyard, P., Gao, M., Lindson, N., Hartmann-Boyce, J., Watkinson, P., Young, D., . . . Hippisley-Cox, J. (2021). Association between pre-existing respiratory disease and its treatment, and severe COVID-19: A population cohort study. *The Lancet*, *9*(8), 909–923.

Came, H. A., & McCreanor, T. (2015). Pathways to transform institutional (and everyday) racism in New Zealand. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, *12*(2), 24–48.

Faigaa, P. (2020, June 8). Impact of overcrowded housing on Pasifika 'concerning'. *Pacific Media Network*. Retrieved from https://pacificmedianetwork.com/articles/impact-of-overcrowded-housing-on-pasifika -concerning-1

Harre, J. (1962). A case of racial discrimination in New Zealand. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *71*(2), 257–260.

Hurihanganui, T. A. (2022, March 28). Covid-19 killing Māori and Pasifika at disproportionate rate. *1News*. Retrieved from https://www.1news.co.nz/2022/03/28/covid-19-killing-maori-and-pasifika-at-dispropo rtionate-rate/

Liu, E. (2017). Living with the extended family: Experiences and outcomes of living in multigenerational households. In E. Liu & H. Easthope (Eds.), *Multigenerational Family Living: Evidence and Policy Implications from Australia* (pp. 73–92). New York City: Routledge.

Shepherd, S. M., Delgado, R. H., Sherwood, J., & Paradies, Y. (2017). The impact of indigenous cultural identity and cultural engagement on violent offending. *BMC Public Health*, *18*, 50.

Singer, M. (2020, May 29). Syndemics and health. *Defining Moments Canada*. Retrieved from https://definingmomentscanada.ca/news/syndemics-and-health/

Spray, J. (2020). *The children in child health: Negotiating young lives and health in New Zealand.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Telfar-Barnard, L., & Zhang, J. (2021). *The impact of respiratory disease in New Zealand: 2020 update.* Otago: Asthma and Respiratory Foundation NZ.

Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington (1877) 3 NZ Jur NS (SC) 72.

Wimalasena, N. N., Chang-Richards, A., Wang, K. I.-K., & Dirks, K. N. (2021). Housing risk factors associated with respiratory disease: A systematic review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *18*(6), 1–26.

Politics 313

Governing Planet Earth

Jessie Anderson

Governing Climate Change: The Role of Local Government in Climate Change Mitigation Policy

Strong climate change mitigation policies must be implemented across multiple levels of governance for New Zealand to meet its emission reductions targets in the coming decades. The use of multi-level governance strategies and the devolution of power by central government to lower levels of governance is vital. This essay first approaches the environmental governance challenge of climate change by considering it as the most urgent crisis of our time, looking at the responsibility that New Zealand holds in implementing aggressive emissions reductions plans, and assessing New Zealand's current response. It then considers the value of multi-level governance strategies and the history of multi-level governance approaches to climate change in New Zealand. The concept of disproportionate policy responses is addressed as a contributing factor to New Zealand's move away from multi-level governance solutions. Finally, current local government policy is considered, focusing on Auckland Council's recent climate plan, its historic failure to meet emissions reductions targets, and the need to return to central government backing of local solutions.

Climate change is undoubtedly the most pressing challenge of our time. Rising levels of greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) from human activities are causing our planet's atmosphere to heat up with catastrophic effects, including sea level rise, ocean acidification, long-term changes in temperature and weather patterns, and increases in extreme weather events such as floods. It is, however, an incredibly complex issue to solve, requiring global collective action across multiple levels of governance to decrease the emission of harmful gases. Appropriate policy is needed across international, state, and local levels if we are to adapt to and mitigate the effects of the climate crisis. As stated in Article 3.1 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, countries have "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, the developed country parties should take the lead in combating climate change … " (UNFCCC, 1992). Thus, New Zealand, as a wealthy developed country, is responsible for leading the way in emissions reduction, despite contributing a very small percentage to global emissions. There is ever-shrinking time to develop and implement policies that sufficiently address climate change. Thus, multiple different policy options should be investigated and implemented, including multi-level governance solutions that utilise local government's power and account for local specificities and needs.

Despite Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's claims of climate change being this generation's "nuclear-free moment", New Zealand's climate response has been largely insufficient and underwhelming. The government's Emissions Reduction Plan, released in October 2021, does not go far enough to address the challenge of climate change. The recent nature of this plan means that there is not yet any literature reviewing its aims or impacts. However, Greenpeace was quick to offer their critique: "Greenpeace is expressing shock and disappointment … instead of signalling a step up in climate action, there's just more hot air" (Deans, 2021). The plan came with the notable omission of aims to cut emissions in intensive dairying, despite agriculture standing as the country's biggest climate polluter. It is a busy time for developments in New Zealand's climate policy, with the COP26 conference currently occurring in Glasgow, Scotland. On the eve of this conference, Ardern and Climate Change Minister James Shaw announced a new Nationally Determined Contribution, accelerating targets via a new goal of decreasing net GHGs by 50% by 2030 (Ardern & Shaw, 2021). Though this appears to be a significant improvement on New Zealand's previous NDC, some have claimed that creative accounting practices make this new goal look better

than it is (LCANZI, 2021b). New Zealand still relies to a large degree on offsetting its emissions via forestry, rather than focusing on decreasing gross emissions. Though climate change is at the forefront of New Zealand's policy agenda today, not enough is being done when considering the vast scale of the problem.

We now turn from New Zealand's present climate change response to consider alternative approaches to climate policy, namely through multi-level governance solutions (MLG). MLG has been defined as "the negotiated exchange between institutions on multiple levels, including the local, regional and national organization of the state and other actors" (Keskitalo et al., 2016, p. 2). It presents an alternative to traditional centralised forms of governance, particularly in the realm of climate change policy. Traditionally, centralised, top-down approaches to governance have been predominant in climate policy (Harker et al., 2017). Local levels of governance have huge potential in climate governance, as acknowledged by a growing number of major reports over recent years. This potential is seen in the work of Bulkeley and Betsill (2003), who named cities as an important site for addressing climate change. Key reasons for this include cities being large consumers of energy and producers of waste, local authorities having the potential to influence these behaviours, local authorities already having experience in addressing local environmental challenges, and local authorities having the power to lobby central government to facilitate further action. Subnational government, particularly cities, thus have the potential to hold significant power over developing and implementing climate change mitigation policy.

Historically, New Zealand had strong local government contribution to climate mitigation policy. Harker et al. (2017) give an account of how reforms moving towards a form of MLG occurred in the 1990s, under the rise of neoliberal and environmental politics. This period saw new legislation passed, including the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and, later, a continued move to MLG under the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) and the Land Transport Management Act 2003 (LTMA). This suite of legislation significantly devolved power to local levels. The RMA, for example, created a three-tier system for environmental governance, with national, regional, and local levels holding different powers and functions. The RMA requires local government to consider the effects of climate change on communities and incorporate climate change into decision-making procedures. New legislation also allowed significant public participation through submission processes. This increased prevalence of MLG was not without its issues, notably a significant lack of central government support and guidance surrounding climate change. This resulted in local government not being able to take full advantage of the new autonomy they held. Since 2004, however, and particularly through the years of the National-led government, New Zealand has been moving deliberately against this trend towards MLG—instead increasing the centralisation of power (Harker et al., 2017). Power has been taken away from local government through a series of reforms to key pieces of legislation, leaving it with little power to contribute to mitigative policy. When taken together, these reforms to the RMA, LGA, and LTMA reflect a move to greater central government control in the name of economic efficiency, critically eroding possibility for meaningful climate policy at the local level (Harker et al., 2017).

One way to understand the trend away from MLG at the expense of effective climate policy is through the concepts of disproportionate policy responses and policy underreaction.

Disproportionate responses occur when the policy created to address a specific challenge does not match the severity of the problem, either by doing too much or not enough (Peters et al., 2017). Policy underreaction sees a systematically slow or insufficient response from policy makers to increased risks or opportunities and can occur by error or by choice. Climate policy has consistently been met with policy underreaction, with policies created and implemented across the world being vastly insufficient to meet the crisis of climate change. In New Zealand, this includes the previously discussed deliberate move away from MLG, a clear example of turning away from the best approaches to climate change mitigation in favour of economic concerns. The institutional barriers leading to this underreaction must be recognised (Lawrence et al., 2015). Taking away power from local government through legislative reforms accentuates New Zealand's broader failure to implement strong climate change mitigation policy.

Whilst strong leadership in climate change mitigation from central government is lacking, there is great potential for local levels of governance to take leadership, even when faced with the barriers of past reforms. Auckland's local policy is a good place to start. Home to 30% of New Zealand's population, it is governed by a single body, Auckland Council. Policy has historically been sluggish, with significant gaps between the council's aspirations, the measures adopted to address these goals, and the outcomes achieved (Chapman et al., 2017). The business-as-usual politics of the Key government, and the deliberate underreaction to the challenge of climate change, affected the will and ability of Auckland Council to adopt more progressive and sustainable climate policy throughout the 2010s. The council released a new climate plan in December 2020, *Te Tāruke-ā-Tāwhiri: Auckland's Climate Plan*. It is a "roadmap to a zero-emissions, resilient and healthier region", with the key goals of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 50% by 2030, and to achieve net zero emission by 2050 (Auckland Council, 2020). The Council proposes to achieve this through eight key priorities, focusing on areas where the greatest impact can be achieved. Though this approach appears to be relatively ambitious, it remains to be seen if its implementation will result in the desired outcomes.

Auckland Council's historic failure to meet emissions reductions targets must not be repeated when implementing this current policy response. These failures have resulted from greenhouse gas emission reduction goals being too ambitious to deliver on without the legislative and financial backing of central government (Harker et al., 2017). Dedicated action must be taken towards the plans set out in the Auckland Climate Plan. Transport is one significant area that must be addressed, with transport making up 44% of the city's emissions (Auckland Council, 2020). Transport emissions have consistently risen between 2007 and 2017 and, under the current plan, are set to continue rising. The lobby group Lawyers for Climate Action have called out the Council and Auckland Transport's Regional Land Transport Plan (RLTP) as unlawful, with the plan being incompatible with the Council's Climate Plan regarding emissions reduction goals (LCANZI, 2021a). The draft of the RLTP must be overhauled before being approved to align with the Council's own climate plan. As well as ensuring that plans align with the broader climate goals of the Council, it is vital that there is increased backing of central government for local solutions in mitigating the impacts of climate change.

The complexity and sheer scope of the climate crisis makes it a difficult environmental governance problem to approach, let alone to solve. This essay argued that devolving power from central government down to local levels is essential to climate mitigation policy. It began with New Zealand's present climate response and the updated emissions targets that are presently emerging. It considered multi-level governance theory and the history of MLG in New Zealand climate policy. The reforms to this policy over the past fifteen years have taken power away from local government and contributed to policy underreaction across all spheres of governance. Past and current local government policy was then considered, both in the recent Auckland Climate Plan and in the limited success of past policy. Over the coming years, the important place of local government in addressing the climate crisis must be further acknowledged and met by the increased legislative and financial backing of New Zealand's central government.

Reference List

Auckland Council. (2020). *Te Tāruke-ā-Tāwhiri: Auckland's climate plan*. Retrieved from
https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans
-strategies/topic-based-plans-strategies/environmental-plans-strategies/aucklands-clim
ate-plan/Documents/auckland-climate-plan.pdf

Ardern, J., & Shaw, J. (2021). Govt increases contribution to global climate target. Retrieved
from
https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/govt-increases-contribution-global-climate-target

Bulkeley, H., & Betsill, M. (2003). *Cities and climate change: Urban sustainability and
global environmental governance.* London: Routledge.

Chapman, R., Howden-Chapman, P., Whitwell, K., & Thomas, A. (2017). Towards zero
carbon? Constrained policy action in two New Zealand cities. *Australasian Journal of
Environmental Management*, *24*(2), 97–116. Retrieved from
https://doi.org/10.1080/14486563.2017.1309696

Deans, Z. (2021, October 13). *'Hot air and udder bulls***' – Greenpeace reaction to
emissions reduction plan document.* [Press release]. Retrieved from
https://www.greenpeace.org/aotearoa/press-release/hot-air-and-udder-bulls-greenpeac
e-reaction-to-emissions-reduction-document/

Harker, J., Taylor, P., & Knight-Lenihan, S. (2017). Multi-level governance and climate
change mitigation in New Zealand: Lost opportunities. *Climate Policy*, *17*(4),
485–500. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2015.1122567

Keskitalo, E. C. H., Juhola, S., Baron, N., Fyhn, H., & Klein, J. (2016). Implementing local
climate change adaptation and mitigation actions: The role of various policy
instruments in a multi-level governance context. *Climate*, *4*(7), 1–11. Retrieved from
https://doi.org/10.3390/cli4010007

Lawrence, J., Sullivan, F., Lash, A., Ide, G., Cameron, C., & McGlinchey, L. (2015).
Adapting to changing climate risk by local government in New Zealand: Institutional
practice barriers and enablers. *Local Environment*, *20*(3), 298–320. Retrieved from
https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2013.839643

LCANZI. (2021a). *LCANZI submission on Auckland Council's draft Regional Land
Transport Plan.* Retrieved from
https://www.lawyersforclimateaction.nz/news-events/rtlp-submissions

LCANZI. (2021b, November 1). *Press release: Creative accounting makes NDC look better
than it is.* [Press release]. Retrieved from
https://www.lawyersforclimateaction.nz/news-events/press-release-creative-accountin
g-makes-ndc-look-better-than-it-is

Peters, B. G., Jordan, A., & Tosun, J. (2017). Over-reaction and under-reaction in climate
policy: An institutional analysis. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *19*(6),
612–624. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2017.1348225

Peters, B. G., Jordan, A., & Tosun, J. (2017). Over-reaction and under-reaction in climate policy: An institutional analysis. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *19*(6), 612–624. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2017.1348225

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. (1992). New York: United Nations, General Assembly.

Art History 204

Ways of Seeing Contemporary Art

Georgia Cutt

Wilson and Arman: Exploring the Constructs of Time and History Through Found-Objects in Contemporary Art

The conceptual theme of time in contemporary art is a complicated concept. It can be looked at and begin to be understood through a variety of lenses that include both artists and their audiences. In contemporary art, time can be utilised to draw attention to, and evoke critical conversation about, the significant political and social issues that penetrate the consciousness of society.

Fred Wilson's collective series *Mining the Museum* inserts historic African American and Native American objects into the Maryland Historical Society's exhibition, displaying objects that pertain to white Americans' prosperity at the expense and exploitation of enslaved people. This collection places items integral to understanding this period at the forefront of the public's consciousness and challenges them to reevaluate their understandings of history. Wilson aims to ensure that African American and Native American histories are not forgotten. A different contemporary artist, Arman, repetitively portrays in his *Madison Avenue* and *Car Accumulation* a single mundane object, respectively high heels and toy cars, to draw attention to items that could be easily disposed of, neglected, or forgotten. The artwork comments on the rapid replacement and short lifespan of these ready-made items in our consumer-driven society. Both artists introduce found objects into the authority of knowledge and power associated with the museum sector. If Wilson's work is viewed as an exploration of time as a malleable construct, it enables a closer look at the notion of history being biased and the role of museums in constructing our historical narratives. In contrast, Arman's work can be seen as a look at a different aspect of time: its ephemerality. It evaluates the short-term gratification provoked by over-consumption and the longevity (or lack thereof) of an object's lifespan.

Mining the Museum utilises a socio-political lens to fix the absence of African and Native American history in museums with disturbing on-display collections. In a way, it can be seen as an effort to turn back time and put history to rights. This collaboration between the Maryland Historical Society Museum and Fred Wilson forces audiences to confront what they perceive as historical 'truths' of culture and race (Corrin, 1993). By utilising previously unseen artefacts and art from the museum's collection, Wilson invites the viewer to discover the true historical experiences of African Americans and Native Americans in Maryland (Corrin, 1993). Moreover, Wilson subverts the museum's own apparatus, as the exhibition simultaneously functions as a static memorial to the passage of time, and an active participant in shaping cultural debate (Corrin, 1993). This notion suggests to me that history and time are malleable, with perception and understanding being determined by how events are framed and reported rather than by any singular 'truth' (Huston, 2017).

The juxtaposition of the historical objects that Wilson intentionally displays together represents the contrasting 'truths' and 'facts' of history. This notion is evident within *Modes of Transport, 1770-1910*, which explores travel in colonial Maryland. It depicts a slave ship paired with a sedan chair, with a Ku Klux Klan hood replacing the linens of an antique pram (Corrin, 1993). The juxtaposition between a child's carriage, representing innocence, youth, and young children's harmlessness, and the anonymously donated Ku Klux Klan robe (Huston, 2017) creates a visceral, emotive response. One's understanding of the associations traditionally attributed to a pram is undermined by the integration of an object tied to such intense suffering and injustices. Moreover, the delicately folded robe suggests the ease with which children can absorb racist values and stereotypes from their parents. It can be said that

Wilson is making a statement regarding the "learned, inculcated, or even nurtured" nature of the cycle of racism (Huston, 2017).

Through *Metalwork, 1793-1889*, Wilson encourages white audience members to evaluate their social privilege and acknowledge the dark history that contributed to it. The glass case display combines repoussé silverware and a pair of metal slave shackles. By juxtaposing these two highly disparate items in the same collection, Wilson comments on the privileged lives of people who profited from slavery and the "luxury economy that was built on the slavery system" (Corrin, 1993, p. 307). He aims to destabilise the museum's dominant white, upper-class narrative (Huston, 2017) through these objects by showcasing the disparities in historical racial treatment and encouraging viewers to reevaluate their comfort.

Furthermore, with *Mining the Museum* and the other collections within this exhibition, Wilson brings attention to the erasure of African American and Native American history from museums. He demonstrates the dire impact this erasure can have on communities, as the lack of acknowledgement by museums of these lived histories hinders viewers' abilities to educate themselves about oppression, and prevents people from taking action to ensure history is not repeated. First shown in the 1990s, the exhibition opened a week before the Los Angeles Race Riots—a public response to the acquittal of four white police officers accused of violently attacking African American Rodney King (Huston, 2017). It is thus evident that Wilson's exhibition is viciously relevant to the contemporary climate despite its use of historical artefacts. Wilson's *Mining the Museum* challenges the museum's role as an objective mediator to history (Huston, 2017). It exposes audiences to the notion that retelling history is an act of interpretation, thus establishing time as a malleable concept.

