EDITION 8

IJ

Interesting Journal

IJ

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Editors' Note

Special Edition: Why We're Now Publishing Honours Students

Alika Wells

In lieu of our usual 'Editors' Note' to open an edition, I asked the editorial team whether I could write a full introduction for this Special Edition of Interesting Journal (IJ). That is because, for the first time, we have extended our submission range to include Honours students—students who live between the boundaries of postgraduate and undergraduate studies.

Since IJ was founded in 2014, we have been dedicated to publishing and publicising the great work of undergraduates within the Faculty of Arts. When I came onto the 2017 editorial team as an Executive Editor, it was because I believed there were undergraduate students who deserved an audience beyond their classmates and markers. Taking from the words of a previous IJ Managing Director, Sean MacLean, the journal provides a platform to "share [one's work] with other New Zealanders and not just have confined to the depths of my Google Drive." (Newshub 2016).

Publishing Undergraduates

Undergraduates should be given the opportunity for publication, particularly with undergraduate journals that focus on students who conduct independent research or explore independent thought. Evidence shows that it not only helps them learn how a research submission process is carried out, but can improve a student's writing skills and encourage their interest for conducting research in the future (Bauer et al. 2009; Charlesworth and Foster 1996). It can teach undergraduate students, who are considering a career in academia, about rejection (Weeks 2006), the process of receiving editorial feedback to hone writing and professional communication skills (Barrios and Weber 2006; Thies and Hogan 2005), and can encourage collaboration between faculty staff members and students (Cox and Kent 2018).

Indeed, this year IJ started bringing professors, lecturers, and markers into the picture more—by inviting them to review our chosen submissions and provide feedback to the authors if there were any factual inconsistencies or areas for improvement within the work. Since the journal publishes such a wide range of specific subjects, having the help of experts in their field helps us ensure we are publishing well-researched and respectful work, and that we are representing our authors the best we can. Since all the essays published by IJ have to have been submitted to a Faculty of Arts course, in order to be accepted as a submission, we wanted our peer-review process to allow students to make changes and continually improve their work even after a grade has been given. We hope this is a learning experience for our authors, and a taste of the constant revisions and rewriting that comes with the academic lifestyle.

Including Honours Students

Upon starting my Master's degree last year, I was being given advice on how to begin adapting to this 'academic lifestyle' of constant revisions, including revisions for publication once my thesis was submitted. Talking to other MA students, they all noted that publication was on their radar (as either something they were actively pursuing while undertaking their Master's degree, or something to focus on after the MA was complete). However, these conversations seemed to occur less amongst the Honours students I knew. I realised that Honours students could potentially be a source of untapped gold for this journal. While, in some cases, an Honours student at Auckland may go on to expand on the work they produce in an MA programme, they may go into something entirely different, or have no wish to continue into further postgraduate studies after their Honours degree. Furthermore, an Honours student may not have the network or knowledge of journals available (especially if they have left university), or may be concerned about publishing 'too-early' in their career (Paré 2010). Meaning the work they pored over during their Honours degrees could become another essay confined to the depths of their Google Drives.

Meetings were set, discussions were had, pizza was consumed, and the 2018 team agreed that Edition 8 would accept submissions from Honours students. New Zealand places Honours students in an odd grey area between undergraduate and postgraduate. While it is a post-graduate degree, Honours students still gain access to Student Allowance (which "postgrads" do not), and departments in the Faculty of Arts often provide fully-taught or half-taught programmes, to provide a pedological transition from structured Bachelor's degrees to research-driven Master's degrees. This "grey area" also includes people undertaking a Postgraduate Diploma in Arts, who also study from the Bachelor of Arts (Hons) (or BA(Hons)) schedule.

We doubled our word count limit for the submissions (from the expected 3000 words for undergraduate submissions, to 6000 words for Honours students), and asked Honours students to submit essays, research, portfolios, and dissertations. Since a lot of Honours work is often larger than 6000 words (such as dissertations which can range from 10,000–20,000 words), we asked students to adapt their work for our word limit and audience. Through the help of the Faculty of Arts Student Development and Engagement Team, and our own campaigning on Facebook, we tried to get in contact with last year's Honours students, with a fear that most of them would no longer check their university email accounts and we'd have no submissions. And as submissions started coming in for Edition 7 (our 2018 undergraduate edition) but none for Edition 8, those fears were realised.

Finally, word spread and submissions started appearing. Choosing submissions for publication is never easy, but Edition 8 was one of the most difficult. The calibre of work was fantastic, but finally, we narrowed it down to the pieces which we believe stood out the strongest.

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Edition 8 of Interesting Journal is made of 12 independent pieces of academic work that were submitted (or adapted from submitted coursework) for a BA(Hons) course, between Semester One 2017–Semester Two 2018. 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.

Unlike our other editions, Edition 8 is not divided into sections, but instead has been curated so each work relates to the one that came before it. The edition opens with Lawrence's critique of capitalism, and the powerful use of language within utopian imaginaries, using a Lacanian approach to analyse discourse. This discussion about how language plays a role in constructing certain images and notions about a subject is continued in Whaley's work, on Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia. Whaley focuses on the representation of Elizabeth as a "feeling bride", and the intersection between this emotive image and the power she held as a woman during the 1600s.

Both Whaley and Lynch discuss the relationship between language and power from a feminist standpoint. Lynch discusses this regarding the rejection of language feminisation and inclusive writing by the Académie française (the official French language authority). Her work uses the application of Derridean deconstructionism, and discusses the benefits and limitations of feminist language planning. Hames continues the feminist discussion on her Art History piece on whether Rembrandt portrays the classic Lucretia as a victim or not. She compares Rembrandt's depiction to other portraits of Lucretia and examines the issues of sexual violence being depicted as erotic.

While Hames discusses the depiction of trauma, Patel discusses the limitation of one of the most common treatments for trauma—therapy. Patel discusses how the practice of therapy can be considered the industry of therapy, and can be adapted to serve capitalist agendas (specifically cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT)). He analyses issues within this industry, including its history and the modern use of CBT, and critiques the marketing of 'happiness' and reproduction of 'neuro-normativity' as capitalistically-productive.

McKay continues the critique of capitalism in his discussion on museum franchising. He examines whether museum franchises are sustainable in a sense of finances, reputation and ethics. His work is reflective on issues surrounding the accessibility and consumption of art and culture, and the intuitions that have power in this domain. Lees carries this reflection on in her work on the effect and ethics of archiving. In a piece that stood out to all members of our editorial team, Lees critically discusses archiving in New Zealand and introduces the Kanohi ki te Kanohi (face-to-face) Archiving Initiative that could combat the current issues in Aotearoa's archiving practices.

While Lees examines the preservation of knowledge in a colonialised country, Prajapati discusses the experience preserving (and fighting for) Indigenous right in a colonial context. Prajapati discusses the fight for human rights for India's Indigenous peoples,

often referred to as 'Adivasi'. She describes the complex power structures within India, such as the caste system and colonial impact, which affect the rights of the Adivasi. This conversation about complex colonial (and post-colonial) structures is continued in Master's work on settler colonialism, and the analogy of koala 'bears' (that are not bears, as Master explains).

Our final three essays all discuss the power of the media within our cultures, and the harm they can reproduce. Singh's essay looks at the media representation of domestic violence in New Zealand, drawing upon her own research on this topic. Her results show that the New Zealand media follows an international trend of highlighting physical violence and incident-specific reports instead of non-physical violence and long-term abusive behaviour. She also notes that the motives behind these crimes are often considered economical, and not social, which shows a "lack of critical interrogation for the reasons for violence in the patriarchal context of New Zealand".

Thompson examines the media as well, but focuses on the 2014 unconsented release of nude and semi-nude images, and private sexual content depicting celebrities, stolen from online cloud-storage services. Thompson discusses the specific terminology used by the media, and the how outrage at this incident has caused both benefits and issues for how image-based sexual assault is treated in the media, and by the public. Finally, Yeung invites us to turn our critical gaze of the media to Western misinterpretations of East Asian erotica. Her essay critiques the dominance of the Western male gaze, in film interpretation and everyday life, and considers whether a non-Western film can escape the influence of the West, particularly in regard to the exploitation and sexualisation of 'the Other'.

We hope you find all the works in this edition as interesting and insightful as everyone on the IJ team did while putting Edition 8 together. We hope we can continue to showcase the great work of both our undergraduate and Honours students alike, and introduce more students to the world of academic publication. It is surely through the introduction of more minds, and more research, that the flaws within the academic publishing industry can be tackled, critically evaluated, and solved.

Sociology 700

Advanced Problems in Sociological Theory

Cameron Lawrence

"I'll Tell You What I Want, What I Really Really Want": A Lacanian Approach to the Place of Utopia in Politics Today

"To those who suggest with a wry smile that I dream of May '68, I say, yes it's a fine dream. I prefer my lovely dream to the nightmares that are in the process of happening."

Jean-Luc Melenchon, 2018

It is immensely difficult to imagine what a world beyond capitalism would be like. Historically, however, such imaginings have played central roles in political efforts to realise a better world. This essay discusses why it is a cause for concern that the future has been ceded to the right, before arguing for the importance of critical utopian imaginaries for any left politics that truly aims to change the world. In making this argument, I turn to Jacques Lacan's conception of the subject. Drawing from Freud, Lacan maintains that we are split subjects, comprised of our ego, or consciousness, and the unconscious. Both dimensions of the subject have profound implications on the way we think, feel, and act, and as such, must be addressed in political strategy. Lacan demonstrates that this split, and our subsequent being, results from the institution and operations of language. Utopian imaginaries are uniquely positioned in the symbolic order to leverage our constitution by language in transformative ways. Here, I explore the power of such imaginaries to offer new modes of thought, and to challenge perverse and controlling operations within our unconscious, making the impossible possible, and helping to institute a new world. I then turn to making a case for the logic of permanent revolution, grounded in our inherent lack as illuminated by the Lacanian subject. Utopian thought is positioned as an important feature of such logic, in part as being a safety valve to mitigate despair during what can be slow and thwarted efforts towards change. Finally, a framework for thinking utopias based on Lacan's four discourses is discussed, followed by a reminder that utopian thought must be considered as part of broader efforts towards material change.

The State of the Future

Today, the future is being strangled by the invisible hand of the market. Visions of the future, once the domain of the left, are now dominated by the right in the service of capital. Prior to the 1980s, political invocations of modernity were intimately tied to notions of emancipatory societal progress: from Soviet space utopias and early communist positions on technology, through to Harold Wilson's 'white heat of technology' speech given to the British Labour Party in 1963 (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 72). These invocations were those of the left, with the right largely rejecting ideas of modernity in favour of tradition (Robin, 2011). This changed with neoliberalism's ascendancy. In the 1980s, the right adopted a new rhetorical strategy. Key neoliberal proponents behind figures such as Thatcher and Regan embraced the language of modernity, changing the driver of progress from people to capital (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 70). Subsequently, emancipation was decentred, and the left's visions were deemed unrealistic, fanciful, and redundant by society's new standards (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 72). For today's left, this has meant a detrimental turn away from envisioning utopias and asserting alternatives, limiting activity to solely resistance and reaction (Disalvo, 2015, p. 281). On top of this, there is widespread discomfort within the

left surrounding technological modernity, surfacing in passive or active unwillingness to engage with and think about new technologies (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 72). Whilst the right's capturing of the future is grave, we must remember that history shows us the possibility of an alternative.

Parallel to this, late capitalism has developed an efficacy, with desires met or manipulated so as to sufficiently justify domination. Marcuse (1955, pp. 100) makes this clear in his outlining of capitalism's functioning in its latest stage; more people's basic needs are now met, and luxury and comfort are continually being made more affordable. However, given humanity's technological achievements, we have the means to be living in a far freer society, with alienated labour ever reducing. The fact that we are not speaks to the dominance of neoliberal ideology, and, for Marcuse (1970, p. 64), capital's manipulation of our desires against the potential for a liberated world. Today, we pay for capitalism's 'efficacy' through our own repression; we sacrifice our time, our consciousness, and our dreams (Marcuse, 1955, p. 100). As Jameson (1994) put it, "It seems to be easier for us today to imagine the thoroughgoing deterioration of the earth and of nature than the breakdown of late capitalism" (p. 40). This historical moment represents a profound manipulation of both our consciousness and unconscious; we find it difficult to imagine alternatives we once could, and we desire lifestyles and commodities that represent so little of what is possible. However, whilst ideas can be suppressed, pushed to the margins and forgotten, something of them always survives (Adorno, 1991, p. 203). The radical left can, and must, bring grand visions back.

The Importance of Utopianism

Today's rejection of utopian visions by the left, adopted from the right, says that the only worthwhile forward thinking today is that which aims at a clear and immediate plan (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 72). This pragmatism rejects utopian imaginaries on the grounds of them being merely symbolic. However, it is precisely this symbolic nature that gives grand visions of the future political power. This assertion forms the basis of this essay, and lies in the knowledge that the subject is wholly constituted by language, or, the symbolic order.

The Subject and its Masters

Lacan was no radical, but his conception of the subject offers crucial insights into human behaviour, and ultimately reveals the possibility of radically different subjectivities. For Lacan, the subject is split between the ego, or consciousness, and the unconscious. Any account for how humans feel, interpret, or act in the world, must address both of these dimensions. Believing in, and dealing with, only the ego is to naively say that all human action stems from our rational will (Fink, 1995, p. 44). In reality, this 'reality' is imagined. With few exceptions, most people say or do things at odds with their image of themselves. Many feel as though what drives them is not their own wishes, but someone

else's wants, expectations, or goals (Fink, 1995, p. 9). Put simply, this is what Lacan (2001) meant by "man's desire is the désir de l'Autre (the desire of the Other)" (p. 238). Such unexplained fixations find their root in the unconscious. To understand why this is the case we must turn to the importance of language in the constitution of the subject, the basis upon which new subjectivities may be glimpsed with the help of utopian fantasy. Whilst political efforts are typically aimed at people's conscious selves, it rarely registers how deeply tied our ego is to language, nor the significance of this. The subject is split due to the functioning of language as we first learn to speak (Fink, 1995, p. 45), giving primacy to language in who we are as people. Lacan names this process alienation. We are born into a society with a pre-existing symbolic order, already populated by values, norms, and discourses (Fink, 1995, p. 5). To give an early example, we cannot get milk from our carers without learning how to cry out in an appropriate way. These ideas are not innate to us, but our relation to them is instilled through language, preventing us from being an organism of pure and uninhibited drives (Fink, 1995, p. 101). This necessary repression is the aspect of alienation that results in the formation of the ego; in amassing an understanding of how to think and act appropriately we come to see ourselves as an individual distinct from others. However, as Lacan makes clear, this image of ourselves is a misunderstanding (Fink, 1995, p. 37). 'Our' ideas do not come from within us, they stem from all others, or the Other. As such, Lacan (2001) states that "I is an other" (p. 18). What is crucial for the situating of utopian visions is twofold: What we come to understand as our 'self' is a product of language, and what we are able to think necessarily stems from our location with the symbolic order. As such, utopian imaginaries that strive to symbolise alternatives to the current world introduce new possibilities for conceiving of ourselves, having the potential to change how we think at a fundamental level, and correspondingly change our actions.

The other side to alienation is the formation of the unconscious, the side of the split subject typically neglected by political efforts. Despite the intrinsic falsity, at the level of the ego we identify with our beliefs. The unconscious, on the other hand, is far more alien. From when we are first introduced to language, we store all that we hear and encounter: not at the level of meaning, but as signifiers (Fink, 1995, p. 10). This is made possible not simply through the biological operations of our brains, but also, crucially, the workings of language itself (Fink, 1995, p. 20). This repository of sorts is what Lacan calls the unconscious, with the combination of it being inaccessible to the ego and its 'remembering' function being automatic making it so alienating (Fink, 1995, p. 45). In short, Lacan asserted that the unconscious is a chain of signifiers, ordered and unfolding according to specific rules (Fink, 1995, p. 10). What is most important about these rules here, is that they in no way rely on the ego's identification with particular signifiers. Instead, signifiers are arranged based on laws similar to those found in spoken languages (Lacan, 2001, p. 179), that is, around having common elements as a whole, or between phonemes or letters (Fink, 1995, p. 9). Meaning is only added when a word is unexpectedly 'remembered' or blurted out, in an attempt to maintain the ego's sense of completeness (Fink, 1995, p. 44). It is only when there is difficulty applying meaning that

this process poses issues for the ego (Fink, 1995). Why and when exactly some element of the unconscious burdens the ego is the subject of much of psychoanalytic theory and practice (Craib, 2001), and is beyond the scope of this essay. To target this work, I lay out how a particular signifier central to the operations of capital, that of 'employability', controls our collective subjectivity, and what role utopian fantasies play in combating this by way of their relationship to the symbolic order.

In the operations of the unconscious there are particular signifiers which relate to all others. Without these master signifiers, all other signifiers represent nothing (Fink, 1995, p. 74). Whilst these relations are formed and operate at an unconscious level, they have a profound effect on a person's conscious identification with ideas and application of meaning. Under capitalism, employability is one such master signifier, with late capitalism entrenching its position (Cremin, 2015, p. 82). For many workers today, work and life are no longer distinct spheres. Their 'careers' require longer hours at the office, and taking phones and laptops home to remain contactable at all times (Standing, 2011, p. 38). Simultaneously, precarious work is increasingly expanding, no longer limited to low wage employment (Standing, 2011, p. 15). The impetus is to justify this uncritically, to convince ourselves that this is just how it is, that it is all worth for it for the additional line on our CV, that whilst this experience might be bad, it is only a stepping stone towards some ultimate and satisfying destination (Cremin, 2015, p. 66). All of these justifications are rooted in employability, the master signifier that holds all other signifiers together (Cremin, 2015, p. 89). We know what employability means in our mother tongue, but we do not fully interrogate its meaning to ourselves. When we attempt to step back with a semblance of rationality, we feel as though we are pursuing the wishes of someone else, our family, friends, bosses, or society itself. There seems to be no way around it though, 'employability' remains opaque, nonsensical, a master signifier in control (Fink, 1995, p. 77). To truly interrogate employability would be to challenge it, locate whose desires it serves, and refuse fixation and discomfort. We need new master signifiers to replace employability and other such symbolic refractions of capital. Utopian imaginaries play an important role in this agitation for a new subjectivity.

The central task of Lacanian psychoanalysis is to identify master signifiers controlling an analysand in perverse ways, help to overcome them, and institute new ones (Fink, 1995, p. 92). Our task here is the same, though such a transformation relies not on a particular analyst, but on collective efforts. Utopian imaginaries, in their particular relation to the symbolic order, play an important role in this task. Clinically, a master signifier can be overcome through dialectisation. By speaking about and around an issue, the master signifier at the heart of the problem can be brought into relation with other signifiers such that its meaning is determined for the analysand (Fink, 1995, p. 26). The task here is not to simply name the master signifier, but to make new, previously impossible, connections to it (Fink, 1995, p. 65). To symbolise the previously unsymbolisable is to touch on the Lacanian real. Touching on the real in politics, at the level of collectivity, is to move towards bringing forth a radically innovative master signifier, and thus radically

new subjectivity (Chiesa, 2007, p. 191). This is precisely what utopian thought is about, dreaming the impossible, putting it into imagery and words, striving for something better to be realised. To imagine utopias is to endeavour to dialectise the master signifiers that dominate us, challenging 'what is' with "what else?". The institution of new master signifiers is crucial to societal change, as to truly transform subjectivity, our relations, and our actions, we need not just new egos, but a new unconscious. To understand our structure is to know the failings of rationality and the power of desire; we must revolutionise both dimensions of the split subject.

There is No Utopian Subject

To look at the history of liberatory struggle is to see a recurring desire for a better world. To look at Lacan's theory of the subject is to see an immutable drive for something more. Bringing these threads together, this essay makes the case for a logic of permanent revolution, and the perpetual need for utopian imaginaries as a guiding force. From early liberalism to communism, feminist struggles to afro-futurism, utopian fantasy has played a central role. As such, a universal discomfort with the state of things, across time and space, makes itself known (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 139). On a personal level, regardless of political inclinations, we can all relate to wanting to right perceived injustices. What this would mean in practice though, depends on one's analysis of the situation, a point that will be returned to later. It would appear then, that there is a type of lack experienced by all people. For Lacan, this lack lies at the heart of what it means to be human. For us, this lack lies at the heart of understanding the place of utopian fantasy in politic efforts.

In becoming a split subject, a fundamental lack is instilled. As a result, we can never be wholly satisfied. This knowledge forges a crucial link between the personal and political. Fundamental to coming to see ourselves as a distinct individual is being faced with the enigmatic existence of other people's desires (Fink, 1995, p. 59). When a child first drinks from the breast or bottle, the person feeding them is not perceived as a separate entity. It is only when the child fails to achieve immediate satisfaction in subsequent instances of wanting to be fed that they come to realise the lack of a carer-child unity, that there exist others outside of themselves with their own interests and desires (Fink, 1995, p. 94). Similarly, when a child cries out for milk, they may be misinterpreted by their carer and instead held (Fink, 1995, p. 6). Again they are faced with a discontinuity, that their experience of the world is different to another's. We come to register that we cannot be instantaneously satisfied, yet part of us holds out for the possibility of being so again. This is the cause of desire, or object (a), the process by which desiring is made possible, hinging on lack (Fink, 1995, p. 94). That lack is intrinsic to subjectivity is the basis upon which utopia must be conceptualised, and which the strength of imaginaries shines through. For a political system to meet all of our desires it would have to be a womb, and we would have to become the foetuses inside of it; the carer-child unity would have to be restored. This is impossible. There is no utopian subject.

Lacan's insights verify people's universal discomfort with the state of things, but also allow us to see that this will always be the case. Even if we realised one's utopian society today, this remains true. As such, revolutionary efforts must be viewed as permanent, always shifting in response to people's ever changing desires. Utopian fantasy is uniquely positioned to guide such continual reimagining. Outside of a revolutionary period, social change takes time (Harman, 2008). Campaigning, protesting, legal work, lobbying, providing services, hosting public forums, and even armed struggle, all rely on some form of analysis of the current situation, and applying pressure towards change in areas subsequently deemed effective sites of leverage (Harvey, 2014, p. xiv). This pragmatism is crucial, but its slow pace, if there is any movement at all, can be incredibly disheartening (Chen & Gorski, 2015, p. 12). Fantasy provides a space where there are no material barriers, where the only powers that you are fighting are those in your own head, attempting to dialectise capitalism's master signifiers that weigh down on you. Existing wholly in the symbolic order, utopian fantasy offers a space to step back and evaluate the direction of collective efforts, as well as an eternal space for hope.

Imaginaries as Safety Valves

As a space for hope, utopian fantasies can act like a safety valve for revolutionary energy. With successes in political organising comes a flood of positive emotions. However, these can be few and far between. Despite this, organisers and activists push on. Faced with continual challenges, many of us experience burnout (Chen & Gorski, 2015). This drive for a better world, for something more, continues despite how we consciously feel. Lacan's concept of jouissance explains why this is the case. With the institution of object (a), the subject first experiences jouissance (Fink, 1995, p. xii). For Lacan, humans always desire more, we are driven towards excess in the hopes of re-encountering our lost carer-child unity. This experience that we chase, that of extreme excitement, whether consciously felt as pleasure or pain, is jouissance (Fink, 1995, p. 60). Due to the impossibility of returning to our lost carer-child unity, jouissance found is always partial. "'That's not it' is the very cry by which the jouissance obtained is distinguished from the jouissance expected" (Lacan, 1998, p. 111). Utopian imaginaries offer an important strategy to mitigate the detrimental effects of our drive for more in the context of political efforts. As Freud (2010) suggests in The Interpretation of Dreams, dreams offer a space for the release of built up energies not satisfied whilst fully conscious (Craib, 2001, p. 20). We may turn to utopian imaginaries for the same purpose. Fantasy offers a near limitless and malleable symbolic universe in which to partially satiate our drive for more. As such, we must encourage utopian imaginaries as a safety valve, a means through which jouissance can be sought out that does not drive us into the dirt as on-the-ground action commonly does.

Despite the importance of utopian imaginaries for the mental health of political actors, its functioning as a safety valve is also the source of potential jeopardy for political

efforts. Fantasy can be intoxicating, held onto as it fills the void inside of us more completely than the material world can. As such, uncritical utopian imaginaries may leave us dreaming rather than acting, heading in directions unrealisable from the start, or marching down a path with unforeseen and potentially perverse outcomes (Wright, 2010, p. 6). Limited to the function of a safety valve, utopian imaginaries need not be invariably grounded in realism. The search for jouissance does not rely on pragmatism, and as such, neither does hope. However, if utopian visions are to provide guidance in the never ending push towards better worlds, these dangers must be recognised (Wright, 2010). Therefore, if imaginaries are to be more than a crutch propping up weary struggles, a framework which incorporates a degree of realism needs to be established. What Does Utopia Look Like?

Hysteric Multiplicity

In establishing a framework for radical utopian thought, a balance must be struck between multiplicity and directionality. Multiplicity in our imaginaries allows for adaptation, inspiration, and a wide-ranging exploration of possibilities. Historically, different contexts have given rise to massively varying ideations: Afro-futurism with its highly stylised imagery linked to anti-racist struggle, gender abolition stemming from radical queer and feminist theory, fully automated luxury communism tied to perceived radical potential in the increasing automation of jobs today, and many more (Srnicek & Williams, 2015). Such diversity and dynamism responds to important particularities, and rejects static end goals for society (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 139), demonstrating the need for, and embracing logics of, permanent revolution. Extensive variation within these modes of thought shares the same strength. Russian cosmism serves as a useful case study here. Imagining the immanent colonisation of space, the end of class relations under detailed new economic models, and even immortality, cosmists were initially disregarded as being superfluous and naïve dreamers (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 137). However, their scope captured people's desires, and came to inform aerospace developments along with Soviet technology and science policy (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 139). That such imaginaries were suppressed during the Stalinist era speaks both to the danger alternative and multiple fantasies pose to established orders, and to the perversity of attempts to force a unified utopian vision (Srnicek & Williams, 2015, p. 137). Expressed here is the necessity that utopian imaginaries be heterogeneous if they are to fill our lack and effect material and ideological change. Though in simply calling for multiplicity, no steps towards a generalizable framework for thinking utopia are made. To make these steps, we may consider the particular historical record of Russian cosmism in light of Lacan's discourses.

Lacan (2007) first lays out his four major discourses in Seminar XVII: The Other Side of Psychoanalysis. Understanding university discourse as serving the master as in Lacan's later work (Fink, 1995, p. 132), this essay's construction of a framework for utopian imaginings focusses on the remaining three discourses: that of the master, hysteric,

and analyst. It is via rejection of the master's discourse in favour of that of the hysteric and analyst that utopian imaginaries are able to inspire and guide revolutionary efforts and avoid trappings. Stalin's silencing of views outside of his government's programme capture the essence of the master's discourse. A master attempts to position themselves as the master signifier, the signifier underpinning all others, asserting themselves as the unquestionable source of truth. For the master, knowledge is inconsequential. What matters is that their power is upheld (Fink, 1995, p. 132). When Stalin's Glavlit edited photos and propaganda to remove dissenters (King, 1997), it was done precisely to elevate the master's image, to smooth over the fact that Stalin, like all others, was not a unified whole, but a split subject alienated by language (Fink, 1995, p. 132). Envisioning a multiplicity of alternatives is to challenge the master, to attempt to overthrow the operating or asserted master signifier (Fink, 1995, p. 132). As such, the Russian cosmists operated as hysterics, though in this case as hysterics who were largely silenced by the master. The power of hysteric discourse lies in that fact that it is commanded by object (a) (Fink, 1995, p. 134). The hysteric embraces their split and is driven towards knowledge. They demand answers to "why?" and "what if?", refusing to accept the master's power as taken for granted (Fink, 1995, p. 133). As such, utopian fantasies must strive to operate at the level of hysteric discourse. Hysteric fantasies operate as fantasy should, seeking out jouissance, agitating for more. For utopian imaginaries to remain critical and avoid perverse outcomes they must say no to masters, always seeking to institute a new and improved master signifier, always seeking permanent revolution.

Analytic Directionality

Whilst hysteric discourse embodies multiplicity, it lacks in providing guidance to political efforts in the now. For directionality we must turn to analytic discourse. For the analyst, their goal is to embody pure desirousness, object (a), so as to interrogate the split subject's division (Fink, 1995, p. 135). Analytic discourse is the exact opposite of the master's discourse; the goal of analysis is to ascertain the master signifier at the heart of oppression in order to generate a new master signifier and thus new social relations (Tomši , 2015, p. 206). This extends from the clinical setting to the political realm, as Tomši (2015, p. 206) makes clear in positing that Marx followed analytic logic in his critique of political economy. Marx challenged the grounds on which the society of his time and place was based, seeking to understand how the bourgeoisie operate as the masters of the proletariat, asserting the possibility of an alternative world. The answer to Tomši 's (2015) question, "Was Marx an analyst of the proletariat?" (p. 206), is yes, and we should strive to be too. It is within analytic discourse that this essay itself is situated. There is, however, a key difference between an analytic approach to diagnosing the state of things and exploring immanent possibilities, and imagining utopias. As outlined, utopian imaginaries thrive in their multiplicity and, in many ways, their lack of rigour; they must remain hysteric to a large degree. Alongside this, if we are to avoid inaction and ensure a degree of pragmatism, at least when drawing on utopian imaginaries to inform action, we must incorporate analytic discourse, keeping mind the aim of touching

on the real and instituting new master signifiers. Thus, an appropriate balance must be struck between analytic and hysteric discourse in establishing a framework for thinking utopias. To probe this balance, I turn to Marcuse's post-work imaginaries, which relate directly to replacing today's master signifier of employability.

From Marcuse's (1955, p. 47) analytic discourse, work and pleasure are in no way irreconcilable. That they are pitted against one another today is a product of workers being alienated from their labour due to capitalist domination. Whilst still allowing for a multiplicity of imaginaries, Marcuse's pronouncement that a world in which our drives do not suffer surplus-repression is possible, gives a particular orientation to utopias we should dream. Capitalism is justified in part by the assertion that scarcity is an unchangeable reality, and that our drive for pleasure, or jouissance in Lacanian terms, cannot possibly be met as a result (Marcuse, 1955, p. 36). The performance principle is instituted, our libido being channelled into alienating work and competition between one another (Marcuse, 1955, p. 45). However, issues of scarcity are not innate to this world, but the result of a particular organisation of scarcity (Marcuse, 1955, p. 37). Technological developments have given rise to the possibility of a far freer world (Marcuse, 1970, p. 64), where scarcity, if it remained at all, could be dealt with by directing technology towards the fulfilment of our needs and drives, minimising repression (Marcuse, 1969, p. 19). In this same shift, embracing automation and other productive forces could abolish much of the boring, draining, and soulless work of capitalist progress (Marcuse, 1969, p. 21). Marcuse demonstrates that it is not scarcity that necessitates surplus-repression, but capitalism. His work strives to dialectise the master signifier of employability under capitalism, bringing the real possibility of a new world into the symbolic order based instead on the freedom of jouissance. Giving direction, as well as rupturing open a space in which we may imagine a multiplicity of utopias, Marcuse's work demonstrates the unison between analytic and hysteric discourse from which we should think utopias.

Beyond Fantasy

Whilst the analysis here serves to elucidate the importance of imagining utopias in effecting political change, it is vital to situate such activities within broader efforts. We cannot just think ourselves out of capitalism, no matter how great our visions. Whether or not our basic needs are met, what educational resources we have access to, the structure of our workplaces, and the commodities with which we are bombarded are all material in important ways. To change them, we cannot merely rely on talking about them. This does not invalidate the subject's thorough constitution by language, but illuminates the connections between materiality and the symbolic. Whilst a detailed exploration of this connection is beyond the scope of this essay, I provide here a brief case study of education to make the point. In the US, fewer poor students graduate from high school, attend university, and graduate from university compared to wealthier students (Berg, 2010, p. 65). When attending university, poor students are also more

likely to attend lower ranked institutions (Berg, 2010, p. 62). Whilst the education system must not be artificially inflated as a site of critical thought, that poor students are failed by it speaks to their learning being stifled, clearly impacting what is able to be thought (White, 2016). Additionally, less valued education relegates the poor to lower paying jobs (Berg, 2010), and thus the type of alienated labour trapped under the master signifier of employability. Imagining utopias may play an important role in conceptualising an improved education system, but without them it is still clear that immediate change is needed, change that will effect what thought is possible. To rubbish utopianism is undoubtedly damaging as this essay shows, but materialism is crucial in efforts to dialectise oppressive master signifiers and institute new ones.

Additionally, changes in the material world offer a vital fixity not attainable for utopian ideas. To get rid of key features of the welfare state, such as public education, healthcare, and pensions, would spell the end of any government's rule in Western Europe (Vivekanandan & Kurian, 2005, p. 314). Of course there are dangers that such services will continue to be cut back under the guise of austerity (Vivekanandan & Kurian, 2005, p. 68), but deep popular support ensures that they are here to stay for the foreseeable future (Greve, 2006, p. 7). Utopian imaginaries are not able to be enshrined legally and institutionally in the same way. On top of this, utopias are ever-new and inexhaustible. In this light, they are the perfect commodity, a promise of total fulfilment that is never quite reached (Murtola, 2010, p. 38). From Buy Paradise (n.d.), a real estate company that flies potential buyers to view houses in tropical locations around the world, to Ambiance Implex Limited's Paradise food range, which includes Paradise Quality Corned Beef (n.d.), companies know this. Paradise is not invoked in the plethora of such marketing approaches to bring anything new into the symbolic order. It is being used as a tool aiming for the libidinal investment of consumers. Material change cannot be co-opted by capital in the same way as it is not solely at the level of the symbolic. We must remember these dangers in thinking utopias, and chiefly remember the strength of material change.

Conclusion

Today, people are working longer hours in more precarious jobs, but it is all supposed to be fine as a handful more 'luxuries' are available. To dream of a better world, where work is no longer alienating, where there is no discrimination, where technology ceases to be bound to profit motives, is deemed naïve by both right and left. Yet we still dream, and must continue to if we hope to escape capitalism's choke hold. Utopian fantasy is crucial to changing both ourselves and the world, and must be welcomed in political strategy. As beings of language, the symbolic structures we create in fantasy have powerful effects at both our conscious and unconscious levels. To imagine utopia is to challenge the inadequacies of our current world, opening up alternative possibilities for conscious analysis and understanding. Simultaneously, such imagining strives to touch on the real, symbolising that which was inconceivable prior our explorations. In this process we are able to make new connections, unsettling the master signifiers upon which our current order rests, striving to institute new ones. Utopian thought is the talking cure of politics.

Recognising that lack is inherent to subjectivity both directs and illuminates the strengths of utopia. We will never be completely satisfied with the state of things, and as such, must permanently revolt. Our imaginaries must always challenge the master, interrogating them from a multiplicity of directions, embodying the discourse of the hysteric. We must also be analytic, though, seeking out immanent spaces of possibility, and imagining where they might lead to direct our actions. Fantasy can spark our desires and offer hope, but remaining critical is necessary so as to not be pacified by our imagination. The pragmatists are right, in that material efforts are the heart and soul of political change, but we must not stifle our dreams.

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Arts General 780

Arts General Specialising in English and Art History

Susannah Whaley

'Coruscations of joy': representations of Elizabeth of Bohemia as a feeling bride

'We princes are set as it were upon stages in the sight and the view of the world.'
(Elizabeth I) (Marcus, 2016, p. 140)

Frank Lorenz Müller argues that in the nineteenth century royals became 'media monarchs', using image and personality to reinforce their rule (2016, p. 10). However, in the seventeenth century, poetry and portraiture circulated textual and visual images of royals within the court and more broadly, the circulation of which royals themselves often had a hand in commissioning and authorising. Because the royal individual's career was so linked to their public function, important personal moments demanded public recognition. As a princess, Elizabeth Stuart's marriage in 1613 provided the opportunity for broad religious and diplomatic image shaping. In this essay, I focus on representations of Elizabeth's joy and love at her wedding as displayed through imagery, dress, and representations of facial expressions and habits. In doing so, I explore how these emotions contributed to the construction of the princess's public persona as a woman of feeling. The term 'feeling' is appropriate, as 'emotion' carried and still carries connotations of strong feeling distinct from reason (OED Online, 2017a, sec. 3b). Elizabeth's display of joy was carefully crafted both by herself and the poets, artists, and others responsible for creating and disseminating her image. Throughout this essay I suggest that the image of Elizabeth as a feeling bride, still a dependent in her natal country, was interpreted by English poets and her father for dynastic and religious ends. Elizabeth was a princess, without direct access to political power. She was, however, a political figure and could exercise political influence as daughter and eventually wife and sister to a king, and mother of future kings. R.O. Bucholz and Carole Levin describe royal women gaining agency by using subservience, humility and emotionalism (expressions traditionally associated with womanhood) to their advantage, such as Catherine of Aragon who begged the king to pardon the May Day Rioters of 1517 with tears (2009, p. xxiii). However, my focus is not on Elizabeth's political agency through her relationship with her husband, Frederick, but through this relationship's representation. Patricia Crawford and Sara Mendelson write that 'the power of the monarchs forced women to disguise their emotions in order to pander to the desires of their lovers,' but I widen their argument by changing 'the power of the monarchs' to the power of the public image, and 'their lovers' to society at large, whether this was the court, or a friend with finances whom a woman needed to impress (Crawford and Mendelson, 1998, p. 369).

Deanne Williams suggests it was at the accession of her father to the English throne as James I in 1603 that Elizabeth 'began to experience her own life as a performance', presumably because James' increased dignities gave his daughter, Elizabeth, increased public visibility (2014, p. 131). In 1612, sixteen-year-old Elizabeth was visited in London by the young Elector Palatine of the Rhine and Head of the Protestant Union, Frederick V. Her match to Frederick was supported by her devoutly Protestant brother, Prince Henry, the heir to the English throne. When Henry died that November, the popular hopes of English Protestants were transferred to the couple. Elizabeth and Frederick were married in London on St. Valentine's Day of 1613, accompanied by poetic tributes

to what appears to have been a genuine love (Smart and Wade, 2013, pp. 13-60, 52-53). During Elizabeth's wedding, spectators reported on her face 'coruscations and lightnings of joy that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter' (Arthur Wilson cited in Green, 1854a, p. 208). Despite the apparent authenticity of Elizabeth's joy, this was a couple whose love, in their real lives as in poetry, was on display for political and dynastic purposes. The primary function of Elizabeth and Frederick's union was the diplomatic union of kingdoms and the production of royal heirs, who following Henry's death, might one day succeed to the English throne. I focus on the representation of Elizabeth's happiness and love by contemporary poets, and how these portrayals contribute to the image of Elizabeth as an innocent bride and suitable royal mother. The hundreds of poems written to celebrate the symbolic marriage of the Thames and Rhine also express hope for a future son who will defeat the hated Catholics and might one day inherit the English throne (cf. Wither, 1613; 2004). The poems suggest that the assurance of this hope lies in Elizabeth's love and faithfulness to her husband. While poetry pleased its patron, it also responded to popular sentiments, so these poems may be considered both as portraying the image the monarch implicitly endorsed and presenting an image in line with English and Protestant hopes.*

Relevant to my consideration of Elizabeth's image as a feeling woman in early modern poetry and portraiture, is Sophie Tomlinson's concept of the silent, yet expressive woman in Stuart court drama and theatricals. Tomlinson suggests the mute role Stuart women played in court masques offered them 'persuasive agency', legible through 'a dynamic language of action and motion' (2009, p. 19, 21). Even if a princess did not have the opportunity to speak in public, on the occasion of Elizabeth's wedding, her display was observed and manipulated by the poets who appropriated her voice.

The Joyful and Loving Bride

Elizabeth and Frederick's marriage was reportedly an occasion of 'vniuersall joy' (Heywood, 1613; 1992, l. 551). Elizabeth is represented as pushing the world from 'the wet Winter of our teares', associated with Prince Henry's death to 'so sweet a Summer of warme loue' (Heywood, 1613; 1992, ll.1, 582). The show of love was crucial. Juan Luis Vives, in his sixteenth-century conduct book *The Education of a Christian Woman*, tells us:

> That most wise fashioner of human emotions [Christ] was aware that whatever alliance was joined together with this glue [love] would not need any other laws, edicts, statutes, pacts or agreements. All would proceed in the greatest tranquillity and harmony; there would be no quarrels…   (2000, p. 177)

Love signified a happy household, and happy are 'we that see it, / For the good of Europe be it' (Wither, 1613; 2004, ep. 1, 2). The royal couple's harmony symbolically reflected the love of the king with his subjects. In his *Nuptial Hymns* Henry Peacham describes

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*Elizabeth's was the first royal wedding to take place in England since the marriage of Mary I to Philip II of Spain. The effusive tributes it inspired may be attributed to this and to the popularity of her marriage to a Protestant prince. George Marcelline's *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum*, written for the marriage of Charles I to the French Catholic princess Henrietta Maria in 1625, expresses its joy in less exalted terms than most of the tributes to Elizabeth, which combine religious, mythical, and natural imagery to suggest that the wedding heralds a new age.

Elizabeth as a 'Cyprian Queen' and describes her kingdom as an Eden of plenty where the trees themselves fall in love with each other, kissing their leaf tops together (1992b, Hymn/l. 3:11, 4:23-24). In this example, romantic love aligns with material security, and suggests a political and metaphysical union greater than their physical bodies.

Nevertheless, the poems celebrating Elizabeth and Frederick's marriage are acutely personal in their presentation of Elizabeth's physical and emotional love. The poets do not hesitate to enter Elizabeth's head, or her bed. In Joanne Maria de Franchis's *Of The Most Auspicatious Marriage*, Elizabeth and Frederick are depicted meeting with a kiss. A kiss also marked the couple's first real life meeting. A 1612 London newsletter states that until Frederick reached her, Elizabeth was 'noted till then not to turn so much as a corner of an eye towards him' (cited Green, 1854a, p. 190). The report highlights the scrutiny of the occasion and the princess's self-aware reserve. Kisses were frequently exchanged as greetings, and Helen Berry associates the kiss of greeting with the biblical kiss of peace and equality (2005, pp. 62-63). Elizabeth and Frederick's kiss can thus be interpreted as showing their kingdoms as friends. However, in Franchis's poem, the kiss is not a simple greeting. Already Frederick has been struck by Cupid's dart, calling him to Elizabeth from across the sea, and Franchis specifies the kiss Elizabeth gives Frederick is on the lips, which even in early modern England was more sexual than a kiss elsewhere (Turner, 2005, p. 84). Elizabeth's offering is a 'modest maiden kisse', but the enamoured Frederick takes it as a fulfilment of his desires (Franchis, 1613, p. 51 verse 22). Rather than representing Elizabeth as England, which would not be subordinate to the Palatinate, the poet stresses Elizabeth's primary function in the marriage is as a woman. The kiss kindles love's fire in Elizabeth, but she doesn't know where this 'sodaine motion' has come from, her 'virgin breast' having never known love (p. 51 verse 23). Elizabeth bemoans the 'vncouth passions' that 'clog' her breast (the description connoting an unnatural blockage) (p. 53 verse 39).† Her mother, an outsider who embodies the perspective of the male narrator, observes her conflicted love with a smile.

Elizabeth's sexual conflict shows her as sexually purer than Frederick, a paradox Jessica Murphy explores in the context of early modern literature and conduct literature, suggesting the eroticisation of the virgin may be an attempt to curb the ability of a woman who does not belong to the "patriarchal sexual economy" to define herself (2015, p. 15).‡ Franchis' Elizabeth is passive, and yet she is portrayed as the reason Frederick is held in thrall, 'danted', losing control over his limbs (1613, p. 51 verse 22). This attributes power to Elizabeth, who responds to the kiss by claiming she will not let herself love. Interestingly, she links her ability to control her emotions to her nobility; defying love to trouble her, 'were loue so bold / To enterprise our royall Vigin brest' (1613, p. 54 verse 40). But, almost immediately after denying love's entry, Elizabeth relinquishes her power, praying to the god of love to soften her father's heart towards Frederick as a potential spouse. Here, love renders her woman rather than princess. In the late seventeenth century, the Athenian Society counselled husbands whose wives wouldn't obey them to "stop her mouth with a Kiss… if you can kiss her whether she will or no, 'twill be a

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† For a similar conflict represented in Walter Montagu's The Shepherd's Paradise (1632), see Tomlinson, 2005, p. 62.
‡ Murphy draws on Theodora Janowski's claim that "Being a virgin means that the woman in question defines herself in terms of herself and other women, not in terms of men, or the patriarchal sexual economy."

convincing argument that you are still the stronger" (Berry, 2005, 69-70). Elizabeth's inability to maintain the serenity of royalty directly enhances her role as a virtuous bride. While Frederick might not seek to actively stopper Elizabeth's mouth with his kiss, in the poem Elizabeth's mouth is made effusive with his praises. Elizabeth praises Frederick's heritage and empire, exactly the qualities considered by those who chose him as her bridegroom (p. 55 verse 48). Moreover, the poem portrays Elizabeth's self-enforced silence – she dare not give into her desires without her father's consent (p. 54 verse 42). The kiss foreshadows her role as Frederick's wife, a precursor to her body being used to give birth to his children. Her love, in tandem with her reproductive function, serves the state's needs. The literary Elizabeth is incapable of controlling her own display of feeling – Elizabeth cannot hide her blush. In her relationship with her father, she moves back from daughter to princess, but acknowledges neither position gives her control: 'Vnlesse *my father* giue his full consent, / Vnlesse *my King* appoint me whom to loue: / Loues arrowes are in vaine but idly spent' (my italics) (p. 54 verse 41). At last, 'with a sigh her speach she smothereth' (p. 55 verse 46), indicating her lack of agency in her own feelings. The blush authenticates her emotions, representing an Elizabeth truly devoted to her new husband. Her faithfulness will ensure that there is no doubt about the legitimacy of his children's succession. To fulfil her duty as wife, Elizabeth must have eyes only for him.

The presentation of the blushing bride continues into the bedchamber, the focal point of epithalamia, which were originally sung outside the bridal chamber while consummation took place (Eastwood, 2013, p. 3). Graham Parry draws attention to 'how little privacy Jacobean lovers had', shown by the joyful closing stanza of John Donne's epithalamion which describes watchers within the bedchamber who wait for the bride or groom to open the bed curtains in the morning. Parry simultaneously dismisses this as 'a charming genre scene' dwelling 'affectionately on the lovers' happiness' (1981, p. 106). However, Donne's presentation of Elizabeth's happy feelings reinforces that her marriage is a political alliance. Elizabeth is the 'faire Phœnix bride', her wedding jewels like a constellation of stars (Donne, 1978, ll. 29-36). The poet's focus moves almost straight from dressing the bride to desiring her to 'vanish from her clothes into her bed' (l.77). During the day he hurries the lovers, asking why they walk so slowly; 'is all your care but to be look'd upon, / And be to others spectacle, and talke?' (ll.61-64). Ironically, the procession's spectacle gives way to another as Donne follows Frederick first into Elizabeth's 'sheets, then her arms, then '*any where*' (my emphasis) (l.82). Donne's impatience is matched by George Wither's remark that if Valentine wants to see Elizabeth as a virgin 'Come, and do it now, or neuer', presenting a bed which 'longeth' for the bodies of bride and groom (Wither, 1613; 2004, ep. 2). In Franchis, the blushing princess needs to be urged forward, but her reluctance only makes her more attractive, '[l]ike Roses shut which promise greater Grace' (p. 76 verse 176). Elizabeth's hesitation is a clear sign of her virginity and suitability as royal bride. Henry Peacham's Venus is called to undo the virgin goddess Diana's girdle from Elizabeth's waist (1992b, Hymn/ll. 3:61-63). The allusion to Diana and the girdle being taken off has special significance following Elizabeth I's reign and the associations between the two Elizabeths. The young Elizabeth

assimilates her namesake's virginity and converts it into marital chastity.

Donne calls Elizabeth (and Frederick) a phoenix not only for the phoenix's bright and brilliant beauty, but for its mythical association with continuity. The legend of the phoenix states that the bird perishes in flames and is born again from its own ashes. In the marriage bed, Donne states that '[their] motion kindles such fires as shall give / Young phoenixes' (1978, ll.25-26), referring to the married couple's offspring. This 'motion' is two-fold, both the motion of the heart and the sexual motion of two bodies. In their writings, early modern English clerics present a simultaneous orgasm as necessary for conception, almost directly tying Elizabeth's love for Frederick to the act of procreation (Fletcher, 1994, p. 176). Poet Robert Allyne likewise emphasises the phoenix's ability to reproduce 'a world of royall Seed' to 'adorn the earth when ye are dead' (1613, n.p.). Meanwhile, Donne's description of Elizabeth as 'a new starre' which 'falls, but doth not die' (1978, ll. 38-39) anticipates Henry Ball of Oxford's eulogium for Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange. Ball writes 'but cease to mourn – a princess never dies, / But like the sun, doth only set to rise' (cited in Green, 1854b, p. 332). The phoenix/ sun is not Elizabeth/Mary but her position, which after she dies will be taken by another princess. The phoenix indicates Elizabeth's love forms part of a dynastic chain, a chain which also includes Frederick. This 'festive, communal celebration of reproduction' is standard in epithalamia, but has special significance in the context of a royal marriage, as Adrienne Eastwood notes in the context of Mary Stuart and Francis of Valois (2013, pp. 5, 11-12). Donne writes that 'by this act of these two Phenixes / Nature againe restored is' (1978, l. 100). Especially after Prince Henry's death three months before, the poems herald the marriage as a time of new dynastic beginnings. As well as serving as a diplomatic bond between Elizabeth and Frederick's Protestant kingdoms, it was intended that by the royal match Elizabeth would become a mother and have children.

Unusually, Elizabeth's association with chaste virtue continues right into the person of her son: Peacham imagines 'His Mothers gracefull Modestie' in the rosy cheeks of Elizabeth's offspring (1992b, Hymn/ll. 3:83-84).§ This presentation of virtue relates to early modern perceptions that a woman's chastity remained intact as long as she was faithful to her husband, of amplified importance when it came to the legitimacy of a male heir (Murphy, 2015, p. 15). The real Elizabeth had the consummation of her marriage examined by the king, her father, as a matter of state the morning following her marriage (Lewalski, 1993, p. 52).** Considering this, Peacham's emphasis on both Elizabeth's sexual experience and her consistent sexual innocence makes sense.†† According to Vives 'The most sure sign of chastity is to love one's husband with one's whole heart' (2000, p. 192). Such love was exemplified in turtledoves who mated for life, and not only do doves appear in Donne's *Epithalamion*, but Elizabeth and Frederick surpass them as phoenixes (p. 302). In order for the marriage to be dynastically successful, Donne implies, Elizabeth must hand over her heart along with her body. Through Elizabeth's love, England's strength and its dynastic contribution to the royal families of Europe is maintained. But while all the light in the poem signifies warmth and passion, Donne exalts it in an

§ Frances Dolan suggests that many children showed a royal couple's intimacy (1999, p. 131).
** Lewalski cites a letter written by John Chamberlain to Alice Carleton (February 18th, 1613) stating that James "did strictly examine [Frederick] whether he were a true son-in-law, and was sufficiently assured".
†† Cf. Murphy on Shakespeare's Ophelia as 'both sexually inactive and sexually active', Virtuous Necessity, 62.

ideal way. 'Motion' can also refer to a working of God in the soul (OED Online, 2017b, 12b). Elizabeth and Frederick, Donne tells us, are no ordinary lovers. The loving of larks, sparrows and doves is nothing to the loving of two phoenixes. As the royal couple become one, chastity is stressed (Franchis pp. 72-73, verses 153-59) and the event becomes quasi-religious as myhrr and frankincense are used to cleanse the bridal bed's curtains (Peacham, 1992b, Hymn/ll. 4:148-49). This anticipates Milton's presentation of Adam and Eve's lovemaking in *Paradise Lost*. 'Espoused' Eve lies in the bower which makes her nuptial bed, decking it with flowers, garlands and herbs, while heavenly angels sing. Milton suggests the act of consummation is pure, shown as nightingales sing and the bower showers roses on the couple (2007, pp. 262-63, 267, Bk 4, ll. 709-11, 771-75).‡‡ This purity is prominent in the wedding poems. Elizabeth and Milton's Eve share other similarities. Despite Eve's nudity, her golden tresses 'vail' her, and she makes 'sweet reluctant amorous delay' (p. 239, Bk 4, ll. 304-11). Elizabeth's hair was also golden and worn loose for the marriage ceremony (both in real life and in poems) (Oman, 2000, p. 78). In *A Marriage Triumph*, Heywood describes Elizabeth's hair as 'Dishevel'd 'bout her shoulders' as she approaches the marriage bed, blushing (1613; 1992, ll.65-66). Adam and Eve even feast on nectarines, like the 'modest maiden kisse Nectarian sweet' Elizabeth offers Frederick (Milton, 2007, p. 241, ll. 332-33) (Franchis, 1613, p. 51 verse 22). The divine imagery suggests that, as for Adam and Eve, the new line formed through Frederick and Elizabeth is intended by God.

James did not intend for the marriage to send a message of Protestant power, originally intending to balance the match with a Catholic one for Henry (Akkerman, 2013, p. 147). Nevertheless, the epithalamia make it clear that Protestant power was the message the English were determined to interpret. Elizabeth's union stands for something much bigger than dynastic alliance. Donne's entreaty 'May all men date Records' from this day (1978, l.42) suggests a new religious beginning of importance, like the birth of Jesus for Christianity. Wither, along with his contemporaries, stresses that the marriage's main purpose is to strengthen the Protestant faith in Europe. When the ceremony is complete, the poet appeals to heaven to make an ocean of the Thames and Rhine with which to drown the Tiber, the river of Rome (1613; 2004, ep. 2). Donne's associations between Elizabeth and Frederick and stars, suns and moons come into their own as we learn 'It was… heauens high breath / Ordain'd a bed-mate for Elizabeth' (Franchis, 1613, p. 18 verse 101). In Franchis's poem, Jove assures Religion that the wedding has been arranged to promise 'Earths peace, heauens ioy, mens true felicity' (p. 27 verse 10). John Taylor, the Water Poet, goes so far as to hope that the union will result in a Christian Crusade to the Holy Lands (Gömöri, 2004, p. 220).§§ Rebecca Calcagno and Kevin Curren argue it is Frederick and Elizabeth's physical joining that Rome fears, as the power of the Anglo-German union is contracted in their 'natural bodies' (Peacham's *A period of mourning* cited in Calcagno, 2013, p. 246). In the bridal bed Peacham asks of the couple that 'Your Armes be weary with embracing' so that he might see 'A Cæsar borne as great as Charlemaine' (1992b, Hymn/ll. 4:210-12). '[W]eary with embracing' stresses the creation of a Protestant conqueror as the couple's royal duty. Furthermore, Wither's anticipation

‡‡ Cf. 'wedded chastity' in Corns, 1994, p. 69.
§§ Taylor hopes the couple's union "will hunt from Christian Lands the faithlesse Turks" in the poem *ottava rima: Epithalamies or Encomiasticke Triumphal Verses.*

of 'hopefull Issue' (1613; 2004, ep. 2) which 'out your blessed loynes, shall come' (ep. 1) takes Elizabeth's very reproductive organs and puts them into the public service of the country and the Protestant cause.

Elizabeth's marriage to a Protestant prince came at a fortuitous time for Protestant England. After its champion, Crown Prince Henry, died, the heir to the throne was the young, sickly Charles. Matthew O'Brien claims that in taking Frederick on a hunting trip instead of his son, James made 'a powerful statement' of continuity. If Charles died, Elizabeth and her heirs would inherit the throne of England. Wedding preparations showed that despite Henry's death, 'celebration of a triumphant Protestant future through James' children would not be put off' (2013, p. 105). Jaroslav Miller argues that Henry's death left a vacuum in English Protestant myth that the English public filled with Elizabeth, and through her, Frederick (2004, p. 310). I go further than both critics and argue that in the poems Elizabeth directly ensures continuity through love. Henry was portrayed as a martial Protestant hero, but he was also 'Eliza's dearest Brother' (Smart and Wade, 2013, p. 45) (Peacham, 1992b, *A EPICEDIVM of the Author*, l. 114). John Davies wrote that it was impossible to look at Elizabeth without recollecting Henry, 'sith He / Was as her Self; and one Wombe brought them forth' (1613, n.p.). Elizabeth's wedding followed Henry's funeral in seamless succession, and poets like Peacham combined elegies for Henry and nuptial hymns in single publications. Peacham's first hymn opens with Heaven throwing away her mourning clothes and putting on her joyful ones. The real Elizabeth made remembrance of her brother during the wedding festivities, nevertheless, in Peacham's verses mourning is forbidden (1992b, Hymn/ll. 1:51-52) and Wither praises God for changing Elizabeth's 'sadness / Into such great, and vnexpected gladnes' (1613; 2004; ep. 1). The beloved bridegroom is publicly substituted for dearest brother. As evidence for the transfer of Henry's legend to Frederick, Miller cites Peacham: 'Henry dyes a sodaine death, / so Frederick is in love' (2004, p. 310). Elizabeth cannot inherit Henry's militant function, but Frederick's role as military successor is based on her love. She later remains the link between Henry and her son who becomes 'Prince Henrie Revived' (Peacham, 1992a). Furthermore, continuity is heightened by the portrayal of Elizabeth as Queen Elizabeth I in the 'phoenix' of Donne's poems, and images of stars and light which recollect the queen's association with the goddess Astraea (Akkerman, 2013, p. 154). 'Our last Eliza, grants her Noble spirit' to Elizabeth (Wither, 1613; 2004, ep. 1)*** but what is more, '[y]ou succeed her in her loue' (Heywood, 1613; 1992, l.712). Above, all the virgin queen was wedded to her country. The comparison suggests hope that the couple will continue her policies, and no doubt this love as well (Gömöri, 2004, 221). Elizabeth's new hero is also England's.