Arman's Nouveau Realism (Watson, 2015) artworks explore time by discussing the nature of consumerism and encouraging viewers to evaluate the longevity and life cycle of material objects. In contrast to Wilson's artworks, Arman's *Car Accumulation* and *Madison Avenue* aesthetically portray the process of production and consumption through the assemblage of found objects. Though both utilise ready-made objects in their art, Wilson and Arman's items are taken from disparate periods in time and are vastly different in their subject matter. However, both artists emphasise items (Wilson's historical artefacts and Arman's mundane objects) in their artwork that audiences would have otherwise forgotten.

Arman's artwork uses repetitive visual language to expose the senselessness of mass production and over-consumption. Repetitive imagery alludes to the factory workers' repetitive actions of production. Through *Car Accumulation*, Arman directly references the Ford production process known as the assembly line (Hamilton, 2014). First installed in Ford factories in 1913, the assembly line sought to reduce the time needed to produce a completed product (Goss, n.d.). Through the integration of this process, the factory was able to increase profit margins. The assembly line began the movement towards mass production, which shifted the nature of how people acquired goods towards the contemporary understanding of consumerism (Goss, n.d.). Arman's resin sculpture, which displays a variety of toy cars closely stacked together, therefore mirrors the real-life act of collecting cars. Manufacturing these collectible toy cars conditions one from a young age to desire investment in proper cars and contributes to the cyclical pattern of collecting objects and perpetuating consumerism (Roces, 2018).

Accumulation offers insight into society's trivialisation of consumerism and comments on the post-war commodity spectacle that sought to repair the mental and physical damage caused by that traumatic period via the consumption of material objects (Hamilton, 2014). Arman's accumulation method echoes the societal issues he focuses his work on; he never reproduces objects and instead opts to seek them out in garbage bins, thrift stores, or dumps. The found object central to *Madison Avenue* is high heels, which are used to symbolise the various lives walked in these shoes. Moreover, the artwork comments on the longevity and lifespan of everyday objects in a capitalistic society that emphasises consumerism and replacement rather than repair. The deliberate arrangement of these structures (Watson, 2015), with objects pressing against the glass and "lock[ed] into a larger, settling mass" (Hamilton, 2014, p. 55), demonstrates the overwhelming amount of rejected objects that flood the world. Through the lens of these items, Arman captures moments in history and engages in "urban archaeology" (Hamilton, 2014, p. 55), recording aspects of time within his art. Placing these objects in artworks also gives them more time and relevance despite the apparent conclusion of their initial life cycle.

Through their collections, both artists question the systems of the museum sector. Museums and art galleries are an integral part of the preservation of and education about times passed; this role grants these institutions power and authority over history and knowledge (Li, 2020). Wilson unsettled the dominant white narrative of the Maryland Historical Museum, not only through his exhibition but by working closely with curators and museum staff to educate them on aspects of their practice that needed to be more inclusive. He enabled the museum to transform into a space for ongoing conversations regarding race and representation (Corrin, 1993). Arman, however, does not work in conjunction with the museum. Instead, Arman undermines the perception of these institutions as elite and exclusive by recontextualising mundane objects, in a similar vein to Marcel Duchamp (Pope, 2013). His artwork changes the status of these everyday items, re-examines their possibilities and roles in history, and provides authority to objects that otherwise would have been considered garbage or replaceable.

Mining the Museum reintegrates African American and Native American history into both the museum sector and the consciousness of the broader American public. Wilson challenges the dominant narrative of American history by establishing uncomfortable juxtapositions between historical objects, forcing the viewer to question their understandings of historical 'truths' and the notion of time as a singular timeline of events. In comparison, Arman explores the life cycle of mundane objects to expose the cyclical patterns of collection and consumerism. His artwork physically captures historical moments by accumulating found objects to offer audiences a glimpse at the values prevalent during that period, cementing his place in "urban archaeology" and giving value to objects otherwise discarded by their owners. These artists weaponise their work to challenge audiences into reevaluating their understandings of history and the malleability of time.

Figure 1

Wilson, F. (1992–1993). *Mining the Museum: Modes of Transport, 1770–1910* [Installation].
Maryland Historical Society, Museum, MD History.
https://www.mdhistory.org/return-of-the-whipping-post-mining-the-museum/

Figure 2

Wilson, F. *Mining the Museum: Metalwork, 1793–1880.* [Installation]. Maryland Historical
Society, Museum, MD History.
https://www.mdhistory.org/resources/mining-the-museum-metalwork-1793-1880/

*Editors' note: The works by Arman referred to in this essay are unable to be reproduced here
due to copyright considerations. These works are included in the reference list for the
reader's interest.*

Reference List

Arman. (1985). *Car Accumulation* [Matchbox Cars in Epoxy Resin]. *RoGallery.*
https://www.rogallery.com/artists/arman/car-accumulation/

Arman. (1986). *Madison Avenue* [Installation]. *WikiArt.*
https://www.wikiart.org/en/arman/madison-avenue-1962

Corrin, L. (1993). Mining the Museum: An Installation Confronting History. *Curator*, *36*(4),
302-313. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.1993.tb00804

Goss, J. (n.d.). Henry Ford and the Auto Assembly Line. *ThoughtCo.* Retrieved from
https://www.thoughtco.com/henry-ford-and-the-assembly-line-1779201

Hamilton, J. (2014). Arman's System of Objects. *Art Journal*, *67*(1), 54–67. Retrieved from
https://doi.org/10.1080/00043249.2008.10791294

Huston, K. (2017). How Mining the Museum Changed the Art World. *BmoreArt.* Retrieved
from
https://bmoreart.com/2017/05/how-mining-the-museum-changed-the-art-world.html

Li, S. (2020, November 29). American Museums Are Going Through An Identit y Crisis. *The
Atlantic.* Retrieved from
https://www.theatlantic.com/culture/archive/2020/11/american-museums-are-going-th
rough-identity-crisis/617221/

Pope, N. (2013, November 21). How Arman Opened the Door For Assemblage Art. *Art
Space.* Retrieved from
https://www.artspace.com/magazine/art_101/close_look/close_look_arman-51788

Roces, I. (2018, October 22). Small wonders: A brief history of classic toy cars (and the
fanaticism behind them). *ABS-CBN.* Retrieved from
https://news.abs-cbn.com/ancx/drive/cars-and-bikes/10/22/18/precious-metals

Watson, J. (2015) *Realism and Representation: Arman, 1954–1964.* (Doctoral dissertation,
John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland). Retrieved from
https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/60521/WATSON-DISSER
TATION-2015.pdf?sequence=1

VOICES FROM THE PAST: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

History allows us to traverse time and connect with voices of the past—to critically examine the lives and stories of those who came before us. However, history is far from a static mummification of the past, marooned between antiquated memory and reality. Rather, history is constantly in the process of being contested, negotiated, and remediated to better make sense of our present realities. The essays in this section offer a myriad of perspectives into the past, touching on issues of history and myth, personal and cultural identity, and memory. These essays remind us about history's capacity to illuminate the diverse, multiple voices from the past, and thus contest our conception of the present.

We begin this chapter in the medieval period, with Ivanov-Fesien's elegantly written essay about the Norman Conquests. Ivanov-Fesien offers a nuanced, comprehensive analysis of the Normans' rise to power that delves beyond the traditional narrative of violence and pillaging. The essay convincingly argues that legitimacy and assimilation worked in conjunction with violence to establish and maintain the Normans' acquisition of power. Through comparisons to lesser rulers like King John, Ivanov-Fesien highlights the ingenuity and success of the Normans' strategies to "conquer both the mind and the body". Ivanov-Fesien ultimately presents a potent rumination on the nature of power and rulership that can offer interesting insights into the dynamics of political power today.

McCallum's essay continues this chapter's exploration of the medieval period from a different angle, by examining the representation of specific worldviews within medieval maps, namely, the Hereford Mappamundi. A fascinating glimpse into medieval cartography, this essay examines the rich tapestry of myths, ideologies, religious beliefs, and cultural symbols that make up the Hereford Mappamundi. Through careful and attentive analysis, McCallum underscores how the Hereford Mappamundi sought to convey more than just geography—it intended to reaffirm each viewer's place within society and the world. By highlighting how culturally specific beliefs heavily influenced medieval mapmaking, McCallum's essay challenges us to consider the highly subjective, normative values that shape our own representations of the world.

Our third essay turns towards the 19th century, following the voyage of Irish immigrants into the United States and Aotearoa New Zealand. Crawford deconstructs the myths and narratives that dominate popular interpretations of the Irish immigrant experience, revealing the more nuanced, diverse experiences of the Irish in the United States and Aotearoa New Zealand. A masterfully written essay on cultural identity and diasporic experience, Crawford rejects the interpretation of Irish migrants as mere reflections of their culture or the societies they migrated to. Instead, Crawford demonstrates how Irish immigrants were "diverse and self-determined" individuals in their own right. Crawford warns us against blindly accepting essentialist categories and over simplistic accounts of history. Her essay thus implores us to be vigilant about glossing over the "rich and complex mosaic" of human experience.

This chapter's final essay returns us once again to Aotearoa New Zealand, with Guo's powerfully written piece on assimilation practices in Native Schools. Guo makes searing comparisons with American Indian boarding schools to illuminate this buried, shameful facet of our own history and enfold it deeply within the broader history of colonial education. By drawing upon oral histories and personal narratives, Guo recentres indigenous voices that were once actively silenced and omitted in colonial retellings of the past. Guo's essay urges us to listen to these lost voices of our past and fully acknowledge our colonial history, in

order to reconceptualise and "decolonise the present". Guo reminds us that those who forget history are doomed to repeat it, or at the very least, perpetuate its harmful legacies.

Above all, each essay in this chapter grapples with the tension and difficulty of retelling and representing the past while reconciling numerous, diverse perspectives. These essays show us that there is no fixed or authoritative rendition of the past; history is inherently fluid and multi-faceted. We hope that these essays invite you to connect with those forgotten, eclipsed or exiled voices of the past. History offers us endless doors into different worlds and perspectives, we need only take that first step by listening.

Jacca Chang

History 339

Medieval Cultures: Faith, Power, Identities

Liam Ivanov-Fesien

Normandy. The very name might conjure up images of a time it was invaded: D-Day, June 1944. Yet, nearly 900 years earlier, it was the Normans who crossed the Channel. The 10th to 12th centuries saw Normandy as the centre of a great outward expansion. From Norse raiders to Christian knights, their conquests spanned from England to Antioch, and they ruled diverse subjects. How did the Normans achieve this? Historians have delved into the rich tapestry of surviving sources and debated. Some see violence as the only real guarantor of authority, especially in the early establishment of Normandom. Depictions of warfare were ubiquitous in contemporary chronicles and art, and brute force was always necessary in the jigsaw of feuding realms that was medieval Europe. However, through different lenses the same sources, as well as more obscure evidence like charters and coinage, reveal to other historians the importance of legitimacy and establishing a new Norman order through origin myths, monuments and assimilation. Feudal dynamics also made diplomacy and the cultivation of personal ties built around kinship and loyalty paramount to any lasting reign. What is clear is that violence alone cannot safeguard conquest or rulership but must work in conjunction with other strategies.

The word 'conquest' might evoke thoughts of armies and warfare. This is reasonable since the exhibition of violence to achieve expansionist aims is omnipresent in human history. Normans are humans, so we expect the same. The initial takeover of Normandy was a slow process involving skirmishes between Vikings and Franks, followed by settlement. Eleanor Searle (1988) argues that meagre resistance in the late Carolingian period made it easy for Viking raiders to carve out spheres of influence around the upper Loire and Seine rivers. Chronicles from Frankish monks like Hincmar describe how Norse culture and families were conducive to large-scale expansion and conquest, what Searle (1988) calls "predatory kinship" (pp. 36–39). Normans formed many independent groups but could band together when necessary to achieve common military goals. Their pillaging earned them a reputation as a warrior people, making them desirable allies and bringing them within Frankish politics. The treaty of Saint-Claire sur Epte of 911, where Rollo was made count of Rouen, shows the incredible power Normans had amassed to found their own realm. A similar prolonged conquest in Southern Italy is demonstrated by Graham Loud (1981). Norman families were large and the practice of primogeniture, where one son inherits the land, forced many men to seek out their own fortunes elsewhere. For example, twelve de Hautevilles brothers left Normandy to fight as mercenaries in Italy, defeating the pope's army at the Battle of Civitate (1053), as well as eliminating the Byzantine and Muslim overlords (Loud, 1981; Bennett, 2002). Through military prowess they obtained lands and papal recognition. Both Loud and Bennett focus on military narratives, but they also suggest that more complex factors are at play. In each case, initial fighting was usually against feeble targets, like peasants and monks. Once the Normans started settling and faced real resistance like that of Odo and the Robertians, who—unlike the Frankish kings—had organised armies, there was a greater need to ensure long-term stability (Searle, 1988). The Normans shifted from constant belligerence with their neighbours to acceptance by adopting local customs and forming diplomatic ties. Dudo of Saint-Quentin (1998) describes the conversion of Rollo as being divinely inspired, but Searle (1988) contends that Rollo was simply acknowledging the reality that religion was a means to power. Similarly, intermarriage with Frankish or Lombard nobility made Norman elites more respected as equals. Interestingly, Searle (1988) and Loud (1981) arrived at the same conclusions despite using different sources from non-Normans and Normans

respectively, which adds credulity to their arguments. Conquest in Italy and Normandy was the easy first-step. Given how unstable the areas were, the real difficulty was transitioning to a peaceful status quo.

While the conquest of England was much faster, it too required military force to overcome Anglo-Saxon resistance. William I's victory at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 almost immediately granted him lordship of the entire English Kingdom. Melissa Sartore (2013) notes similarities in tactics and technology used in Italy and England, suggesting that disparate Norman groups maintained strong links of 'predatory kinship'. Maritime horse transportation as well as cunning tactics like fainted retreats were both previously used in Roger's Sicilian campaign. Furthermore, many Southern Normans fought at Hastings, along with Flemish and Breton allies. Loud (1981) proposes that from charter evidence, at least a quarter of those fighting in Sicily were non-Normans. The term 'Norman' itself was ambiguous, possibly referring to an amalgam of peoples. Conquest relied on the establishment of a cross-cultural network of warriors. These various gains all involved the use of force, alliances and settlement to secure land and assert Norman supremacy in the short term.

Even after conquests, violence was still useful as a last resort measure to deal with internal and external threats. The importance of the military is shown by Stephen Morillo's (1994) analysis of England's finances and social system. The primary goal of administration was to generate money to fund the large army needed to pacify a large dominion. The second estate's dual role as a political aristocracy and a warrior class was central, merging the military and administrative functions of government. Even sheriffs and bishops, outside their judicial and religious duties, partook in the military apparatus; for instance, Bishop Odo is armed on horseback on the Bayeux Tapestry (Morillo, 1994; Bayeux Tapestry Museum, n.d.). This was of great importance because as Richard Huscroft (2013) adds, Williams I's early attempts to rule England peacefully and retain old elites failed, and he encountered persistent resistance which required a military response. Repeated attempts by Danish claimants to take the throne and Northern English lords to rebel forced his hand. This culminated in the 'Harrying of the North' between 1069–1070, described by chroniclers including Orderic Vitalis, where Northern England's people were ruthlessly murdered, and their lands made uninhabitable (Huscroft, 2013). Nonetheless, rebellions still occurred, and the Danes still attempted invasions, and thus retaining a strong army to fight future opponents was desirable. Yet, Morillo (1994) maintains that the military was primarily a deterrent. All states needed armies, but they rarely used them, especially after 1066 when the rules of inheritance and papal interventions became more established. The Norman army at Hastings was not larger or more advanced than the Anglo-Saxon army, who had the high ground, and one could even posit that the Norman victory was the result of pure luck. Morillo (1994) suggests more plausibly that successful rulership develops from a strong administration and feudal system as well as legitimacy of one's rule, making the figurehead unchallenged.

Violence was obviously a necessary tool within a war-torn Europe where even the Pope had his own armies, but some historians emphasise other strategies which can be summarised in one word: legitimacy. Justifying conquest and rulership were key to being accepted within a complex feudal structure. Religion and origin myths played a crucial role. Dudo's (1998) propagandistic history depicts Rollo's dreams as heavenly signs of the Normans' divine right to rule. Rollo becomes a new Abraham whose covenant with God will lead to the birth of numerous Norman

nations. Even English writers like William of Malmesbury (1998), who we might expect to belittle their overlords, felt that the Normans were agents of God and could not be stopped. The Normans become an eternal people who have always existed and will always exist. This sense of permanence is not just reflected in literature, but, as Robert Bartlett (2008) emphasises, in the monuments that the Normans erected. Beyond purely utilitarian functions, castles instilled fear, cathedrals inspired awe, and both physically altered the landscape (Bartlett, 2008, 2010a). Their imposing architecture, built in sturdy stone, subconsciously reinforced the idea that the locals were a conquered people, and that the Normans were staying. The Cefalù cathedral notably mixes Norman, Arab and Byzantine styles and could be seen to simultaneously appeal to the unique perceptions of power within each culture (Bartlett, 2010b). Even the Domesday Book, the final book, symbolised the writing of a final Norman order that could not be changed by God himself (Roffe, 2007).

Normans also held a strong sense of self-righteousness and superiority which arguably made them good conquerors. John Gillingham (1992) argues that 12th-century Anglo-Normans already developed an 'imperialist' identity, seeing the surrounding Celts as barbaric and their expansion as a *mission civilisatrice*. While Anglo-Saxons respected Celts as equals (Gillingham, 1992), Anglo-Normans like Gerald of Wales (1982) wrote of the Irish as lazy and godless savages, who wasted the fertile land they owned. This seems to imply that the Normans had a duty to invade and bring culture to these people. Similar views are paralleled amongst crusaders. For instance, Ralph of Caen (2005) portrays Tancred of Antioch's "anxiety" that his "military life contradicted the Lord's command" (pp. 21-22). That medieval chronicles depicted such internal dilemmas present in crusaders testifies to their potency. When Pope Urban granted remission of sins to Christians fighting pagans, suspending the sixth commandment, the Norman crusading conviction returned (of Caen, 2005). Developing an ideology of conquest allowed Normans to believe in the worth and legitimacy of their own cause, discarding traditional moral qualms in their *Aviditas Dominationis*.

Assimilation with local populations and institutions also ensured legitimacy by forging a sense of common identity, origin and fate with the conquered people. Francis West (1999) discerns two schools of historiography, those that see Norman conquest as bringing 'continuity' or 'discontinuity'. Some historians like David Roffe (2007, pp. 3–4) might view the Normans as imposing novel administrative order on the English. Normans brought about a "tenurial revolution", replacing the old elite with a new Norman one (Roffe, 2007). The Domesday Book symbolised this great change and modernised administration to more efficiently assess and collect taxes. Morillo (1994) also asserts that the Norman government became a lot more focused on upkeeping a strong military. Wilfred Warren (1984) concedes that some sources indicate there were changes at the top end of Norman administration under William I, forming a more centralised and authoritarian rulership. But Warren's analysis of coinage and legal documents shows that little changed at the lower level after 1066. Shires were essentially unaltered, Anglo-Saxons made up the majority of middle managers and their documents were written in English. Similarly, in Southern Italy, cultural and geographical divisions meant that attempts to create a new central administrative system, the "*diwan*", had limited influence (Loud, 1981). Lower management was still run traditionally by Greeks and Muslims, and the Normans adapted to these pre-existing norms. This flexibility as the Normans gradually merged with local populations, both through intermarriage and changing habits, meant that they could more closely

resemble their subjects and rule them more effectively and with fewer disputes. Rather than imposing a new order, Normans appropriated bureaucracies that were already present. Violence may quash rebels through fear, but it also breeds resentment. Through assimilation, the Normans ensured that the daily lives of people were basically unaffected. Why introduce a whole new system and risk the ire of locals when there is one perfectly functioning already? Both continuity and change seem valid and are quite well summed up by Charles Homer Haskins (1915, p. 247) who argues that the Normans acted as new "leaders and energizers" by losing their own identity and adopting that of those they ruled.

One must remember that the Normans lived within a feudal system. Geoffrey Koziol (1992) shows, from Dudo, that as part of their assimilation to Frankish society, Vikings adopted Christianity and the French language, but most importantly they shed their old 'egalitarian' ways in favour of a vertically aligned feudal hierarchy. There were no nation-states. Instead, a hierarchy joined by ties of personal loyalty focused power onto the monarch. A king's power in one sense derived from his special, almost superhuman, status. He is a father-figure, both appointed by God and godlike himself. Duke William Longsword's murder by Arnulf thereby becomes a martyrdom, and Arnulf's treason blasphemy (Dudo, 1998; Koziol, 1992). Shirley Ann Brown (2009) uses the Bayeux Tapestry as a visual source representing royal power. Kings are much larger than others, holding sceptres, orbs and crowns granting them special powers over others. The importance of the divine right to rule is accentuated by the papal banners shown on William I's ships, as well as the oath on relics Harold took to recognise William as future king, which he subsequently broke by usurping the kingdom. All was designed to delegitimise Harold and present William as justified in his claim to the throne. The symbolism of rulership must have some effect in conferring sacred legitimacy.

However, the multitude of Macchiavellian deeds, like Arnulf's betrayal, might suggest that the ideals of lordship shown by Koziol (1992) and Brown (2009) may not have truly been adhered to. It is more likely that people were influenced by personal gain rather than by these facades. This is the key argument that David Bates (2014) proposes: feudal relationships between lords and vassals offered mutual benefits. The "cross-Channel empire" was extremely resilient to change because most lords held ancestral lands in Normandy and new English lands that were granted after William's conquest. Since these lords had interests on both sides of the Channel, and because of familial ties, there was a desire for stability even during disputed successions, as happened after William's death. Later generations saw titles made and abolished, but almost always they were distributed across the empire, making Bates' (2014) focus on feudal interactions very appealing. Even those outside the system could use Norman hegemony for their own gain. William of Malmesbury saw the education of the young Scottish King David I in England as a Norman triumph, but David himself gained greatly, earning new lands and an active role in Norman politics (Bates, 2014). Selfishness resulted in a cooperative dynamic centred around the hegemon, where people on the periphery could feed off it and influence it in turn. Brown (2009) formulates three features of good lordship. "*Auctoritas*" is the offering of land by the lord to vassals, binding them in mutual obligations (Brown, 2009, pp. 30–31). "*Consilium*" is the mutual advice and "*Auxilium*" the mutual military aid between lords and vassals (Brown, 2009, pp. 31–34). Feudalism only worked if there were reciprocal benefits felt by all involved, otherwise there was no reason to partake in it. This did not necessarily stop conflicts. There were only two years of undisputed rule from 1066–1154 (Bates, 2014). However, the feudal system

compelled good rulers to continuously nurture personal alliance networks which they could leverage to bolster their authority.

The best way to highlight Norman concepts of rulership is to look at an example of how not to rule. King John took over the 'Angevin Empire' at its height. By 1206 he had lost all his French possessions, including Normandy in 1204 (McGlynn, 2015). Whilst some historians attribute King John's losses to bad luck and a resurgent French monarchy, Sean McGlynn (2015) argues that this catastrophic defeat occurred due to the King's inability to cultivate personal relations with his vassals, who saw him as a weak and cruel leader, as numerous rumours of affairs and assassinations were circulated. Moreover, King John's attempts to retake his lands only made matters worse. His punitive scutage taxes, coupled with recurring military losses, gave no reason for nobles to be loyal to their king. McGlynn (2015) shows that Henry II was similarly disliked for his intrusion into noble affairs. However, Henry was a winner through his military victories, and, consequently, so too were his barons. Feudal relations are reciprocal and must include mutual benefits for everyone involved. John did not show *"Consilium"*, until he was eventually forced to. Hence, nobles switched allegiance to Philippe Auguste, a ruler who might better secure their own interests. McGlynn (2015) presents the Magna Carta as a charter representing the barons' key concerns with John's rule, and the limits of regal authority. The first twelve clauses actually deal with the feudal 'rights' of lords. Ultimately, rulers cannot be despots, and if a ruler does not follow the implicit obligations of their 'social contract' then their rule is unsecure. Lordship is less about personal power than about managing relations within a complex assemblage of elites each with their own selfish ambitions. Medieval Europe existed in a tenuous balance of power, making diplomacy thereby just as important as violence.

As one would expect of any medieval power, violence was a necessary measure, both offensively in conquest and defensively to secure rulership. The very nature of European politics favoured military force as the ultimate means of achieving one's ambitions. What made the Normans particularly successful was their ability to conquer both the mind and the body. Literature, architecture and art justified Norman supremacy as something natural and divinely ordained, that would last eternally and that could not be resisted. Their administrative flexibility and assimilation with natives made them blend in and assume the roles of leaders of their new realms with limited change to their subjects' daily lives and thus limited resistance. Above all, feudalism was ingeniously practised, as diplomacy and personal ties of loyalty conferring mutual benefits ensured that each person contributed to sustaining the dominant power in following their natural self-interest. It was the combination of all these strategies that gave the Normans their expansionist edge and legitimised their elevated positions, and the lack of these that made John such a poor king in the final years of the Norman era.

Reference List

Bartlett, R. (Writ. & Narr.), (2008, May 12). Power [Television series episode]. In J. Birkett (Prod.), *Inside the Medieval Mind*. United Kingdom: BBC.

Bartlett, R. (Writ. & Narr.), (2010a, August 11). Conquest [Television series episode]. In R. Dashwood (Prod.), *The Normans*. United Kingdom: BBC.

Bartlett, R. (Writ. & Narr.), (2010b, August 18). Normans of the South [Television series episode]. In R. Dashwood (Prod.), *The Normans*. United Kingdom: BBC.

Bates, D. (2014). Hegemony. In *The Normans and Empire* (pp. 93–127). Oxford University Press.

Bayeux Tapestry Museum (n.d.). *The Bayeux Tapestry*. Retrieved from https://www.bayeuxmuseum.com/en/the-bayeux-tapestry/discover-the-bayeux-tapestry/explore-online/#

Bennett, M. (2002). The Normans in the Mediterranean. In C. Harper-Bill & E. van Houts (Eds.), *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (pp. 87–102). Boydell Press.

Brown, S. A. (2009). Auctoritas, Consilium et Auxilium: Images of Authority in the Bayeux Tapestry. In M. K. Foys, K. E. Overbey & D. Terkla (Eds.), *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations* (pp. 25–35). Boydell & Brewer.

Gillingham, J. (1992). The Beginnings of English Imperialism. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, *5*(4), 392–409.

Haskins, C. H. (1915). The Norman Kingdom of Sicily. In *The Normans in European History* (pp. 218–249). Houghton Mifflin Company.

Huscroft, R. (2013). Conquest Consolidated, 1067–1087. In *The Norman Conquest: A New Introduction* (pp. 137–158). Taylor and Francis.

Koziol, G. (1992). Dudo of Saint-Quentin and the Ethos of Good Lordship. In *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (pp. 147–59). Cornell University Press.

Loud, G. (1981). How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy? *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, *25*, 13–34.

McGlynn, S. (2015). The Road to Runnymede. *History Today*, *65*(7), 10–17.

Morillo, S. (1994). Contexts: The World of Anglo-Norman Warfare. In *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman kings: 1066-1135* (pp. 16–40). Boydell Press.

of Caen, R. (2005). *A History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (B. Bachrach & D. Bachrach, Trans.). Routledge.

of Malmesbury, W. (1998). *The History of the English Kings* (R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom, Trans.). Clarendon Press.

of Saint-Quentin, D. (1998). *History of the Normans* (E. Christiansen, Trans.). Boydell Press.

of Wales, G. (1982). *The History and Topography of Ireland* (J. J. O'Meara, Trans.). Penguin Books.

Roffe, D. (2007). Domesday Past and Present. In *Decoding Domesday* (pp. 1–28). Boydell Press.

Sartore, M. (2013). Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Similarities in the Norman Influence, Contact and "Conquests" of Sicily, Southern Italy and England. *Al-Masaq*, *25*(2), 184–203.

Searle, E. (1988). The Normans on the Seine. In *Predatory kinship and the creation of Norman power: 840-1066* (pp. 34–58). University of California Press.

Warren, W. L. (1984). The Myth of Norman Administrative Efficiency. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, *34*, 113–132.

West, F. J. (1999). The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest? *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, *84*(274), 219–236.

History 339

Medieval Cultures: Faith, Power, Identities

Catriona McCallum

How the Hereford Mappamundi Illustrates Medieval Mentalities Concerning Geography, History and the Peoples of the Earth

Any investigation of mentalities begins with a study of common opinion (Radding, 1978). This poses a problem for the medieval historian since a great majority of people in medieval times were illiterate, rendering them effectively mute (Cantor, 1993, p. 472). However, history's recent 'Spatial turn' encouraged historians to rethink how they 'read' medieval world maps like the Hereford Mappamundi (Lefebvre, 1991). Medieval maps that were once written off as geographically incorrect have become cultural objects, which recognise that each cartographer's decisions of how and what to represent were heavily influenced by belief, politics, and financial concerns, as much as geographical, technical and mathematical factors. As such, medieval maps often went beyond a purely physical representation of space to present a particular worldview and, perhaps more importantly for such a rigidly hierarchical society, to affirm the viewer's sense of place in that world.

When the idea of a map needing to be physically accurate to be worthwhile is removed, it becomes clear that the Hereford Mappamundi truly illuminates a particular place and time, namely, England around 1300 CE. Indeed, with its intricately detailed compendium of towns, biblical scenes, monstrous peoples and myth in an ordered cosmos overlooked by the divine, it is apparent that the map's function was not as a mere travel aid. Rather, the map was intended to represent a worldview that fit within a Christian ideological framework. In this way, the Mappamundi owed more to the powerful moral focus of St Augustine (prominently depicted at Hippo) than the purely objective worldly constructs of the Ancient Greeks. Augustine preached that humanity had inherited the fallen nature of its ancestors, Adam and Eve and thus, like them, humanity had been cast into a harsh temporal world where human experience was inevitably one of tragedy (Cantor, 1993, pp. 73–79). Therefore, the Hereford Mappamundi is less concerned with conforming to a mathematically derived perspective. Instead, the Hereford Mappamundi appears focused on plotting the history of humanity to serve as a visible reminder of human suffering in this world, before achieving eternal salvation in the next.

However, despite its emphasis on human frailty, the Hereford Mappamundi demonstrates a clear understanding of inherited classical knowledge by showing the earth as a flattened sphere orientated to the east and intersected by climatic zones that cross the three known landmasses of Asia, Europe and Africa (Edson, 2007, p.13). It infuses this geographical framework with a theological function, blending space and time to tell a narrative, as attested to by its maker (Woodward, 1985, p. 514). Foucault refers to this methodology as the 'space of emplacement' because the map seeks to define where space fits within a preconceived Christian hierarchy (Johnson, 2006, pp. 76–77). Thus, the map's eastern orientation is significant since progression of the history of humanity from east to west is central to Christian ideology (Scafi, 2006, p. 127). Likewise, the Crucifixion, which is denoted by a disproportionately large drawing of a centrally located Jerusalem, communicates its significance as the most sacred city. Furthermore, Jerusalem's crenelated walls give the impression of a cogwheel on which the whole world could turn (Kline, 2003). England is situated on the extreme western periphery of the map. Its position, coupled with images that would have been recognisable as contemporary structures, would have been strongly suggestive to the medieval mind that history was nearing its end. This construction is reinforced by the prominent marking of the route of Exodus, the archetypal journey of bondage to salvation on the map (de Wesselow, 2013).

Yet the map also shows an awareness of earthly things. Civic pride is shown by the marking of twenty-two places in England. An interest in politics and trade is conveyed by the marking of provincial boundaries (including Roman ones), commercial centres and the relative accuracy of the coastline (particularly around Europe), suggesting that despite their lack of knowledge about other continents outside their known world, medieval mapmakers had a sound understanding of (at least) the geography around Europe and the Mediterranean. From this, we can extrapolate that medieval people had an awareness of geography that extended beyond the confines of their village. Furthermore, the addition of well-known myths woven into Christianity since Roman times—like the depiction of Alexander the Great walling out the destructive evil of the sons of Cain—would have enhanced people's understanding of distant places (Dragnea, 2021, pp. 728–735). The inextricable link between the secular and the spiritual in the medieval mind is further evidenced by the cartographer's use of both Christ and Caesar Augustus (pictured wearing a papal crown sending surveyors out to chart the world) as authority figures.

The Hereford Mappamundi was also concerned with the world's inhabitants and their relationship to God. England was as far from Jerusalem as Southern Africa, but Europe was treated differently from the rest of the world. By showing Africa and Asia populated by exotic races, the map advances the view that the people of Europe were normal and natural, while those of Africa and Asia, whilst still part of God's divine plan, were curious anomalies of questionable humanity (Friedman, 1981). Yet the careful arrangement and identification of these 'monstrous races' by name and habit suggests that despite their unknown state of humanity they were coming under consideration as potential Christians. When the map was produced, England had just extended its borders into Wales. This has led Strickland to suggest that Hereford's proximity to Wales—and the map's deliberate act of bringing 'monstrous races' from the periphery into Asia and Africa—indicates an attempt at nation-building that went beyond the Church's concern with distinguishing between Christian and non-Christian, and sought to reinforce a collective English identity (2018). Such an idea fits with the map being interested in the secular as well as the spiritual. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the map's depiction of English people's vilification of the Jews who had been recently expelled from England (particularly Hereford) by Edward I. On the map Jews were cast as idolaters, and are shown worshipping a demonic idol, more simian than calf-like, that squats defecating on an altar (Strickland, 2018, p. 441). The image is labelled 'mahum', associating Jews with Muslims and thus denying any autonomous religious practice to either. Their treatment is in marked contrast to the map's prominent portrayal of the Israelites' route of exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land.

The Hereford Mappamundi was uniquely positioned to communicate across all of medieval society. Its position in the nave of Hereford Cathedral close to the tomb of St Thomas de Cantilupe—a popular pilgrimage site during the medieval period—meant it was seen by many (de Wesselow, 2013). Furthermore, the map's 500 images (in addition to its being inscribed in both Latin and the vernacular) made it accessible to peasants and nobles alike. Its iconography of Christ in Judgement and pictorial location of biblical events is significant, but not its only concern. We can see from the map's emphasis on other features of geographical space that while its viewers understood geography as their place in a temporal world—where everything revolved around Jerusalem and where history was the struggle of humanity before entering eternity—medieval viewers also had an appreciation of the secular world and an

avid curiosity for learning of its wonders. Nowhere is the exotic and foreign shown so spectacularly on the map than in its depictions of the different peoples of the world. The presence of exotic races, while still considered 'monstrous', suggests a growing acceptance of them as part of humanity and, as such, capable of being converted to Christianity.

Reference List

Cantor, N.F., & Mazal Holocaust Collection. (1993). *The Civilization of the Middle Ages: A Completely Revised and Expanded Edition of Medieval History, the Life and Death of a Civilization*. Macmillan.

De Wesselow, T. (2013). Locating the Hereford Mappamundi. *Imago Mundi (Lympne)*, *65*(2), 180–206.

Dragnea, M. (2021). Constructions of Christian Identity in the Northern Periphery: The Sawley World Map in Twelfth-Century England. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, *72*(4), 726–750. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046920002596

Edson, E., & Project Muse. (2007). *The World Map, 1300-1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation*. Sante Fe, N.M.: Johns Hopkins University Press; Published in Association with the Center for American Places.

Friedman, J.B. (1981). *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Harvey, P. D. A. (1996). *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map*. London: Hereford Cathedral & The British Library.

Johnson, P. (2006). Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'. *History of the Human Sciences*, *19*(4), 75–90. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1177/0952695106069669

Kline, N.R. (2003). *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm*. Boydell Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.

Radding, C. M. (1978). Evolution of Medieval Mentalities: A Cognitive-Structural Approach. *The American Historical Review*, *83*(3), 577–597. Retrieved from https://web-s-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=51cb4a15-6893-4e6e-826d-ed77f0ba2d81%40redis

Scafi, A. (2006). *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Strickland, D. H. (2018). Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map. *Speculum*, *93*(2), 420–469. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26584555

Woodward, D. (1985). Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *75*(4), 510–521. Retrieved from ttps://www.jstor.org/stable/2563109

History 270

Special Topic: Ireland Since 1798

Amy Crawford

Essentialising the Irish: Revisiting Complex Histories of Global Migration

Despite a wealth of scholarship, the history of Irish immigrants is fundamentally misunderstood. The popular proposition that New Zealand offered better prospects for 19th-century Irish immigrants than the United States inadvertently echoes the dominant misinterpretations promoted by American literature on the subject. Though the proposition rightfully acknowledges the divergent outcomes for Irish immigrants internationally—often evaded altogether in historiography—it maintains the falsehood that Irish-American experiences were entirely unfortunate, a problematic assertion in itself. Instead, by comparing the American and New Zealand context, we see that Irish immigrant experiences were hugely diverse both within and across nations, a testimony to the dangers of uncritically invoking this transnational binary.