Parry states that in the *Masque of the Middle Temple* and *Lincoln's Inn* by George Chapman and Inigo Jones shown during the wedding festivities: 'Fortune has decided to settle in England too, a not entirely appropriate gesture, as Elizabeth and Frederick were going to live in the Palatinate' (1981, p. 99). However, the gesture is appropriate because Elizabeth provided security for England's succession. Elizabeth went forth too not only

***Elizabeth and Frederick visited Henry's effigy at Westminster Cathedral (Oman, 2000, p. 83). At her betrothal, Elizabeth, "to make an even mixture of joy and mourning" wore black satin with silver lace and white feathers in her hair, the fashion of feathers taken up next day by all in court and city (Wake to Carleton, unpublished letter, Dec 31 1612 in Green, 1854a, p. 199).

a bride but a symbol of England's glory. Tellingly, King James extracted an unusual and later contested promise from Frederick that Elizabeth be given precedence above all whom she met in Germany (Calcagno, 2013, p. 244). Clearly Elizabeth represented England's interests and superiority. There would have been no doubt that Elizabeth would be able to influence her new husband politically. Her mother, Queen Anne, knew her husband 'the King's Character better than almost any body did, and had a great Influence over him' (Lewalski, 1993, p. 17).††† Akkerman and Curren note Elizabeth's ability to pass on her father's heritage to her male offspring in Thomas Campion's *The Lord's Masque*, commissioned by James for Elizabeth's wedding (Akkerman, 2013, p. 159). Elizabeth is described as having James' features, prompting Curren to remark that James' head has been literally grafted onto Elizabeth's 'maternal body' (Curran, 2006, p. 66). This contradicts Vives' expectation that a bride's love for her husband should replace all other familial ties (2000, p. 186). In presenting Elizabeth thus, James might be signifying that despite her marriage, Elizabeth remains his potential successor. To an English audience, the loving bride is '[h]er parents joy' (Heywood's dedication, 1613; 1992, l.9). Uncharacteristically, the poems do not represent her affection for her new husband as superseding her affection for her homeland.‡‡‡ Allyne asks 'Shall Brittaine then forgo her other eye, / And lend her rarest gemme, t'enrich the *Rhine*?' (1613, n.p.). Here, the keyword is 'lend'. Despite her marriage, the British still see Elizabeth as theirs. The future of the couple was only important to the poets insofar as it related to England. Eastwood reminds us that the epithalamion written by John Davies (who also wrote a wedding poem for Elizabeth) for the marriage of Elizabeth Vere in 1595 'was written for the amusement of powerful people' (2013, p. 18). George Marcelline's favourable portrayal of Henrietta Maria's marriage in 1625, when the French match was generally unpopular, testifies to this (Marcelline, 1625). The epithalamia on Elizabeth's marriage are so profuse that we can surely attribute some sincerity to these sentiments, albeit political, in English hearts. Epithalamia allowed both 'self-promotion and political critique' and Eastwood argues the epithalamion should be 'reconsidered as potentially politically charged' (2013, pp. 22-23).

As Wither presents his verse to Elizabeth, he asks her not to scorn him, for in her supreme loveliness '[o]ne looke with Anger, nay thy gentlest Frowne, / Is twice enough to cast a Greater downe' (1613; 2004, ep. 1). He sets Elizabeth up as the Arthurian-style maiden who requires her lover to beg at her feet, whose ability to grant or deny her love is her power. Such agency is at odds with most royal marriages, which were decided by parents, councils, or the groom themselves. Wither expands that in marriage 'The children of a King find comforts least' and in this case 'rare, and great's Elizaes Happinesse' (Certaine epigrammes concerning marriage, n.p). Elizabeth's repulsion at an individually ill-matched marriage proposal for her own son years later shows her expectation of marital happiness, testified to by many loving letters exchanged between her and her husband, but she is reminded by the Earl of Arundel that "marriages did

††† This is the description of Queen Anne given in an eighteenth century memoir, based on stories passed down in the Erskine family, who were 'longtime intimates of James'.
‡‡‡ The representation of Elizabeth's continued identity as English may be attributed to the location of the poems' publication: England. Most often royal brides left their home countries to be married, or left immediately following a marriage by proxy. James' status as the king of England, Ireland and Scotland explains why Frederick travelled to England to be married on English ground.

rather respect states than persons" (Akkerman, 2011, p. 145).§§§ The poems, Wither's among them, make it clear Elizabeth's love was necessary to strengthen England's political goals. They testify to Elizabeth's lack of control in dictating her own image as a feeling woman and how her personal display reinforced the role she was accorded. That Peacham's Venus banishes 'affaires of state' which might dampen the wedding celebrations (1992b, Hymn/ll. 4:135-36), is ironic because the wedding is itself an affair of state. In Franchis' poem, Frederick only needs to see Elizabeth's portrait to fall in love with her, the same way James claimed to the French ambassador that Elizabeth had fallen in love with the Dauphin's portrait when he planned a French match (Oman, 2000, p. 17). Elizabeth's love was a political tool, and publicly positioned her as an emblem of familial and national prosperity, 'the beautiful, virginal, accomplished, splendidly ornamental daughter bride' (Lewalski, 1993, p. 51). Venus wishes happiness not to Elizabeth herself, but to the princess, '[t]he Pearle and Mirrour of great Brittannie' (Peacham, 1992b, Hymn/ll. 4:171-72). Wither even reminds Elizabeth that 'your great blisse' are 'Honors, which you your selfe did neuer winne. / And might, (had God bin pleas'd) anothers bin' (1613; 2004, ep. 1). Elizabeth's greatness comes not from her numerous personal attractions that the poets praise. Her birth marked her as both superior to and servant of her people, and it was her position within royal tradition which was inherently valued.

Conclusion: First and Foremost a Princess and a Queen

Elizabeth's femininity defines the portrayal of her as a feeling bride in English epithalamia. While Franchis' verse discusses Frederick's love to some extent, it is Elizabeth's emotions in which the reader becomes acutely involved. What is most fascinating about Elizabeth is how her public and political representation is wound up in the psyche of a woman whose every represented action carried political significance, her emotional life not spared from the rigour of what being a princess, and later a queen, meant. This is why I argue that Elizabeth, and her fellow royals, were well-accustomed to the representative possibilities of 'soft power' before the nineteenth century when Müller charts its rise, and implicitly endorsed and circulated portrayals of their feelings. Elizabeth's emotions were not solely defined by the society in which she lived and its gendered expectations of mourning, but what gendered public life demanded, and what public life continues to demand from European royalty today in heightened forms. While the English royals today are photographed from all angles, they also continue to share official portraits and navigate social media-sharing with their own websites which endorse certain representations (Royal Household). Presenting the image of a happy family and a loving marriage, Prince William and Princess Catherine perhaps seek to justify the need for royalty, in the same way that Elizabeth and Frederick's marriage was used to political ends to stress the harmony of their kingdoms and raise hope for a united Protestantism in Europe. Living within a world where politics defined her own personal situation and the situations of those she loved, and especially as a woman, the representation of Elizabeth's feelings unarguably had power as a political tool.

§§§ See Letter 66 (17 November 1632): Frederick promises to love Elizabeth "until the grave" which Akkerman points out is written twelve days before his death.
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French 711

Special Topic: Theory and Text

Emily Lynch

From universality to specificity: applying deconstructionist gestures to the Académie française polemic concerning the feminine gender and feminisation initiatives in France

Since 1984, the Académie française, an official French language authority that has acted as a 'guardian' of the language for almost 400 years, has been publishing declarations, responses, and making numerous controversial headlines opposing feminist language planning initiatives specifically pertaining to the feminisation of jobs, titles, ranks, and positions in official documents and contexts. Their stance seems reasonable within the contexts of universalist thinking, especially considering the institution's identity as such a protectionist, conservative, and traditional language authority – universalism is a very attractive concept with a long and generally positive history, particularly in France. However, the premises upon which their apparently reasonable approach is built fail when they are deconstructed. Conducting a Derridean deconstruction is an effective way to better understand the contradictions upon which the Académie française declarations are built, and the precise reasons for which their arguments do not follow. This deconstruction of basic concepts and contradictions is significant as it can also be related to delay in women's suffrage seen in French-speaking Europe, and the potential social effects of French women's linguistic 'specificity'.

Universalism for the French is seen as inextricably tied to the "universal" Revolution of 1789, and Enlightenment philosophies of Rousseau and Voltaire (Schor, 2001). This is linked to the linguistic universalism of the French language. The conception of its universality has long been used to argue the "précellence" of the French of France, to use Henri Estienne's sixteenth-century term. This sentiment is mirrored in numerous works throughout history, including that of Antoine de Rivarol in 1783, who argued that French should be a "koine"; a universal language. This can also be seen in the language policies of the Revolution and Abbé Grégoire aimed at eradicating regional dialects – an anti-particularism policy (Rebourcet, 2008). According to Schor, modern French universalism "also remains bound up with… universal human rights" (2001, p. 46). For example, les Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen was an articulation of the "Frenchness" of universalism, and was later re-appropriated by the United Nations (Schor, 2001, p. 46). Universalism claims that it is equally, indiscriminately, 'unmarked-ly' applicable to all. However, these universalist stereotypes, present in French national discourse and collective imaginary, are not to be confused with reality. What is universal can also efface.

Contextually situating feminist language planning and Académie française reactions:

Before deconstructing these premises, though, it will be useful to consider relevant strategies of feminist language planning in France, and the reasons for which they were proposed. In French, a language with grammatical gender, the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' were conserved from Latin. When applied to living beings, these genders usually match biological sex. However, any part of speech that refers to both males and females becomes a masculine plural, as it was the masculine gender that became dominant over time. Women are effectively rendered linguistically invisible through this widespread domination of the generic masculine. For this reason, strategies of feminist language planning, such as feminisation, are often aimed at rendering the less visible

gender (women) more explicitly present in language. Feminisation of job titles and its use in official documents has been hotly debated. However, asymmetrical gender-marking suffixes as found in French can lead to problems concerning the formation of feminine versions of titles and positions. For example, the cases of feminine homonyms with an entirely different meaning (such as la médecine (medicine) medicine vs le médecin (doctor)), and feminine forms denoting 'the spouse of he who holds the position' (such as la mairesse (mayor's wife)) (Institut national de da langue française, 1999, p. 11). Furthermore, typically feminine suffixes are often either diminutives (un camion, une camionnette), or have more pejorative meanings than their masculine counterparts (un gagnant (winner), une gagneuse (female winner or prostitute) (Baider, Khaznadar, et Moreau, 2007, p. 6).

It is also appropriate to contextually situate the responses of the Académie française in relation to proposed feminist language planning initiatives and inquiries. In France, these began in a political environment in 1984, with the creation of a terminology commission concerning women's activities by the Minister for Women's Rights at the time (Institut National De La Langue Française, 1999). The commission proposed feminising all professional terms, using doublets of new or pre-existing feminised forms (e.g. le/la architecte, sapeur-pompier/sapeuse-pompière) (Institut National De La Langue Française, 1999). 1984 was also the year of the first Académie française publication protesting the commission's propositions. The current official policy on language parity is found in the text Femme, j'écris ton nom… : guide d'aide à la féminisation des noms des métiers, titres, grades, et fonctions (1999). The document is a legal framework and guide encouraging the use of feminine forms in official documents.

Language parity in France is aimed at making the less visible gender, the feminine - used to designate women - more visible in language, and to respond to social phenomena which see women increasingly visible, present, and active in the workforce and society. In response to the publication of the official feminisation guide, the Académie française reiterated their opposition in 2002, their principal objections being the generic value of the masculine gender, and the barbarism of certain neologisms (Académie française, 2002).

Despite the language authority's continued opposition, a significant guide was published by the Haut Conseil à l'Égalité entre les femmes et les hommes in 2015, the "Guide pratique pour une communication publique sans stéréotype de sexe". This guide in turn inspired the new "écriture inclusive", or inclusive writing, initiatives of 2017 (Mots-Clés, 2017). One of the first official steps taken concerning gender-fair writing specifically, and developed by an influential communications agency, inclusive writing has several simple conventions to increase women's visibility in language. These include feminisation of title/position/profession nouns, such as "la présidente", and using both feminine and masculine forms when both men and women are present, either through explicitly naming both genders ("elles et ils font"), using gender-neutral forms ("les membres"),

or use of the middle dot ("les candidat·e·s") (Mots-Clés, 2017). The Académie française responded quickly to this new development in France's language parity battle, with an unanimously adopted declaration and "cry of alarm", warning against the "aberration" of the proposed methods of inclusive writing (Académie française, 2017). Although both sides of the language parity debate in France merit analysis, examination, and deconstruction, the focus of this essay remains on the responses of the Académie française, and the reasons and assumptions, both explicit and implicit, underpinning these, rather than analysing the content of official governmental policies themselves.

The relevance of Derridean deconstruction:

In order to show the fault-lines upon which the universalist approach of the Académie française fails, and the impossibility of the points presented within their declarations to stand, it is necessary to apply a theory through which we can best locate a loose thread, pull on it, and unravel these arguments. Deconstruction in the Derridean sense involves questioning the accepted bases of metaphysics and meaning upon which a given basic concept or text is built, thus exposing its internal contradictions and oppositions. Questions of being and universalism are significant examples. Jacques Derrida, a key figure in French philosophy and post-structuralist thought, is therefore a particularly relevant theorist, able to be effectively applied to this discussion for this purpose.

Two particularly relevant aspects of Derridean theory in this context are his development of the method of deconstruction, and his treatment of binaries. Derrida insisted that deconstruction was neither a method, nor a critique, but a non-traditional method of analysis (hence the placement of 'method' "sous-rature", or under erasure) (Derrida, 1997, p. 60), in which structures, pre-existing assumptions, and logocentrism are questioned. Although this is a simplified definition, it is important to note that while it may seem a negative gesture, deconstruction is not destroying a text or "the exposure of error", but rather escaping from the belief that a text is a fixed whole (Spivak, in Arteaga, 1996). This is partly due to the fact that it will inevitably possess contradictions, and for this reason we simply cannot expect that universalism exists. In this context, deconstruction will involve looking at the structures and internal assumptions upon which the Académie française is built, and the potentiality of interpretation within their declarations against feminist language planning initiatives in France.

A further concept of Derrida's relevant to this discussion is his anti-Saussurean, anti-structuralist conception of the relationship between signified and signifier. One major idea of Saussure present in Structuralism was that of the sign as composed of the signified, being the concept or meaning, and the signifier, being the word used to refer to it (Saussure, with Bally & Sechehaye, 1959). In this way, a Saussurean conception of language perceives language as a system of these sign made up of these two distinct elements (the signifier and the signified). Derrida, however, theorises that what makes meaning possible is not a simple relationship between the signifier and what it signifies,

but through the relations of these signifiers to other signifiers, entirely contained within the network of language. He posits that the signifier refers not to the signified, but rather to other signifiers instead, thus creating an infinite chain of signification in which exterior meaning is continuously deferred. The sign, signified, and signifier are in fact no different as they are all entirely contained within the inescapable system of language; true referential meaning is not possible, as getting outside of the system is impossible. Derrida's famous claim that "il n'y a pas de hors-texte" necessarily follows (Derrida, 1997, p. 158). This reinforces the previously discussed point of the inability of a text to have a fixed, definite meaning, as meaning is deferred to further signifiers and associations, thus rendering a singular and concrete definition or reading impossible. This will become a significant concept in the deconstruction of Académie française rhetoric on feminist language planning, as how we understand language and meaning naturally has a bearing on how, or if, we go about language change.

This Derridean conception of the system of language and deferral of meaning leads to the concept of 'différance' – in these chains of signification and deferred meaning, 'meaning' is only made possible through reference to additional words/signifiers, and thus made possible in what a given concept or word is not, as seen in Derrida's discussion of deconstruction. According to Spivak in her preface to Derrida's work Of Grammatology, "Différance invites us to undo the need for balanced equations, to see if each term in an opposition is not after all an accomplice of the other" (1997, p. lix). In this way, deconstruction also aims to expose the oppositions and reject binaries upon which much of Western thought has been based – such as langue/parole (a Saussurean distinction), speech/writing, culture/nature (as found in Lévi-Strauss), and, of course, male/female, man/woman, masculine/feminine. These oppositional pairs, on which our conception of the world is built, and which are reproduced continuously through language, necessarily emerge through différance; "one of the terms appears as the différance of the other" (Derrida, 1997, p. xxix). Furthermore, within these binary structures there is not merely a simple opposition, but a hierarchy; speech governs writing, man governs woman. One concept within the pair is more valued. This implicates the reproduction of implicit decisions within a text through this "violent" hierarchy (Spivak, 1997, p. lxxvii).

Derrida thus questions the structure of these binary oppositions, beyond the dual structure of the signifier/signified. According to Guillemette and Cosette, "this structure in fact underpins the history of philosophy, which conceives the world in terms of a system of oppositions proliferating without end" (2006, 2.1). Deconstruction therefore aims to expose these binaries, and to continually question the foundation upon which so much of our thought is built. Derrida points additionally to the need to put these binary terms, once deconstructed, under-erasure, in order to disrupt thought based on oppositions and to allow for the "emergence of a new concept" which is understood in new terms, not in a direct signifying chain with those of the previous system of oppositions (Spivak, 1997, lxxvii). This concept of hierarchical binary oppositions and how they are given meaning through différance is significant to the Académie française

declarations, as the linguistic masculine/feminine binary in which the masculine is valorised, despite the institution's attempts to claim otherwise, is continuously re-established and re-affirmed. This is what makes the application of Derridean deconstructionist gestures so relevant in this context; the rendering explicit of the hierarchising 'violence' of the binaries contained within their discourse. In this way, deconstruction becomes a tool with which we are better able to persistently look into how the stances taken by the Académie française in their official statements on feminist linguistic planning are produced.

This discussion will therefore chronologically deconstruct Academic française polemic on feminist language planning and inclusive writing in recent decades. The universalist thinking of three official declarations published by the Academic française spanning 1984 to 2017 will be questioned through previously discussed anti-structuralist gestures. However, to re-use Spivak's rhetorical question, why can we not assume that the Academic française, both their words and their members, "mean what they say" (1997, p. lxxvii)? Firstly, as we've seen, the words used carry with them (through extended changes of signification and deferred meaning) indications of a number of influences and aims, both implicit and explicit, that are able to be unpacked and analysed in greater detail and clarity. The briefest allusion can carry significant weight. Furthermore, according to Derrida, deconstruction offers an escape from the fixity and closure of knowledge. The meanings of the Academic française declarations do not stop at the final sentence.

Immediate response, imagined repercussions: the first Académie française declaration

The first official declaration of the Académie française concerning feminist language planning was published in June 1984, in response to the creation of a terminology commission concerning women's activities earlier in that year. This commission was responsible for studying not only vocabulary concerning the activities of women, but, more specifically, studying the feminisation of job titles and positions. Sensing the looming potential language changes, two 'Immortels', or elected members of the institution, Georges Dumézil and Claude Lévi-Strauss (a familiar name), swiftly penned a pre-emptive text warning against the commission undertaking the assigned task. Even when the commission's work was in its very early exploratory stages, in the four months that passed between the commission coming into existence and the publication of the Académie française's initial declaration opposing both its work and the commission itself, the institution had already finalised their official position on the matter, which they continue to hold today. The fact that the Académie française stated their opposition to proposed feminist language planning initiatives is significant, as it meant that the French public were given sets of recommendations completely in opposition to one another by the country's two official language authorities – the Académie française, and the l'Institut national de la langue française (the language regulating body linked with the terminology commission), and created much confusion in terms of language use.

The very first sentence of the short declaration states that the Académie française had to learn about the creation of the terminology commission through the press. The initial impression of the reader is therefore one of disjunction and a lack of cohesion between the two language bodies, and one that speaks to their divergent priorities and directions in terms of feminist language planning and the development of the French language as a whole. The reader can also infer that the Académie française, as the oldest most prestigious French language authority, as well as being responsible for documenting it, seems to feel slighted that it was not consulted in the government's decision-making process. One immediate objection made to the purpose of the commission is that aims to "combler certaines lacunes", or to 'fill certain holes' present in the French language (Dumézil & Lévi-Strauss, 1984). The Académie disagrees, however, and expresses the fear that this objective is based entirely on a misinterpretation of the notion of grammatical gender, which leads to linguistic proposals that are contrary to the 'spirit' of language.

The main point advanced in this declaration continues founded on the interpretation of grammatical gender of the Académie française, one which is obviously contrary to that of the French government. The institution states that there is no relation between natural and grammatical gender in French, as in other Indo-European languages. Although the two grammatical genders in French are traditionally referred to as the 'masculine' and the 'feminine' as the labels inherited from older forms of the language were conserved over time, these are not satisfactory names. The Académie française therefore advances that the most appropriate way in which to define French's grammatical genders is in terms of their function. The masculine, according to the Académie, should therefore be classified as the 'unmarked' gender, and the feminine as the 'marked'. In this way, the 'unmarked' gender commonly referred to as masculine is termed as such due to its extensive function; its capacity to represent the elements of both genders. The Académie offers examples of the ability of the 'unmarked' gender to refer "indifferently" to both men and women, such as "tous les hommes sont mortels", and "cette ville compte 20 000 habitants" (Dumézil & Lévi-Strauss, 1984). The use of the 'unmarked' gender means that, according to Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss, the opposition of the sexes is irrelevant, and as such they can be conflated(. On the other hand, the gender commonly known as 'feminine' is the 'marked' gender. Unlike the 'unmarked' gender, it is not extensive, and establishes "segregation" between the genders as it cannot be applied indiscriminately. The preference of the Académie française is therefore to avoid all terms in the feminine gender that are not mandatory in usage. As, unlike the feminine, the 'unmarked' gender is not discriminatory, it should be used wherever possible in order to ensure that men and women are able to achieve complete equality. A second point made in the 1984 Académie française declaration was that the "artificial" construction of feminised job titles has caused them to acquire a "nuance depreciative", or derogatory undertone. The institution elaborated that this was because 'awkwardly' constructed feminine forms were superfluous, as the 'unmarked' gender, already containing their function, renders them unnecessary. Their examples of feminised forms were indeed superfluous, as they chose extremely outdated terms, such as "doctoresse" (Dumézil & Lévi-Strauss, 1984).

The most significant deconstructive move that can be applied to this situation is that of the Derridean concept of the relationship between signifiers. Following the anti-structuralist language view, in which the sign cannot be reduced to the relationship of a signifier to the signified, but meaning is instead deferred through chains of signification, it is necessary to question whether the Académie française argument is possible. Re-classifying the grammatical genders as 'marked' and 'unmarked' seems entirely unfeasible when we consider that, as Derrida proposed, signs always refer to other signs, existing only in relation to each other (therefore without an ultimate centre or exterior meaning), and the other signs that these refer to are 'masculine' and 'feminine'. The chain of signifiers beyond 'marked' gender would naturally and inescapably lead to 'feminine' gender, and, moreover, the language itself does not permit the Académie française to express their argument of 'marked' and 'unmarked' gender without using the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Following this chain of signification, the impossibility of claiming one gender to be simultaneously both 'unmarked' and masculine becomes apparent. If this gender were truly unmarked and universal, it would not be possible to classify, to label, to 'mark' it under the name of the 'masculine'. In the same way, it is impossible for the French language to be neither masculine, nor feminine, and impossible for the concept of the 'universal', generic masculine to hold under deconstructive analysis. Being such a conservative institution, so historically concerned with the heritage and traditions of ancient French and Latin, it would be extremely surprising if the Académie française were proposing a completely new and neutral grammatical form.

Furthermore, the binary opposition of marked and unmarked is still hierarchical; the 'unmarked' is still valued over the 'marked', just as the masculine gender is more valued than the feminine. This binary is also still established through negative content – it is impossible to grasp the meaning of 'marked' in this context without being able to compare to the characteristics of 'unmarked', and vice versa. The violence and implicit decisions present in the structure of the hierarchical binary opposition between the two has not changed, despite the re-labelling. The Académie française have also attempted to portray use of the feminine gender as discriminatory as it does not include men. It therefore should surely logically follow that the masculine which, as seen, is not truly able to be unmarked, and does render women linguistically invisible, is discriminatory also – this was obviously not the case for the Académie. The claimed 'universalism' of the masculine cannot exist. While, in a way, the Académie française have almost made a gesture towards placing the words 'masculine' and 'feminine' in terms of grammatical gender "sous-rature" (Derrida, 1997, p. 60), they have conserved the violent hierarchical structure in the binary opposition between them. Derrida, as previously discussed, advocates for disruption of thought based on these entrenched oppositions in order to allow for a new understanding of the concepts involved and uproot them from the logic of the binary structure embedded in thought and association. The hierarchical masculine/feminine – marked/unmarked opposition therefore still remains within the language.

It is also logically necessary to question if the cause of this so-called 'derogatory undertone' of feminine forms of job titles and positions is really because they were artificially or unnaturally constructed, or rather due to misogynistic prejudices or stereotypes present in society that have affected the way language, and particular signs/ signifiers within a given language are conceived of. A word such as 'écivaine', or 'actress', on its own carries no such connotations when considered independently from the chain of signification from which it cannot escape in practical use, and in which it is dominated by its opposite, masculine term. The pejorative connotations of feminine endings, for example, contribute to these views. In this way, the negative connotation of feminine suffixes such as '-esse', '-ette', or 'euse' reflect structures of power and misogyny within society and within aspects of language itself. In a more Derridean fashion, if the whole world is a text, this continual binary opposition in which the masculine governs the feminine is present in all layers of existence – unless we are able to deconstruct and uproot the negative conception of the feminine in relation to the masculine.

The final point of the declaration warned against the "unimagined repercussions" of language changes, and the risks of disorder and confusion if usage is modified without care (Dumézil & Lévi-Strauss, 1984). However, although the Académie française feared reducing the clarity of the language through feminisation, the lack of consensus on this issue only resulted in amplifying confusion. This is attested by Hélène Dumais, a writer and linguist of Quebec, who underlined the confusion and lack of progress in terms of the presence of the generic masculine in France due to the absence of cohesive model usage within the media (Dumais, Khaznadar, Baider, Larivière, Lenoble-Pinson, Saint-Yves, Moreau, Vachon-L'Heureux, & Labrosse, 2008). Because of this lack of consensus between the two official French language authorities on the issues of gender-neutral formulation, feminisation, and the ways in which these should be constructed and used, the Académie française in fact contributed to the presence of disorder, for which it criticised the ministers in charge of women's rights.

Balancing chains of signification: the second Académie française declaration

The next declaration on the feminisation of professions, ranks, positions, and titles was published by the Académie française in 2002. The text largely reinforces the points of that of 1984, but this time specifically in response to the actions of the French government and the publication of the official language policy on linguistic parity, published in 1999 as "Femme, j'écris ton nom... : guide d'aide à la féminisation des noms de métiers, titres, grades et fonctions". The collective and generic value of the masculine, and problems with neologisms are still the main concerns of the Académie française.

The introduction to this declaration focusses on reminding the reader of the position of the Académie française taken on the matter almost twenty years earlier. Quoting part of the final paragraph of the Dumézil and Lévi-Strauss text on the potential, "unimagined repercussions" in other areas of the language (1984), the 2002 declaration states that

this warning, and "irrefutable scientific analysis" were ignored by the government (Académie française, 2002). The text then discusses the reaction of the French press to the publication of the official language policy. Interestingly, this reaction is described as "eagerly" following what the Académie française paints as "a regal and legal directive" (Académie française, 2002). The two main points of the 2002 Académie française declaration are the same as in 1984 – those of the universalism of the masculine and neologisms. In this publication, the institution focusses more on the misapplication of grammatical rules by some francophone organisations, leading to "absurd… barbarisms" such as "chercheure" instead of "chercheuse", and linguistic redundancies such as "toutes celles et tous ceux" (Académie française, 2002). The declaration finishes in stating that, as real equality between men and women increases in political and social life, it is ever more essential to preserve "neutral denominations", which is to say, the maintained use of the masculine gender wherever possible.

Regarding the "irrefutable scientific analysis" that was the conclusion of the 1984 declaration, Derrida, of course, would likely point out that there is nothing that is irrefutable, that no knowledge is entirely fixed, and that nothing is immune to critique, even deconstructions themselves (1997). It is also necessary to question whether a concluding paragraph on the potential of feminisation to increase a language's confusion constitutes a scientific analysis, refutable or not. An equally interesting assertion made in the 2002 declaration was the 'eagerness' of the press to adopt the official language policy proposed in the 1999 guide, "Femme, j'écris ton nom... : guide d'aide à la féminisation des noms de métiers, titres, grades et fonctions". In reality, the publication of the guide sparked a large amount of debate and controversy, contributed to by several Immortels of the Académie themselves (Wenz-Dumas, 1998). Furthermore, it is important to note that "Femme, j'écris ton nom…" was expressly published as a guide for feminisation and gender-fair language use. France being a Republic, the Académie française's reference to a "regal" decree seems pointed, and particularly for the French collective imaginary, brings a chain of signification that would be both sensitive and largely negative. The government is also obviously unable to impose any specific language use or choices on citizens, which is why the official language policy is a guide pertaining to official documents and contexts only. "Eagerly" seems again a poor word choice when, as previously discussed, research has shown that the absence of a cohesive model of feminisation applied in the media, due in part to the mixed messages received by the French public from two significant languages authorities, the Académie française and the Institut National de la langue Française, led to a lack of progress concerning language parity in France (Dumais et al., 2008). The Académie française then echoes a similar sentiment to the 1984 document when insisting that no text gave the government the power to modify the French language on its own authority. They again seem concerned with their own authority as a language regulating body.

The Académie française reaffirms their position as advanced in their first declaration of the 'unmarked' and universal value of the masculine gender. However, one further

aspect of this point in the 2002 declaration is that it is "useless" to repeat the same words to designate a group of men and women, such as "les adhérent(e)s", or "les animateurs/trices". According to the Académie, "toutes celles et tous ceux" is a syntagm that says nothing more than "tous ceux". Except, evidently, it does. This is the entire concept of feminisation itself; repeating the same nouns in their feminised form to explicitly highlight and affirm the presence of women in language and society. The Académie also claims that feminisation renders the agreement with the masculine plural more difficult, as it is impossible to write "Le fauteuil et la table sont blanc(he)s" – and yet the phrase is written in front of us. Adjectival agreement, incidentally, was not covered in the language parity guide as it focussed almost solely on feminisation of job titles and positions. In this way, the Academie française construes feminisation and feminist language planning initiatives as redundant. Interestingly, the declaration notes that "la féminisation peut introduire un déséquilibre dans les structures mêmes de la langue"; the institution sees the structures themselves as becoming unbalanced, rather than more equal. Although feminisation does not see the "emergence of a new concept" understood outside of the binary (Spivak, 1197, lxxvii), it does attempt to (re)de-hierarchise it.

Although deconstructive gestures have already been applied to the function of the masculine gender, and we have seen that it is impossible for a gender to be both 'unmarked' and classified as masculine, particularly given their direct chain of signification, it becomes necessary to deconstruct whether the use of the generic masculine can truly extensively and indiscriminately apply to both men and women. One relevant example to help answer this question occurred just sixty years ago in the French-speaking canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, when a group of women contested their exclusion from the regional election process. Their reasoning was that the common and legal usage of the generic masculine (with its collective, 'universal' value) should in fact be interpreted as inclusive of men and women, and that they therefore should have been able to vote in the regional elections due to the functions of the terms used in the law. These terms were: "sont citoyens actifs tous les Suisses…" (83 I 173, 1957). However, their petition was immediately rejected by the federal court. Thus, although the constitutional text did not expressly exclude women from exercising their political rights, the generic masculine plural, "tous les Suisses", only included men in this context. Therefore, employing a strategy of feminisation and specifying "tous et toutes les Suisses" appears less redundant than the Académie française might claim. We therefore see that this marked-ness, or 'specificity' of women has been used as an excuse, linguistic or discursive, to explain and justify a number of events in which francophone women seem to have been disadvantaged by the hierarchical binary structures linked to the treatment of the feminine gender. Eric Fassin (1999) writes that "women are deprived of the right to vote due to their specificity", providing a reason between the lengthy gap between male universal suffrage in France (1848) and women's suffrage almost 100 years later in 1944 (p. 121). Male suffrage was universal, but women are not universal in the French language; they are linguistically demarcated. They are the 'marked' gender.

Linguistic intimacy, or exclusivity: the third Académie française declaration

More recently, France has seen the discussion of "écriture inclusive", or inclusive writing. As mentioned in the introductory section of this essay, the new guide, published by the organisation Mots-Clés in 2017, is inspired by the governmental publication "Guide pratique pour une communication publique sans stéréotype de sexe" of two years earlier. The "Manuel d'écriture inclusive" is officially endorsed by the Secretary of State for gender equality (Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, 2017).

Almost immediately following its publication, the Académie française put forth a declaration on the 26th of October, protesting the use of écriture inclusive. Although brief, the 2017 declaration advances several points. Firstly, in a vein similar to earlier declarations, the institution raises a warning against such initiatives, which disunite the language and create confusion. In this publication, the argument is taken a step further. The Académie voices its concern that écriture inclusive will introduce illegibility into the language, with readers, students, and educators alike struggling to overcome the practical barriers it introduces into writing, pronunciation, and reading both visual and aloud, through impractical constructions such as "idéaux·al·es" (Combis-Schlumberger, 2017). It is also concerned for future generations, who according to the Académie, will find it difficult to grow "en intimité" (in intimacy) with the language due to these added and altered forms (Académie française, 2017). Most interesting, however, is the Académie française's fear of the destruction of the Francophonie (the French-speaking world), due to inclusive writing. This would be a result of the over-complexity brought into French by this initiative, of which other languages could take advantage and, therefore, worldwide precedence over French (Académie française, 2017).

However, it is in an interview with one of the four female 'Immortelles', Domonique Bona, that truly gives insight into the motivations underlying the Académie française's decisions to oppose feminist language planning initiatives, including inclusive writing. Bona clarifies that the unanimous position of the Académie is that complicating and rendering illegible of French will not aid women's status; that the two have nothing to do with one another. She presses that in order to be heard and understood as women, écriture inclusive is unnecessary, and that progress made in terms of women's status should not occur "through the slaughter of the French language" (Combis-Schlumberger, 2017). She develops the concerns of the Académie for students and teachers, adding that foreigners who both love and learn French will also be faced with major difficulties when reading and writing it according to the inclusive writing guidelines. She also echoes the fear of external competition and influence on French. The Immortels feel that écriture inclusive puts the language at a disadvantage comparatively, and Bona gives the example of English. The French inclusive writing guidelines are "pedantic", whereas the English language is "synthetic, fast, efficient" (Combis-Schlumberger, 2017).

From this most recent declaration, it is therefore possible to analyse the motivations behind the stance of the Académie française opposing the new feminist language

planning initiative of inclusive writing. One of the chief roles of the Académie française in recent decades has been to 'defend' French from the exterior influence and competition of the increasingly dominant English language. In this context, often described in militaristic terms ('defend', 'protect', 'guardian') (Carrère d'Encausse, 2008), the Académie française seems to have taken such a conservative and closed position on linguistic modifications to French, the presence and influence of English and other foreign languages, as well as regional dialects within France, because of its 'universal' quality (Carrère d'Encausse, 2008). It seems less pertinent that these particular proposed language changes are feminist language planning initiatives, than that the Académie feels that the standard French language that they have worked so hard to keep 'pure' and to codify, is threatened. This 'purity' also has feminine connotations – the virginal, pure, white (female) figure of the French language has to be protected by the (male) Immortels, from all threats, contamination, and inferior external influences. Is the 'universality' of the French language not then paradoxically bound up in a white male particularity? The concerns of complication, and increased difficulty for students, teachers, and foreign-language learners are arbitrary – simply put, if the French language is threatened (whether this "mortal peril" materialises or not),the Académie française is necessarily threatened also, as the entire purpose of the institution's existence is dependent on it. Interestingly, Bona indicated this through her discussion of feminisation in her interview with France Culture, expressing her hope that the Académie française re-opens the feminisation debate, as "in 2002 this… was still quite new" (Combis-Schlumberger, 2017). As it has become apparent over time that the French language was not in fact irrevocably damaged by feminising job titles and positions, the institution is slightly more open and favourable to this language change. Time will inevitably tell if inclusive writing will have the effects the Académie fears.

War of the words: deconstructing universality and specificity

This application of Derridean deconstruction shows that the 'universalist' premises of the Académie française easily fall apart under anti-structuralist analysis. The rejection of feminisation and the refusal to validate inclusive writing by the Académie française is a product of socio-linguistic forces that illustrate not only inequalities inherent in structures of power, but within the hierarchical structures of binary opposition present within a language. France remains a country with extremely divergent approaches to feminisation and feminist language planning initiatives endorsed by two of their most powerful language authorities – the governmental Institut National de la langue Française, and the Académie française. It is little wonder that grammatically incorrect forms have appeared in usage. In the future, we can hope that the priority might not be whether to use 'sénatrice' or 'sénateure', but if women present in a given linguistic situation are visibly and appropriately represented. While it is true that feminisation is a language planning strategy that distinguishes between genders, it is less segregation that this 'specificity' establishes, but rather more symmetrical representation.

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ARTHIST 722 A/B

Rembrandt and the Dutch Golden Age

Emily Hames

Raw Emotion: Rembrandt's Lucretia's

Please note: This essay contains the mention or discussion of sexual violence/rape and suicide.

Rembrandt's two paintings of Lucretia, produced in 1664 and 1666, continue to stir emotion in viewers, due to the heart-wrenching depiction of a victimised woman. Rembrandt is known to have painted only three scenes of Lucretia; the first dated to 1658 is now lost, leaving two remaining paintings held in the National Gallery of Art, Washington and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Williams, 2001). These two works have only been displayed together once before in a 1991 exhibition named 'Rembrandt's Lucretia's', held at the two owner galleries. There is a plethora of literature on painted depictions of Lucretia, with many scholars commenting on the two Rembrandt works. However, there is scant material comparing the two, or discussing Rembrandt's Lucretia's in depth. Most information is provided in exhibition catalogues, in particular *Rembrandt: The Late Works* (Bikker et al., 2014) and *Rembrandt's Women* (Williams, 2001). An article by Jonathan Phillips (1992), whom on attending the exhibition 'Rembrandt's Lucretia's' discussed the comparisons between the works, is significant for noting Rembrandt's depiction of Lucretia as a victim. Moreover, Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat's book, *The Visible and the Invisible: On Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (2009), has been essential in understanding the role of emotion in Rembrandt's art. This essay will take an iconographical approach, with consideration of technical application of paint, to examine the way in which Rembrandt deviated from traditional representations of Lucretia by portraying her as a victim. Rembrandt's Lucretia's are unique in being strikingly similar in terms of brushwork, format and colour, whilst presenting dramatically different scenes of anguish within a two year period. This anomaly marks these works as distinct within Rembrandt's oeuvre, and thus worthy of special attention. Firstly, a pictorial tradition will be established by considering seventeenth-century considerations of rape, and examples by Rembrandt's predecessors such as Titian and Jan Muller. Secondly, Rembrandt's two paintings of Lucretia will be analysed, considering Mariet Westermann's (2000) statement that the rawness of the paint resembles Lucretia's pain. Comparisons will be made to Rembrandt's earlier paintings of Susanna which also depict a victimised woman to track this theme within the artist's oeuvre. Considerations of a larger move towards greater emotional intensity will also be measured in relation to Artemisia Gentileschi's *Lucretia*, an artist who was herself raped.

The story of Lucretia is first seen in an account by Livy, and later by Ovid. Lucretia was a heroine of antiquity, considered a martyr of virtue and chastity. Lucretia's husband boasted of her virtue to his fellow generals, prompting them to see for themselves. The Emperor's son, Sextus Tarquinius, was so inflamed that he made advances towards Lucretia. Rather than submit to him, Lucretia wished to die, however, Sextus Tarquinius threatened to murder her and leave her corpse in a bed with a male servant, shaming her. Consequently, Sextus Tarquinius succeeded in the rape of Lucretia. After explaining what had happened to her father and husband, Lucretia committed suicide to prevent causing them further shame by plunging a knife into her heart. Her death resulted in a

revolt against the tyranny of the emperors, and subsequently marked the formation of the Roman Republic (Glendinning, 2013).

It has been identified that there are three common types of Lucretia's pictorial display: the struggle between Lucretia and Tarquinius, a nude Lucretia committing suicide, and Lucretia partially clothed with the dagger (Williams, 2001). Renaissance and Baroque representations of Lucretia deem her as a popular subject as numerous prints and paintings by artists such as Durer, Caravaggio and Veronese exist, with a known thirty seven by Lucas Cranach alone (Hammer-Tugendhat, 2015). Sixteenth-century texts reveal that rape was not considered a major crime; abduction of a woman, however, was seen as much more serious, as it was considered a crime of property against the father or husband (Hammer-Tugendhat, 2015). Later in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, there was no law against rape, and despite the outcome of a rape case, the victim was always left dishonoured (Hammer-Tugendhat, 2015). It is important to consider this social context when examining earlier pictorial traditions of Lucretia, as it draws attention to what seventeenth-century viewers would have gained from Lucretia's story, especially with the Dutch obsession of morality. Hammer-Tugendhat (2015) determines that Lucretia allows women to be warned of remaining chaste, to remind men to praise their virtuous wives, as well as the opportunity to gaze upon beautiful nudes and indulge in fantasies of sexual violence. Lucretia is often rendered as erotic, with connotations of consent. This is easily perceived in a seventeenth-century engraving, *Lucretia* (figure 1), by the Dutch artist Jan Muller. Placed prominently in the centre of the canvas, Lucretia leans back erotically, her body contorted in a sensual S-shape and her head is tilted back exposing her neck. Moreover, Lucretia's legs are spread wide open, draped fabric the only object withholding her complete exposure. There is little indication of violence or a rape, but rather the scene appears as more of a sexual act (Hammer-Tugendhat, 2015). The focus is on Lucretia's physical attributes, rather than to the emotional turmoil of the heroine. The nude body distances the viewer from the heroic element of the work, and instead emphasises the erotic.

Titian's c. 1568-71 painting *Tarquin and Lucretia* (figure 2) is one of the most recognised images of the heroine. Depicting Tarquinius looming over Lucretia, a dagger is held above his head, ready to attack. Harold E. Wethey (1975) argues that Lucretia's nude body is the centre of attention, with drama only postulated through her flailing arms. In contrast, Puttfarken (2005) argues that Titian's Lucretia is the most brutal rape scene in the Renaissance, due to the connotations of violence, sex, blood and tears. These two conflicting statements demonstrate the contradicting messages the pictorial tradition of Lucretia generated for its viewers. Titan's image still withheld Renaissance custom by rendering the struggle between the two, whilst also displaying Lucretia fully nude. Unprecedented at the time, however, Titian depicts Tarquinius attacking Lucretia with the dagger (Wethey, 1975). The dagger reinforces Titian's violent threat to kill Lucretia, whilst also providing phallic connotations, a substitute for Tarquinius's weapon of rape. Meanwhile Tarquinius's right knee inserts itself between Lucretia's thighs. The violence of

the act itself is stressed by the tight grip of Lucretia's right arm, whilst Lucretia's left arm conceals her breasts, desexualising her to some extent. Titan's painting therefore reveals a significant shift towards greater emotional display and away from explicitly sexual scenes. It is important to note this visual tradition when examining Rembrandt's 1664 *Lucretia* (figure 3). Rembrandt chooses to depict the heroine the moment before her suicide, her right arm raised, about to plunge the dagger into her chest. This format followed pictorial tradition, yet the overall message of the work is innovative: she is a victim. Lucretia has raised hands, a tilted head, and an open mouth which activates the picture, alerting the viewer that we are about to witness the consequence of the rape. Pushed forward towards the viewer, Lucretia is engulfed in a blend of fabric and a dark background, fabricated with a limited colour palette of yellow, brown and white. The reduction of the traditional classical story enforces the viewer to ponder the events surrounding her death (Westermann, 2000). Painted quickly, the brushwork consists of thick impastos creating the illusion of fabric folds, and sparkling light effects (Van de Wetering, 2015). Phillips (1992) notes that the glimmering gold threads of her hairnet resemble a glowing halo, emphasising Lucretia's virtue and martyrdom. The roughly rendered folds of her garment are juxtaposed with her smooth, pale chest, which is illuminated by a white chemise, highlighting the target for which the dagger aims. Resting on Lucretia's chest is a pearl pendant, a symbol of fidelity and virtue (Phillips, 1992). The spotlighted pendant, white chemise, and hints of exposed flesh reinforce the action that is about to take place; Lucretia will commit suicide due to her tainted virtue. Furthermore, the dagger wielded by Lucretia is reminiscent of Titian's Lucretia and often believed to have phallic connotations, as the phallic shape reminds the viewer of Tarquinius' penetration of her body (Glendinning, 2013). Moreover, whilst pictorial representations often place Lucretia contemplating suicide, Rembrandt has depicted her in a wilful act yet struggling with her body's self-protectant instincts as seen by the hesitation of her left hand (Phillips, 1992). Unlike tradition, Lucretia is fully clothed, only an illuminated patch of flesh signifies the site of her virtue and subsequent death. The rendering of the clothing has been carefully constructed to aid the emotional distress of the heroine. A deep V-shape of fabric plunges towards the lower half of her body, leading the viewer's eyes visually to the area of her assault. A prominent gold chain marks the site of rape, and the raw, rough brushwork emphasises Lucretia's trauma. The rough handling of brushwork of Lucretia's dress enacts Westermann's (2000) statement noted earlier, that the raw paintwork resembles Lucretia's pain. Lucretia's physical attributes are not the focus of the work, but rather her emotional response to the rape, revealed in her teary gaze at the raised dagger (Williams, 2001). Rembrandt has chosen not to focus on Lucretia's sexuality, but rather depicts her as a victim; vulnerable, exposed, yet still feminine as seen in her elegant dress and jewels. She has been a victim of a rape, and slander has forced her to take her own life.

Rembrandt returns to the same subject two years later with the 1666 painting *Lucretia* (figure 4). Rembrandt depicts Lucretia's life ebbing away before us, moments after the suicide. To my knowledge, this painted depiction of Lucretia's story was unprecedented, thus making Rembrandt's return to the subject particularly unique. Tears glisten on

Lucretia's eyelids, blood pours from her wound, and she clings to a cord entering the pictorial frame from her left. Rembrandt has chosen to substitute blood for 'beauty', her distress and pain the central focus of this work (Verdi, 2014). Lucretia's elegant dress is now in disarray; her chemise is exposed to a greater extent, a large slit in the chemise revealing hints of flesh. Mieke Bal (Hammer-Tugendhat, 2015) goes as far to state that the slit in her dress and bleeding wound are a motif for her unscathed and wounded vagina. Her chest is not voluptuous as seen in Renaissance nudes, but rather flat which emphasises Lucretia's innocence. An invisible light source highlights the symbolic white of the chemise, once again reinforcing her ruined virtue. There is blood covering her lips, and the blood stain on Lucretia's stark white chemise is startling, the red and white creating a strong connotation of violence. Blood on fabric could also be interpreted as to be alluding to blood and bed sheets, a direct associate of sex. It is notable that the blood stain does not start at her breast, the supposed site of the wound, but rather starts lower, dripping down her body and eventually disappearing behind the fabric covering her lower body. Rembrandt is visually leading the viewer's eye to the site of the rape. Lucretia's purity and virtue are no longer, she is literally and physically tainted with blood. Gauzy impasto creates blood-soaked fabric sticking to Lucretia's skin, which contrasts with the thickly encrusted blood coating the dagger (Phillips, 1992). The blood stain is reminiscent of other paintings by Rembrandt of martyr-like figures such as the 1631 *Christ on the Cross* (figure 5). The focus of this work is raw, physical and emotional pain, Rembrandt was not shy of rendering shockingly violent wounds. Similarly to his earlier work, Rembrandt uses jewellery to retain Lucretia's femininity. A gold chain rendered in highlights of yellow and white is draped across Lucretia's chest, perhaps due to her lack of dress. What is strikingly different about this image, however, is the cord in which Lucretia pulls. Svetlana Alpers (1988) asserts that it is likely the sling in which the model for the painting would have held to assist her in holding her pose. Other theories, such as that the cord acts as a bell-pull, or even used to draw her final curtain, have been discussed by scholars (Phillips, 1992 and Williams, 2001). These two theories prove more likely within the context of Lucretia's story. Despite this ambiguity, there is no doubt that this work is an image of drama and raw emotion.

The theme of victimised women has previously been seen in Rembrandt's oeuvre. Similarly to Lucretia, Rembrandt's 1636 *Susanna* (figure 6) also depicts a young woman suffering from the voyeuristic leering of two elderly men. Susanna differs from Lucretia, however, by choosing to be accused of adultery and put to death than be sexually assaulted, because God would recognise her innocence (Sluijter, 2006). Eric Jan Sluijter (2006) states that Susanna was a greater example of female chastity as suicide was against Christian morals. Sluijter (2006) reinforces this idea by quoting St Augustine, who argues that if Lucretia was virtuous she would have no need to commit suicide, but as she did she may have experienced pleasure in Tarquinius's assault. This demonstrates how the female nude body is considered erotic, despite subject matter. Rembrandt's clothed Lucretia's desexualises Lucretia, minimising the suggestion of pleasure. Susanna, conversely, is naked; her body is not smooth, elongated and erotic. Instead her patchy

skin shows the line of her garter, her flesh forms rolls of skin as she contorts in fear, her knees knocking together. Rembrandt appears to have attempted to render Susanna as flawed, as to not showcase her physical beauty and detract from the emotional turmoil of the scene. However, the nude body is still associated with sexual connotations, and this arguably influenced his decision in rendering Lucretia fully clothed. Rembrandt returned to the subject of Susanna eleven years later, depicting her the same moment with the inclusion of the elders. Rembrandt's two Lucretia's are therefore unique within the artist's oeuvre, for quickly returning to the same subject yet rendering two similar and devastatingly emotional paintings.

It is important to consider Lucretia as told by Artemisia Gentileschi, who similarly to Rembrandt challenged visual tradition. Artemisia often depicted strong women such as Judith, Cleopatra, Susanna, and Lucretia. Artemisia was raped herself and was treated to the same moral criticisms as faced by Lucretia (Garrard, 1989). Although it can never be stated to what inner workings were present in Artemisia's mind, it is possibly that in place of Lucretia's dagger Artemisia wielded a paint brush, creating violent, emotional, and raw images of strong women. Her c.1621-2 painting *Lucretia* (figure 7) does not present eroticism, but rather moral and internal dilemma. Her stiff posture, firm grip on the dagger, and anxious brow renders an image of psychological tension and anxiety (Garrard, 1989). Lucretia is preparing to commit suicide, the dagger raised and her hand clutching her breast. It is as if she is deliberating the act, contemplating suicide (Garrard, 1989). The painting is therefore not centralised around the rape or the suicide, but the physical act she must perform, and the emotional debate raging within. Artemisia's painting is similar to Rembrandt in deviating from tradition and drawing attention to emotional tragedy.

It can firmly be established that Rembrandt was both traditional and innovative in his rendering of the classical heroine Lucretia. Keeping to a traditional subject matter and pictorial type, in both paintings Lucretia is isolated, and wielding a dagger. Earlier works of Lucretia define her as erotic and provocative, neglecting the trauma of rape, instead glorifying Lucretia's body. Rembrandt's Lucretia's convey a message of emotional tragedy, rather than erotic tones. The carefully constructed composition, colour and brushwork combine to create a raw and intense depiction of hurt and violence. Furthermore, Lucretia is reminiscent Rembrandt's earlier depictions of Susanna, who shares victimisation. Artemisia Gentileschi's painting of Lucretia likewise reinforces the movement away from eroticised depictions of the subject, and towards greater emotional intensity. Rembrandt's Lucretia's are therefore critical in the examination of painted victimhood, display innovation within a visual tradition, and most importantly, challenges the viewer to consider the emotions of a young girl committing suicide.

Images

Figure 1: Jan Muller, *Lucretia*, 17th century, engraving, 57.4 x 45.2 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstasammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett

Figure 2: Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, 1571, canvas, 188.9 x 145.1 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Figure 3: Rembrandt, *Lucretia*, 1664, canvas, 120 x 101 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art

Figure 4: Rembrandt, *Lucretia*, 1666, canvas, 110.2 x 92.3 cm, Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
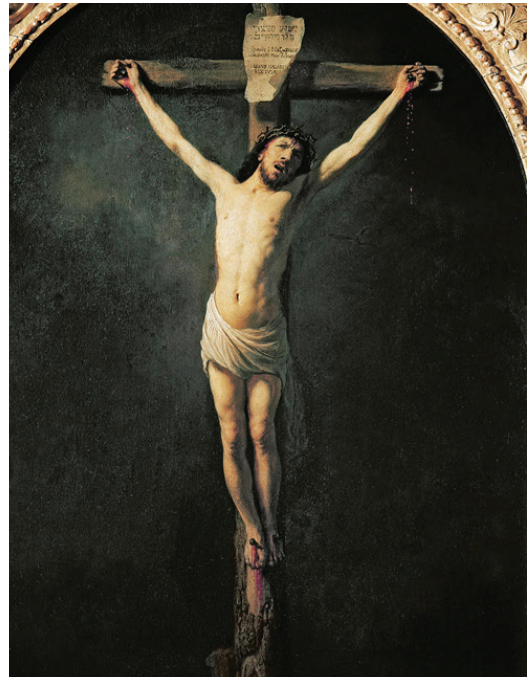

Figure 5: Rembrandt, *Christ on the Cross*, 1631, canvas, 99.9 x 72.6 cm, Collegiate Church of Saint Vincent, Le Mas d'Agenais

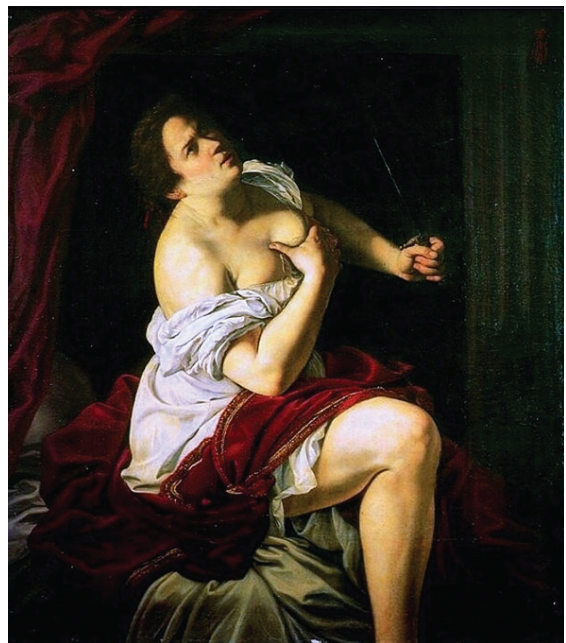Figure 6: Rembrandt, *Susanna*, 1636, panel, 47.2 x 38.6 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis

Figure 7: Artemisia Gentileschi, *Lucretia*, c. 1621-2, canvas, 54 x 51 cm, Genoa, Palazzo Cattaneo-Adorno

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Sociology 703

Sociology of Mental Health

Rohan Manoj Patel

Therapy: Fuel for Capitalism and Social Optimisation

Introduction

Therapy today can be understood as an industry that serves capitalistic agendas and markets the product of happiness, all while pushing individuals towards societal norms. Gibson (2014) outlines that therapy can be understood as a technology of the self; a way for individuals to affect their own thoughts, perceptions and sense of being, influencing a transformation to better attain their ideal state of mental happiness. Thus, therapy can be understood as a way to address issues with oneself and gain a more positive outlook (Valmaggia, Tabraham, Morris & Bouman, 2008).

This essay looks at therapy and its versatility as advocated by psychiatrists, treating a range of mental illnesses such as depression and anxiety. I will explore the underlying forces that drive the development and marketing of therapy to larger society. Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) is also looked in this essay as it upholds the same problematic principles akin to therapy and psychiatry. CBT began with behavioural therapists beginning to treat patients with cognitive techniques (Rachman, 2015). This form of therapy assesses social cognitive factors in behavioural treatment and is based on the idea that abnormal behaviour is caused by maladaptive beliefs and misappraisals which will continue until treated (Rachman, 2015). CBT relies on the notion that by embodying this new and correct ideology in their daily life , the individual will replace the faulty mental models for correct ones. This brings to light the notion that therapy here does not address the conditions creating the mental health issues, but instead serves to cultivate a competency in managing the issues as they arise. This not only perpetuates a long-term dependence on the therapist, but also creates further issues if multiple cognitive behavioural techniques are needed to cope with a multitude of issues simultaneously.

The legitimacy of CBT relies on its ability to convince a patient that they and their faulty understanding is to blame for their issue or disorder. Techniques used by CBT in its construction of scientific authority and fuelling of capitalism are also discussed. Finally, I analyse the underlying forces and address the direction that therapy and CBT is heading towards in the future. Therapy is moving towards remote administration using new technologies such as phone and internet therapies. This embodies the capitalistic values as therapy has become a lucrative industry and emphasises the continuing scientific authority of therapy using new technologies.

This essay will firstly look at work by Masson (1994) to examine the issues present within therapy. Secondly, CBT is discussed as a programme designed to trace the patterns of human learning and behaviour through observation, where a therapist will present the individual with new ways of thinking (Moloney, 2013; Rose, 1995).

Issues with Therapy

Masson (1994) conceptualises the common understanding of what a psychiatrist does,

and this definition can be used to better understand the nature of therapy. He outlines psychiatrists as medical doctors who have undergone additional training in diagnosis, prevention and treatment of mental disorders. It is noteworthy that he also illustrates an increased reliance on therapy and drugs for most psychiatrists and thus, provides the sense that therapy is a natural outcome of psychiatric practice. He also conceptualises psychotherapy as a session between a therapist and a patient, with a primary focus on talking about the patient's concerns.