The existence of Irish-American as an ethnic signifier in the United States is often falsely invoked to substantiate the claim that the United States offered inferior prospects to Irish immigrants, who were supposedly forced to navigate racism under this term. However, this term—signifying a distinct yet collective identity—was not wholly imposed externally by xenophobic settlers, or determined by fixed cultural identifications. Rather the concept of 'Irishness' was negotiated over time, and strategically employed by Irish immigrants in order to adapt to and survive the precarious conditions of migration (Kenny, 2003). Despite the major presence of Irish immigrants globally, such racial hyphenations failed to emerge with equal popularity elsewhere, a nod to the unique cultural demands of the United States (Kenny, 2003). As argued by historian Kevin Kenny (2003), "[ethnicity] was more central to national self-identification in the nineteenth-century United States than elsewhere" (p. 136). Upon arrival in the United States, the Irish became both propagators and victims of the American obsession with racial distinctions. Such categories othered them from the Anglo-American majority whilst maintaining their differences from Asian and African Americans—groups that experienced systemic racism in which Irish immigrants were often complicit (Kenny, 2003). Suspending their previous regional affiliations and local identifications in Ireland, post-famine migrants became collectively 'Irish' upon arrival on American shores—an ongoing process of racialising both imposed onto and created by the immigrant group (Kenny, 2003).

Equally, Irish-American self-identification did not exclusively classify ethnicity but also effectively demarcated a distinct political category. Previous political affiliations were not dissolved upon migration but rather shaped by, and refashioned to, their new settings. In the United States, deliberately maintaining a distinct Irish identity often worked in tandem with nationalist efforts, which "found a natural home in the United States" (Kenny, 2003, p. 158). Immersed within the republican zeitgeist of 19th century America, the Irish made their political identities salient not only out of sincere political belief but "for acceptance and success in their adopted countries", believing that displays of protest would signify their fitness for citizenship (Kenny, 2003, p. 158). Although negative cultural stereotypes of the Irish persisted, embracing such ethnic categories was "a pre-condition or means to assimilation, rather than an obstacle" in becoming American (Kenny, 2003, p. 147). Importantly, by tactically accepting their ethnicisation, Irish immigrants adapted to the cultural demands of the New World, revealing the United States to be a lucrative location for those willing to evolve alongside their new environment.

Unjustifiably, 'Irish'—as an ethnic categorisation—has lacked the same attention in New Zealand historiography, despite its importance to the Irish immigrant experience in the 19th century. This evasion, according to Donald Akenson (1990, as cited in Campbell, 1995), is a testament to Irish immigrants' relatively "successful dispersal into the new society", as they were subsumed and unnoticed under the category of whiteness—a privilege unfelt in the United States (p. 9). This tradition, however, has served to neglect the "internal heterogeneity of settler society", and upholds what Lyndon Fraser (1995) calls the "restrictive bi-cultural dualism" of Māori and white settlers (pp. 87–88). Like their American counterparts, Irish identification was used in calculated ways in New Zealand, albeit divergently. Upon settlement in Christchurch, immigrants' previous identifications with local bodies were conceded, enabling the construction of a Catholic-Irish identity as a bulwark against the anxieties of colonial life (Fraser, 1995). Uniquely, this ethnoreligious identity lacked the nationalist dimension of its American equivalent. Instead, this categorisation was primarily adopted following the arrival of the Irish Clergy to Christchurch, uniting those who were previously "scattered widely, internally factionalised and without effective clerical or lay leadership"—factors which "mitigated against the maturation of group consciousness (Fraser, 2002, p. 435). Tethered to the United Kingdom by imperial interests, New Zealand and Australia "encouraged moderate constitutionalism", making religion a more suitable ground to forge a self-identified community in the colony (Kenny, 2003, p. 158.)

Although these classifications were shaped by pre-migration cultures and the demands of a new environment, they were ultimately the product of conscious strides to betterment in immigrants' new societies, making the Irish what Fraser calls "the voluntary agents of [their] own involuntary determinations" (Fraser, 1995, p. 99). In areas of higher prosperity, such as San Francisco and New Zealand's West Coast, lower propensities to ethnic identification is evidence of the strategic rationale behind such collectivism (Campbell, 1995; McAloon, 2020). Clearly, such agent strategies challenge notions of Irish immigrants as passive and culturally ill-fated. Revisionist accounts demonstrate that New Zealand was not superior in regard to ethnic identification. Rather, these categories were created and contested in varying ways across the Irish diaspora, and cannot be honourably juxtaposed.

The economic misfortune of Irish immigrants in the United States is often used as evidence of the group and location's relative inferiority — a rudimentary and underdeveloped claim. Falsely, American historiography repeatedly argues that innate cultural impairments explain this phenomenon. Supposedly still collectively traumatised by the Potato Famine, the previously agricultural Irish congregated in cities and became "pioneers of the American urban ghetto" (Campbell, 2008, p.viii). Their resulting poverty was equally predetermined, their Catholic and Gaelic heritages suppressing the individualism which was crucial to survive in the entrepreneurial environment of an increasingly industrialised America (Miller, 1980). Such cultural explanations foreclose attempts to revisit the influences of the diverse American environment on historical outcomes. In enlisting a regional analysis, varying degrees of wealth across the States is revealed. Boston, where the Irish were "unwelcome intruders into a closed, long-established hierarchical society", proved unprofitable, whereas in the West Coast, such as San Francisco and Montana, they experienced superior outcomes, and were able to carve themselves "from the beginning of white settlement" (Kenny, 2003, p. 150). In light of these comparisons, the Irish can be understood as "a highly mobile

proletariat in an international capitalist economy", unimpaired not by their identity but by their respective socio-temporal environments (Kenny, 2003, p. 152). In neglecting the realities of Protestant, pre-Famine, and West-Coast Irish immigrants, the overly-consensual view of Irish-American immigration has created false, self-reinforcing explanations for the group's economic realities. By inadvertently surrendering themselves to the stereotypes of the eras they captured, cultural explanations for economic conditions rob the Irish of the historical agency they undoubtedly deserve. In light of this impulse, arguments that forward New Zealand as a superior prospect for Irish immigrants must avoid uncritically echoing the falsehoods perpetuated in American literature.

The Irish in New Zealand undeniably experienced more favourable economic conditions. Making "steady but modest gains within a generation," the Irish in New Zealand "experienced nothing approaching the terrible poverty" of their American equivalents (Fraser, 1995, p. 93). However, the incoming Irish were often relatively wealthier pre-departure than their Irish-American contemporaries (McAloon, 2020). The largely Protestant demographic arrived predominantly from the affluent Ulster region, and maintained the privileges afforded to them in the United Kingdom (McAloon, 2020). Furthermore, the comparatively expensive fare to the Pacific increased the likelihood that Irish-New Zealanders had a higher disposition to capital upon migrating (McAloon,

2020). However, the importance of environmental influences cannot be denied. Collations of Irish correspondence from the time reveals an admiration for the natural abundance of New Zealand, testifying to the fruitful bounty of productive land (McCarthy, 2005). With 61% of Irish immigrants to New Zealand hailing from agricultural backgrounds, this environmental advantage was undoubtedly significant (McAloon, 2020). "Mixed-crop farming in Canterbury, along with a low pressure of population on land supplies, [and] a relatively buoyant labour market" created "an environment that was less bewildering to penniless, unskilled newcomers", affording a comparatively seamless transition into the middle class (Fraser, 1995, p. 93).

However, like its American counterpart, New Zealand also witnessed a broad range of financial outcomes for Irish immigrants. During a period of recession, an Irish immigrant complained that "people at home may eat less mutton and pies, and earn less wages than they do here but ... [no more] comfort than is to be found in this country unless you have plenty of money" (McCarthy, 2005, p. 124). The unaffordability of New Zealand's housing also dominated personal correspondence of 19th century Irish immigrants, as writers often regretfully compared expenses to their previous homes in Ireland (McCarthy, 2005). Diversity within Irish migration is not only significant but typical. Economic migration encounters "widely varying circumstances, some clearly more desperate than others" and "like other streams, Irish emigration was extremely varied and included doctors, landowners, clerics, teachers, urbanites, novelists and every other category of Irish life" (McAloon, 2020, p. 177) Thus, despite some remarkable qualities, in many regards Irish economic migration was very mainstream, a commonality felt across the United States and New Zealand. This undermines the proposition that either nation offered wholly superior fortunes for Irish immigrants.

Despite popular interpretations of Irish immigrants as uprooted, atomised individuals, social networks were hugely significant in the Irish-American migration saga. Misled by what seems to be a "self-indulgent communal morbidity" of self-identifying exiles found in Irish-American correspondence, we may concede to the image of the Irish as fundamentally isolated (Miller, 1980, p. 101). However, in the face of industrial capitalism, Irish immigrants in 19th century America took refuge in the solidarity of the family unit. Using "kinship networks, folklife, religion, socialism, unions", the Irish simulated "customary associational ties and provided a means with which to deal with the exigencies of American life" (Fraser, 1995, p. 89). Strategically, the Irish collaborated to forge their place in the New World, "ceaselessly resist[ing] the inevitable" fracturing of modern America (Bodnar, 2003, p. 1). John Bodnar (2003) offers a convincing imagining of this process through the metaphor of transplantation, arguing that "institutions from the past, such as the family-household, were modified but retained" upon migration (p. 3).

The lyrical wallowing documenting the isolation of migration found in Irish correspondence thus raises a historical contradiction. Forming the primary evidence for Kerby Miller's formative work, the hazards of these letters as source material must be taken into account to reconcile this dissonance. Personal communications between Irish immigrants and those in Ireland will undoubtedly be clouded by personal motivations and thus subject to manipulation. Miller fails to acknowledge the possibility that when writing to Irish kin that still faced the woes of the Famine, Irish-Americans may display nostalgia as a pitiful and kind allusion to their social contentment. By re-centering the role of kinship in Irish-American immigration, we do not take said sources at face value, and thus undermine overly simplistic accounts of the Irish immigrant as a "dispossessed proletarian, uprooted by the Great Famine and forced to eke out a meagre existence" (Fraser, 1995, p. 91). Unjustifiably, seminal works on the Irish in America have repeatedly neglected the role of social networks in streamlining immigration, misleading readers into discounting the United States as potentially rewarding for the migrants who went there.

The importance of social networks was particularly true for the remote "south Pacific paradise" of New Zealand, which compelled members of kin to embark on their migration journey (McCarthy, 2005, p. 1). Despite popular imaginings of New Zealand as a utopia for speculative immigrants, the colony only saw a minute fraction of the millions who left Ireland in the 19th century (McCarthy, 2005). The budding country's remoteness and comparatively expensive voyages created harsh barriers to entry for migrants, directing Irish primarily to the United States and England (Campbell, 2008). In light of this, personal testimonies to the fruitfulness of migrating to New Zealand were the most significant pull factor to the supposed arcadia (McCarthy, 2005)—a phenomenon preserved in trans-Pacific letters. Migrants wrote: "I have travelled over about fifteen thousand miles of water and at last got to the desired haven" and described the colony as "a great place for trying to get more" to their Irish respondents (McCarthy, 2005, p. 69). Although letters, as aforementioned, are not necessarily formidable sources, the demographic transplantation of counties in Ireland to New Zealand towns—particularly Ulster and Munster—proves the significance of such correspondence, regardless of the veracity of the letters' materials (McCarthy, 2005). Facilitated by existing networks of trust, such descriptions were powerful

influences for those considering migration; one correspondent asked to "look & enquire minutely into the case both where you are and also other places that we may know how to act" (McCarthy, 2005, p. 123). Such requests further reveal the calculated ways that the Irish approached their migration, dispelling claims of being "the passive playthings of masterful forces they but gradually and dimly understood" (Kerry, 2003).

However, New Zealand has not been exempt from the accusations of widespread alienation of their Irish migrants; the "inherently destabilising" process allegedly "severed their links with place, family, friends, community in the great uprooting that led them to New Zealand" (McCarthy, 2005, p. 1). Whilst the challenges of immigration should not be underestimated, the pragmatic decision to maintain and erect "kinship networks which provided advice and information about work and accommodation" in New Zealand serviced a nurturing cultural continuity, transplanting "Old World loyalties … maintained in small, clustered settlements" much like their Irish-American contemporaries (Fraser, 2002, p. 436). In light of this similarity, the accepted notion that New Zealand offered better prospects than America for migrants is worth reconsideration.

To distill the manifold stories of Irish immigrants into a singular comparison is ultimately dishonest to their history. More importantly, historians must confront their urge to group Irish immigrants into essentialist categories that resist the clear flux and adaptability of the group. Revisionist accounts demonstrate that the Irish migrants were not merely corporeal manifestations of the culture or epoch they belonged to, but diverse and self-determined in their varying journeys across the world. Though proposing alternatives to American historiography may appear progressive, the proposition that New Zealand offered better prospects for 19th century Irish immigrants must be delivered with caution, to avoid unwittingly flattening out this rich and complex mosaic of experiences.

Reference List

Bodnar, J. (1985). *The Transplanted: a History of Immigrants in Urban America.* Indiana, United States: Indiana University Press.

Campbell, M. (1995). The Other Immigrants: Comparing the Irish in Australia and the United States. *Journal of American Ethnic History, 14*(3), 3–22. Retrieved from https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=learn&id=GALE%7CA17040890&v=2.1&it=r

Campbell, M. (2008). *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia.* Wisconsin, United States: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Fraser, L. (1995). Structure and Agency: Comparative Perspectives on the Catholic Irish Experience in New Zealand and the US. *Australasian Journal of American Studies, 14*(2), 87–103.

Fraser, L. (2002). To Tara Via Holyhead. *Journal of Social History*, *36*(2), 431–438. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/3790117

Kenny, K. (2003). Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as Case Study. *Journal of American History*, *90*(1), 134–162. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.2307/3659794

McAloon, J. (2020). Irish Immigrants and the Middle Class in Colonial New Zealand, 1890-1910. In M. Ruiz (Ed.), *Bridging Boundaries in British Migration History* (pp.177–193). London, England: Anthem Press.

McCarthy, A. (2005). *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840–1937: 'The Desired Haven.'* Suffolk, England: Boydell Press.

Miller, K. (1980). Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790–1992. *Irish Historical Studies, 22*(86), pp. 97–12. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/30008769

Education 201

History of Education

Nancy Guo

A System of Cultural Assault: The Revisionist Critique of Colonial Assimilation Practices in Education

The dominant narrative of assimilation practices and policies in colonial education typically depicts two implicit subjects—the "active dominant settler-teacher" and the "subjected native recipient" (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 187). Through the teachings of the zealous and benevolent British missionary, their grateful and passive indigenous pupils learn morality, cleanliness, self-respect, and above all, "a Christianised humanity, the foundation stone of the world's progress and wellbeing" (Smith, 2001, p. 59). Traditional historical accounts of America and Aotearoa New Zealand's educational systems for indigenous children emphasises the use of state sources, and misleadingly portrays the development of public schooling as a positive social force for all. However, the rise of revisionist approaches to educational history has introduced new analyses of non-traditional archives and inclusion of marginalised peoples' experiences, which greatly challenge the dominant narrative. Revisionist historians argue that assimilation practices and policies in colonial education were systems of "cultural assaults" that must be critically examined to understand their "service to empiric efforts of dispossessing indigenous peoples" (De Leeuw. & Greenwood, 2014, p. xvi; Smith, 2001, p. 58). By analysing personal narratives, oral histories, visual histories and private archives, revisionist historians uncover important insights into the agency and resistance of American Indian and Māori children against oppressive educational policies.

Historian Maureen Smith (2001) argues that human experience is the "central task of the educational researcher" (p. 78). For it is the "stories of everyday lives, the drama, the meanings, the metaphors others live by" that offers a narrative that is inclusive of marginalised peoples' experiences, whose voices are typically excluded from traditional accounts of history (Smith, 2001, p. 78). Smith's analysis of the personal stories of indigenous children—who had previously attended American Indian boarding schools—demonstrates how colonial practices and policies in education sought to "eliminate all vestiges of tribal and cultural identity for American Indian people" (Smith, 2001, p. 58). A critical examination of this system of cultural assault challenges the traditional narrative of schooling as a positive social force for all children by exposing the use of education as a tool of oppression. The most prominent example of how American Indian boarding schools aimed to eradicate indigenous culture was the strict prohibition of students speaking their native languages. Personal narratives from American Indian children reveal that those who broke this rule received severe punishments, such as having sewing needles pushed through their tongues or being forced to "hold quinine tablets in their mouths" (Smith, 2001, p. 62). After a few years of schooling, many children lost the ability to communicate in their native language. An Ojibwa woman recalls that "when I returned home in the summer, I could hardly talk to my grandpa and grandma. I was embarrassed" (Smith, 2001, p. 61). Mary Barstow's account reveals the sense of shame and loss many pupils felt towards their cultural identity, uncomfortable feelings instilled systematically by the colonial educational system.

Hair was another source of indigenous culture that the boarding schools sought to change and subjugate. For American Indians, the involuntary act of having their hair cut short upon enrolment was particularly traumatic. Not only were traditional hairstyles central to their identity as individuals, amongst their people "short hair was worn by mourners, and shingled hair by cowards" (Smith, 2001. p. 63). The forced cutting of their hair caused significant distress for the students. One indigenous pupil recalled that they worried their Great Spirit Ussen would not "recognise [them] when [they] went to the Happy Place" (Smith, 2001, p. 62). These personal narratives reveal that forced assimilation practices in American Indian

schools, from language to hair, intended to eradicate the cultural identities of the native children. Unlike the traditional narrative's depiction of education as a liberating force for all, in reality, American Indian students were immersed in an oppressive schooling environment that upheld and propagated imperial norms and standards.

While the curricular and educational adaptations in Britain's colonies differed from America, a revisionist analysis of the visual histories of Māori students reveals that imperialist ideology was the foundation of similar assimilation practices in Aotearoa New Zealand. For revisionist historians, the "small spaces and even smaller bodies" of colonial schooling worked to "civilise" and "save" Māori children, who were seen as "savage" heathens by British settlers (De Leeuw & Greenwood, 2014, p. xvi; Fitzgerald, 2005, p. 670). One example of pedagogy utilised by teachers in Native Schools to instil British ideals of discipline and order was the repetitive copying and imitation of word shapes. An image of a copybook from 1826, belonging to a Māori native school student named Tapahika, shows his repeated copies of the phrase "waka rongo koe". This source illuminates how, from the Pākehā teachers' perspective, learning handwriting was a precise bodily discipline that enabled the students' bodies to represent "the pose of constraint required for successful civilisation" (Jones & Jenkins, 2011, p. 162). Evidently, imperialist ideology was deeply embedded in the native school system's pedagogical practices, imposing colonial notions of 'proper' behaviour and conduct on Māori students.