Two other concepts, Interpretation' and 'Resistance', were integral to Masson (1994) for the formation of a higher sense of authority of a therapist over the patient. Interpretation can be understood as the act of a therapist uncovering a truth about the patient in the context of their issues and concerns or the conscious realisation of previously unconscious aspects around the patient's issue (Masson, 1994). Central to the idea of Interpretation is the concept of 'Insight' which refers to the patient's recognition of the therapist's interpretation of events or concerns at an emotional and intellectual level. Insight typically leads to a positive change in behaviour. The concept of Interpretation primarily reinforces the scientific authority of a therapist. Scientific authority can be understood as a belief in the specialised scientific knowledge and experience of a therapist that gives them the power to assess and provide recommendations for positive changes that can lead to happiness (Masson, 1994). As therapists are usually the ones interpreting a patient's subconscious thoughts and similarly therapists are the ones who define what can and cannot be considered as Insight (Masson, 1994).

The idea of Resistance can also be understood as supporting the scientific authority of therapists, as Resistance is defined by the patient's rejection of the therapist's interpretations. These rejections are often categorised as hindrances or obstructions to the therapeutic process and used as excuses for any delay in the treatment of a patient (Masson, 1994). Thus, it can be understood that both Interpretation and Resistance help therapists maintain their scientific authority. They help therapists by imposing their analysis and judgment of what can be categorised as Insight and also by categorising any opposition that a patient may have as Resistance, a hindrance to the patient's own progress (Lees, 2010). Masson (1994) also emphasises that most disagreements between a patient and their therapist are often categorised as Resistance by the therapist. This scientific authority allows therapists to make claims that are readily accepted as legitimate, while the claims of patients are seen as illegitimate in comparison to the therapist. Thus, Resistance can be understood as a way by which patient thoughts and interpretations are made illegitimate, giving therapists increased power over their patients during the course of 'treatment'.

Gibson (2014) addresses the function of therapy and clarifies it into two categories. The first is to uphold dominant societal discourses, and the second is to encourage resistance against the dominant discourse. However, the first function of maintaining the dominant discourse is usually endorsed by therapists and psychiatry in general (Gibson,

2014). Masson (1994) expands on this and illustrates that psychiatry and therapy serve not to cure people but to manage and normalise their behaviours. Central to this is the individual power of psychiatrists and the larger power of the state that serves to legitimate the scientific authority of the psychiatrists.

The history of these disciplines exemplifies the normalising structure of psychiatry and therapy. The popularity of the medical model in the public sector and the then growing popularity of the psycho-social model of mental illness in the private sector, during the 1850's to 1960's perpetuated the acceptance of the status quo (Masson, 1994). This involved psychiatrists locking away individuals who threatened the norm, until they showed signs of embodying aspects of social norms and the status quo (De Block, & Adriaens, 2013; Masson, 1994).

In the early 1970s, Britain saw a shift from the popularity of psychiatrists to that of therapist or psychotherapists as they used principles of psychoanalysis (Masson, 1994). This shift saw to the increase in psychiatrists specialising in therapy and even the construction of special positions within the Royal College of Britain called a Consultant Psychotherapist (Masson, 1994). It is noteworthy that only psychiatrists could become Consultant Psychotherapists and thus, the primary power dynamics between psychiatrists and patients were maintained. Therapists as such are presented as more powerful and all-knowing due to their scientific knowledge and authority, compared to the less powerful and ignorant patients (Lees, 2010). Many therapists were in pursuit of such power and through therapy they found a new way to reinforce the norm and instil obedience (Masson, 1994; Proctor, 2008). This conscious decision of therapists to legitimate and expand the field of therapy serves to show how it has embodied the norm preferences of society. Masson (1994) notes this foresight of psychiatrists in accepting psychotherapy as a further specialisation with psychiatry.

The abuses of psychiatry and therapy were also allowed to continue due to its scientific authority. Asylum nurses and staff were horrified by acts of war and violence but did not notice anything wrong with the humiliation their patients went through or their treatment through violent measures such as electrotherapy; the process of electrocuting the patient to condition a particular behaviour or idea as bad (Masson, 1994). The use of such treatments can show the extent to which the scientific authority of psychiatrists and therapists allowed them to exercise brutal forms of control on patients in the name of treatment. The nature of therapy can then be said to embody a sense of hierarchy (Pilgrim, 2008) which reinforces the idea that a therapist can see the 'real' truth and patients cannot. Masson (1994) makes an interesting comparison between techniques used by therapists and those used by religion, as both rely on an individual's acceptance of their ignorance and their inferiority compared to that of a therapist or a religious monarch. A common technique outlined by Masson (1994) was the use of silence, which can instil a sense of being observed and feeling helpless and in turn, can lower the patient's self-confidence. This technique of lowering an individual's self-confidence is

used by agencies such as the military to cultivate obedience and force acceptance of the institution's truth as the norm (Masson, 1994; Lees, 2010).

These power dynamics usually lead to forms of abuse by the therapist over the patient. An example of this can be seen from Masson's (1994) illustrations of Dr Albert Honig's treatment of his patients. The most prominent form of abuse used by therapists is emotional abuse. Dr Honig engaged in such abuse repeatedly and was sensationalised and praised for it at the time (Proctor, 2008). He would tell an autistic patient that the candy he likes has poison in it and that they would have to bury him if he had the candy. Another patient explained that Dr Honig did not like her eyes and was from then on told to keep her eyes shut. Such form of emotional abuse also leads up to physical abuse as the patients would naturally try to resist the abuses (Masson, 1994). The same female patient later refused to open her eyes in response to more emotional abuse. Dr Honig labelled the female patient's reluctant attitude opposing her progress and used electrotherapy to 'treat' her. This example helps build on the idea of therapists using Resistance to undermine the patient's authority about their own experiences and body, reinforcing the therapist's authority. The most prominent example of this can be seen in the case of Freud and Dora, during the 1900's. Masson (1994) outlines the Dora was unhappy with Freud's analysis of her, and this rejection of Freud's interpretation was taken as evidence of Dora's neuroticism. However, the truth is that Dora left because Freud was not listening to what she was saying about her own condition and only aimed to reinforce his own interpretations (Masson, 1994). In addition to this Masson (1994) also suggests that Dora may have left due to her feminist beliefs.

Thus, therapy in general can be seen to embody tools like Interpretation and Resistance, allowing increased flexibility to twist and mould perceptions to therapist's own support. Masson (1994) outlines the ideal therapist as per a study of one hundred and thirty-one patients and finds that qualities such as good listening, interest and warmth are the qualities most sought after. Not only can the same qualities be found in a close friend, but the effectiveness of these qualities can also be increased by the personal knowledge the friend would have about you (Proctor, 2008). Therapists, on the other hand, are paid for their attention, and this reward is primarily given as the individual is recognised as a medical or psychological expert. This medical title as expert reinforces the therapist scientific authority and creates a power imbalance between the therapists and patient even before the first session of therapy has begun.

Cognitive Behavioural Therapy

Proctor (2008) outlines the previously stated issues of power imbalance as part of CBT as well. Aspects of CBT emphasise the same issues that therapy in general embodies, such as the power imbalance between patient and therapist and notions of Interpretation and Resistance discussed above. Proctor (2008) expands on the idea of the occurrence of paternalism in CBT. Many therapists advocating for CBT also advocate the coercion

of patients in carrying out an action or embodying a new way of thinking framing it as ultimately for the patient's own good. Thus, CBT enforces the same issues of power imbalance as with the larger discipline of therapy and psychiatry.

Throughout the twentieth century, psychoanalysis had grown strong roots in psychological practices (Pilgrim, 2011). Pilgrim (2011) illustrates that the origins of CBT are from medical hypnotism and Pavlov's work on behavioural conditioning with dogs; however, Aaron Beck and Albert Ellis are the psychiatrists credited with much of the work around CBT. Pavlov (1941) experimented on dogs and presented them with a stimulus that contradicted their learned behaviour. The dogs then became catatonic and unresponsive as well as showing signs of duress. Pavlov (1941) concluded that since behaviour can be conditioned then undesirable behaviour could also be un-conditioned or re-conditioned.

The 1950's saw an increased interest in behavioural therapy and behavioural modification which had its roots with Pavlov's work and Skinner's work on Operant Conditioning (Pilgrim, 2011). Operant Conditioning focuses on the effects of punishment and reinforcement on behaviour. By the 1960's this behavioural therapy was decreasing in popularity. However, there was an increased interest in its application to define behaviour as an objective measure of human mood and emotions, reinforcing psychiatry's scientific legitimacy (Davies, 2015). Pilgrim (2011) outlines this shift towards behaviourism as a pursuit for behavioural data which can be understood as the first pillar arising to support the extensive use of CBT.

Towards the 1970's the idea of cognitive-behaviourisms would be realised and used to understand 'inner worlds' or 'inner events' such as inner thoughts and feelings (Pilgrim, 2011). Pilgrim (2011) outlines that 'inner events' were approached in selective ways by psychiatrists. Ultimately, the social influence of psychiatrists was used to legitimate their endeavour to define undesirable behaviour as maladaptive behaviour and advocate behavioural therapy. This builds on Masson's (1994) ideas of Interpretation as an authoritative force in favour of the therapist. Pilgrim (2011) also emphasises that the shift to cognitive behaviourism was highly influential in the general public's understanding of how undesirable ways of behaving and thinking can be modified. This shift can be understood as the second pillar that saw to the increased use of CBT.

As cognitive behavioural therapy develops Pilgrim (2011) outlines two ways in which CBT endorses the scientific authority of psychiatrists and facilitates the legitimacy of psychiatrists. The first is the conceptualisation of the 'inner world' as inherently mysterious, and thus a 'thought diary' was made part of behavioural therapies (Pilgrim, 2011). The thought diary was a patient's diary where they would record their inner thoughts and thus, lead to such patient reflections becoming an objective document for psychiatrists to research. This provided a versatile platform for psychiatrists to build research and further legitimise their practice (Pilgrim, 2008). Matters were further

complicated by the idea of behavioural conditioning as the goal of the therapy. It also noteworthy that Masson's (1994) idea of Resistance can also be claimed by cognitive behavioural therapists if needed. With patient thoughts open to interpretation and their behaviour open to conditioning, psychiatrists were free to construct connections between thoughts (inner worlds), with behaviour, and offer behavioural therapy to fix undesirable behaviour (Valmaggia, Tabraham, Morris & Bouman, 2008; Davies, 2015). The second was the nomothetic approach taken by psychiatrists rather than the ideographic to psychological differences (Pilgrim, 2011). This means that psychiatrists accepted the ontological status of the diagnostic categories from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) leading to CBT being applied to a large group of disorders such as social anxiety disorder and major depression. Furthering this, therapists and psychologists also accepted the manual and the disorders outlined within as accurate (Pilgrim, 2011).

A wave of many different forms of behavioural therapy had been proposed, and more are yet to be conceptualised. For example, Albert Ellis's rational theory, multimodal theory (MMT), acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT), cognitive behavioural analysis system of psychotherapy (CBASP), to name a few. (Pilgrim, 2011). Pilgrim (2011) also notes the emergence of older Eastern techniques such as Zen Buddhism being incorporated in CBT. David's (2015) idea of happiness as a marketable product can be applied here. The fuel of capitalism is competition, and this competition results in a diversification of choice and options. By providing more options of therapy to choose from, therapist and psychiatrists make happiness easily marketable by following the rules of consumerism (David, 2015). Lees (2010) explores how therapy serves to insulate individuals from the global society and individualises their issues, thus more options can also be a way of appealing to individuals of various cultural and religious backgrounds, creating an option for all the seek therapy. The vast variety of options and the individualisation of therapy forces people to internalise their issues as opposed to looking at the structural causes of their struggles and unhappiness.

In addition to this, the varied cultural and religious options used in CBT such Zen Buddhism can also further misconceptions around cultures and religions. As such there is a degree of epistemological arrogance displayed by psychiatrists who use religious and cultural concepts without a full understanding of them to endorse therapy as it is profitable (Lees, 2010).

Moloney (2013) categorises CBT as today's market leader in therapy due to its versatility in application and cost-effectiveness. As outlined by Pilgrim (2011), when behavioural therapy saw a decline in use and popularity between the 1960's and 1970's, it was merged and repackaged as cognitive therapy principles to increases its effectiveness. The rise of research on anti-psychiatry such as those by Thomas Szasz had created a distaste for the impersonal and authoritarian style of therapy used by behavioural therapists (Davies, 2015; Moloney, 2013). Moloney (2013) also outlines the misleading use of the cognitive in CBT. Stoic philosophy inspired Aaron Beck and Albert Ellis, not cognitive science. The

word cognitive then can be understood to add scientific value or authority of the therapy. Britain today has an extensive CBT initiative, and most clinical psychiatrists and therapist are familiar with its principles and techniques (Pilgrim, 2009). Pilgrim (2009) expands on this further by outlining that cognitivism was a dominant psychological principle for almost ten years after CBT was introduced, and that some textbooks on cognitive psychology even today have no mention of CBT. As a result of the foresight of early psychiatrists to diversify into the field of therapy and again embody the dual identity of medical professionals and agents of conformity, CBT has become the standard of therapy (Moloney, 2013).

Pilgrim (2008) outlines that the mass advocation and implementation of CBT as a result of its socio-economic potential as a temporary fix has limited the development of more long-term support structures such as community support groups and early childhood support groups. Moloney (2013) notes that in today's market most therapies and psychiatric techniques are represented as fast cure backed with complex data to reinforce the scientific value of the therapy, CBT has mountains of studies advocating its benefits (Pilgrim, 2009; Woolfolk & Richardson, 1984).   As such, at its core, CBT embodies the ideas pushed by modernity which are rationalism, pragmatism and technism (Woolfolk & Richardson, 1984). This increased influence of rationalism, pragmatism and technism creates the binary of the rational therapist versus the irrational patient. Thus, a therapist practicing CBT then presents interpretations and explanations that are perceived as good and correct, while the subjective explanations of the patients are considered as irrational and perceived as incorrect.

The Underlying Forces that Cultivate a Need for Therapy

Davies (2015) exposes the underlying forces of capitalism and economic expansion as the medium that perpetuated marketing for happiness through therapy. He outlines the two main forces that have cultivated a desire for happiness which in turn has perpetuated a desire for therapy as the answer. The first is capitalism and the second is the growth of technology, specifically monitoring and surveillance technologies. As technologies advance, human thoughts and emotions once deemed subjective are now being categorised as objective data which promotes a desire for efficiency or optimisation in the capitalist mode of production.

For capitalism to be successful, individuals must be at their optimum or working towards their optimum. As a result, they must be relaxed and happy despite the nature of capitalism itself promoting strong competitive and consumeristic values (Woolfolk and Richardson, 1984). Thus, therapy and other forms of attaining happiness like self-help books can now be sold as part of an industry that supports the advancement of capitalistic agendas (Davies, 2015). The marketing of therapy is not only used for its economic value, but also to distract individuals for the more pressing economic and political issues. Therapy then can be understood as a product to counter the side effects

of capitalism, allowing the working class to be at their optimal. Thus, therapy can be understood as a lucrative industry, that distracts and maintains the capitalist workforce and finally by its use of modern technology is granted scientific authority over how individuals should be optimised. For example, Davies (2015) explains that a polling company estimated that the unhappiness of the employees across the United States was costing their economy a loss $500 billion a year due to lowering of productivity. Thus, therapy can be categorised a roughly $500 billion industry explaining the perpetuation of CBT in the 21st century.

Remote application of CBT is also being considered in an effort to reduce further the cost associated with therapy. For example, CBT over the internet is already being tested. Christensen, Griffiths, Groves and Korten (2006) illustrate that the speed and expansion of the internet will ultimately see it used in the health services. A study by Klein, Richards and Austin, (2006) found that individuals engaging in online therapy had lowered rates of panic disorder then even therapist assisted phone therapy. The cost-effectiveness and ease of access could potentially see a mass interest. Similarly, CBT over the phone has seen much development. Bee, Lovell, Lidbetter, Easton and Gask (2010) found that CBT over the phone was easily adopted and was extremely convenient for the patients.

The advancement of technologies such as mood-tracking software and smart wristbands has seen to the objective quantification of subjective feelings. These technologies allow for analysing individual's habits, values and opinions thus creating scientific measurements for happiness and furthering the scientific authority of therapists' (Woolfolk and Richardson, 1984). The various mood-tracking technologies ensure that services are marketable to all, allowing a price to be put on the human need for happiness. Such objective calculations and their extension into the everyday society only adds to the scientific authority of therapist and psychiatrists (Woolfolk and Richardson, 1984). Pilgrim (2011) outlines that CBT came about through the combination of psychodynamics and medicine, although at the beginning of its conceptualisation it was referred to as behavioural psychiatry and relied on behaviour as a measure of data. Such measures are now even more refined and usually clouded in complexity further legitimising the scientific authority of therapists (Woolfolk & Richardson, 1984). The view of 'normal' patient behaviours in CBT Pilgrim (2009) argues is anti-democratic and can minimise diversity within society. CBT as such, promotes a rational and standardised model of thinking and interpreting the world. Such a one-dimensional therapy would not be able to cater to the needs of its diverse patients (Pilgrim, 2009). The effectiveness of this on a multitude of cultures is yet to be empirically tested and should be the focus of future studies.

Davies (2015) credits William Stanley Jevons with converting utilitarianism into rational consumer choice, building on Jeremy Bentham's idea of the hedonistic calculus which suggests that individuals are constantly performing calculations of the pros and cons of any action. Thus, Jevons merged the mechanisms of marketing with that of the mind

by using the economic market as the representation of society's desires and capitalism using the new resource of psychological tools to market and sell different sensations (Davies, 2015). Jevons outlines the primary motive to sell sensations through cash is a way to afford happiness and pleasure while minimising the sense of stress and pain that capitalism fuels through its individualistic and competitive values.

Davies (2015) also illustrates the emergence of research on the neurological reward system as a factor that further solidifies the merger between capitalism and psychology. By the early 1980's the neuro-receptor dopamine was discovered and credited with the happy feeling individuals feel as a reward for good decisions and activities. Not only did the generation of such knowledge further the scientific authority of psychiatrists but also situated therapy as a cash trade for dopamine with society (Davies, 2015; Woolfolk and Richardson, 1984). Davies (2015) also makes the intuitive claim that although the use of therapy and psychiatric tools are represented as a way to improve the mental health of individuals, it is prominently used by policy-makers and medical professionals to uphold money as the dominant measure of all value. Thus, despite being told that money cannot buy happiness (Davies, 2015), individuals are persuaded to purchase therapy for their happiness (Rose, 1995) instead of a more sustainable and natural way to improve their dopamine levels.

Davies (2015) outlines a trend towards behavioural modification as the goal of twentieth-century policymakers. This trend lays the groundwork for the emergence of CBT as the most cost-effective mode of behavioural modification. From modifying eating and recycling behaviour to categorising healthy behaviour, defining the behaviour of individuals to predict better the outcome is of great economic value (Pilgrim, 2011). This ability to categorise behaviour in an attempt to predict and control the environment was claimed legitimate by therapists and psychiatrists and can be seen as the central pillar supporting their scientific authority (Davies, 2015). The perceived legitimacy of behavioural measurements relies again on the notion that individuals cannot competently uncover aspects of their own behaviour and need an expert therapist who will know better, which further perpetuates the power imbalances between the therapist and patient, giving the therapist's views more legitimacy over the patient's own understandings of themselves (Proctor, 2008).

Davies (2015) illustrates that in pursuit of optimisation of the workforce, CBT was added to the UK disability benefit program as a mandatory requirement for individuals wanting to claim this benefit. The completion of CBT as pre-requisites is intended to funnel them back into the workforce or cut their benefits if this cannot be achieved. Interestingly, the effectiveness of therapy for a patient unwilling to go through CBT is not discussed as the personal feeling of the individuals are irrelevant, optimisation to influence return into the workforce is the focus. It was again the cost-effectiveness and the capital to gain from optimising these individuals looking to claim benefits that attracted the UK government to establish compulsory CBT in 2014 (Davies, 2015). Thus, advancements in technology

and the endorsement of capitalistic values has seen to the increase in merging of the once separate medical and social spheres of society. Such a climate has created a market for happiness that is sold in the form of therapy, and since capitalism promotes maximum benefit at minimum cost, cognitive behavioural therapy is seen as the most sustainable option. CBT's ease of access and delivery over the internet as well as its one size fits all approach make it an inexpensive option (Rose, 1995). This can provide a glimpse into a future heavily focused on optimising individuals for economic avenues. For example, schools and other institutions could also create mandatory requirements to attend therapy as a way to diminish student dropout rates.

Conclusion

It can be seen how the forces of capitalism have influenced the marketing of happiness and how the advancement of technology has further legitimated the scientific authority of a therapist. Masson's (1994) work showed how therapy is placed on a pedestal in society where therapists and psychiatrists are seen as people that can solve issues associated with negative emotions, and mental health problems. As such therapists and psychiatrists are invested with the scientific authority that presents them as all-knowing and their word being highly valued. However, as discussed above, they tend to engage in individualising problems as opposed to discussing them in the social context and moving patients towards a preconceived norm.

Works by Moloney (2013) and Pilgrim (2011) can show how CBT embodies similar issues. CBT argues that mental health issues are abnormal behaviours that arise from maladaptive beliefs and misappraisals which are stated to continue until treated. As such the role of therapy is to normalise individual behaviour by creating competency to mange issues as they arise. In essence, this creates a dependence on the psychiatrist to 'correctly' interpret the patients world and 'fix' their beliefs. The legitimacy of CBT is in its evidence-based nature that lends to its scientific authority, again adding to the power imbalances between the patient and therapist that are exploited.

Finally, I analyse how capitalism has contributed to the expansion of CBT. Davies (2015) showed that underlying forces of capitalism and economic value as perpetuating the marketing of happiness in the form of therapy. The move towards remote administration of therapy such as phone and internet therapies make it cost effective. However, this allows therapy to be administered widely and become a lucrative industry and emphasises the continuing scientific authority of therapy using new technologies. Thus, therapy can be seen as a much larger and covert tool that fuels capitalist ideologies and optimise the societies towards a preserved norm.

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Museums 704B

Exhibiting Cultures

Andrew McKay

Global museum franchising: Exporting artistic enlightenment or just another tourist attraction?

> How does one measure the success of a museum?
> (Getty, 2003, p. 285).

It seems that museums are selling their soul to the devil. Art has become just another commodity in a sector that is becoming more commercialised by the year. It has been said that art museums rival professional sporting events in their ability to draw the crowds, with attendance figures in the United States alone growing from a meagre 22 million in the early 1960s to a staggering 850 million visitors by 2012 (McClellan, 2008; Rocco, 2013). This growth has also been fuelled by an unprecedented period of museum construction, with the number of museums globally now estimated at 55,000, up from 23,000 two decades ago (Rocco, 2013). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that "tourism needs destinations, and museums are premier attractions" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, p. 132). One could conclude from this that museums are in a state of transition, shifting from their traditional role as a repository for objects to one with a more visitor-centric orientation. The purpose of this essay is to explore this shift in more detail with a specific focus on the global trend of museum franchising. The structure of the essay will be based upon the following three questions: First, does franchising contribute towards a museum's long-term sustainability?; Secondly, are there ethical or reputational issues involved?; and finally, can the franchising model be effectively replicated around the world, particularly as a catalyst for urban renewal? My contention will be that the strategy of global museum franchising has increased the level of sustainability among museums, but there are ethical and reputational issues for the museum sector, along with the difficulty of replicating the model on a universal basis. I will draw upon the examples of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (GMB) and the Louvre Abu Dhabi to support my argument in these areas. It will also be shown that in the face of declining public funding, museums are becoming more multi-faceted as museum directors seek new and innovative ways to offer visitors the 'total experience' as a means of protecting the museum's longevity.

Thomas Krens, the former director of the Guggenheim from 1998 to 2008, was among the first to use the power of branding to transform the museum into a global identity. By franchising the Guggenheim as a brand, Krens initiated a museological revolution that was soon adopted by a number of leading museums and galleries from the Louvre in France to the Tate in London (Caldwell, 2000). What was the impetus behind this revolution? In short, money (or the lack thereof). When Krens became director in 1988, the Guggenheim's finances were in a precarious state. The late 1980s and early 1990s were marked by reductions in funding for the arts. This placed pressure on these institutions to explore new ways to generate revenue. Another concern for Krens was the large number of artworks in storage. The flagship Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York could only display a tiny fraction of the Guggenheim's vast collection, and the storage required to hold those unseen works came at a substantial cost. Although cash strapped, the Guggenheim had two strong assets going for it – the collection and its image (Fraser, 2006). While the museum had been criticised in the past for attempting to deaccession parts of their collection, Krens came upon the idea of renting them out to a network of

Guggenheim-related franchises (Fraser, 2006).

By applying corporate management and marketing techniques to the museum sector, Krens put in place the "lucrative and seemingly reproducible model of global franchising" (Wyma, 2014, para. 13). He believed if a sufficient number of franchised institutions could be established, then the Guggenheim's permanent collection could be rotated among them, and in the process generate considerable revenue from the licensing agreements, whilst making considerable savings through reduced storage and exhibition costs by leveraging the global scale of the network. In addition, the model would also produce operational efficiencies, by reducing duplication in curatorial and research services. All these factors would contribute towards the Guggenheim's long-term sustainability, with the extra revenue helping the institution to acquire new works for the Guggenheim's New York museum. As a result, Krens began the process of signing licensing agreements with interested parties in order to grow the Guggenheim network internationally. The first signatory was the Basque city of Bilbao in Northern Spain.

In 1991, as part of an intensive programme of urban regeneration, the Basque president, Jose Antonio Ardanza, met with Krens to discuss a proposal to open a museum of modern art in Bilbao. The agreement between the parties involved the Basque government agreeing to provide €100 million in construction costs for the new museum, €50 million for new acquisitions, allocate €7 million per annum for operational costs, and pay the Guggenheim €20 million in licensing fees (Wyma, 2014; Richards & Wilson, 2006). In return, Krens would allow the local authorities to use the Guggenheim name, its programming and curatorial expertise, and access to its vast collection from the museum's repository in New York. The 'starchitect' Frank Gehry was commissioned to design a spectacular building that became to be seen as the focal point of the new museum. Some critics noted that the architecture overshadowed the art collection, which was hurriedly purchased from a limited range of sources, and has been generally regarded as poor (Ostling, 2007).

Regardless, the Bilbao was a hit, and became the catalyst for Krens' globalisation strategy. In the three years following the opening of the GMB in 1997 there were a further 60 requests for similar projects from around the world (Ostling, 2007). In addition to its long standing presence in New York and Venice, Italy (The Peggy Guggenheim Collection), franchises opened in Berlin, Germany (The Deutsche Guggenheim Museum, 1997-2012), Las Vegas (The Guggenheim Hermitage Museum, 2001-2008), and more recently in Abu Dhabi, where construction on another Frank Gehry designed museum has currently stalled (Pop & Borza, 2014). While the actual number of museums constructed has been limited, the model has resulted in the Guggenheim now operating on the international stage.

The Louvre is another prominent institution that has adopted the model of global franchising. The French government, inspired by the idea of exporting its cultural

heritage, opened its first museum in Atlanta, Georgia, in 2006. For a fee of €13 million, the government loaned a selection of its collection for a three year period, and created nine long-term exhibitions (Fabelová, 2010). Atlanta though was part of a much larger plan – in March 2007 the French Minister of Culture signed a contract for the long-term loan of artwork from the Louvre and other French institutions, including the Musée d' Orsay, for a thirty year period, with the cultural minister of Abu Dhabi. The Arab authorities paid the staggering sum of €400 million just to use the museum's name, with the French government expecting to earn €1 billion over the duration of the agreement (Fabelová, 2010). Abu Dhabi was responsible for constructing the museum, which opened in November 2017, whilst the French manage four temporary exhibitions per year for 15 years, and assist with developing Abu Dhabi's own, more regionally oriented collection to replace over time the loaned artwork from France (Fabelová, 2010). For the Louvre, this relationship has certainly been a commercially beneficial one, and will contribute significantly to the museum's long-term sustainability. For example, the agreement boosted the museum's income by 275% in 2007 compared to the previous year (Pop & Borza, 2014). Furthermore, the Louvre holds ten times more objects that it can display, so the lending of artworks to a franchise institution overcomes the museum's problem of storage whilst increasing global accessibility to the collection, especially for those who are unable to visit the Louvre in Paris themselves (Pop & Borza, 2014).

However, the decision by the government to enter into this agreement has been controversial. Those not consulted in the deal include art and cultural experts who believe the cultural development of France is at stake. They argue why should only a few hundred thousand people in Abu Dhabi benefit from the collection while millions of French citizens and visitors are denied the opportunity of seeing it in France where it belongs (Pop & Borza, 2014). A similar sentiment is shared by critics of the Guggenheim model as the reputation of the collection becomes diluted when parts are loaned to other institutions, even those affiliated with the museum itself (Fabelová, 2010).

There are further criticisms of the franchise model as well. The GMB, according to Frey's definition, is described as a 'super museum' (Frey, 1998). These characteristics include the museum's presence as a 'must see' tourist destination attracting large numbers of visitors, a world famous collection, and having iconic architecture, which renders the building as much a work of art as the collection itself (Frey, 1998). These type of museums have been criticised for prioritising visitor services over the art, and thereby relegating its role within the museum. Instead, the museum becomes an institution not based upon learning and scholarship, but one focussed on growing its commercial enterprises. As McClellan writes, "the new buildings and their amenities tend to be very popular with the mass public only deepens suspicions among art world professionals" (McClellan, 2008, p. 93). Kimmelman adds that museums are now at a crossroads; they are unsure of which way to go – are they universities or another version of Disneyland, oscillating back and forth with each other? (Kimmelman, 2005). The New Museology described by the likes of Peter Vergo has seen this change brought about where the

importance of objects has shifted towards one of experience, to the point where visitor services and education are now at the forefront (Vergo, 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). The comparison of modern museums to theme parks is seen to compromise the professional standards and reputation of the museum. In the case of the Guggenheim, Krens' commercial focus led to the resignation of Peter Lewis, the chairman of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and chief benefactor, because of the reputational damage he felt such practices were having on the museum (McClellan, 2008). Overall, the 'McGuggenisation' sensation is challenging the traditional role of the museum where the goal has become profit maximisation by way of entertainment in order to gain a larger share of the cultural tourist market. Given this, where is the line between what constitutes ethical and unethical conduct? Has the fundamental mission of the museum been compromised by the endless pursuit of profit?

In 2000, the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) developed guidelines "to help institutions guard their integrity while developing and managing support from business" (McClellan, 2008, p. 230). However, museums found them to be too vague and it was left to themselves to manage their own conduct. The problem is that the lines are constantly shifting, where what is acceptable one day may not be the next (McClellan, 2008). This presents museums with a dilemma. For many, as a means of survival, they have become dependent on sponsors and visitor amenities like restaurants, retail stores and other commercial enterprises to keep them afloat. Only a few well-endowed institutions like the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles can remain above such blatant signs of commercialism. For those museums without a choice, they have to strike a careful balance of providing an 'experience' for their visitors whilst not impacting the content of the exhibitions or the integrity of the museum (McClellan, 2008). This can be a difficult task, especially if the competition does not abide by the same rules.

Has the New Museology blurred the lines between art, entertainment, and commerce? I believe it has, to the point where it is has become impossible to tell them apart. Some argue that the same institutions who adopt commercial practices in order to remain competitive violate the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Code of Ethics which define a museum as "a non-profit making permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, open to the public" (International Council of Museums, 2013, p. 20). The Code has specific rules prohibiting the use of a museum's name or logo to "promote or endorse any for-profit operation or product," a contentious area given the Guggenheim and Louvre practice of franchising their name for commercial benefit (International Council of Museums, 2013, p. 18). There are critics who argue that the mission of a museum is to build a collection and develop educational programmes built upon the objects in the museum, and "not loan collections without any justification" (Fabelová, 2010, p. 56). Conversely, proponents of the franchise model point out that a key principle in the Code of Ethics is the role museums have in promoting cultural heritage to the widest audience possible (International Council of Museums, 2013). Franchising, much like sponsorship, can bring in much needed revenue that enables

museums to expand their collections for the benefit of society (Mullin, 2009). This dichotomy makes it difficult for museums to know where they stand. Mullin suggests a code of ethical guidelines be developed for international museum franchising, especially as the practice is becoming more prevalent around the world (Mullin, 2009). In fact, the current economic reality has forced many regions to look towards the cultural sector as a cure for their urban malaise. This situation occurred with the city of Bilbao in Northern Spain.

History has shown, notes Baniotopoulou, that one of the main factors contributing to the urban regeneration of an area is the "exploitation of the cultural sector's potential" (Baniotopoulou, 2001, Introduction, para. 3). As mentioned, this was part of the plan when the Basque government, seeking to regenerate the once thriving industrial city of Bilbao, signed a licensing agreement to have a Guggenheim museum as its main cultural attraction. In terms of urban renewal, the GMB was a great success as it stimulated the development of cultural tourism in the region, bringing multiple social and economic benefits to the region. For instance, the number of overnight stays in the Basque region in 2011 increased by 141% when compared to 1996 (Pop & Borza, 2014). In its first year, the GMB attracted a million visitors and has consistently maintained this level ever since enabling the Basque government to repay the cost of the building within five years (Franklin, 2016). With over 70% of the visitors coming from outside Spain, it underlines the considerable impact the museum has had on the Spanish economy (Cook, 2017). The media have also glorified the success of the GMB in terms of its urban regenerative benefits, with numerous cities around the world wanting to replicate the 'Bilbao effect'. The question though, can such a model be replicated?

In my opinion it cannot. Success is not always guaranteed - just because it worked in one place does not mean it can work everywhere due to each region's own unique characteristics. Unfortunately for Krens, his quest for global expansion did not achieve the scale first planned (McClellan, 2008). After the initial enthusiasm generated from the opening of the GMB, there has been a notable lack of countries willing to sign onto the Guggenheim model. Between 2000 and 2005, the Guggenheim publicised ambitious proposals to build a number of franchise museums in Rio de Janerio, Taichung, and Guadalajara in Mexico, only to have them rejected by local governments (Wyma, 2014). There are two reasons why some of these projects failed: the exorbitant licensing fees to acquire the Guggenheim name; or there has been a misalignment between the country's cultural priorities and those of the Guggenheim's American-based interests (Rosenbaum & Farhat, 2014). One recent example was the proposed Guggenheim in Helsinki, Finland, where the proposal to construct the museum was overwhelmingly rejected by city councillors who cited the excessive cost to the taxpayer and the lack of private funding (Siegal, 2016). Some franchise museums were built but later closed due primarily to low visitor attendance - the Guggenheim Hermitage Museum in Las Vegas shut only 15 months after opening. In this example the expectation that a museum situated in the entertainment capital of the world would encourage tourists out of the

casinos and into the museum for a taste of culture did not transpire (Hall, 2006). The Guggenheim Abu Dhabi is the latest franchise project to run into trouble. It was set to open in late 2017, but construction has barely started, and no reasons have been given for the delay. So in terms of replicating the model, why did Bilbao succeed where others had failed?

The city of Bilbao was unique due to a number of political and socio-economic reasons that virtually ensured the GMB's success. One was that the construction of the museum occurred in a city previously void of any cultural institution. The planners envisaged the museum as the centrepiece of Bilbao's urban regeneration. Another reason was gastronomy. The Basque region is known for a number of elite restaurants that attract a large flow of wealthy tourists prior to the opening of the GMB (Franklin, 2016). These people became a captive market for the museum. The Basque coast is also known as one of Europe's oldest pilgrimage routes where "leisure, cultural and arts tourism" are well established, so again a consistent flow of people was already present (Franklin, 2016, p. 84). These points highlight that the regeneration of Bilbao was not solely dependent on the GMB, but instead helped to enhance an already active cultural tourism market in the region. Given these factors, the 'Bilbao Effect' can be seen as a unique phenomenon, and one that has been difficult to replicate. This makes it difficult to replicate and is a setback for cities hoping that a Guggenheim museum would be the magic elixir for their economic woes.

A lack of public funding, along with an unpredictable global economy, have compelled museums to become more commercially oriented in their outlook to ensure their long-term sustainability. In short, museums have had to innovate to survive. In this essay, I have sought to answer three questions. The first was regarding whether franchising contributes towards the long-term sustainability of a museum. The answer in my opinion is that it does, as seen by the Guggenheim and Louvre models, where global expansion has certainly, to a point, improved both institution's revenue generating capabilities. However, and addressing my second question, there are ethical issues than can arise, namely the conflict with ICOM's ethical guidelines over the non-profit making nature of the museum. There is also the question of the reputational damage inflicted on these institutions. The pursuit of profit has transformed the museum into another wheel of the global entertainment machine. The focus on attracting visitors has become the key purpose for many museum directors, which has had a corresponding impact on the function of museums as centres of research and scholarship. My final area of exploration was to see whether franchising models contribute towards urban renewal. For Bilbao, the GMB contributed towards the economic and social rejuvenation of the city, but because of the region's unique characteristics it has been difficult to replicate this success elsewhere, as seen by the number of failed or short lived examples of other Guggenheim franchises. Museums will continue to evolve to meet the changing demands imposed upon it by society. As highlighted in this essay, commercialism will remain a core focus for museums in the future, where being adaptable and innovative will be key to ensuring their relevance and longevity in an increasingly competitive cultural environment.

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English 718

Opening the Archive

Hannah Lees

"Not better, but more justly": Face to Face with Archival Affect and Ethics

"I would like to learn to live… to learn to live with ghosts, in the upkeep, the conversation, the company… of ghosts. To live otherwise, and better. No, not better, but more justly. But with them… And this being-with specters would also be… a politics of memory, of inheritance, and of generations."

(*Spectres of Marx*, Jacques Derrida, 1994, p. xvii–xviii)

"For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part"

(Authorised King James Bible, Cor. 1.13-12)

Part I: Opening the Archive

Straddling the disciplines of writing studies, museums and cultural heritage, and history, this work reflects my journey to address settler nation-building at play in public archives in Aotearoa New Zealand. Rather than critique alone, I have created a mission statement for an archival initiative which emphasises the importance of affect and ethics. This article is an explication of the research, thinking, and experiences that have gone into the Kanohi ki te Kanohi Initiative: a speculative policy document for an imagined (but not impossible) archives collective, which can be found at the end of this article. The Kanohi ki te Kanohi document is both aspirational in its thrust and practical in its requirements, and is born of a preoccupation with an ethics of archiving and ethics of archival use. Initially, I had assumed the theme of our research enterprise, 'Opening the Archive' to mean an entry or uncovering. Now I also take 'opening' to mean a broadening of the archive. Both parts are essential to the Initiative. My document comes not from a desire to codify a list of ethical practises but to re-orient the approach to constructing and using archives by foregrounding relational (genealogical) ontology and the inevitability that we may only ever know 'the other' 'in part'. I take up Derrida's aim to live with ghosts (subjects) in the archive. Our inseparable relatedness makes ghosts less an object of study than a relationship to negotiate. I describe my research experiences in the first person throughout, acknowledging that autoethnography generates a critical posture toward the taken-for granted (Gergen, 1994, p. 137).

Meniscus and Membrane

For the purposes of this article, the term membrane is associated with the work of archiving and the term meniscus is associated with the use of archives. The Online Etymology Dictionary has been helpful in exploring the potential of these terms. In biological understanding, a membrane is a barrier but also a permeable layer through which things must pass. In this sense the archiving principles of inclusion and exclusion serve as a membrane. A further association is with the term membrum or member (a limb or member of the body), by which the membrane is the surface which covers the members of the body. The archivist's acts form a membrane: sifting, sorting, filing, conserving, and organising the contents (and rejections) of the archive; consciously and unconsciously filtering the members of the archived body.

In chemical understanding, a meniscus is the floating crescent on the surface of a liquid. It is not part of the physically measured volume as it is an effect caused by surface tension. Its appearance mediates between the surface and the depths. I take the meniscus to be a metaphor for the affect experienced when entering, experiencing, ferreting, probing, or foraging in an archive. This 'surface tension' of the meniscus lives between the forager and the archive.

The crescent of the meniscus is similar to the moon's crescent (which does not affect the moon's spherical volume) as it based upon the angle at which we see: our perception of the moon's shape will change based upon both our position and the sun's position relative to the celestial body. In chemistry, parallax error occurs when the position of the eye is not at the same level as the meniscus and a 'mis-reading' occurs as a result. A correct reading can only occur when face-to-face with the meniscus. However, like the beauty of the moon's 'mis-read' crescent, this essay aims to reveal the potential rather than only the pitfalls of parallax. Rather than simple inaccuracy or bias, parallax implies that the viewer is in a relationship with the surface, and I argue that this relational space can be one of productive engagement.

My main aim is to acknowledge the meniscus of affect, the parallax of positioning, and the membrane of archival inclusion processes, and work towards an ethical relation to archives. The genesis of this interest is outlined below, and the case of Te Hemara Tauhia's archivally-foraged representation will illustrate my conceptual exploration.

Genesis

During a research trip to the Puhoi Settler Museum I encountered a lacuna: an absence of tangata whenua in the archives. In particular, the chiefly figure of Te Hemara Tauhia was mentioned only in passing. After experiencing this lacuna, Michele Leggott encouraged me to look for 'lost voices' in the archive from the period of 1863-1910. This period marked the time from which the first Bohemian settlers arrived in the area right through to Puhoi parish priest D. H. Silk's observation that by 1910 there was "not a Maori [sic] within a ten-mile radius of Puhoi" (1923, p. 47). But for a small reference to 'friendly Te Hemara', Silk's history - and the entire Puhoi Settler Archive - completely avoided the topic of the first inhabitants of the Puhoi area. The concept of a 'search for lost voices' was exhilarating but also troubling. I realised that no act of archival reclamation can be neutral, and I began to doubt the suitability of my own Pākeha positioning to advocate for a chiefly figure from te ao Māori. I had a hunch that I would find details of the briefly-mentioned 1862 extinguishment of title that had allowed the sale of land to the Bohemian settlers in the archive of Native Land Court records. However, before I had ventured too far into this state archive I found that someone had been there before me for the very purpose of reviving Te Hemara's name: Paul Goldsmith. Goldsmith, at one point a Waitangi Tribunal historian and now a National Party list MP, had written a 2003 history titled, The Rise and Fall of Te Hemara Tauhia. Exposure to this book came by

way of the Auckland Libraries' Central Auckland Research Centre. I obtained a copy of the book but instead of finding a nuanced biography, found a thinly-veiled revisionist history. Goldsmith's modus operandi is to highlight the "life-changing opportunities" of colonisation for Māori and proposes that for Te Hemara in particular, colonisation "provided him the chance, provided he had the wit and courage, to drag himself back from a life of exile and fear to great success" (2003, p. 10).

My initial plan to recover the 'lost figure' of Te Hemara had already been done. Goldsmith's full investigation into Te Hemara's tribal affiliations revealed him to be of a chiefly line of Ngāti Rongo and Kawerau tribes, associated with the broader Ngāti Whatua tribe and rivals of Ngāpuhi. Goldsmith also revealed that Te Hemara obtained individual title through the Native Land Court for blocks of land and sold many of them, including the Puhoi block on which the Bohemians settled. However, while Te Hemara's name and timeline had already been 'recovered', my second reaction was to wonder about the process by which that recovery had been conducted. Goldsmith presents colonisation as benign and Te Hemara as greedy and reckless. The Native Land Court process of assigning title is deemed fair in Goldsmith's depiction. The book is littered with value-laden descriptions of Te Hemara. For example, one remark implies that Te Hemara was responsible for his impoverished position at the end of his life, deeming that "he was wrong to blame the government for his plight" (Goldsmith, 2003, p. 94).

To read such a one-sided conception of Te Hemara was to question the ethics involved in uses (and abuses) of archived material. As a counterbalance I planned to engage with the records that Goldsmith had taken from the Native Land Court archive. My desire was to add a voice that could 'speak back' to the colonial assumptions and reportage. However, I realised that I risked committing my own kind of parallax error. Where Goldsmith exaggerated Te Hemara's agency, my reflex to 'write back' to the records could lead to an equally exaggerated version of victimhood. I started to wonder not only about the archivist or the forager, but the real Te Hemara, whose personhood has become tangled in archives. What would he make of his 'afterlife' in the likes of this journal article or a politically-motivated biography? Hito Steyerl contends that the "afterlife, as Walter Benjamin once famously mentioned, is the realm of translation" (2008). Steyerl also notes use of archived material as being potentially "treacherous, displaced, distorted, expropriated or plainly different" (2008). This kind of distortion is at work in Goldsmith's book, but I needed to build a compelling case for an alternative ethics. I decided to embark upon an investigation into ethics and a reconsideration of the roles of membrane, meniscus, and parallax. I subscribe to Rachel Buchanan's thesis that archives are as unpredictable and changeable as the history that is made from them (2007, p. 44). Unpredictable sources arose in re-tracing Goldsmith's archival steps.

Two State Archives: The Native Land Court and Hansard

Could Goldsmith's harsh depiction of Te Hemara as calculating and ultimately incompetent have some purchase? Some scholars do see Goldsmith's book as "a valuable

corrective to the tendency to see Māori as helpless victims of 'colonialism'" (Boast, 2008, p. 15). While the scare-quoting of the colonialism is troubling, Buchanan also notes that Waitangi Tribunal reports in general can sometimes read as "impoverished victim history" (2007, p. 45). Had my assumption about Te Hemara and his tribe being cheated of their land for the purpose of the Puhoi settlement have been wrong? Up until 1862 land acquisition by the colonial government was attained by 'Crown pre-emption' (Boast, 2008, p. 20). The very next year, 1863, brought a change to the law in that native land title would now be extinguished in favour of individual title. The year of the law change coincided with the year of the Bohemians' arrival. Goldsmith dismisses critics who see the extinguishment "as an 'assault' on the Māori system of land tenure" and instead frames the law change as an opportunity for Te Hemara to obtain title and leverage this for profit that would improve his living conditions (2003, p. 56). However, Ranginui Walker exposes the anachronism (unacknowledged parallax error) in the likes of Goldsmith's Euro-centric thinking:

> The Native Land Court polarised Maori [sic] society… As long as Maori [sic] and was retained under customary title, it was secure from alienation. But as soon as one member of a hapu broke ranks and applied to the court for a hearing to award a Crown grant of ownership over part or whole of the tribal domain, then there was nothing the rest of the tribe could do to stave off the court by asserting the tribe's mana whenua (1990, p. 136).

Walker goes to say that with "the destruction of tribal mana by the power of the court to determine the retention or disposal of Māori land, land sharks, speculators and government land-purchase officers moved in to buy the land as soon as 'owners' got certificates of title (1990, p. 137). Walker's use of inverted commas here is important. While Goldsmith is correct in labelling Te Hemara the legal owner according to court process, that label does not fit with tikanga around relationships to land. The straightforward ownership label does not even fit with the intentions of the law-makers themselves. After another tip-off from Auckland Libraries' Central Auckland Research Centre, I went to the Hansard archive to look for policy discussion around the Native Land Court. There I found an 1870 speech on the record by Minister for Justice Sewell where he explicitly outlined the aims of the Native Land Court. The first aim was to bring Māori-controlled land "within the reach of colonization" and the second was "the detribalization of the Natives". For the latter, the aim was to "destroy if possible the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the native race into our own social and political system. It was hoped that by the individualization of titles to land… their social status would become assimilated to our own" (Sewell, 1870, p. 361).

From this speech we can see that detribalization was clearly not an accident or by-product, but an intention of the settler state. Goldsmith notes Te Hemara's personal

successes in the Court (2003, p. 94) but fails to acknowledge the assimilatory aspect which affected his relationships and wellbeing. While I was searching through Hansard I looked up Paul Goldsmith's name to see what would come up. Among the tabled minutiae of all his parliamentary contributions was an exciting find: his maiden speech as an MP.

On the Record / In the Record

Upon reading Goldsmith's speech in the Hansard record (which he gave 'on the record') I experienced an affective thrill to witness the potential sources of his parallax error and inability to come face-to-face with the great land losses for tangata whenua. Excerpts from Goldsmith's speech are included in the appendix to this essay. Through this inclusion I aim to examine the parallax positioning of the political and the personal (both Goldsmith's and my own).

Drawn to topics critiquing the settler psyche and the attendant scramble for legitimacy, I have collaboratively facilitated a seminar on Memory Machinery and written a case study on the settler avoidance of tangata whenua in the Puhoi archive. That same critical impulse arose upon reading Goldsmith's claims to being 'bound to this land', Britain's giving 'great gifts to the world', and New Zealand being a conveniently 'blended culture' (Goldsmith, 2011, p. 29). These remarks reek of the "settler dreaming" detailed by Stephen Turner. Even more of a red flag for his positioning towards the likes of Te Hemara is the reference to his forebears' execution on the orders of Te Kooti. Ranginui Walker characterises Te Kooti as a "freedom fighter" who fought against land confiscation and the legal system of land purchases (159). Goldsmith's book seeks to legitimise that very same system of land purchases. However, it is only through working on the Kanohi ki te Kanohi document that I have finally come to acknowledge my own parallax: I am not a settler, but a migrant. At aged twelve I moved to New Zealand from Scotland and still have connections and currency in my 'homeland'. Though I might 'read' as a Pākeha settler with my accent, unlike Goldsmith, New Zealand is not "my only home" and I most definitely have "rights to return" (Goldsith, 2011, p. 30). In light of my own positon and parallax, I can now see Goldsmith as less of a guilty settler plaintiff and more as someone forlorn and plaintive – looking for a 'place to stand'. I have come face-to-face with my foraging nemesis and seen his humanity. If he could acknowledge his positioning in his work with the archival traces of Te Hemara then he may have been able to work with more nuance and open-endedness. This open-endedness informs the ethical approach to archival use and finds its roots below.

Reconsidering Parallax 'Error'

> "We are all mediators, translators"
> (Derrida, 1995, p. 116)

In this section I consider the significance of the intersubjective relation for ethical practice in the context of archival construction and use. Derrida's words on the inevitability of mediation are a starting point for the abandonment of a standard of neutrality in archival use. However, that abandonment must come with an ethical replacement, or else risk parallax blindness, such as with Goldsmith. At a very basic sense, kanohi ki te kanohi means face to face. The phrase indicates the implied priority to face one another in all manner of situations (from powhiri, to hui, to day-to-day encounters). The phrase also implies the inter-relatedness of our existence; for Māori this is evident through whakapapa – an inherently relational way to look at lives, stories, and histories. Te Kawehau Hoskins emphasises the 'face to face' component of every person's account of the world (2010, p. 10). Even when we are not in the same room (or epoch), we are in relationship with the subject of our 'foraging' and this impacts the way we tell stories about those subjects. Hoskins emphasises that each description of the world is told through whakapapa in terms of a contact or tussle between differences. Each account is created via encounter. We are all already looking at something or someone through relationships – not from the outside looking in, but from inside looking through.

Therefore, the possibility of fully knowing the 'other' is simply not on the table. 'The other' is not seen with an objectifying gaze from outside a relationship, so "the idea that others are fully knowable or containable is not entertained" (2010, p. 2). Hoskins says that the important thing to learn from a whakapapa approach to knowledge is the "primary ontological orientation to openness and relationship that contrasts with an ontology (in the Western tradition) that closes upon, and reduces relations to, totalities" (2010, p. 12). This lines up with Alison Jones, who advocates for us to "embrace positively a "politics of disappointment" that includes a productive acceptance of ignorance of the other" (1999, p. 315). Goldsmith's politics, sadly, do not seem to allow for disappointment. Therefore, rather than seeing parallax as an 'error', it is instead an inevitable part of the process of learning about an entity and should not be confused for certainty. One example of an archival forager who embraces parallax and refuses to shut down open relations to knowledge is Judith Binney. Barton's reflection on Binney's process for writing 'Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki,' acknowledges her use of "official printed archives, personal manuscripts, newspapers, and Te Kooti's diaries, plus extensive documents recorded by his three secretaries - Binney weaves photographs and oral sources that are often contradictory. But she also lets the ambiguities lie - allowing multiple meanings" (2005). Binney's ability to 'let ambiguities lie' and 'allow multiple meanings' is sorely missing from Goldsmith's account of Te Hemara. In an online New Zealand Listener review of Goldsmith's book, Crosby points out that "the picture of Te Hemara painted by Goldsmith is not a flattering one" (2004). My Initiative aims to help foragers identify their parallax positioning in order to avoid harmful representations. Beyond the 'do no harm' principle is the possibility to do something productive with that parallax relationship.

'Surface Tension': Affect
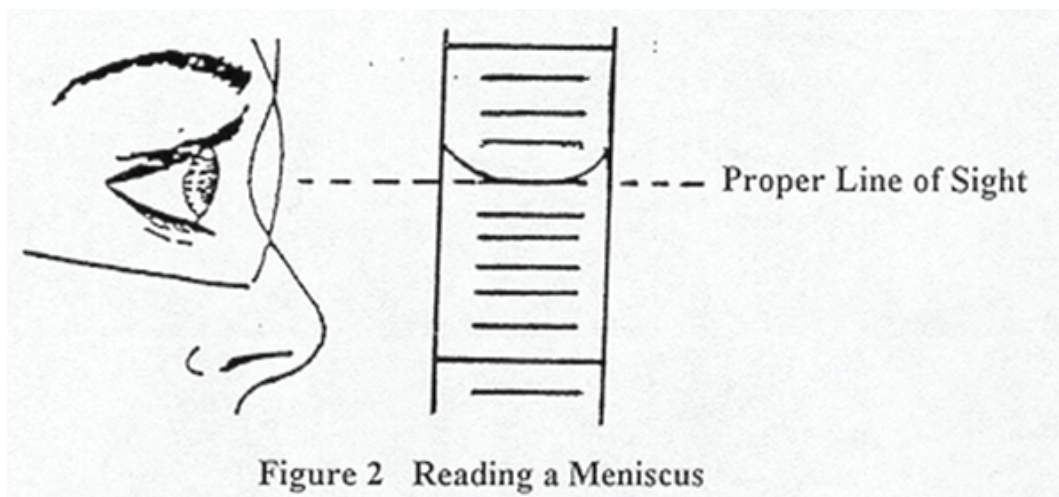
Figure 2 Reading a Meniscus

Figure 1. "Proper Line of Sight: Reading a Meniscus". Source: www.chem.latech.edu

If parallax is a necessary part of our unavoidable relationships in the archive, then the 'surface tension' of the meniscus might be a place for our archival relationships to flourish. Throughout my experiences in archives I have been preoccupied by the role of emotions in mediating the experience of foraging for archived material. Saramago's line about sensing "a perfume that is half rose and half chrysanthemum" was the initial prompt for my preoccupation (1999, p. 3). Nussbaum asserts that "[e]motions are not just the fuel that powers the psychological mechanism of a reasoning creature, they are parts... of this creature's reasoning itself" (2003, p. 3). Emotions are responses to the perception of value and involve judgements. Nussbaum therefore advocates that "we acknowledge our own neediness and incompleteness before parts of the world that we do not fully control" (2003, p. 19). I propose that an ethics of archival use should place onus on the forager to acknowledge their own neediness and incompleteness and also embrace the power of emotions in determining their interactions with objects in the archive. Many artists, writers, historians and other foraging figures already acknowledge the role of affect, but usually as an aside. I seek to place emphasis on affect in archival orientations so that foragers can know the potency of their relationship to the objects and come face-to-face with their own incompleteness. Additionally, affect can come from the objects themselves, since they possess energy. Poet Charles Olson muses that "a poem is energy transferred from where the poet got it" (1966, p. 16). Foragers must be able to take up the mantle of responsibility for nurturing that energy while identifying their own neediness. The following two writers successfully embody a respect for the affect in the objects while identifying their own need to hear from them. No post hoc justification for a conclusion is going on here: instead, the affective experience guides the foragers' receptiveness to what the objects themselves have to say. On the process of researching in archives for her latest novel, Tera W. Hunter shares that, "I was genuinely interested in letting the [archival] records speak to me, to be my guide for the peoples' stories I would tell." Of her process 'in the archive' with Robin Hyde and Eileen Duggan, Michele Leggott

says, "I am working in the dark, trying to bridge the distance between their tradition and my standpoint, convinced these women have something to say that I need to hear. I am moving by a kind of textual infra-red, looking for places that make light of historical distance or heat up connections to the present" (1995). This work in the 'surface tension' between forager and subject enacts a responsible Derridean mediation.

Taking Initiative: Talking Back to the Archive

> "There is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation"
>
> (Derrida, 1996, p. 4).

Derrida's twin priorities on the archive's constitution and the archive's interpretation have guided the two practical commitments in my Initiative document.

Access to Interpretation: Artist-in-Residence (Code Meniscus)

The concept of the artists' residency had its genesis in an email correspondence with Michele Leggott. Reflecting on a class field trip to the Auckland War Memorial Museum basement, Michele shared her conception on the forlorn bricks from the Warsaw Ghetto that came to Auckland via Washington from the United States Holocaust Museum: "[t]he bricks at least need an artist to come along and do something meaningful with them if they have come this far" (Leggott, personal communication, May 25, 2017). This idea prompted the plan to enshrine the place of an artist-in-residence in all archives willing to sign on to the Kanohi ki te Kanohi Initiative. While there might not be a shortage of eager foragers, current limiting factors include cost and isolation (Caswell, Ciford and Ramirez, 2016, p. 25). While Goldsmith had a patron for to fund his time in the Native Land Court archives (Goldsmith, 2003, p. 11), not all would-be foragers have that luxury.