Similar to the experiences of American Indian children, the imperialist foundation of Native Schools actively suppressed Māori culture. At the heart of this suppression was the ban of Te Reo in many schools, as revealed through Simon and Smith's (2001) examination of oral testimonies of native school pupils from the 1930s to 1940s. Students like Kiri attested that English "was the only language [they could] speak", and those who were caught speaking Te Reo were given wallopings that frequently left marks on their hands and legs (Simon & Smith, 2001, pp. 142–143). For Kiri, attending school was like crossing a literal and metaphorical fence line that forced her to change into a different person to fit in with the English-speaking world. These indigenous oral testimonies underscore how assimilation was forced upon Māori children in the native schooling system, resulting in the dispossession of their cultural identity. The testimonies also illuminate the power of oral histories to compliment, contextualise, and provide reinterpretations, highlighting the limitations of the traditional narrative's focus on archival records in attaining a nuanced and complex understanding of the past.

Furthermore, a revisionist approach to the colonial practices and policies in education for both America and Aotearoa New Zealand reveals the importance of analysing informal institutions of education. Not only were many American Indian children placed with Anglo families to be culturally "re-educated", the accommodation aspect of the boarding school system was central to propagating "forced regimes of acculturation and assimilation" (Margolis & Rowe, 2004, p. 202). Margolis and Rowe (2004) argue that to replace the children's "communistic" and "indolent" lifestyles with American "individualism", the boarding schools instilled quasi-military and industrial discipline in their pupils, and required them to perform reproductive labour to "reduce expenses" (p. 203). The authors' analysis of photographs dating from 1917 onwards of Arizona Indian schools pictures the children in identical-looking military uniforms, contradicting the state's claim of spreading the American way of "individualism" (Margolis & Rowe, 2004, p. 205). Many of the students were also

pictured working multiple kinds of manual labour on school grounds—such as cooking, gardening, farming, laundry and splitting wood (Margolis & Rowe, 2004, p. 225). These photographs illuminate the boarding school system's secondary, and ulterior purpose— profit. The visual histories of American Indian children thus dismantle the traditional narrative's depiction of education as an altruistic endeavour of the settlers. Instead, the cultural and economic exploitation of American indigenous children highlights the crucial role of education in consolidating colonial power and economic interests.

Historian Tanya Fitzgerald's (2005) study of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary home in the Bay of Islands also illuminates the importance of examining informal institutions of education. Fitzgerald achieves this by analysing the missionaries' private journal entries, a source typically overlooked by traditional approaches. In 1830, missionary leader Henry Williams wrote in his journal that since the move into the missionary home, "the children [were] also more orderly and correct in their behaviour … also the native girls and boys", revealing that a number of local Ngā Puhi children were residing in the house (Fitzgerald, 2005, p. 668). The purpose of the missionary residence is clarified with Williams' remark that "we shall experience much savings of time in every branch of duty besides the comfort of having our household ordered according to the good English fashion", suggesting that the home's secondary purpose was to instil Pākehā Christian ideals of middle-class respectability in the local Ngā Puhi people (Fitzgerald, 2005, p. 668). This "mission of domesticity" highlights how missionary homes institutionalised the Christian family and the missionary project, remaking the bodies of the Ngā Puhi people to produce "civilised" Christian Māori women and children (Fitzgerald, 2005, p. 672).

While revisionist approaches expose less celebratory dimensions of the past, they provide a valuable illumination of the agency and resistance of American Indian and Māori people. Smith (2001) argues that "when there is an oppressive system in operation, there exists an opportunity to develop a resistance to that structure" (p. 74). American Indian children were not passive subjects of cultural assault. Many pupils used an array of resistance tactics to demonstrate their agency, such as purposely sabotaging chores, running away from the school, and refraining from displaying their emotions to anger their teachers (Smith, 2001). A student reflects that during punishments, they would remind themselves that "it's not going to hurt. Just so I can make you angry, I'm not going to let you know it hurts" in order to keep a straight face (Smith, 2001, p. 75).

Similarly, Fitzgerald's (2001) examination of CMS missionary Marianne Williams' journals found that the Ngā Puhi people, whom the CMS women taught, also exhibited active resistance efforts. Marianne frequently complained that the Ngā Puhi women would not follow instructions. An 1832 journal entry stated that she "had some trouble in setting [her] girls to wash their different shares, one of the married ones being absent gatherings kumeras and the other, Maria having walked off in an ill humour on Saturday". This source exhibits how the Ngā Puhi women's abandonment of their domestic "duties" to prioritise their family activities actively displayed their agency and pride in their identities (Fitzgerald, 2001, p. 189). While missionaries like Marianne worked hard to impose Christian Pākehā ideals of behaviour and dress on the Ngā Puhi women, many actively rebelled against these expectations. Marianne reported that several Ngā Puhi women wore "their gowns over their shirts", using the garments as decoration, instead of covering up like the missionary women

intended them to (Fitzgerald, 2001, p. 190). While these acts of resistance by the native peoples of America and Aotearoa New Zealand on the surface seem "ordinary", these brave gestures of defiance showcase their agency against colonial efforts of assimilation. Without revisionist analysis of personal narratives and private journal entries, the traditional depiction of native students as compliant and naive subjects would continue to dominate education discourse, which is both an unjust and inaccurate representation of indigenous peoples' struggles.

Revisionist historians' critical examination of assimilation policies and practices in education greatly dismantle the traditional accounts of schooling in colonial America and Aotearoa New Zealand. By analysing non-traditional archives like personal narratives, oral testimonies, photographs, and private journals, historians can gain insight into the first-hand experiences of ordinary indigenous peoples, whose voices are typically excluded from dominant historical narratives. The inclusion of their stories reveals how colonial education was a system of cultural assault that aimed to dispossess and oppress indigenous peoples' culture, identity and freedoms. However, as studies of American Indian boarding school pupils and the Ngā Puhi women display, native students were not passive and compliant subjects. In contrast, they fiercely asserted their agency against colonial educational policies and practices through "ordinary", but still extraordinarily powerful, acts of resistance. The utilisation of revisionist approaches is particularly significant in the history of education. Without revisionist critique of traditional Anglocentric narratives of colonial schooling, we cannot undo the injustices of colonial education (De Leeuw & Greenwood, 2014, p. xvi). Especially as citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand, we must acknowledge the colonial roots and history of our country. It is only by listening to and learning from voices of the past, that we can begin to decolonise the present.

Reference List

De Leeuw, S., & Greenwood, M. (2014). Foreword. In H. May, B. Kaur and L. Proctor. (Eds.), *Empire, Education and Indigenous Childhoods* (pp. xiv–xxii). Taylor & Francis Group.

Fitzgerald, T. (2001). Jumping the Fences: Māori Women's Resistance to Missionary Schooling in Northern New Zealand 1823–1835. *Paedagogica Historica*, *37*(1), pp. 175–192. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/0030923010370111

Fitzgerald, T. (2005). Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive: CMS Women's Letters and Diaries 1823–35. *History of Education*, *34*(6), pp. 657-674. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/00467600500313948

Jones, A. & Jenkins, K. (2008). Invitation and Refusal: A Reading of the Beginnings of Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. *History of Education*, *37*(2), pp. 187–206. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/00467600701727698

Jones, A. & Jenkins, K. (2011). *He Korero: Words Between Us.* Huia Press.

Margolis, E. & Rowe, J. (2004). Images of Assimilation: Photographs of Indian Schools in Arizona. *History of Education*, *33*(2), pp. 199–230. Retrieved from https://doi-org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/0046760032000151456

Simon, J., & Smith, L. (2001). *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the Native Schools System.* Auckland University Press.

Smith, M. (2001). Forever Changed: Boarding School Narratives of American Indian Identity in the United States and Canada. *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal*, *2*(2), 57–82. Retrieved from https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/5770/ins.v02.n2.57-82.pdf

POWER AND ITS MANY EVOLVING FORMS

As the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1976/1998) once said, "power is everywhere" (p. 93). But what is power? Like other complex concepts, the concept of 'power' is inherently political and heavily contested. Moreover, determining sources of power and analysing how power relations work is an equally complicated domain. Some scholars would agree with Foucault and argue that power is dispersed and free-flowing. Others may assert that power is a limited resource, or something to be possessed.

Nevertheless, this chapter seeks to unpack and critique some of the ways power manifests and operates in society. Our authors will cover the power of the media, the power of the state, the power of drama and culture, and the power of class.

We begin with Kumar's essay, a critical examination of the representations of Islam in Western media. The author draws from a number of empirical studies to illustrate how the media negatively portrays the faith, producing biased, hypocritical, and inaccurate narratives that are harmful to Muslim communities. Kumar's analysis of these depictions illuminates the ideological power of the media. Through tools like framing and agenda-setting, it can present 'truths' that only highlight select aspects of a perceived reality—creating a ripple of harmful consequences for minority peoples. Kumar also outlines reforms the media needs to make to align itself closer to its intended purpose of being a watchdog, which is crucial for a healthy and functioning democracy.

Following from Kumar is Khampraseuth Vo, who presents a convincing case for the implementation of basic income. Through his utilisation of a Rawlsian framework, the author shows that if we take John Rawls' principles of justice, a basic income programme should be implemented. Khampraseuth Vo also explores the feasibility of the entitlement, drawing from empirical studies to show how in the real world, issues like the free rider dilemma can be avoided. The essay seeks to show how state power and public policies have the capacity to dispense justice, and serve the least-advantaged.

Mortimer-Webster, our third author, takes audiences on an intimate and heartfelt personal journey, illustrating their experiences with theatre, and how engaging with this art form allowed them to grow as a person. The author's use of a personal lens—and in-depth analysis of their favourite theatre performances—highlights the many merits of theatre, including both individual and collective empowerment. Readers gain a more comprehensive understanding of its cultural power in representing marginalised peoples, establishing a sense of community, and creating meaningful connections between the performers and the audience.

The chapter concludes with Vossen's analysis of Bong Joon-ho's *Parasite*. The author examines the film's cinematography, and use of culturally-specific and universally-recognisable symbols, to represent the realities of class inequality in South Korea—and capitalist societies more broadly. Vossen's analysis of the Kim and Park families unpacks the film's central concept—the 'parasite', a metaphor for the conflict between the struggling working class, and the parasitic wealthy class. The essay utilises a Marxist view of power, illuminating not only the salience of socio-economic status and privilege, but how power can be a limited resource often concentrated in the hands of a few, who wield it over the masses.

Foucault, M. (1998). *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1, The Will to Knowledge* (R. Hurley, Trans.). London: Penguin. (Original work published 1976).

Nancy Guo

Theology 106

Islam in the Contemporary World

Aarushi Kumar

The Tainted Representation of Islam in the Media and its Repercussions

Garnering an immensely powerful presence in the lives of the masses, mainstream media has become the foundation of our contemporary society (Ethical Journalism Network [EJN], n.d.). However, in reality, the media shapes opinions by presenting a prejudicial and disfigured version of the truth. How the real world, and the relationships therein, are inaccurately construed has devastating repercussions for those victim to the dominant force of mainstream media. For that reason, the representation of Islam has fallen prey to the depiction of fabricated realities as the truth (Saeed, 2007). This essay shows that although the representation of Islam in the media is wide-ranging and can authentically portray the religion, the overwhelming majority of empirical studies have found that Islam is portrayed using negative connotations, whether implicit or explicit, or embedded within (Sultan, 2016). This essay emphasises the complexities of Islamophobia, or the repercussions of the biased cultural representation of Muslims being portrayed as the 'alien other' in an array of media coverages. Furthermore, the hypocrisy within media globally will also be examined, particularly its portrayal of violent attacks committed by Muslim and non-Muslim people. This essay will conclude by discussing achievable reforms that the media can apply to produce more accurate reporting of Islam.

Following the 9/11 attacks, Bradford riots, and the global 'War on Terror', Islam has held a predominant role in media platforms. However, the religion has also been portrayed in a positive light, with its exhibition of Muslim women partaking in Westernised activities whilst simultaneously upholding their religious values. Halima Aden is an individual who has garnered positive media attention for standing by her religious values. She is known for being the first supermodel to wear a hijab, a head covering upholding the Islamic concepts of modesty and privacy (Shepard, 2014). In *Sports Illustrated* 2019, she became the first model to wear a burkini, a modest swimsuit. This supports the proposition that there is still a positive portrayal of Muslims in the media. The hijab has long been associated extensively as a symbol of oppression, extremism, and a threat to democratic values. However, due to the positive media depictions of Muslim women engaging in Western activities while upholding their faith, the hostile attitudes regarding the hijab being repressive have lessened. Through the mere presence of such figures in the media, and others like Benazir Bhutto, the first female Muslim Prime Minister, as well as Shirin Ebadi, the first Muslim woman to win a Nobel Peace Prize, it can be denoted that barriers are being broken, and stereotypes are being shattered. In contrast, it can also be taken to display such women as 'exceptions' in comparison to most hijabi women, who are purportedly oppressed (Yasmin, 2021). Thus, the question is whether this 'positive' portrayal is showing the religion in a positive light, or whether it is merely refuting the already prejudicial coverage of Islam women. Whilst Aden's stance was momentous, this essay argues that it fails to dismantle the media's propagation of negative stereotypes about Muslims.

Despite increasing representation, Muslims in the media continue to be described as 'fanatic', 'terrorists', 'fundamentalists', 'radical', and 'extremists' (Sultan, 2016). These reoccurring words work to stamp and imprint the image of Muslims as a threat to 'civilised democratic societies'. Within Western societies, the most frequently discussed form of religious dress is the hijab (Fournier, 2013). Such garments were prescribed in the Qur'an, the Muslim holy book, to prevent the attraction of anyone other than the woman's spouse. In a 2019 study published in the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, Muslim women were probed with questions to generate a detailed description of what wearing the hijab was like (Ash et al.,

2019). All of the women's reasons for wearing the hijab were described as "[puncturing] the stereotype of women as victims of patriarchal oppression.". A general trend amongst the women was that they unequivocally expressed that their decisions to dress modestly were permissive (Ash et al., 2019). Their justification for dressing modestly is a stark contrast to the media's portrayal of modesty as a form of oppression imposed on Muslim women by Muslim men.

In recent years, Western media has increased their representation of Muslim-identifiying characters on the big screen. However, depictions of young Muslims almost always contain self-deprecating narratives. The media uses the sheer veiling of Muslim women's bodies to portray them as oppressed, deprived of rights, and lacking intelligence (Saeed, 2007). This is evident in countless drama shows and movies from *Quantico*, *Hala*, and *Grey's Anatomy*, to Netflix's *Elite*. The idea within each of these shows suggests that the hijab is tyrannical, and that Muslim women require saving from their lifestyle of modesty. In each instance, the hijab's removal has been based on feelings of inferiority and repression (Saeed, 2007). The impression gathered by audiences is that these characters must remove their hijabs to live a fulfilling life. Whilst it is true that women are forced to wear the hijab in public places in countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran, it is still not an accurate representation of the entire Islam religion. The majority of Muslim women disagree with the inaccurate narrative that is commonly portrayed and reinforced subconsciously into the minds of others (Sohirin, 2012). This Western depiction misinterprets what the hijab really represents—a sense of modesty and devotion to God.

Another prevalent Islamic stereotype portrayed globally in the media is that Muslims are radical, barbaric and, therefore, in need of transformation. In *Democracy and Security,* Benjamin Lee (2017) undertakes an experiment where he maps the way that Islamic content from five 'seed sites' was disseminated and reproduced in the media. One of the key themes uncovered by his investigation was the repeated depiction of Islam as a religion that has been backward and barbaric since the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him) (Lee, 2017). This view originates from orientalism, a concept coined by Edward Said that shows how Europeans have historically portrayed Arab and Asian countries as inferior, uncivilised, and weird. Orientalism's ramifications are found in every corner of our digital world. This is impeccably displayed in Muslim representations of race and identity in the British press, as evidenced in Amir Saeed's *Media, Racism and Islamophobia* (Ramberg, 2004). Research into the British media's representation of Muslim communities showed that it negatively depicted Muslims as "problematic", making use of harmful labels like "Islamic fundamentalists" (Saeed, 2007). Furthermore, Muslims are also portrayed as an 'alien other' merely because many have not assimilated to Western standards (Ramberg, 2004). This portrayal of 'barbarians' who wish to destroy contemporary society is a common trope used in the media to maintain the asymmetry in the power relations between the East and the West, entirely neglecting the real repercussions Muslims have to face as a consequence (Sohirin, 2012).

Due to the biased media coverage of Islam, Muslims across the globe have become subject to Islamophobia. This is discriminatory, stigmatising and excluding behaviour in areas not exclusive to employment, education, and politics. In the case of American attitudes toward Muslims, research reveals that exposure to negative representations of Muslims in the media increases hostile attitudes towards Muslims, and support for policies that harm Muslims

(Saeed, 2007). On March 6 2017, former US president Donald Trump issued an executive order banning immigrants from six countries with predominantly Muslim populations from applying for new visas. This ban was incidental to the prejudicial narratives imposed on Muslims. In a recent US study, Americans still felt colder towards Muslims than other religious groups (Saeed, 2007). However, these perceptions were not necessarily based on their actual experiences with Muslims. Most Americans are exposed to Muslims through the media, which tends to represent Muslims as terrorists, violent, and 'the Other' (Sultan, 2016). Evidently, negative media representation creates backlash that later eventuates in the unjust marginalisation of the Muslim population.

Despite legal protections, Muslims have faced systematic discrimination, prejudice, and violence. Experts assert that anti-Muslim sentiments have heightened under derogatory media depictions (Sultan, 2016). In countries like India, discrimination faced in employment, education, and housing has created barriers to Muslims' ability to achieve political power, and to access healthcare and essential health services (Saeed, 2007). A 2019 report by the Common Cause found that half of the police surveyed in India held a solid anti-Muslim bias (Centre for the Study Developing Societies [CSDS], 2019). This has led to Muslim civilians becoming the victims of crime, while receiving no intervention or protection from the upholders of justice within the country. The repercussions of Islamophobia—exceedingly bred through the media's inaccurate portrayal of Islam—are detrimental, oppressive, and a recipe for societal collapse.