A benefit to placing an artist in the archive is that they can add significance to the objects with which they work, as well as addressing lacunae in representation. Kathy Carbone examines the inaugural artist-in-residence programme at the City of Portland Archives & Records Centre and talks of the artists' sense of obligation to talk back to the archive: saw this as an opportunity to try to work through this system and think what might actually gain significance or power through this… what might we be able to put into our public art project that would begin to address some of those voices that were unrepresented in the official record? (2015, p. 35)

It is my dream for Te Hemara's misrepresented voice to be re-presented (brought into the present) via careful and dignified representation. I know that I was not the right person to do this, but perhaps his descendants or those who have also been through the land court system would have a sense of the affect in his archival traces. Proximity and relationships

to the events matter. Cifor and Gilliland advocate that "participation by persons who experienced the matters contained in the records is essential if the process of revealing and interpreting the archives is to maintain the dignity of those who are the subjects of the records and also to ensure the integrity of archival research" (2016, p. 4). Once we have the 'right people' in the archive, how do they 'read' the records of objects they encounter? An answer lies in genealogical, palimpsestuous reading.

Carbone notes that "many contexts and meanings that have become connected to the records and the archive through their use and reuse over time" and that this constitutes a "semantic genealogy" (2015, p. 51). This is a productive term, for it allows artists (foragers) to interact with objects and have those objects acquire new meanings and uses through such interactions. This overcomes the uneasiness when items are 'locked away' in an archive and their life 'in the world' ceases at the moment of accessioning. A genealogy of the term genealogy of course leads us back to Foucault, who urges that we prioritise 'disqualified knowledges' which have in the past been deemed inadequate, too naïve or low down on the hierarchy of perceived intellectual, political, or scientific worth (1980, p. 82). Dillon takes up Foucault's emphasis on genealogy and applies it to the metaphor of the palimpsest, which "represents history as colonialism, the past as a series of oppressions and displacements, the struggle and vying for territory and existence" (2005, p. 254). A helpful distinction can be made between 'palimpsestic' and 'palimpsestuous' reading. Where palimpsestic implies separating and examining different layers of the palimpsest, a palimpsestuous approach retains the structure of the palimpsest while inventively attending to the relationships between the layers (Dillon 2005, p. 254). Genealogy (and whakapapa) is a form of palimpsestuous reading which keeps the tangle of relationships in motion. Alarcón asserts that the palimpsest's "structure of interlocking, competing narratives has the advantage of preventing the dominant voice from completely silencing the others" (cited in Dillon, 2005, p. 255). In other words, thinking palimpsestuously allows otherwise marginalized voices to hold concert.

Figure 2. The curving shelves in the Auckland War Memorial Museum create an infinity effect from this particular camera angle. An example of parallax error at work, but also telling of the infinite field of genealogical relationships. Source: Author.

Access to Constitution: Archivist-in-Residence (Code Membrane)

Since there is no unifying system of archiving, inclusion can often fall to the whim of the individual archivist or the governance of the day. This, of course, can result in some objects and people being excluded from the 'members' of the archived body. However, the absence of a singular archiving system also creates chinks and space for better (or more just) opportunities, such as the community archivist-in-residence. This position is designed to address gaps in the record in order to increase a sense of belonging. Caswell, Cifor and Ramarez contend that, "community archives empower people… to have the autonomy and authority to establish, enact, and reflect on their presence in ways that are complex, meaningful, substantive, and positive to them" (2016, p. 28). When seeking social justice via community-generated archives, the aim is not only material outcomes (such as land repatriation) but also less tangible outcomes such as affective recognition and a restored sense of self and community that were missing in the gaps of the membranous inclusion of the archive (Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm, & Wallace, 2013, p. 342). Marginalized voices need avenues to shape the memory of their past and present, and guide the way that stories about their past are accessed. I advocate that these grassroots archival efforts do not only need to happen outside the membrane of mainstream archives, but can happen inside them, too. If the Puhoi Settler Archive were to sign on to the Initiative, then an archivist-in-residence could come face-to-face with Te Hemara Tauhia's voice and work to include an open-ended and affect-respecting collection of palimpsestuous proportions.

Part II: Kanohi ki te Kanohi Archiving Initiative

The mission of the Kanohi ki te Kanohi Initiative is to facilitate face-to-face encounters with and through archival objects from Aoteroa New Zealand's Past-Present.

Purpose

Kanohi ki te Kanohi is an alliance of marae, libraries, galleries, archives, wānanga, records centres, universities and museums dedicated to identifying, sourcing, preserving, interpreting, and facilitating access to a rich array of textual, material, and conceptual items from a diverse range of Māori, settler, (and Māori-settler) communities and sub-communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. The initiative members seek to come face-to-face with archive collections and acknowledge their unique personal and political relationship to the items they work with. Particular emphasis will be placed on materials that document the lives of peoples and perspectives marginalized or problematically represented in the historical record.

Our Endless Aims

Both archivists (orderers) and archival users (foragers) will imbue their actions and

dispositions with the following ethical objectives:

1. Increase the included contents and accessibility of collections that document stories of tangata whenua
2. Actively create contemporary archives with submissions from a diverse array of community members
3. Increase resource-sharing and funding opportunities between signatories of the Initiative as a means to support the upkeep, accessibility, and dissemination of knowledge about archived items
4. Develop tools and implement collaborative projects and programs that allow members to effectively create, share, and promote grassroots collections as a means to facilitate engagement with forlorn or newly-found material
5. Build relationships with information foragers, authors, poets, artists, policy-makers, educators, local and national entities to facilitate a community of relational conversation around archives
6. Respect the real lives of subjects entangled in archived material
7. Recognise that acts of archival reclamation are not neutral and embrace this reality
8. Make activists of archivists
9. Re-present underrepresented or misrepresented voices
10. Encourage each forager to identify their own version of Saramago's "perfume that is half rose and half chrysanthemum" and facilitate encounter with physical primary sources where possible
11. Let archived objects speak to the forager who can hear them on their own terms
12. Know that we are all mediators, all translators
13. Teu le va: nurture the space between interpretations: let ambiguities lie rather than search for a single, unifying conclusion
14. Encourage foragers to study and name their positioning in the archive in order to recognise their parallax position
15. Pit parallaxes against each other to foster fruitful foraging conversations
16. Occupy a productive 'politics of disappointment' and acceptance of the unknowability of the 'other'
17. Do not reduce open relationships with past people, places, and objects to knowable totalities
18. Engage in palimpsestuous rather than palimpsestic explorations of archives
19. Acknowledge the many contexts and meanings that have become attached to the objects and the archive through their use and reuse over time
20. Collect storied products of archival foraging resulting from time spent in an institution's archive
21. Disseminate these foraged stories for community feedback and discussion

Practical Commitment One: Artist-in-Residence Programme (Code Meniscus)

Each year, each signing institution must create, resource, and widely advertise at least one Artist's Residency in their archive. For the purposes of the residency, the term 'artist' is broad and can include practitioners of performing arts, m teatea, fine arts, music, writing, journalism and so on. The term artist will also extend to teachers or community leaders who wish to immerse themselves in the archive for the purpose of designing creative pedagogy or responsive institutional public policy. Selection preference will be given to artists who are connected with the respective archive. The guest artist's mandate is to open (delve into) the existing archival collections.

The artist(s) must be given an affective orientation of the archive. This orientation is not designed to control the artist's experience, but to exercise responsible guardianship and allow artists to be briefed the emotional map of the archive. This process is in place to protect both the archived objects and the forager. The orientation process will also include time for the artist to reflect upon their genealogical and political relationship to the archive and declare any 'conflicts of interest' (of which, inevitably, there will be many). These conflicts (instances of 'parallax error') will be seen as fruitful sites of engagement, rather than impurities in the project. Where possible and appropriate, artists must be allowed full face-to-face access to items of interest.

The artist(s) in residence must share their resulting work with the communities associated with the archive in an open space which allows dialogue and feedback. The artistic product must itself pass through the membrane of accession and be included in the archive for continued community access and interaction.

Practical Commitment Two: Archivist-in-Residence Programme (Code Membrane)

Each year, each signing institution must open up their archiving team to invite a guest archivist into the archive. This position must also be resourced and advertised. For the purposes of the residency, the term 'archivist' is broad and should not exclude those without formal training or experience in archives. Selection preference will be given to archivists who have insight into an historical or contemporary social justice issue. The guest archivist's mandate is to open (broaden) the archive to include previously excluded objects, writings, oral histories, etc. This broadening will ideally be a democratic effort, with the guest archivist seeking submissions and empowering community members to contribute.

The archivist(s) in residence must be supported to share the resulting archival inclusions by way of a physical exhibition or online space. This opened archive will in turn be opened up for an artist-in-residence to find fruit for their engagement.

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Sociology 713

Sociology of Law: Human Rights

Khyati Prajapati

Evicting the People of the Land:
The Politics of Indigenous Rights and Land Claims in India

Overview

In both a social and legal sense, to be 'indigenous' is a recognised way for individuals and groups to position themselves in a politics that is culturally based. Globally, the use of the phrase 'indigenous peoples' has had material and substantive pertinence for people. The phrase has become a powerful instrument of collective intercommunication in support of global indigenous empowerment. Despite this, indigenous peoples remain a significantly marginalised population who continue to struggle for the recognition of their rights and entitlements. For centuries, indigenous people worldwide have endured multidimensional impoverishment as a direct result of continual land eviction. This essay examines the conflicts and characteristics around the indigenous peoples of India's rights and relations to land, alongside the key impacts of displacement and resource alienation.

This essay first establishes the context by describing the characteristics of India's indigenous peoples and the specific human rights claim they are entitled to. Secondly, the essay highlights the key issues and conflicts of this struggle over land entitlement, explaining the legal actions the government of India has responded with. Thirdly, it examines the value and standing of the United Nations in this rights context. Fourthly, it studies the impacts of colonisation on India's indigenous peoples, then demonstrating the conflict between economic and environmental interests that indigenous people moreover must contend with. Finally, this essay concludes with a reflection of whether the assistance offered to indigenous peoples by the Indian government and international legislation is affirmative action that reinforces indigenous people's ability to advocate for their rights, or whether it further exacerbates their vulnerability.

These points are focused on due to indigenous politics being firmly grounded in political conditions that are not confined within local dynamics, but span broader spheres of contestation, such as anti-capitalist or environmental struggles. This brings to question what voices are, intentionally or unintentionally, silenced by the hegemonic legal, rights-based vocabulary of international law. Post-colonial social theory utilises the term 'subaltern' to describe populations existing socially, politically, and geographically external to such hegemonic frameworks (Spivak, 2010). Correspondingly, the subaltern can be used to describe indigenous peoples as the 'others' in human rights law who are largely excluded from the construction of this international framework, but are significantly affected and, thus, demand inclusion.

Context

The indigenous population in India is the second largest in the world. According to a 2001 census report 8.2% of India's entire population constitutes indigenous people (Bijoy, 2008: 1756). They are located throughout India, populating approximately 15% of India's geography (ibid). General statements cannot be made about India's indigenous people, as they are situated in several regions and drastically differ from one another. It

is imperative to highlight that some writers have presented indigeneity in India through a racialized taxonomy that distinguishes six main races: Negritos, Proto Australoids, Mongoloids, Mediterraneans, Western Brachycephals, and Nordics – whose migration to India can be traced back to approximately 1,500,000 years ago, during the Acheulean period (Karunakar, 2011: 154). These people have been grouped into seven cultural strata that are based on ecosystem, traditional economy, belief in supernatural power and recent impact. This is grouped as: (a) forest hunting, (b) primitive hill cultivation, (c) plain agricultural type, (d) simple artisan group, (e) pastoral and cattle herders, (f) industrial, and (g) urban workers type (Sarkar & Dasgupta, 2000). In India, the term 'indigenous peoples' is frequently used interchangeably with the word 'Adivasi'. In Sanskrit this translates to 'original inhabitants'. The word Adivasi now significantly connotes political awareness and the affirmation of rights where "[b]eing adivasi is about shared experiences of the loss of the forests, the alienation of land, repeated displacement since independence in the name of 'development projects', and much more." (Skaria, 1999: 281). This demonstrates how the term itself is historically grounded in local contexts and resonates with community based political organisation towards socio-economic progress in India.

Approximately 275 million people in India are heavily dependent on forests in relation to their daily livelihood (World Bank, 2006). The forest dwelling indigenous tribes of India are largely inseparable from these terrains. Even after over 70 years of India's independence from colonisation, Adivasi still live detached from 'modern' civilization. The distinctness of Adivasi is marked by such remoteness – living in inaccessible lands where the absence of modern transportation and technologies is clearly apparent (Karunakar, 2011). Primeval indigenous communities have resided in the hills and forests for so long that it is a relationship that is referred to across ancient Indian manuscripts and scriptures. As shown, the relationship that Adivasi have with the land permeates their entire existence. Of India's 89 million indigenous people, half reside on the borders of forests, meaning that effective forest management has the prospective of bringing substantial financial benefits specifically to those contriving the most impoverished population of India (World Bank, 2006: 2). However, this very prospect of forest management and development is the root of considerable tensions between Adivasi and land investors. The interconnectedness these tribes have with forests is so strong that it is believed one cannot survive without the other. Notwithstanding the extensive diversity between and within Adivasi, as a social group they collectively remain subordinated at the bottom of most socio-economic measures.

India has an extensive and detailed framework of affirmative action with government legislative recognition related to groups such as the forest dwelling Adivasi (Ghosh, 2006: 505). Despite these efforts, Adivasi still face harsh discrimination and lack basic rights and respect, particularly from the Indian government. Consequently, an increasing number of organisations in, and outside, India have now begun to partake in the global indigenous rights discourse. This has led to Adivasi referring to themselves as

'indigenous people' as a basis for demanding rights on this internationally recognised status (Karlsson & Subba, 2013: 3). The specific document of human rights pertaining to indigenous rights is the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP). The Indian government did vote in support of this document but remain unwilling to accept the status of indigenous people for any population nationally or locally.

Key Issues and Conflicts

Land loss persists as the single largest deprivation source for Adivasi across India. Mass eviction and alienation of both land and forest resources of Adivasi, whose livelihood depend on these very things, has resulted in several major struggles. There are many areas of human rights violation and concern that requires progress for Adivasi spanning non-discrimination, self-determination, culture and language rights, education, migration labour, gender equality, indigenous children rights, and rights at national borders (Bijoy et al., 2010). While these issues separately have their own expansive dimensions, they all have a correlation to land displacement. For example, Adivasi's loss of land is slowly causing the erosion of knowledge and practices of indigenous agriculture and science (Puri, 2007). Several arguments state that the 'fulfilment' of any other rights for indigenous people, such as the right to self-determination, is foremost contingent on the realisation of their claims to lands, territories, and resources (Gilbert & Doyle, 2011: 36). However, this insight is halted by existing deeply imbedded divisions within and between various government officials and policy makers as they disagree over national versus regional resource management, interventions over environmental crises, and balancing relations with development initiatives and commercial projects (Karanth & DeFries, 2010: 2866). Thus, there remains much debate around the prospects of Adivasi having the rights to input on decisions impacting them and this extending to having "veto power over state action" (Ananya, 2005: 7).

The status of 'indigenous peoples' is attached to a selection of internationally sanctioned rights and protections, which can be empowering when engaged in disputes or negotiations with the government or other interest groups. The government of India does not officially consider any segment of its population as 'indigenous people', as it is understood in its usage by the UN. The government justifies this position by claiming that the complicated migration tracks of the earliest inhabitants of the land, as briefly described earlier, makes attempts to establish the primary settlers of specific regions unfeasible – in contrast to countries like Australia or Canada (Shah, 2007: 1807). This denial of Adivasi claims for existing as indigenous people, as recognised under international law, proves negatively consequential for Adivasi entitlement to rights whilst also facilitating their "enhanced cultural genocide" as a population (Karlsson, 2003: 412). The rights of Adivasi continue to largely remain unrecorded and unrecognised. For example, even though there are over 3,000 distinguished indigenous communities spread across India, the government has only sanctioned 576 of them due to the limited legal

classification for the categorisation of tribes (Karunakar, 2011: 154). Consequently, Sarker states "India's traditional forest dwellers have lacked any formal rights to the forest land that they have depended on for generations" (2011: 25). Apart from the select indigenous population who have been granted minimal rights recognition, state-sponsored development and management has displaced approximately 10 million Adivasi (Bijoy, 2008: 1761).

Insecurity of occupation and the constant fear of eviction contribute towards Adivasi emotional and physical alienation from forest lands. The expansion of environmental devastation has resulted in natural resources being destroyed while Adivasi, whose livelihood and existence depend on these resources, are reduced to poverty. With increasing conflicts over issues such as the productivity of land, the privatisation of large forests, and foreign land investments, indigenous territories and their special relationship to the forests remain under threat (Bijoy, 2008). Conflict over property claims includes lands, particularly forests, natural resources, such as mining, and the environment, with impacts of displacement and resource alienation. Adivasi having to observe vast amounts of land that they feel deeply connected to suffer intense environmental damage is an occurrence that has produced widespread public organisation in communities to protest change (Shah, 2007). The profits made from the extraction of natural wealth is rarely, if ever, shared with the Adivasi who inhabit these lands. Furthermore, most Adivasi do not desire to make such profits from the lands and resources they occupy and utilise as these elements have a more intrinsically spiritual value to them, distinguished from the buying and selling rhetoric of modern markets.

The nature of Adivasi rights claims over lands and resources conflict directly with general laws around property rights. Globalisation in the West, largely orientated around profit motives, is linked to causing damage to the culture and identities of many Adivasi communities (Karunakar 2011: 153). This damage is contingent on the demanding scope of globalised finance alongside countries liberating markets to foreign direct investment, speculation, and trading. Government legitimated interventions, like mono-cropping, deforestation, mining, and dam construction, thus, is inseparable from violations of Adivasi rights. As their lands are eroded by market forces and lost to outsiders, Adivasi are severed from their forest based livelihoods. They are often forced into constant migration for seasonal agriculture wage labour for sustenance and to pay off debts. In addition to the loss of culture, identity, and dignity, Adivasi must adapt and adjust to conventional modern culture, predominantly reduced to working as low-wage labourers and confined to living in slums (Karunakar, 2011: 158). The politics of Adivasi claims to land are now a threefold dispute with continual clashes between Adivasi, the government, and multinational corporations. This opens up a significant line of query of the extent to which universal human rights instruments are effective for fulfilling indigenous peoples' land rights (Gilbert & Doyle, 2011: 2).

Responses from the Indian Government

The 1894 Land Acquisition Act is currently the sole existing law for land attainment in India. The Act includes a provision allowing the purchase of nearly any land provided it serves a 'public purpose' – however, this includes questionable activities such as mining. The legislation describes how land can be acquired though cash compensation, but does not take into consideration the land rights and entitlements of Adivasi or their resettlement and rehabilitation. Many wildlife laws have been passed by the Indian government alongside the formal safeguarding of selected protected areas across the country. The 1972 Wildlife Protection Act, for instance, led the creation of various protected parks and sanctuaries for wildlife conservation, while the 1980 Forest Conservation Act was notable for equalising the balance of power between the regional and national governments regarding forest management. However, such laws have demonstrated the prolonged exclusion of Adivasi rights, particularly in instances where wildlife conservation is prioritised over the housing and subsistence needs of forest people (Sigamany, 2017: 371). This follows a precedence of the Indian government repeatedly using legal justifications to deflect and postpone the settlement of Adivasi claims to forest lands.

India's Parliament decreed The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Act in late 2006. This legislation is generally better known as, and hereafter will be called, The Forest Rights Act. The purpose of the Forest Rights Act was to atone the "historical injustice" endured by forest dwelling tribes and grant subsequent recognition of their rights. The Act emerged as a result of the focused efforts by Adivasi and activists, which also influenced it's reflecting "progressive, rights based language" filled representation (Sigamany, 2015: 6). The Forest Rights Act has substantial potential to alter forest governance and empower forest Adivasi. Particular crucial aspects of this Act is Section 4(4), that arranges "non-transferable and non-alienable rights" for tribes, and Section 4(5) where it is emphasised "forest communities shall not be removed or evicted from the forest land until the recognition and verification procedure is over" (Government of India, 2012). The most materially significant part of this Act is rooted in the 'gram sabha', meaning village assembly. The Act rules the gram sabha as a space that invites land claims, granting communities an imbedded role in the determination of entitlements according to tribal status, alongside the stipulation that the use of forest lands and resources are overseen by the assembly.

Several arguments claim the Forest Rights Act has had negligible impact. Two years following the implementation of the Forest Rights Act effectuated 28% of the requisitions with distribution of property titles, even as the increase of Adivasi land claims did not cease (Sarker, 2011: 27). This can be attributed to the Act not being effectively implemented. For starters, the Forest Rights Act obligates the education of Adivasi and impacted communities about the components within the law. The government's failure to effectively administer and manage the education of Adivasi communities is impended by the legislation not being particularly user-friendly, in that, even government officials were found to lack comprehensive understanding of the Act (Sigamany, 2015: 7). The

legal framework and complexities of the Forest Rights Act is alien to Adivasi, thereby inhibiting the use of the Act as actually being "a tool to access justice" (Sigamany, 2017: 370). This leads to yet another shortcoming of the Forest Rights Act – where eligibility is restricted to those who can prove that they "primarily reside in forests" and, thus, their livelihood is dependent on forest lands (Sarker, 2011: 26). Understandably, it has been challenging for Adivasi to claim their rights to land under the stipulations of the Act which requires documentation that verifies 75 years of occupation there (27). The disparate provisions of the Forest Rights Act make Adivasi trespassers on lands that they are deeply connected to due to the lack of recognition of their ownership rights being certified and confirmed by officials.

In theory, Adivasi today are generously protected by Indian constitution and legislation. The range of legislature and policy that India's government has executed does primarily appear both profound and impressive in terms of indigenous peoples' rights. However, these instruments are crucially undermined by the government's repeated lack of fidelity towards, firstly, ensuring the actual implementation of these rights and, secondly, combatting the widespread infringement of these laws. When the government commandeers lands for national improvement, the implicated Adivasi have little say in the details and direction of 'development'. The majority of India's impoverished population, including Adivasi, lack access to legal representation and resources (Sigamany, 2015: 8). This acts as a meaningful obstacle preventing Adivasi from approaching any claim to rights supposedly guaranteed under legislation. There is also little availability of a specific court of law for redress of the grievances that Adivasi experience. The tendency of government officials to solely recognise individual land titles serves to ostracise the rights of indigenous communities. This is a clear demonstration that with the particularities of marginalised communities like Adivasi, the government structure infrequently performs its legally mandated role. Such legal hegemonic assumptions are obstacles for Adivasi to claiming rights and entitlements.

Any legislation based on rights still depends on the commitments of the government in power to substantiate social justice and inclusion. The government's core political ideologies are at the crux of mobilising any reform (Sigamany, 2017: 370). India's governing political party, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), predominantly operates on neoliberal social and economic principles. The colonial legacy on Indian legislation concerning land development and resource management largely prioritises the urban and wealthy population at the expense of marginalised communities. The voices and concerns of Adivasi occupying lands that the government targets for development programmes largely remain unheard. This is materially evident where administrators of the Forest Rights Act have consistently undermined or disregarded the powers of the gram sabha, either through sabotage of its function or by overriding community decisions (Sigamany, 2017: 375). It is such deliberate harmful action against indigenous rights that lead spectators such as Indian Historian Guha (2010) to say, "It is…Adivasis who have gained least and lost most from six decades of electoral democracy."

Impact of the United Nations Organisations

The constraints for indigenous people accessing rights from their national governments have incentivised a shift in focus towards international legal institutions. The 29th of June 2006 was a day of celebration for indigenous rights advocates worldwide as the United Nations Human Rights Council officially adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The Declaration grants indigenous peoples' recognition as a distinct group with rights insured under international law, thus, having significant implications for the acquisition of collective rights and self-determination within domestic settings. It has been influential for situating the rights of indigenous people in an international context, as well as drawing global attention to the historical and current proliferation of human rights violations against this group. The level of recognition for their rights that indigenous peoples have accomplished from the UN documents and legal system is considered to be "unprecedented" (Morgan, 2004: 482). This recognition is especially meaningful coming from international law as, historically, it was fundamentally culpable in the alienation of land from indigenous populations (Shivji, 1989). The Declaration's preamble emphasises the historical oppression of colonisation on indigenous peoples and the culminating estrangement from vast territories and resources. UNDRIP provides an outline for restorative justice and realisation in accordance with the entitlements and needs of indigenous peoples. This structure equips countries to work in cooperation with indigenous peoples to appropriately accommodate their customary civilisation and traditional lifestyles (Gilbert & Doyle, 2011: 19).

Despite the progress of international law and the scope of UN documents, it remains that achieving material justice often remains elusive due to "the gap" between our expectations of justice and what law accomplishes in reality (Sigamany, 2017: 377). For Spivak (2010) structured places, like the UN, serve to radically obstruct one's ability to access and claim power. This can be witnessed in the actions of the courts of India, who have played a central role in restricting the application of international legal instruments at the national level. Like most other countries, Indian Courts do not pledge compliance to international treaties unless legislation is enacted to explicitly incorporate them constitutionally. The weak enforcement mechanisms inherent in international human rights instruments result in there being very little intervention that can be carried out by the UN system in the event of violation of specific articles, with the exception of "naming and shaming" violating states (Morgan, 2014). Indeed, the majority of land displacement cases do not reach courts of law due to multiple reasons, such as ignorance of the law and legal procedures, inaccessibility to the court, unaffordability of the cost of litigation, and the enormous delays that accompany most legal processes.

Limitations of UN instruments includes the primary championing of individual rights over collective rights, as well as the lack of indigenous representative's direct involvement in the drafting of the UNDRIP. This has implications for the misrepresentation and absence of key matters that non-indigenous peoples lack understanding of. Due to

indigenous peoples' strong association to their lands having bearing on all aspects of their lives, indigenous claims to land rights illustrate the "indivisibility and interdependence" of these rights (Gilbert, 2014: xx). This supports the consensus that globally "Indigenous Peoples ways of doing and defining politics, using their culture with the aims of getting recognition as 'peoples' with the rights to self-determination and transforming the dominant political culture should be understood not as identity-politics but as cultural politics" (Escárcega, 2010: 5). UN instruments primarily present Western representations of identities, issues, and solutions. They entitle indigenous peoples with a limited scope of rights and privileges that are not entirely comprehensive of, or vested in, alternative considerations of issues from an indigenous perspective. The "dark side of indigeneity" shows precisely that national adoption of global discourses and assumptions around indigeneity can serve to preserve and perpetuate unequal class structures that marginalise those already exploited and most vulnerable (Shah, 2007: 1825).

Colonial and Post-Colonial Impressions

The condition of India's Adivasi is best conceptualised with an understanding of the 'neocolonial political economy' context, where struggles over land are not merely a random conflict of interests between Adivasi and the state, but "symptoms of deeper pathologies of power" (Kennedy & King, 2011: 1642). Both during and after India's colonial period, Adivasi have and continue to endure vast land displacement and communal deprivation. Colonialism has shown to have influenced Adivasi's decline in numbers, expansive threat to cultures, and the present government that prioritises the needs of the rest of the population over the indigenous. The same loss of identity and intensified suffering that Adivasi faced during the British Reign, is demonstrably further reinforced during the current era of globalisation, individualism, and financialisation (Karunakar, 2011). The Indian government's responses to Adivasi rights claims are shown to be inherently rooted in post-colonial perspectives that ignore the need for conserving ecological resources, with economic development holding greater priority. As was demonstrated in the case of the Forest Rights Act, present day interactions of Adivasi with the government continue to be influenced by discriminatory structures of power. These frameworks have prompted some researchers to propose that the colonisation of India by the British has currently been replaced with "internal colonialism" (Karlsson, 2003: 407; Padel, 2009: 288). Post-independence, the resources that Adivasi continue to have seized from them by the government are still areas of forests lands. Following India's Independence in 1947, large areas of land have been classified by the government as Reserved Forests, meaning land restrained to state use. This proceeded without the settlement of Adivasi claims and since have been challenging to restore as territory entitlements were never officially recorded.

International law was originally conceived of as the "law of conquest" (Gilbert, 2014: 14). Regarding international law as the law of peace, or even as a body of laws that has the objective of preserving peace and safety between countries, is a considerably recent

contemporary conceptualisation of bodies like the UN in particular (ibid). Young argues that when such political outcomes originate from exclusionary procedures carried out by the dominant and elite, those outcomes are illegitimate and ought to be discarded (2000: 52). The foundation of the indigenous rights as human rights movement is based in the argument that indigenous people globally can be found to share similar experiences of systematic marginalisation that has occurred for centuries. This marginalisation includes the appropriation and colonisation of indigenous lands by settler colonisers. Recognising and working to reverse the silencing of marginalised populations, like indigenous peoples, would be one logical step towards constructive resolution and reconstruction of international law. This is in opposition to global shifts in planning policy focused on liberating the supposedly under-utilised land of Adivasi's as a solution to the affordability crisis of overcrowded global urban cities. International law and globalisation have thus fortified the multidimensional attacks on the existence and livelihoods of indigenous peoples.