Social media has been instrumental in the amplification of Islamophobic prejudice towards Muslims. This is evident in the way the media speaks of terrorist attacks carried out by extremist Muslims in contrast to the acts of violence perpetrated by non-Muslim individuals (Sultan, 2016). In 2015, when Dylann Roof killed nine innocent black individuals, there were no reports questioning, or generalising other white men. In 1995, when Timothy McVeigh killed 168 people in Oklahoma, there was no condemnation of the attack as a crime against every American. During the 20th century, when the Ku Klux Klan tragically murdered thousands of black individuals whilst swearing to uphold orthodox Christian morality, there were no reports of the white supremacists being asked to remove their robes; nor were all Christians labelled as bigots who upheld the same ideologies. These examples show that the media does not label all white and Christian individuals based on the actions of a small minority. However, when the reverse ensues, the condemnation of the entire religion of Islam is felt because Muslims are generalised into adhering to the extremist ideologies of a few. These repercussions are evident in policy reforms. First is the declaration of the 'War on Terror'. The second is the US ban on immigrants seeking new visas from six predominantly Muslim countries. The third is the restrictions on the wearing of modest Islamic clothing in countries like France, Switzerland, and Denmark (Yasmin, 2021). These false narratives, exacerbated by such propaganda, make nations susceptible to political and social unrest. These attitudes have been instrumental in the amplification of Islamophobic prejudice towards Muslims, whilst humanising the actions of the others.

Undeniably, the media's portrayal of Islam is a global phenomenon. Going forward, there needs to be genuine attempts to reduce, if not eradicate, the negative stereotypes surrounding Muslim people, beginning in the context of New Zealand. British-American political journalist Mehdi Hasan states that while there is no silver bullet that will miraculously solve

the problem, there needs to be more widespread and accurate reporting of Muslim communities. Abigail Hauslohner, reporter for *The Post*, has implemented nuanced reporting of Islam communities in the Middle East and Africa. She also covers stories of 'everyday' Muslims living in America to help dismantle existing stigma (Hartsoe & Norman, 2017). David Graham, reporter for *The Atlantic*, stated that "too many people look like me in newsrooms". This exemplifies the need for reports about Muslims conducted by Muslims, or people who are a part of minority communities, to prevent biased journalism globally and in New Zealand (Hartsoe & Norman, 2017). Countries like Austria have also adopted the mechanism of a checklist for journalists. Prior to publishing an article, the journalist must go through the checklist to self-reflect on the content that will be published for their readers (Ethical Journalism Network [EJN], n.d.). This provides an ethical framework for journalists, and is a step in the right direction for minimising bias in the media concerning Islam, beginning in New Zealand.

In closing, this essay has shown that although the media's representation of Islam globally is wide-ranging and can authentically portray the religion, the media still fails to challenge the stereotypes it often propagates. It demonstrated the repercussions of Islamophobia created by negative media representation of Muslims. Furthermore, it explored the media's hypocrisy, particularly its vastly different treatment of a violent attack committed by a Muslim, as opposed to a non-Muslim. The essay concluded by discussing the achievable reforms the media can implement to help depict Islam more accurately—beginning in New Zealand.

Reference List

Ash, E., Tuffin, K., & Kahu, E. (2019). Representing Islam: Experiences of women wearing hijab in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *48*(1), 1–114. Retrieved from https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A630170777/AONE?u=learn&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=365d8f17

Common Cause & Lokniti – Centre for the Study Developing Societies (CSDS). (2019). *Status of Policing in India Report 2019. Police Adequacy and Working Conditions.* Retrieved from https://www.commoncause.in/uploadimage/page/Status_of_Policing_in_India_Report_2019_by_Common_Cause_and_CSDS.pdf

Ethical Journalism Network. (n.d.). Muslims in the Media: Towards More Tolerance and Diversity. Retrieved from https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/bias-news-reporting-migration

Fournier, P. (2013). Headscarf and Burqa Controversies at the Crossroad of Politics, Society and Law. *Social Identities*, *19*(6), 689–703. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2013.842669

Hartsoe, S., & Norman, F. (2017, March 29). How to Reduce Negative Stereotypes of Muslims in the Media. *Duke Today.* Retrieved from https://today.duke.edu/2017/03/how-reduce-negative-stereotypes-muslims-media

Lee, B. (2017) 'It's not paranoia when they are really out to get you': the role of conspiracy theories in the context of heightened security. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 9(*1), 4–20. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2015.1067612

Ramberg, I. (2004). *Islamophobia and its Consequences on Young People*. Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/16807037e1

Saeed, A. (2007). Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media. *Blackwell Publishing, 0*(0)*,* 443–462. Retrieved from https://eclass.upatras.gr/modules/document/file.php/PDE1357/Media%20&%20Islamophobia.pdf

Shepard, W. (2014). *Introducing Islam.* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Sohirin, S. (2012). Islam and Media. *Asian Social Science*, *8*(7), 263–269. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/ass.v8n7p263

Sultan, K. (2016). Linking Islam with Terrorism: A Review of the Media Framing since 9/11. *Global Media Journal. Pakistan Edition, 11*(2), 1–7. Retrieved from https://www.aiou.edu.pk/sab/gmj/GMJ%20Fall%202016/02.pdf

Yasin, F. (2021). The agents of autonomy in decolonising pedagogy: an analysis of autonomy-facilitating approaches to anti-deficit, critical, and culturally responsive education for marginalised women in Ontario, Canada. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 0*(0), 1–16. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230600900909

Politics 320

Social Justice

Amstrong (Andrew) Khampraseuth Vo

Realising Basic Income Through Rawls and the Consequent Demand of Justice in New Zealand

Basic income is seemingly simple in principle. It is a universal income that is paid to all on an individual basis, irrespective of other sources of income, or wealth. It is also unconditional, as it is paid without reference to requirements such as a means test, or the willingness to work. In essence, basic income is "granted by virtue of an unconditional entitlement" (Van Parijs, 1992, p. 4). The broader issue is whether justice really demands such an entitlement. I argue that it likely does. The primary focus of this essay, then, is the justification of basic income through a Rawlsian framework. I will therefore review the relevant elements of Rawls' theory of justice. I argue that Rawls' principles of justice would support a basic income programme. Conversely, the major objection is that basic income is incompatible with the requirement of reciprocity. I will therefore discuss the free rider dilemma, and issues regarding the innocently incapable under the requirement of reciprocity. Furthermore, in addressing reciprocity, I argue that the free rider problem will be largely negated by considerations of reasonability and fairness. I aim to demonstrate this latter point by arguing that under Rawls' theoretical framework, reasonable citizens would not engage in free riding and that this is also reflected in the real world by empirical studies. Finally, I will briefly consider the applicability of basic income in the New Zealand context.

"A Theory of Justice"

Rawls' (2001) theory of justice envisions a just society as a "fair system of cooperation", where citizens cooperate under "fair terms of cooperation" (pp. 5–6). The fair terms of cooperation entail a necessary regard to reasonability, specified through the ideas of "mutuality" and "reciprocity" (p. 6). Reasonable citizens are willing to abide by the terms of cooperation if they are mutually acceptable to all, and correspondingly, if there is assurance that others will abide by those terms. The conception of reasonability involves the idea of fairness and "moral sensibility" (p. 7). On the other hand, rationality is also integral to societal cooperation. Rationality relates to the self-interests of citizens. Rawls (2001) stated that citizens will aim to advance their own desires under social cooperation. Rawls also clarified that in cases of conflict, justice would require citizens to sacrifice their rational self-interest in favour of acting reasonably by upholding their moral sensibilities. Rawls' ideal theory thus presupposes that citizens have, at the least, moral capacity to uphold reasonability over self-interest. A fair system of cooperation would therefore involve a society of citizens rationally cooperating for mutual benefit, while reasonably adhering to the fair terms of cooperation.

The fair terms of cooperation are specified by Rawls' principles of justice. The principles are prioritised by their lexical order, requiring full satisfaction of the prior principles before the next can be addressed (Rawls, 2001). Importantly, Rawls (2001) notes that the lexical priority of the principles does not negate the fact that they work "in tandem and apply as a unit" (p. 46). His first principle stipulates that everyone must have a "fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties" (p. 42). Then, competitions for offices and positions in society must be "open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (p. 42). Lastly, the difference principle stipulates that societal inequalities, both social and economic, "are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged" (p. 42). It should also be noted that for Rawls (2001), his principles of justice are evaluated by the metric of instrumental social primary goods. These goods can range from income and wealth, to the social bases of self-respect (Rawls, 2001). Whether or not justice demands the implementation of a basic income programme could be considered to some degree with reference to the concept of primary goods. For now, it is

essential to specify the domain to which the principles of justice apply.

In specifying the terms of societal cooperation, the principles only affect the domestic level of society. This to say that the principles only affect the basic structure of a society (Rawls, 2001). The basic structure is the background framework of society as a fair system of cooperation, and so it has a profound and pervasive effect on its citizens that is "present from the beginning of life" (Rawls, 2001, p. 10). In short, the basic structure determines how citizens engage in societal cooperation, and how social primary goods are distributed. Accordingly, Rawls (2001) states that the basic structure consists of the "main political and social institutions of society", such as the constitution or the economic system (p. 10). A basic income programme, with its potentially profound and pervasive effects on citizens, is therefore able to be considered under Rawls' theory of justice.

Before applying the question of basic income to New Zealand, I will first examine the legitimacy of a basic income primarily through Rawls' framework of justice.

Justifying basic income

I first contend that a basic income programme could be justifiable under the principles of justice. This justification is with particular reference to the importance of liberty, or freedom, in Rawls' framework. Relatedly, Van Parijs (1997) wrote that Rawls "arguably establishes a strong presumption" for a basic income through the principles of justice (p. 95). For one, the difference principle is morally concerned with the potential injustices of inequality, with specific reference to the least-advantaged. Without certain (re)distributive schemes, the least-advantaged may be subject to such inequalities as to mitigate their liberty, among other injustices. Lovett (2009) clarified that unfettered inequalities, leading to poverty, will force people to "trade away their freedom from domination" (pp. 824–825). People would be forced to engage in work that they would not otherwise do, and this would be unjust. Liberty is paramount. The difference principle works under the priority of the prior principles' guarantees. Accordingly, Rawls (2001) argued that the difference principle should serve to maintain the liberty of the least-advantaged, in that they "cannot be forced to engage in work", even if the work "is highly productive" (p. 64). Inequalities cannot force unwilling labour. For this reason, among others, a basic income scheme is compatible with the principles of justice. The least-advantaged are those who are at greatest risk of suffering the woes of unfettered inequality, while conversely, the least-advantaged stand to gain the greatest proportional advantage from a basic income. An adequate basic income could ensure that the least-advantaged will not suffer such poverty as to force themselves into unwilling labour. On this basis, Van Parijs (1991) argued that basic income "confers upon the weakest more bargaining power in their dealings", so as to improve their freedom of choice (p. 105). Applying basic income in such a way works with the principles' operation as a single unit in dealing with concerns of liberty and inequality.

Basic income schemes are also analogous to the operation of the difference principle itself. The difference principle operates to give the least-advantaged the greatest possible advantage that can be given under unequal societies. This operation can be reflected by a basic income scheme. For example, funding a basic income through the taxing of certain inequalities, such as income, is effectively a system of redistribution that is to the greatest advantage of the least-advantaged. In short, the poor will theoretically benefit from economic inequalities with the rich under a basic income programme. Greater wealth can facilitate higher basic incomes.

What this example illustrates is that a basic income scheme may further reflect the reciprocity inherent in the difference principle: that "existing inequalities are to benefit others as well as ourselves" (Rawls, 2001, p. 64). Reciprocity itself, however, may be an argument against basic income.

The objection from reciprocity

It has been argued that basic income is inappropriate in light of the importance of reciprocity under a fair system of cooperation. The central concern here is that a basic income scheme would be unfairly abused by "Malibu surfers", or free riders. Indeed, Rawls (2001) is acutely aware of a potential free rider problem under the difference principle. He implies that since reciprocity is fundamental to a just society, free riders should not be counted amongst the least-advantaged (p. 179). If free riders do not reciprocate to society by doing their part, then Rawls further asserts that "they must somehow support themselves [alone]" (p. 179). On this basis, an unconditional basic income is seemingly incompatible with the fundamental requirements of reciprocity. The underlying concern here is fairness. One must make a contribution to society if one wishes to receive society's benefits. To illustrate this argument, let us consider the "Crazy-Lazy" heuristic, as coined by Van Parijs (1997, pp. 89–90). It should be noted that the use of the terms "crazy" and "lazy" do not imply moral preferences for either side. Crazy and Lazy are two individuals in cooperative society. They are both able-bodied and equally talented. Crazy works hard; Lazy does not. Superficially, a basic income would seem unfair for Crazy. Through hard work, Crazy contributes much to society, while Lazy is allowed to idle by free riding off a basic income. Furthermore, it is likely that the funds for a basic income will be collected, to some degree, from the hard work of individuals like Crazy. As Farrelly (1999) noted, the main objection here would be that "it is unfair for able-bodied people to live off the labour of others" (p. 286). Unconditional basic income undermines Rawlsian conceptions of fairness by allowing "surfers to free ride off the productive" (Farrelly, 1999, p. 284). The argument here is that basic income is incompatible with Rawls' requirements of reciprocity and fairness.

However, what of the principles' concerns of liberty? For instance, there is the specific condition that the least-advantaged (i.e. Lazy without a basic income) cannot be forced to engage in work. As noted, Rawls' implied answer is that free riders, like Lazy, should not be considered as part of the least-advantaged. To support this argument, Rawls (2001) suggests adding leisure to the index of primary goods, creating a comparison between work and leisure. By choosing not to work, free riders like Lazy would gain leisure time that is more or less equivalent "to the index of… [those] who do work a standard day" (Rawls, 2001, p. 179). Consequently, Lazy now has a greater distribution of a specific primary good (leisure), than those who do choose to work. From this viewpoint, Lazy may not necessarily be part of the least-advantaged, so a basic income can be unfair in the sense that Lazy already benefits from the good of leisure. Rawls (2001) therefore asserts that if free riders want to reap further benefits from society, then they must contribute productively by "doing their full share" (p. 139), and so we return to the previous objection from reciprocity. I am not entirely convinced, however, that a Rawlsian framework would decisively rule out a basic income programme.

Dealing with the unfortunate and incapable

In the Rawlsian framework, there is still the fair necessity to provide for those who are innocently unfortunate and incapable of work. It is also important to note that the resolution

of leisure in favour of work "let[s] in … a notion of desert" into Rawls' principles (Zelleke, 2005, p. 12). What is meant here is that those who are able-bodied, yet unwilling to contribute productively to society, would be seen as undeserving of whatever relevant distributive benefits the principles may engender. There would still expectedly be fair allowance and protections for the unfortunates who do innocently fall behind (Rawls, 2001). Yet, if this allowance is subject to conditions of desert and reciprocity, there may be issues in practice. Distinguishing those who are truly unwilling to work from those who are unemployed by unfortunate circumstance is problematic (Zelleke, 2005). There is first, a concern between the power differentials inherent in such a sorting exercise. The institutions of the basic structure (the state) will have to engage in a unilateral investigation that is often, in practice, "intrusive and degrading" to "the undeserving poor" (Zelleke, 2005, p. 12). Realistically, as Stephens (2019) noted, this form of sorting is conducive to creating situations where "welfare states" are more prone to using "enforcement and punitive sanctions to fit people" into distributive schemes (p. 36). Such effects are certainly inimical with the aims of Rawls' principles. In light of this, the institution of basic income is a more justifiable alternative here. Basic income's universal and unconditional nature means that it is a nonintrusive scheme. There is no need for the state to investigate the desert claims of individuals based on whether or not they can satisfy reciprocity. Still, the question of reciprocity itself remains to be resolved.

Reciprocity reconsidered: Would reasonable citizens free ride?

The major concern of the reciprocity objection is that a basic income facilitates free riders. In this space, it is important to remember that by working within Rawls' framework, we must also regard the presuppositions and fundamentals inherent in such an ideal theory. Let us regard the significance of reasonability in society as a fair system of cooperation. As noted, Rawls (2001) presupposes that citizens in a just society have the capacity of moral sensibility (through the moral powers) to reasonably honour the fair terms of cooperation (principles), even at the expense of rational advantage. Accordingly, what if basic income was part of the fair terms of cooperation as it justifiably may be? The idea of citizens as possessing the moral powers suggests that, with a basic income scheme, citizens would not necessarily free ride to their rational advantage. Rather, their moral sensibilities would engender them to choose the reasonable option of contributing to society if they are able to. By this regard, reciprocity concerns would be satisfied, since citizens exercising their moral powers would not free ride off a basic income. For such a claim to be convincing, however, it requires more empirical substantiation.

Would people free ride?

It is initially tempting to assume that an unconditional income would encourage people to indulge more in indolence. However, experimental implementations of basic income have shown that increases in unemployment are not guaranteed. One example is Forget's (2011) study of the Canadian "Manitoba Basic Annual Income Experiment" in the town of Dauphin between 1974 and 1978. Here, Forget (2011) found that there were no "significant differences" in unemployment during the period of the experiment, as compared with the immediate years prior (p. 301). What seemed to be the case was that people were using the stipend of a basic income to support their own healthcare needs, or were otherwise using the opportunity to pursue socially productive goals, such as education (Forget, 2011, p. 291). More directly, a report by the Overseas Development Institute reviewed the global effects of

minor basic income programmes in the form of cash transfers (Bastagli et al., 2016). The summative review on adult labour participation was that most studies in the report did not find "any significant effect arising from cash transfers" (p. 177). In the studies of the report that did find noticeable effects, the result was that "more found an increase in [labour] participation than a decrease" (p. 177). On this basis, while there is some margin for free riding, the pronounced majority of people would not become indolent under a basic income programme. People would continue to contribute their fair share to society, if not more. These practical implications thus reflect, to a noticeable degree, the presuppositions of Rawls' ideals on reasonable citizens. Within Rawls' framework, then, reciprocity concerns around the implementation of a basic income would be alleviated by citizens in the exercise of their moral sensibilities. Citizens would reasonably continue to contribute to society. The conclusion on reciprocity, then, is that it is not a significant barrier to the justification of a basic income.

Basic income is therefore justifiable within Rawls' framework of justice. A basic income programme may therefore be justly included in the basic structure of societies. Consequently, it could be justifiable to assert that societies like New Zealand should institute basic income. Nevertheless, it would be helpful to briefly consider the pertinence of injustices in the New Zealand context, and the resultant applicability of basic income.

The theoretical justification for basic income began with reference to Rawls' principles of justice. In particular, the importance of liberty and the concerns around inequality were the key points. Within the New Zealand context, inequalities have diminished people's prospects for liberty—sometimes severely. The recent example of modern slavery regarding Joseph Matamata in 2020 highlights some relevant issues (Sharpe, 2020). The example here is illustrative of Lovett's (2009) concern that severe inequality will force people into "[trading] away their freedom from domination" (pp. 824–825). Matamata used the great power imbalance of his position as "chief" to effectively enslave others (Sharpe, 2020). As Sharpe (2020) reported, the process of domination was facilitated by the pronounced inequality of the victims (as recent immigrants), demonstrating the pertinence of aforementioned concerns with inequality and the restriction of liberty. On a broader level, Goldsmith (1997) wrote that "new 'economic' migrants" to New Zealand often have to face the "targeted and stigmatising … welfare policies" and the effect of inequalities as "second-class citizens" (p. 7). What these examples suggest is that New Zealand will likely be more just with the implementation of a basic income programme. It was previously noted that basic income would have the effect of strengthening the positions of the weakest in society, so as to "confer… more bargaining power in their dealings" (Van Parijs, 1991, p. 105). In this regard, a sufficient basic income should be able to alleviate some injustices resulting from inequalities in New Zealand. This is done through the facilitation of greater freedom of choice. The universality and non-conditionality of an adequate basic income means that individuals can cover immediate economic needs, so as to avoid certain "stigmatising policies" and inequalities (Goldsmith, 1997, p. 7). Basic income is therefore applicable to the New Zealand context, and the theoretical justifications for such a programme suggest that it would be just for New Zealand to institute a basic income programme.

Through a Rawlsian framework, justice is supportive, if not insistent, on the implementation of a basic income programme. Basic income can support the aims of Rawls' principles of justice, and the concern for fairness in societal cooperation. A basic income programme

directly addresses pertinent concerns surrounding inequality, and the diminishment of liberty. This is particularly relevant where individuals are forced into unwilling labour. Under Rawls' framework, basic income is also not significantly inimical with the idea of reciprocity. The ideal is that citizens are reasonable, and would not act unfairly. This ideal is reflected in reality through empirical studies concerning labour participation under basic income schemes. Consequently, a basic income programme is theoretically and practically supported by justice through a Rawlsian framework. It is a programme that should be institutionalised in the basic structure of society. Justice would therefore likely demand the institution of a basic income programme in New Zealand.

Reference List

Bastagli, F., Hagen-Zanker J., Harman L., Barca V., Sturge G., Schmidt T., & Pellerano L. (2016). *Cash transfers: What does the evidence say? A rigorous review of programme impact and of the role of design and implementation features*. Retrieved from Overseas Development Institute, Research Reports website: https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/11316.pdf

Farrelly, C. (1999). Justice and a Citizens' Basic Income. *Journal of Applied Philosophy, 16*(3), 283–296. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5930.00130

Forget, E. L. (2011). The town with no poverty: The health effects of a Canadian guaranteed annual income field experiment. *Canadian Public Policy / Analyse de Politiques, 37*(3), 283–305. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23050182

Goldsmith, M. (1997). Universal Basic Income and the Concept of Citizenship. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, (9). Retrieved from https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj09/spj9-universal-basic.doc.

Lovett, F. (2009). Domination and distributive justice. *The Journal of Politics, 71*(3), 817–830. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1017/jpolitics.71.issue-3

Rawls, J. (2001). *Justice as fairness: A restatement*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Sharpe, M. (2020, July 27). Slave dealer Joseph Matamata jailed for 11 years. *Stuff*. Retrieved from https://www.stuff.co.nz/

Stephens, R. (2019). The universal basic income: Should it replace the existing social security system? *Policy Quarterly, 15*(1), 30–37. Retrieved from https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/pq/article/view/5293/4648

Van Parijs, P. (1991). Why surfers should be fed: The liberal case for an unconditional basic income. *Philosophy and Public Affairs, 20*(2), 101–131. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2265291

Van Parijs, P. (Ed.). (1992). *Arguing for basic income*. London: Verso Books.

Van Parijs, P. (1997). *Real freedom for all: What (if anything) can justify capitalism?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zelleke, A. (2005). Distributive justice and the argument for an unconditional basic income. *The Journal of Socio-Economics, 34*(1), 3–15. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2004.09.051

Drama 202A/B

History and Performance

Gali Mortimer-Webster

Something Shared and Treasured

Show me a child who can stand on stage without cowering in fear. It seems terrifying. I had to grow before I realised it was not so bad, but learning to brave the stage has in turn helped me grow.

I credit theatre sports with the transformation. These days I wear my introversion shamelessly, but in primary school my introverted attitude stood between me and my best life. At intermediate we had a performing arts class, one which encouraged me to experiment with acting and theatrical games. Theatre sports challenged me in three ways.

The first attraction was an escape from the shyness I hid behind. In my natural element, I am reserved; theatre sports gave me other personae to express myself through. With it, I overcame my shy instincts.

The second pull of theatre sports was connecting with my body and senses. Introspection comes easily to me, and other sports never captured my interest as much as theatre sports. My idea of an adventure spanned the pages of a good book. That fact probably calls to mind many nerdy kid stereotypes, most of which would have fit me. The reading and acting skill sets overlap very little. Having presence and interacting with the world was a rare thrill. More than a way to behave, theatre was a novel way to think.

My last and most important fascination with theatre was improvisation, which I found the perfect antidote to over-preparedness or perfectionism. The danger of being in your own head is forgetting to adapt to the outside world, and theatre sports forced me to live in the moment.

My drama journey has been learning to leave my comfort zone, a fundamental skill which now underpins my life. I still feel awkwardness, I still flounder when made to dance, and I continue to over-analyse, but not all of the time. At times I know exactly where I fit into the world—I'm on stage, I'm a manic gardener, and I'm bossing a friend about. That mindset will be in my toolkit forever. Getting out of my head let me forge meaningful connections with other people, driving my passion for theatre. To me, theatre represents breaking out of one's solitary shell and joining a larger group.

Humans are cooperative creatures, an uncommon occurrence in the animal kingdom. That means relationships are just as important to us as they are to other social animals. If a carpenter ant loses her colony, she inexplicably stops properly digesting food; her lifespan shrinks tenfold (Koto, Mersch, Hollis, & Keller, 2015). Like ants, when we have our social bonds severed, we become unable to digest the sea of information that life throws us into. Our connections anchor us to each other. Interpersonal relatedness is one of the three core human needs, on par with existence itself (Alderfer, 1969). We cannot afford to ignore opportunities for making those connections. Theatre is a means of building common ground amongst strangers, one that protects us from isolation.

That explains why my favourite theatre maximises participation. I enjoy any performance which innovates on the regular structure of theatre, but my soft spot is certainly audience interaction. It breaks the traditional mould whereby performers act out a story with the audience watching attentively. Society has its fill of that particular relationship dynamic, from watching television. How fortunate that theatre has no glass-screen fourth-wall imposed on it, unlike film.

All art is there to make us feel things. Theatre, more so than other artforms, is capable of giving us a sense of value and belonging. Therefore I think it appropriate that my definition of 'participation' be inclusive of both audience and actors. A performer feels valued when the

crowd cries, laughs and finds themselves speechless. In turn, a member of the audience knows they belong by how their peers share their laughter, their speechlessness and cries. A participant is anyone who contributes to theatre as a shared experience. Anybody finding themselves in the presence of a standing ovation should understand: The audience, graced by a glittering performance, repays that honour to the company. Everyone exults, and everyone exalts. Whenever we support communal theatre, we thereby support each other. Theatre that unites us is an end in and of itself.

Philosopher Paul Woodruff indicates respect as a justification for theatre, though his slant is the opposite of mine. In Woodruff's eyes, to respect something is to hold it "untouchable except by people who are marked off … allowed to touch it" (Woodruff, 2008, p. 68). Woodruff paints the outline of respect in negative space, saying there are certain disrespectful, irreverent actions, and if we can avoid those, that is respect. If silence is the absence of sound, respect must be the absence of disrespect. To highlight the absurdity here, a world without interpersonal interaction would be perfectly respectful by Woodruff's definition. In such a world, I would not feel esteemed that every soul is ignoring me. I would feel ignored. Hence respect cannot merely be the absence of disrespect; it is a positive thing, something we can pay. Indeed, we are obliged to pay it as theatre-makers. I regard respect as a property of our interactions, and every interaction is an opportunity to show your appreciation for another's value.

Improv always begins by asking the audience for something. That way, the scene is unique. The skit will never be performed again, so it belongs only to those present. Improvisation is a different beast from a play, the product of months of rehearsals. Theatre sports are drama at its most responsive. The unpreparedness and spontaneity peel away all the emotional distance that rehearsals shore up between the actor and the audience. That is the kind of theatre I signed up for all those years ago.

Silvia Mercuriali describes how her company takes audience participation to the extreme, eliminating rehearsed performers altogether with 'autoteatro'. Autoteatro (Italian for "theatre of the self") is a style where the audience is fed instructions for how to perform their own show (Machon & Mercuriali, 2019). Their piece *MACONDO* has a hundred 'guest-performers' (who double as audience) while *Wondermart* is a solitary performance anyone can enact for themselves in a supermarket. When Mercuriali made *Wondermart*'s instructions freely available without a booking, the allure vanished and no one downloaded it. As she puts it, "when people 'go to the theatre', they still want to share something" (Machon & Mercuriali, 2019, p. 332). Without the participation and commitment of tickets and theatres, *Wondermart* stops looking like a performance, and decays into the mundanity of an ordinary podcast. Podcasts are not theatre. Woodruff claims "a theatre piece may become a ritual that is shared among all present", but without the ritual of bookings, nothing is shared (Woodruff, 2008, p. 113). Participatory theatre like *Wondermart* loses its worth unless it can satisfy our innate need to connect with others.

The best stage actors react to their audience, because responding lets those spectators participate and collaborate to construct the performance. Such an invitation is the natural way to extend the principle of acting troupes working together as a group; the folks who pay to attend can also join the team.

Theatre definitely exists where the director settles for one-way reactions of the audience to performers, but I dislike it. It fails to capitalise on theatre's point of difference. I prefer co-creation which recognises how much every participant has to offer. The collaborative approach puts the audience on equal footing with the performer, and reaffirms their value. In this way, an actor can esteem their collaborators for the benefit they bring.

An alternative form of respect is when the theatre-maker understands their audience and recognises them. Put simply, respect can either be assuring another that they are your equal—proven through your willingness to collaborate—or that they are unique—proven by recognising their individuality. When someone truly gets you, you feel connected to them, attached. Theatre-makers tap into that when they create relatable characters. Whenever a character aligns with my identity, they intrigue me, and I believe that the creators of the theatre have my interests in mind. That is what I mean by respect.

Perhaps the most engaging narrative would be one personalised entirely to my preferences. However, no one can demand that all art cater only to them, at the expense of the rest of the audience. Instead, I laud theatre proportionate to how much time it finds for me.

At first sight, the goal of appealing to any subset of the audience (such as myself) clashes with that of general accessibility. After all, a performance cannot be made relatable to every demographic, in limited time and with a finite number of characters. Mark Rosewater presents a solution to this issue, in the context of card game design. The designer does not heavy-handedly customise the game experience for each player, but instead creates opportunities so the player can do so on their own (Rosewater, 2016). Rosewater expounds that players fall in love with games via their minute details (Rosewater, 2016). It seems a viable approach for theatre-makers is to tailor particular details so that they appeal to a variety of target audiences. Thus many groups will find enough to enjoy. People have an unconscious tendency to associate themselves with broad descriptions of personality, ones that could apply to anyone (Forer, 1949). We want to associate ourselves because humans want to belong. It stands to reason; we have seen just how fundamental personal connections are to the psyche.

It feels illicit to admit, but I found Henrik Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* relatable (1989). I appreciated Hedda's destructive, nay self-destructive, boredom with her interlocutors. She loves Eilert Lövborg, yet cannot help but send him to his death for entertainment. Her cruelty and other unlikeable attributes persuaded my subconscious that Hedda is not an everyman, so surely her appeal must be unique to me. It was as if Ibsen were writing for me alone. I cannot tell how much of my own struggles I project onto Hedda, but that uncertainty only evidences our unconscious habit of filling in details with empathetic traits.

Neither Hedda nor Eilert outlasts the play, but one death lands closer to home. I see no reason to care what happened to Eilert, a fictional character. I see no reason to learn from him. Hedda, on the other hand, is not just a fiction, but a manifestation of myself. My empathy makes me pay attention.

A permanent fixture in my memories is *By Heart* in 2019, with Tiago Rodrigues as writer, director and actor (2019). By one interpretation, Rodrigues is the only character onstage. However, ten uninitiated audience volunteers span chairs behind him, as he tries to teach them poetry. If any word describes my impression of the play, it's 'honest' (I can report with certainty that the upstage volunteers are real, rather than complicit performers, because I was one of them). Rodrigues improvises, describes previous audiences of the play, and unveils that his fluid improvisation has become rote after so many performances. Ignoring the fourth wall and letting us peek behind the curtain removes some of the barriers that distance people from theatre.

One might argue that I enjoyed *By Heart* because I was in one of the ten chairs, and my impression would have been less positive had I been in the bleachers with everyone else. I would argue this myself, in fact: The interaction and alternate angle caused me to feel respected. In a sense, Rodrigues put on two plays at once, with one experience for the majority of the audience,

and another for those on the chairs. While Rodrigues pays more attention to the bleachers in aggregate, they receive less per capita than the volunteers. Concentrating on the poem-learners returns the favour of electing to volunteer. A student collective called Gob Squad, which specialises in participatory theatre, regard joining in as an opportunity that starts with the public's consent (Gob Squad, 2019). Rodrigues seems to share Gob Squad's philosophy. As he puts it, "If I manipulate you, I'll do it gently". So that declining the offer is a real option, Gob Squad strives to make pieces which work equally well when no one chooses to participate (Gob Squad, 2019). *By Heart* may not perfectly achieve Gob Squad's balance between its halves, but audience members taking the stage enriches both portions.

Rodrigues respects *By Heart*'s attendees. The authenticity of his performance and the semi-improvised responses to the audience prove that he recognises what we provide for his act. Even though *By Heart* achieves the collaborative side of respect admirably, my most loved plays also demonstrate their respect through representation. I want to see myself in the play, which rules out actually participating in it. The other side of the coin to volunteering is when the audience chooses to remain a tacit one. They still deserve our respect, so the recourse must be to represent them with characters. Even if the audience does not volunteer for the task, we can still figuratively put them in the action. A one-size-fits-all solution for every audience would entirely miss the point of leaving it up to the audience, so obviously we have to rely on trusting them. The risk that theatregoers will be unable to relate to your piece is simply a fact of life. It does no good to bemoan it.

Giving space for the audience's subjectivity often means leaving unfilled gaps in the performance. Be it a silent moment for the audience to laugh, or an ambiguous character motivation, some directors are unwilling to leave details up to chance. They possibly believe they can focus on a higher technical standard, one which entertains the lowest common denominator. Towards the start of 2020, before the global upheaval struck, I managed to watch *Jeff Wayne's The War of The Worlds: The Immersive Experience* in London (Layered Reality, 2020). *War of the Worlds* is a multimedia musical tour that describes itself as "not theatre, or cinema", yet it sounds enough like both categories that it needs to deny it ("The War of The Worlds," n.d.). It treats the narrative experience as an assembly line. The tourist is conveyed from room to room, stunned by virtual reality boat rides through war-torn London and by holographic actors combusting.

Perhaps it is enough to entertain me and countless others. *War of the Worlds* certainly brings much joy. If ambitions other than pleasure and enjoyment matter in theatre, then *War of the Worlds* does not aspire to them—it fails to respect its audience. Like I said, respect is not the default; it does not happen on its own. Theatre-makers neglect respect when they ignore the unique perspective every pair of eyes brings to their stage. What could be more antithetical than confining those eyes in a virtual reality headset?

Theorists are eager to point out that 'theatron' means "place to see", and we tend to focus on sight (Feagin, 2018). I maintain that we should instead look to 'place' as a foundation of theatre. Plays that blindfold their audiences, such as *Till Birnam Wood* and *The Smile Off Your Face*, find success creating scenes using a synergy of scent and sound. The audience inevitably imagines a setting based on sensory cues (Feagin, 2018; Ontroerend Goed, 2019). Hence, in the etymology of theatre, 'to see' is less important than 'place'. This begs the question: What is significant about location in theatre? After all, we visit locations every day. In an adapted version of *The Glass Menagerie*, Susan L. Feagin reports that the scent of perfume gave her an instantaneous impression of being in the same room as Amanda (Feagin, 2018). Again, we share rooms with other people every day; the fundamental difference is that with theatre, our sense of immersion in

a location serves to connect us with characters. Just as *Wondermart* needs a framework of bookings and tickets, all theatre must feel like an excursion from the everyday—an excursion, and the audience is invited.

Connecting is the crux of the theatrical experience. Sight is useful only insofar as it lets us understand the action of the play. Location is important only when it lets us feel part of the world of the play. Respectful theatre reflects us in its narrative, and lets us contribute to the creation. The fictional stories of theatre allow us to empathise with people facing counterfactual, fantastical obstacles. A night at the theatre is like a waking dream. We can observe strange scenarios play out. We can feel fear and triumph in safety. When the house lights come on, we can wake up and go on with our lives. The lessons stay with us, be they moral, strategic or sociopolitical. Wider society benefits when theatregoers learn about things they have grown to care for.

Another dreamlike quality of drama is how restful it can be. Watching a play is an excellent break from drudgery. Asking the world to go without it would be tantamount to forbidding sleep itself.

Theatre is the dream that we can share with others. How apropos: My dream is to share theatre with others. I hope to speak to isolated people.

Theatre's innumerable social benefits can improve lives, particularly for people who are otherwise unable to build relationships. Take people with autism, for instance. Autism spectrum disorder affects people's social skills, making connections that much rarer and more valuable. Children with autism can experience sensory overload at productions for the masses, due to the lighting effects, loud noises and large crowds. However, with accommodations, theatre can turn from stressful to inviting (Corbett, 2016). Corbett et al. found that by practising musical theatre, children with autism improved their ability to recognise faces and conceptualise others' behaviour (Corbett et al., 2011). Elsewhere Corbett notes that participation in the arts is a U.N. recognised children's right, with no caveats when it comes to disability (Corbett, 2016). In fact, similar wording exists for all adults in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, so we clearly have an obligation to support every person who wants to reap the benefits of theatre (United Nations, n.d. art. 27).

I am autistic. I struggled for years to find a foothold in the social spheres others navigate effortlessly. It was theatre that allowed me to express myself. It showed me that I could relate to others. It kindled my self-esteem. It taught me how to give respect and earn it back again. At last I saw myself in stories and knew that I mattered. Theatre proves to me that even though I am different from my friends, I still belong.

I am a breathing testament to theatre, and its power to connect us. I have faith that in spite of barriers, all theatregoers can learn to love it as I have.

Reference List

Alderfer, C. P. (1969). An empirical test of a new theory of human needs. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *4*(2), 142–175. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073(69)90004-X

Corbett, B. A. (2016). Autism, art, and accessibility to theater. *AMA Journal of Ethics*, *18*(12), 1232–1240. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1001/journalofethics.2016.18.12.imhl1-1612

Corbett, B. A., Gunther, J. R., Comins, D., Price, J., Ryan, N., Simon, D., … Rios, T. (2011). Brief report: Theatre as therapy for children with autism spectrum disorder. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, *41*(4), 505–511. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/s10803-010-1064-1

Feagin, S. L. (2018). Olfaction and Space in the Theatre. *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, *58*(2), 131–146. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/aesthj/ayy002

Forer, B. R. (1949). The fallacy of personal validation: A classroom demonstration of gullibility. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *44*(1), 118–123. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1037/h0059240

Gob Squad. (2019). Gob Squad: On participation. In T. Brayshaw, A. Fenemore, & N. Witts (Eds.), *The Twenty-First Century Performance Reader* (pp. 237–251). London: Routledge. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429283956

Ibsen, H. (1989). *Hedda Gabler by Henrik Ibsen* (J. Osborne, Trans.). London, United Kingdom: Faber & Faber. Retrieved from http://www.proquest.com/lion/docview/2138581909/citation/54314D7F7B69441BPQ/1

Koto, A., Mersch, D., Hollis, B., & Keller, L. (2015). Social isolation causes mortality by disrupting energy homeostasis in ants. *Behavioral Ecology & Sociobiology*, *69*(4), 583–591. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/s00265-014-1869-6

Layered Reality. (2020). *Jeff Wayne's The war of the worlds: The immersive experience*. Multimedia event presented at 56 Leadenhall Street, London.

Machon, J., & Mercuriali, S. (2019). Silvia Mercuriali : Interview with Josephine Machon. In T. Brayshaw, A. Fenemore, & N. Witts (Eds.), *The Twenty-First Century Performance Reader* (pp. 326–335). London: Routledge. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429283956

Ontroerend Goed. (2019). Personal Trilogy : The Smile Off Your Face, Internal and A Game of You. In T. Brayshaw, A. Fenemore, & N. Witts (Eds.), *The Twenty-First Century Performance Reader* (pp. 364–372). London: Routledge. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429283956

Rodrigues, T. (2019). *By heart*. Live performance at Q Theatre, Auckland.

Rosewater, M. (2016). *Twenty Years, Twenty Lessons*. Presented at the Game Developers
Conference 16. Retrieved from
https://www.gdcvault.com/play/1023186/Twenty-Years-Twenty

The War of The Worlds: The Immersive Experience. (n.d.). Retrieved August 23, 2021, from
https://thewaroftheworldsimmersive.com/

United Nations. (n.d.). Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved August 23, 2021, from
https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

Woodruff, P. (2008). *The necessity of theater: The art of watching and being watched*. Oxford,
New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from
https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195332001.003.0003

Media 202

Hollywood and its Others

Jemima Vossen

Parasite : A Universal Parable Through a South Korean Lens

South Korean director Bong Joon-ho's 2019 *Parasite* is a dark satire film that explores the function and failure of capitalism in modern society (Noh, 2020). *Parasite* tells a universally relevant story of class inequality and socio-economic mobility through the modern South Korean experience. Bong utilises film, a powerful medium of cultural diplomacy, to reach international audiences, while maintaining authenticity to South Korea (Lee, 2021). Jarring parallels between the environment, and experience, reflect and satirise the reality of modern life, offering a cynical yet realistic representation of socio-economic mobility in South Korea, and the world. *Parasite* provides a trenchant social critique of universal meaning through a hybrid of culturally-specific symbolism and cinematic choices (Kim, 2021). By utilising numerous cultural symbols and universally recognizable cinematic choices, Bong offers a complex commentary on capitalist tenets and experiences. Bong intentionally omits the idealised, wealthy, and modern version of South Korea often presented on the international stage (Lee, 2021). Instead, *Parasite* acts as a platform for typically unassimilable perspectives about class in South Korea, and the social experience of capitalism, which can be observed, explored, and considered by broad audiences.

The narrative centres on the function and failure of capitalism, an idea and experience global audiences can identify with (Kim, 2020). Bong's film is innately political, commenting on the vast wealth discrepancies between social classes, and the lack of social mobility in capitalist societies. The central concept of the 'parasite' represents the interdependency between those on either end of the socio-economic spectrum, affecting all those embedded within the capitalist structure (Noh, 2020). Parasitism is epitomic of the function of capitalism and failure in modern society. Both the Parks and the Kims, despite their positions at opposing ends of the socio-economic spectrum, must become parasitic in order to survive in capitalist society. The wealthy Parks are unable to cook, clean, or parent, and are deemed incapacitated without servants indulging their every whim. The Kims parallel this parasitic need for the Parks, using them to gain social standing and wealth.

Through this parasitic codependence, Bong illuminates a central failure of capitalism as a system of cyclical exploitation that both exploits, and produces people who are exploitative of others. *Parasite* achieves this by simultaneously incorporating strictly South Korean language, cultural symbols, and environments in conjunction with direct cinematography and universally distinct experiences of the capitalist system. *Parasite* can be considered a universal parable of the failings of contemporary capitalism for international audiences, told through a South Korean lens.

Throughout *Parasite*, Bong continuously creates visual links using cinematography to illustrate universally shared conceptions of class. Balance, and the lack of it, is central to drawing and clarifying parallels between the rich and poor—the Parks and the Kims. Bong illuminates how capitalism simultaneously forces both classes to be inextricable and at conflict with each other. Throughout the film, the balance of light and dark, above and below, space and confinement, natural and urban environments, alongside the frame itself, are manipulated to emphasise inequalities, and the notion of immobile class. Bong's manipulation of balance throughout *Parasite* is a visual representation of the imbalance between classes, and a universal representation of capitalist society. While culturally-specific elements illustrate a more nuanced and intimate message for South Korean viewers, the combination depicts experience in a broken capitalist system as a shared worldview (Noh, 2020).

Parasite's opening scene introduces the Kim family in their residence. The first shot of the film, a simple establishing shot, looks through a narrow grubby window. The camera lingers on this shot for almost thirty seconds, before finally tilting down to view Ki-woo, the protagonist. By

lingering on this shot for an extended period, layers of meaning can gain traction. Eight well-used socks are seen hanging to dry in front of the window, hinting that this may be the only place where natural light reaches indoors. Cars drive directly across the view, pedestrians walk past, and high-rise buildings along the street disappear into the distance. The shot has a murky, dull hue, and heavy grey saturation, as if everything is dirty. Neon blue rubbish bags line the street. They are the only bright object in the shot. Slowly, the camera tilts down to view a young man looking at his cell phone. Only then does the audience realise a person is sitting beneath all this activity. Ki-woo literally sits beneath the rubbish on the street. Through this simple opening shot Bong contextualises the Kim family's financial and social situation—they are literally and figuratively lower than the rubbish on the street.

As the scene continues, Ki-woo complains that the neighbours have password-protected their Wi-Fi, and begins walking through the house trying to find a connection. The camera follows Ki-woo in a tracking shot, briefly pausing on each doorway. This all-encompassing single sweep of the house in one tracking shot emphasises the Kims' cramped, cluttered, and dirty living conditions. Again through cinematography alone, a universal language, Bong illustrates the humiliating position of the Kim family. A high-angle shot shows the mother, Chung-sook, kick her sleeping husband Ki-taek awake. This exchange is followed by a close-up shot of a medal and photograph framed on the wall. The parallel between the diminishing high-angle view of Chung-sook, the callous way she treats her husband, and her past achievements, is jarring. Bong clearly makes this uncomfortable and humiliating contrast to comment on the potential that is squandered by poverty, exemplifying what a lack of economic privilege does to capable people.

The Kims' scrambling attempt to find free Wi-Fi from their semi-basement home serves as a metaphor for class division, lacking social mobility and infiltration, foreshadowing the major themes of the film. Only by leeching off of their neighbours can the Kims function. The Kims' living arrangement, a semi-basement in Seoul, is a culturally-specific expression of their economic position. Since semi-basement homes, known as *banjihas*, first appeared in Korea in 1984, they have become recognised as the metaphor of poverty (Kim, 2021). However, the environment itself—a small, cramped, cluttered, and dirty home with a sole window—is universally recognised as lower class. This simultaneous utilisation of both culturally-specific and universally understandable concepts is continuously woven throughout *Parasite*'s narrative.

The contrasts are most clear when comparing cinematic choices in parallel shots. The Kims' only window, highlighted from the opening scene, and windows throughout the film, function to illustrate the vast discrepancy between the Kims' and the Parks' economic and social position. A mid point-of-view shot shows the Kims' only window, segmented into four distinct squares, each tiny square equivalent to a share of view for each family member. A dingy street and a drunk puking are visible. Grey-green saturation connotes grime, and the bright artificial street lights beam into their window, hinting at the Kims' lack of basic privacy. The thick black frames are also reminiscent of prison bars, trapping the Kims underground, trapping them in their class.

By contrast, a later scene encompasses the Kims in a medium long-shot as they sit in the Parks' living room, after they have infiltrated the Parks' home. In comparison to their own view, the Kims are able to enjoy a broad, unsegmented view of the Parks' garden, through a vast faultless

pane of glass. This view exudes a sense of freedom and space, compared to their own barred semi-basement window. Dominant colours of green and warm natural light connote a closeness to nature and freedom, totally unreachable in the Kims' own view. By recreating the same shot of the four family members and their view, through altering the framing, Bong illustrates how the environment represents the class of each family.

Bong creates a similarly effective parallel by playing with framing further. As the Kim family sit in their semi-basement home celebrating Ki-woo's employment, they are crammed into the frame, overlapping each other, and the edges of the frame itself. Their celebratory drink, FiLite, is a beverage that would be recognised by South Korean viewers as one of the cheapest beers available. This establishes a stark and humiliating indication of their socio-economic position—even during celebrations, the Kims are restricted by their class. By comparison, when they have infiltrated the Parks' home, and are celebrating their success in duping the entire family, they are awarded a comparatively zoomed-out frame. Each member of the family has space within a medium long-shot, whereas in their own home they were stuffed into a medium close-up. The audience also sees the Kims drink expensive whiskey from crystal glasses. Framing visually implies space, comfort, and freedom in this scene. Bong's utilisation of framing in these two shots illustrate the Kims' social position. Initially, the family is confined and cramped, crippled and restricted by their class. However, when the family performs as if they have gained class mobility, they attain freedom in the frame, indicating their comparative economic freedom from the earlier shot (Rolfe, 2017).

The Kims, however, never gain class mobility—they are merely effective parasites for a short time. Throughout the film, smell is a recurring symbol of their class: A lingering scent unperceived by the Kim family, but constantly following them nevertheless. Ki-woo's sister Ki-jung remarks early in the film that their smell—mentioned by the Parks' young son—cannot be fixed by buying an expensive brand of laundry soap. It is the smell of their semi-basement home itself and, by extension, the smell of the underclass. Smell acts on behalf of the Kims as an inescapable and exposing prefatory. To escape the smell—their low class—the Kims must gain social mobility, which *Parasite* portrays as an impossible task (Kim, 2021). Whenever the Kims seem to have the upper hand, or appear to be climbing the social ladder, they are reminded of the smell that clings to them. In conjunction with smell, Bong uses lines as a recurring symbol of class immobility. Lines divide both families throughout the film, a consistent motif that signals the enduring division between the Parks and the Kims. Bong subtly incorporates this symbol in the film's window frames, doorways and walls, representing the idea that the Kims cannot navigate past these lines because they cannot overcome the pervasive and amorphous division between classes (Kim, 2021).

These suggestive parallels between the Kims' and the Parks' socio-economic positions are further emphasised and clarified in Ki-woo's interview scene. The scene clearly articulates class inequality and the requisite parasitism. A mid-shot shows Ki-woo getting ready to leave for his interview while his father, Ki-taek, inspects the forged university diploma Ki-jung made to deceive the Parks. Ki-taek comments on the quality of Ki-jung's forgery as "worthy of a degree at Oxford". However, this passing humorous comment acts as a confronting illustration of the Kim family's abilities. They are all shown to be highly capable individuals, merely stunted by their economic situation. Ki-woo is referred to as a reliable and excellent English tutor, Ki-jung is artistically skilled, Ki-taek is an extremely good driver, and Choong-sook is shown as an award-winning sports player. Despite this, Ki-woo must rely on an artificial university diploma in order to make himself look reputable and employable in the eyes of the higher class. Via these universally recognisable cinematic choices and culturally-specific symbolic mechanisms, *Parasite* explores how the Kims' low social mobility diminishes their chances, and reinforces class inequalities as a central failure of capitalism (Rolfe, 2017).

Ki-woo's walks from the back-streets of Seoul to the Parks' home illustrate his ascent from sitting literally and figuratively below others' feet—at the very bottom of the social and economic ladder—to gaining a parasitic place at the top. By visually representing Ki-woo's

ascension up the social ladder, Bong illustrates the potential for class mobility, but dismantles this idea by continuously replacing and shunning the Kims into the lower class through symbolic and cinematic choices, particularly visual imbalances, line, and mentioning their distinctive smell. The director's highlighting of the Kims' attempt to climb up the social ladder, and their eventual fall, effectively communicates the injustices of social immobility and inequality.

Bong's framing of the Kims' home and neighbourhood, compared to the Parks', allows the audience to draw distinct parallels. The Kims' neighbourhood is dark, dull, narrow, and confined in the urban back-streets of Seoul. However, this shot provides inordinate space for Ki-woo to walk into the frame. The next shot shows Ki-woo at the top of a hill, the opposite of the semi-basement where his walk began. A medium following-shot shows Ki-woo walking up bamboo-edged stairs directly into the sun. Bird-song is the predominant sound, as up until this point in the film, sounds of nature were non-existent. A lens flare surrounds Ki-woo as he reaches the top of the stairs and turns, mesmerised, to look at the broad bright green and manicured garden. This use of colour, light, and relative location, all contrast the Kims' environment and effectively illustrate the polarity between the Kims' and the Parks' lifestyle and experience of the same location.

Bong continuously plays with the balance of elements throughout *Parasite* to draw these distinct parallels, emphasising the Parks' economic and social position as the antithesis of the Kims'. Bong makes Ki-woo's act of moving up and down through urban Seoul to the Parks' naturalistic residence conspicuous, forcing viewers to be conscious and critical of the apparent inequalities. Bong implores audiences to consider Ki-woo's job interview and association with the high ranking Parks as his only chance to move up a socio-economic rung. Despite his—or his family's—apparent capability, they are immobile in the class system unless they act as parasites. This is the fundamental failure of capitalism Bong is trying to communicate. Under this economic system, class inequality is perpetuated, and classes remain fixed unless individuals take advantage of one another (Rolfe, 2017).

Centering around wealth disparity, inequality, and the immobility of class in a late stage capitalist society, *Parasite* seeks to prove that regardless of intelligence or capability, individuals are confined by their social and economic positions. These ideas culminate in the terrifying reality that capitalist societies perpetuate an unsustainable parasitic cycle between people. The Kims—a family at the bottom of the economic spectrum—utilise their strengths to deceive and infiltrate the wealthy Parks' home. But the Kims are merely imitating. They never achieve class mobility, remaining in their allocated semi-basement at the end of the film. By combining distinct cinematography, framing, and culturally-specific symbolism, Bong communicates and maintains a narrative about class inequality, mobility, and the failings of capitalism that is simultaneously culturally-specific to South Korea, and communicates a message relevant to international audiences.

Parasite acts as a platform for audiences to be confronted by generally contentious perspectives about socio-economic status and experience in late capitalist society. Bong Joon-ho's film illustrates the pervasive experience of capitalism's functions and failures in a way that both South Korean and international audiences can understand (Noh, 2020). Bong uses this combination of culturally-specific and ubiquitous elements to bridge South Korea and the rest of the world, to find similarities in the shortfallings of their social experience (Kim, 2021). Class inequality and mobility act as the driving thematic concern of the narrative, illustrating the lengths individuals at both ends of the economic spectrum must take to comfortably survive. *Parasite* provides an uncomfortable yet ubiquitous analogy to scrutinise the failures of capitalism, through a South Korean lens.

Parasite acts as a platform for audiences to be confronted by generally contentious perspectives about socio-economic status and experience in late capitalist society. Bong Joon-ho's film illustrates the pervasive experience of capitalism's functions and failures in a way that both South Korean and international audiences can understand (Noh, 2020). Bong uses this combination of culturally-specific and ubiquitous elements to bridge South Korea and the rest of the world, to find similarities in the shortfallings of their social experience (Kim, 2021). Class inequality and mobility act as the driving thematic concern of the narrative, illustrating the lengths individuals at both ends of the economic spectrum must take to comfortably survive. *Parasite* provides an uncomfortable yet ubiquitous analogy to scrutinise the failures of capitalism, through a South Korean lens.

Reference List

Bong, J. (Dir.). (2019). *Parasite*. [Online]. South Korea: Barunson E&A.

Kim, J. (2020). Parasite: A Film Review on Capitalism. *Cinesthesia*, *1*(2), 1–15. Retrieved from https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cine/vol10/iss2/1

Kim, Y. (Ed.). (2021). *The Soft Power of the Korean Wave: Parasite, BTS and Drama*. Routledge. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003102489

Lee, S. T. (2021). Film as cultural diplomacy: South Korea's nation branding through *Parasite. Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *18*, 93–104. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1057/s41254-020-00192-1

Noh, M. (2020). *Parasite* as Parable: Bong Joon-Ho's Cinematic Capitalism. *CrossCurrents*, *70*(3), 248–62. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26975087

Rolfe, H. (2017). Inequality, Social Mobility and the New Economy Introduction. *National Institute Economic Review*, *240*, R1–4. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/48564747