Shivji (1989) is well known for cementing human rights ideology as part of an imperialist ideology, as well as critiquing the universal validity and applicability of human rights due to them originating as a concept from the West. Questions cannot go unanswered in such a territory where indigenous peoples are treated as citizens without rights, while being provided various instruments for reconciliation without actually having indigenous perspectives and ideas realised. Spivak (2010) correspondingly argues that Western academic thinking is shaped around supporting and reproducing Western economic interests. For instance, the dismissal of the term 'indigenous' by some is premised on the notion that the entire indigenous rights discourse is externally imposed on countries like India, mainly by Western institutions, while obscuring rather than encouraging struggles for indigenous recognitive and redistributive justice (Karlsson, 2003: 405). Key here is to highlight the perspective of the missing 'Other' and giving voice to the oppressed and colonised (Spivak, 2010). Concerns already exist over the dominance of universal human rights over the imaginative space for emancipation and the implications this has for cultural diversity. Several calls for inquiry have been raised regarding the comprehensiveness nature of human rights and whether they are equally valued to all cultures from an ethical viewpoint.

The Economic and Environmental Divide

The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development was an occasion that brought further attention to the growing necessity of sustainable environmental practices. The globally increasing attention on environmental crises and climate change has additionally highlighted indigenous peoples' struggles over claims to territories and natural resources. Both the rights of indigenous peoples and the need for protecting the environment have been widely acknowledged by international audiences as major issues requiring substantial aid. Producing such aid is evidently constrained by prevailing economic orders that specifically target natural landscapes and adjacent indigenous

territories as areas where financial profit is extractable. It is estimated that 85% of the geographical area of India was originally covered by forest (Bijoy, 2008: 1761). This is illustrative of collective social and political values with it being discernible that the government of India has more interest in the "minerals lying below the ground than the Adivasi living above it" (Kennedy & King, 2011: 1642). And this is not a phenomenon found solely within India.

Capitalism is an economic system that is premised on exploitation and displacement. Between 1947 and 2000, 60 million Adivasi were displaced by national development and deprived of their means of subsistence (Fernandez, 2007: 203). Researchers hypothesise that the current statistics are even worse. Financially invested development projects that are supported by the government of India have instigated a multiplicity of complications including "disrupted community life, profound psychological trauma, change of environment and loss of traditional means of employment" (Karunakar, 2011: 159). During any struggle over land between oppositional groups, such as Adivasi and the state, a common economic argument that is made emphasises the necessity of developmental schemes in spirit of 'public interest'. An example of this is the vast forest lands that are promoted internationally as destination for "ecotourism" but are also protected Adivasi territories (Bijoy, 2008: 1722). The facilitation of access and mobility by neoliberal states is shown to be restricted to those who are "economically privileged", while preserving impoverished communities who undergo worsening states of deprivation (Mohanty, 2013: 970). Travelling across borders is also an omitted privilege for refugees and asylum seekers. This mode of financial activity standardises aspects of nature into quantitative values that are tradable on the market. Adivasi, in contrast, do not conceptualise land as a financial asset or traditional property right; rather it is the explicit source of spiritual, cultural, and social identity.

The loss of indigenous knowledge and the ties it has to the everyday practices of different territories is another concern embedded in land struggles. Historically, scientific models based on Western concepts of rationality have excluded indigenous knowledge on the assumption that it is inferior (Puri, 2007: 360). Divisions between economic and environmental commitments also have cultural roots. If the human rights approach is an imposition from the West, then knowledge and resolutions should also be learnt from indigenous peoples. Sustaining the environment above economic supremacy is crucial for all bodies, beyond Adivasi and India. It is the economic influence on political governance that promotes individualising frameworks as being beneficial for social wellbeing, even as they are strongly characterised by granting economic liberties instead (Harvey, 2005). Social and political leaders are drawn into accommodating the logics of finance capitalism, causing detrimental interferences on legislative measures from delivering justice and rights. The human rights approach allows governments to imperceptibly address human rights crises without tangibly challenging the norms of global capitalism or abating their retreat from social welfare commitments. This upholds capitalist standards of bringing 'civilisation' and 'modernity' to undeveloped areas, while

simultaneously extracting the maximum amount of value from everything and evicting whatever remains.

Conclusion

In summary, efforts towards fulfilling the rights and specific claims to land by Adivasi have been limited in several ways by particular systematic faults. Ideologies of neoliberal capitalism permeates government policy, leading to the marketisation of natural environments, privatisation of public resources and land, and the displacement of indigenous peoples. The degree to which globalisation and international law have facilitated the advancement of indigenous rights is debatable. The exclusion of under-represented communities, like indigenous peoples, from the decision-making process contributes towards perpetuating political, social, and environmental inequalities. Most indigenous rights laws, both domestically in India and internationally, are not comprehensive enough to provide recompensation that adequately atones the relentless multiplicity of loss shared by these groups. Any legislation used to address indigenous rights needs to have an understanding of the past mistakes made and create a transparent body of authority that will appropriately sustain the livelihoods of Adivasi. As such, Adivasi themselves remain vocal and adamant in demanding their rights claims, gaining more support from communities, collaborating with other indigenous groups, and mobilising collectively for justice.

Varese holds that the survival of indigenous peoples worldwide, after having outlasted over 500 years of systematised invasion, can be ascribed to their "complex and concealed dialectic of daily forms of biological and cultural resistance and adaptation" (1996: 123). A detailed examination of literal decades of prolonged struggle over the land rights of Adivasi in India is beyond the scope of the limits of this essay. Treatment and issues of indigenous rights differ all across India, down to variations even within particular regions if not local spheres. However, both domestic and international bodies of power have demonstrated concern over indigenous peoples while recognising the importance of land and resources to the survival of indigenous, if not all, identities and cultures. That such a vast foundation of institutions and declarations of power for indigenous rights exist is a noteworthy achievement in itself. With these foundations it is made possible to critically analyse the points at which human rights have demonstrated to be lacking and, thus, requires reform. This may involve further collective efforts to radically rethink our concepts and application of human rights as a whole. To distinguish the validity of both individual and collective experiences allows for more inclusive and substantive understandings that encourages progress in social and legal territories that are not entirely familiar to us at present.

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History 700A

Settlers and Empire

Bailey Masters

A Parasitic Koala:
Settler Colonialism, "Imperial Bears" and a More Appropriate Analogy

Hidden behind nation-building narratives and "postcolonial" rhetoric, the unique reality of settler society's ongoing colonising of indigenous worlds has only recently emerged as historians begin to re-engage with British imperial networks. Within these studies, the recognition of settler societies' influence on the imperial metropole has meant that settler colonies have tended to be perceived by scholars as 'polar bears' — an animal that is 'clearly part of the [imperial] family but with a unique habitat, habits and phenotype' (Howe, 2012, pp.701-2). However, in contrast to imperial colonies which tend to serve the interests of the metropole, research illustrates that settler colonies are primarily premised on the establishment of a home for themselves through the displacement of indigenous societies. Settler colonialism does have "bearish" attributes through its connection with imperial networks. But weak links with other colonies as well as ongoing resistance to decolonisation reveals characteristics within settler colonialism which better fit that of an entirely different species rather than the distant cousin of the "imperial bear". This article argues that although Howe's (2012) "koala" — 'confusingly called a bear, but really not related at all' (p.702) — comes close to providing a more appropriate analogy for settler colonialism, it needs a more sinister twist. Bears have proven useful analogies for thinking about settler societies, but if ongoing colonial frameworks are ever to be challenged, settler colonialism needs to be recognised as a self-centred, resilient and opportunistic parasite.

Mass emigration out of the imperial centre, or metropole, was a characteristic feature of settler societies and one which was unique in the history of imperialism. This characteristic may not appear unique at first. Many empires throughout history have facilitated the mass movement of people throughout their colonies, yet Lorenzo Veracini (2010) has noted that settlers were distinct from other types of travellers because while sojourners such as missionaries and traders came and went, 'settlers, by definition, stay' (p.6.). Further, James Belich (2009) argues that only some civilisations can establish true settler colonies by being geographically marginal to their respective continents, actively interacting with other countries, having previous experience of war, and comprising of 'hybrid' populations (p.42). As such, settler colonies were unique even in the process of their formation. This uniqueness suggests an alternative agenda to the wider imperial impulse which acted in the interest of the metropole.

Acting in the interests of the metropole did not mean the actions of colonies were generated and directed from the centre of the empire itself. There was no one way in which colonisation was approached which suggests that the periphery had some influence over imperial policy. John Darwin (2008) argues that the very success of the British Empire lay in its ability to adapt its method of colonisation to each circumstance. In the Crown colonies of India, the West Indies, and others, a majority indigenous population necessitated a large military presence while in Britain's 'informal empires', such as China and Argentina, the British were able to control the commercial infrastructure of the state while also recognising the political sovereignty of the state (Darwin, p.14.). J. Gallagher and R. Robinson (1981) note that the very difference

between "formal" and "informal" variations of empire suggests empire was influenced from the peripheries themselves. P. Cain and A. Hopkins' (2006) argument for 'gentlemanly capitalism', the idea that all aspects of colonial policy were governed from London, falters against these geographies of empire (pp.5, 12). According to Alan Lester (2006), "gentlemanly capitalism" over-simplifies the complexity of imperial networks while disregarding the agency of people living in the peripheries — both indigenous and settlers.

The focus on "Ex-centric" influences on empire, however, has meant settler colonies, as peripheries of empire themselves, are often seen as one of many variants of the colonial family which have evolved to suit its environments. However, settler colonialism can be distinguished from the family of "colonial bears" because, even when colonial policy was not being driven from London, true colonialism was always premised on generating Britain's economic expansion. In India, the conquest and taxation of India's population of 250 million allowed Britain to strengthen and maintain its status as a military power while its strategic location facilitated Britain's attempts to extend its trade networks deeper into Asia (Darwin, 2008). Meanwhile, the political and economic practices of Britain's "informal empires" were "adapted" to the requirements of the British (Darwin, 2008). While countries such as China and Argentina still maintained their sovereignty in theory, the reality of informal empire meant British had unrestricted access to, and in many cases control over, ports, banks and transport (Darwin, 2008). Peripheries had some influence over how they were governed, but the infrastructure of both formal and informal empire was nonetheless used by Britain as intended —to fill its own coffers in London.

In contrast, settler colonies serve the agenda of the settlers themselves rather than the metropole. Settlers in the British colonies of New Zealand and Australia were attempting to construct a "Better Britain" rather than a mere replica of the old (Hopkins, 1999). Likewise, in North America many of the pilgrims that slowly but surely pushed west did so not to pursue the expansion of Britain's borders but rather because they believed their destiny awaited them in their new home. The process of establishing a home called for a remarkably different strategy to that of most forms of colonisation. Colonialism needed indigenous peoples and controlled them through a belief in racial hierarchies (Wolfe, 1999; Veracini, 2010). Indigenous peoples in India provided tax and military resources, and Africans provided slave labour in the plantation colonies (Wolfe, 1999). Settlers were also confident in their own racial superiority but, unlike colonial systems, their aims were counter to the very existence of indigenous people in the land. The settler colonial attempt to establish a home similar to, if not better than, their home of origin means that, according to Patrick Wolfe (1999), settler colonialism was/is 'premised on the elimination of native societies' in order to make way for the settlers (p.1). In this sense settler colonialism stands in contrast to Jürgen Osterhammel's (1997) definition of colonialism as 'a relationship of domination between an indigenous…majority and a minority of foreign invaders [where] the…decisions affecting the lives of the colonized…

implanted by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis' (pp.16-17). Instead in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the thirteen colonies, indigenous peoples have been, and are still in many cases subjugated to displacement attempts through violence, amalgamation and marginalisation in a society outnumbered and dominated by a non-indigenous culture.

That settler colonial agendas differed from wider imperial ones does not mean settlers felt disconnected from the common white identity that proponents of "British World" theory advocate (such as J. Pocock, 1975). Rather, being British enabled settlers to rely on and manipulate the imperial core for their own ends. In the British dominions, most settlers arrived as Britons, and British identity remained strong through to the mid-twentieth century. According to Darwin (2008), being "British" had the advantage of being connected to the wider imperial network because the imperial government felt it could not deny overseas British communities 'the political freedoms Britons enjoyed at home' (p.10). Significantly, the relationship between the metropole and settler colonies demonstrates that settler policy was not dictated by centrifugal forces emanating from the imperial core as Cain and Hopkins (2006) have suggested, nor was it interested in general imperial affairs. From the perspective of the metropole, the peripheries of Empire contributed little to the wider imperial agenda. London often seemed reluctant to deal with the affairs of dominions. In Canada, London preferred to 'let sleeping dogs lie' and allow the settlers to govern themselves rather than risk colonial insurrections — a framework that was eventually extended to most of the British dominions (Darwin, 2008, p.10). Likewise, the imperial government resisted interfering in the war between Pākehā and Māori in New Zealand (Belich, 1986). London remained in charge of foreign policy in most instances but nonetheless from the perspective of settlers the "edges of Empire" were very much the centre of their world. Retaining links with the metropole enabled the settlers to advance their own interests, not the other way around.

Settler colonies used metropolitan feelings of grudging obligation to their own ends, and used movements between the settler colonies and empire to displace indigenes and reconstruct places for themselves. By being selective in how they interacted with the metropole, settler colonies could manipulate empire into contributing to their own agendas. For instance, the Governor of New Zealand, George Grey, grossly over-exaggerated the state of Pākehā-Māori relations by controlling and limiting the movement of information to London (Belich, 1986). In the process, Grey successfully manipulated the imperial government into reluctantly providing some 12,000 British troops by 1864 to assist his invasion of Kīngitanga land in the Waikato (Belich). Connections with empire were also economically beneficial. Felicity Barnes (2016) notes that the dominions were slow to sever ties with Britain because of the lucrative networks that empire guaranteed.

Settlers also appropriated the culture of the metropole for their own agendas by interacting with imperial discourse. According to Tony Ballantyne (2012), New Zealand

settlers were enthusiastically engaged with the popular Ayran Race discourse which was used to reinforce and refine their racial views of Māori and indigenous peoples.   Part of the discourse envisioned that there was shared ancestry between "Caucasians" and "Māori". The debates surrounding this idea were appropriated by settlers to support ideas of racial superiority and the inevitability of Māori extinction. Ballantyne notes that some insisted that Māori had originated in South India separately and were therefore an obstacle to civilisation while others accepted the shared heritage but disputed the location. Gerald Massey (1881), for example, argued that Māori originated in Egypt with the rest of humanity but their travel through Asia and the Pacific had caused them to "devolve" over time. Through their engagement with this discourse, Ballantyne (2012) argues, setters were linked to white-imperial networks in London, Sydney, Auckland and New York as well as ideas that originated in Indo-china. The 'ceaseless shuttling of paper' between settler colonies and the rest of empire helped to reinforce the ideas that aided settlers in the establishment of their new homes while also ignoring indigenous perspectives (Ballantyne, 2012, pp.45-46). Settler colonies used and relied on imperial networks to aid them in displacing indigenous peoples and re-inscribing their own culture on the land.

However, while settler colonials had strong relationships with the metropole, their relations with other settler colonies were weak. Carl Bridge and Kent Federowich (2003) quote a 'prominent American' who writes that the dominions of empire tended to 'all write home to mother often enough, but not to one another' (p.7). Even though Ballantyne (2012) has argued that multiple, and overlapping, relationships existed throughout the empire, some strands spreading out from settler colonial centres were stronger than others and few were made of steel. Strands connecting with the metropole tended to be the strongest. Settler colonies in the British Empire were reluctant to sever ties with Britain up until the mid-twentieth century (Barnes, 2016). Significantly, this relationship was not one between master and slave, with the settler colonies in obedience to the orders of the metropole. Instead, according to Barnes (2016), the relationship was one of 'symbiosis, not subjugation' (p.441). Through this definition, the concept of the British World, though useful as a term to describe the shared identity between Britain and the white dominions, is found wanting as symbiosis refers to a relationship of two separate organisms rather than a conglomerate of parts. Distinguishing between the concept of "colonialism" and "settler colonialism" also explains the tendency for imperial historians writing from England to neglect settler colonies in their assessments of the imperial process — namely because although settlers interacted with the process they were not a central part of it. Bridge and Fedorowich (2008) note that settler identities were concurrent: a person in New Zealand 'might be an Aucklander, North Islander, New Zealander and Briton' (p.5). Yet it seems that while settler colonials in the British Empire felt strongly, if not passionately, "British" they cared little for the wider "Imperial" impulse. Although one should not discount the strong identification with the ethnicity of the "mother country", settler colonialism was/is essentially a type of parasite – a distinct organism that uses its bear-like qualities to feed off the imperial grizzly.

The process of establishing a home meant that by the time the empire severed its ties with settler colonies, settlers were no longer dependent on the imperial host. The process of separation was often gradual. Australia and New Zealand's economic and social ties with Britain were gradually weakened once Britain joined the European Economic Community in 1973 (Barnes, 2016). But settler colonies sometimes actively sought to detach from empire as in the case of the American War for Independence. Regardless, the fact that colonisation in settler societies continued long after empire had left is one of the striking characteristics of settler colonialism. British occupation in India was finite: by the end of 1947 there were no British troops enforcing British law or standing by to crush a simmering rebellion, and power had been handed back to indigenous peoples to control their own affairs. This shift of power did not take place in the settler colonies. When empire formally left the colonies, settlers and their control over the land and its institutions remained. According to Wolfe (1999), invasion in the settler colonial context 'is a structure not an event' (p.2).

Because settler colonialism is ongoing, attempts to decolonise settler colonies is fraught with difficulty. While most colonies can be pushed out through sheer force or through the metropole's inability to maintain control over the periphery, the fact that settler identity firmly attaches itself to the new land means they cannot simply be pushed out or persuaded to leave of their own free will. While aspects of overt colonisation often end in the years following the breaking of ties with the metropole, the inhabitants of settler colonies often face ongoing cultural colonisation where settler culture dominates and displaces indigenous culture. As a result, settler culture often becomes interwoven with indigenous culture meaning indigenous resistance to ongoing colonisation is complex. If Audre Lorde (cited in Smith, 1999) is correct that 'The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house' (p.57), then how confident can indigenous peoples be in reasserting their narratives given many of the tools at hand are heavily influenced by settler culture? Iwi/Māori debates concerning decolonising methodologies are contentious surrounding this issue. Linda Smith (1999) argues that Māori academics need to move away from western methodologies based on concepts of "narrativity", "history" and "literacy" that compartmentalise and limit indigenous voices and instead return to traditional methodologies. The western concept of "history", for instance, has marginalised iwi/Māori histories by reclassifying Māori narratives as 'oral traditions' (p.79) rather than authentic histories that challenge the western narrative. In contrast, others, such as Michael Stevens (2015), have critiqued Smith's type of approach, arguing that promoting kaupapa Māori theory (the idea that there is 'a Māori way') restricts and undermines the importance of cultural adaptation for cultural survival and decolonisation (p.58).

Added to this challenge rests the durability of settler colonies and their ability to adapt to change. Even as parts are deconstructed, other structures continue to be added to the settler home. Occasionally, settler colonial parasites even adapt to new hosts. In 1940, Canada made a 'decisive' economic turn away from Britain and towards the United States when it realised its access to the British market was no longer guaranteed (Hopkins,

1999, pp.234). But settler societies can also fill the gap left by empire with their own colonising frameworks centred around the nation. Britain's decision to join the European Economic Community in 1973 broke the strong economic trading ties with New Zealand and gradually lead to cultural shifts that destabilised the British identity in Pākehā New Zealand (Barnes, 2016). Māori took advantage of this period of instability to challenge colonial narratives through a period of cultural revitalisation and protest movements that spread throughout the country (Barnes, 2016). In the process, Pākehā were forced to reconsider both their history and their relationships with empire and indigenous peoples. Redefining New Zealand as a self-reliant and bicultural nation was an ideal way for settler colonials to move beyond their reliance on the metropole (Barnes, 2016).

National narratives colonise without the need for an imperial host. "Dominion Day" in New Zealand was eventually replaced with "New Zealand Day", and "Waitangi Day" which celebrated and celebrate the "coming of age" narrative, settler benevolence towards Māori, and bicultural equality (Barnes, 2016). Evidently, these celebrations distort the reality of Māori marginalisation in New Zealand society and demonstrate that nation-building narratives are tools for ongoing colonisation despite the end of empire. These narratives have been tricky to dismantle. Ballantyne (2011) argues that postcolonial histories in particular have remained nation-focused despite their attempts to challenge colonial domination meaning that while settler colonialism itself has been strongly deprecated, its structure has not. Trans-nationalist histories (such as Curthoys, 2003), and Ballantyne's (2011) assessment of mobility within and between nations, have begun to threaten this structure by considering what characteristics the nation shares with others in a wider world context and how these interactions construct place. By moving beyond the nation, the settler colonial structure can be distinguished from that of the imperial bear and the structure of the national narrative contested, if not gradually dismantled.

It is a mistake to categorise settler colonialism as a sub-species of the "imperial bear". Though settler colonies often appropriate certain characteristics of the proverbial bear through imperial networks, their motives and behaviour were/are nonetheless distinct from wider imperial trends. Howe's (2012) koala is useful to distinguish the two — koalas are sometimes promoted as bears but are not actually related — but the image of a passive Australian marsupial does not fully encapsulate the strength and resilience of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is more akin to the concept of a parasite, an organism that relies on a host to live, grow and multiply but can adapt to its surroundings as required. Settler colonialism used imperial networks for its own interests while it undertook the process of establishing a new home through the displacement of indigenous peoples. Once imperial relationships diminished, settler colonies survived on the redeveloped framework of the nation. New approaches that are beginning to challenge these frameworks would be wise to recognise the durable nature of settler colonialism, its distinction from wider colonial impulses and its ability to adapt to new hosts — the characteristics of a parasitic koala.

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Criminology 700

Research in Criminology

Jasmin Singh

Not 'Just a Domestic': Online News Media Representations of Domestic Violence in New Zealand

Please note: This essay contains the mention or discussion of domestic violence and sexual violence.

Introduction

Gender-based violence is a pressing issue in societies globally. New Zealand has one of the highest rates of domestic violence in the OECD (OECD, 2013). One in three women in the country face physical and sexual violence during their lifetimes, when non-physical forms of violence are considered, this number increases to 55% (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2017). Domestic violence refers to physical, sexual, financial, and emotional abuse in private spaces by men against women (Cram, Pihama, Jenkins & Karehana, 2002). The definition used relies on Stark's (2009) concept of coercive control which argues that domestic violence is about limiting the autonomy of women in relationships.

This research project explores discourses of domestic violence in online print news media in New Zealand over the last five years. A discourse analysis was conducted of 65 online print news media articles over the last five years. Grounded theory was used as an approach to identify the patterns found from this data, which was then coded and made into larger categories that are presented in the essay below. The themes found from the data are: Physical violence, coercive control, race and class, it's not men and monetisation. In this essay, due to the constraints of space I will discuss the themes of physical violence, it's not men and monetisation.

I found that physical forms of violence were a focus of most articles as similarly identified by previous research. Media outlets often choose to focus on coverage of physical violence as it is considered newsworthy and allows the most profit to be made from sensationalising this. A similar pattern was found in this study with the focus on physical violence reinforced by the images used with the article.

I also found that the articles often shifted the blame for violence from men onto external causes. Anger, alcohol and drug use, financial stress and rugby were provided as excuses for violence. The limited use of a gendered lens in analysing the causes of violence ignores how it could be symptomatic of a culture that prizes a violent masculinity. However, this focus on masculinity again shifts the blame for violence onto society instead of balancing it with the agency of men. Thus, a balances perspective that combines masculine culture and individual agency is required.

Finally, I discuss how the monetisation of domestic violence presents a problematic lens through which this social issue is framed as an economic one. It presents a view of caring not about women's well-being but a focus on women as economic costs or benefits. This framing can lead to adverse consequences such as the reduction in services for women who have experienced domestic violence as a cost cutting measure if domestic violence

policies and services are deemed too costly.

Literature Review

Domestic violence is often misunderstood as episodic and solely physical acts of violence (Stark, 2009). However, domestic violence is better understood as coercive control which is the ongoing pattern of abuse involving non-physical violence that is about isolating and controlling women (Stark, 2009). This type of behaviour has the effect of entrapping women in toxic relationships which is often difficult for the women in these harmful relationships to see (Stark, 2009). This entrapment is difficult to see due to the gradual erosion of the daily taken for granted freedom and autonomy they have, thus, normalising coercive control(Stark, 2009). The definition of domestic violence used throughout the essay relies on Stark's (2009) concept of coercive control which argues that domestic violence should be conceptualised as patterns of autonomy limiting behaviours that trap women into harmful relationships. Thus, domestic violence for this essay refers to patterns of abusive behaviours that involve physical and non-physical forms of violence against women. Although, domestic violence also refers to violence against children, the elderly and men, for this project I focused on the violence of men against women as it is the predominant form of domestic abuse.

The media often presents domestic violence as solely physical and episodic forms of violence (Carlyle, Slater & Chakroff, 2008; Lloyd & Ramon, 2017). In their study of newspaper coverage of domestic violence in the U.S., Carlyle, Slater and Chakroff (2008) argued that there was a focus on physical forms of violence in relation to domestic violence, which they reasoned was due to its sensational newsworthy nature. With the focus on physical forms of violence, there is also an overrepresentation of homicides that come from domestic violence (Bullock & Cubert, 2002; Lindsay-Brisbin, DePrince, & Welton-Mitchell, 2014). This focus reinforces the issue of domestic violence as an issue of individual violent men and episodic instead of based on patterns of violence (Bullock & Cubert, 2002). Bullock and Cubert (2002) argue that coverage of domestic violence deaths often ignores the historical pattern of abuse between the perpetrator and the victim and ignores the patriarchal social context within which violence occurs. In New Zealand, Michelle and Weaver (2003) argued that discourses in documentary representations of domestic violence focused on physical violence and involved narrative of victim blaming. While, Lindsay-Brisbin et al. (2014) argued that domestic violence coverage in newspapers relied on transferring the blame from the perpetrator to either women who had experienced domestic violence or external causes such as alcohol and anger. Without the understanding of domestic violence as autonomy limiting and entrapping behaviour, there is a misunderstanding as to why women remain in and do not leave harmful relationships (Stark, 2009).

The cost of framing domestic violence as solely physical is the lack of understanding that violence also encompasses non-physical forms of violence (Sims, 2008). The media

is a source for gaining knowledge of various social issues. Media sources such as online print news media are often understood as an accurate and objective representations of reality (Carlyle, Slater & Chakroff, 2008). Written text is even more so considered to be a prescriptive and authoritative account of reality. The obfuscation of domestic violence in the public domain leads to women, the public and, to some extent, intervention agencies misunderstanding signs of abusive actions in relationships (Carlyle, Slater, & Chakroff, 2008; Stark, 2009). Discursive constructions of domestic violence as solely physical invisibilise the patterns of abusive and autonomy-limiting behaviour such as emotional and financial abuse that domestic violence entails (Sims, 2008; Stark, 2009).

The argument that I present below agrees with the work of the scholars I have referred to above. This study showed a clear emphasis on physical forms of violence such as physical and sexual assault as well as coverage on deaths, and a limited and unclear references to non-physical forms of violence. Along with this, the argument I present below also shows that in New Zealand online print news media although there are no victim blaming discourses, although, there was a shifting of blame towards anger, alcohol and drugs. Finally, I discuss a theme that has not yet been identified in the literature regarding the monetisation of domestic violence in the media.

Method

For this project 65 online news media articles from The New Zealand Herald, Stuff. co.nz and The Otago Daily Times were critically interrogated for the discourses included within them. Along with the text of the articles, attention was also given to the images that accompanied the articles as these contribute to discourses these articles promoted. The data was gathered by searching for keywords such as 'domestic violence', 'intimate partner violence', 'family violence', 'domestic assault' and 'domestic abuse' in the search bars of the online websites for these newspapers. Using purposive sampling, any articles that were not about violence against women, for example, articles on women's violence against men, violence against children, or violence against any other member of the family such as elderly family members were all excluded from the analysis. Articles selected had to be published within the last five years (2012-2017). In addition to this, articles were filtered on the basis of relevance criteria of the search bars. These were then briefly read to ensure they were about men's violence against women, after which they were selected as data.

The New Zealand Herald, Stuff.co.nz and The Otago Daily Times were used so that discourses in news media across New Zealand could be analysed. Print news media in New Zealand is quite regionally specific for example The Otago Daily Times caters specifically for the South Island of New Zealand. It was later found that as the New Zealand Herald and Stuff.co.nz are owned by larger companies, New Zealand Media and Entertainment and Fairfax Media Ltd they have also compiled articles from other regionally specific newspapers that they operate. Taken together, therefore, these three

sources of data can provide a representative sample of the online print news media that the population of New Zealand peruses.

This project was conducted using a discourse analysis of online news media articles as a primary methodology. Discourse analysis is a Foucauldian method of critical reading to uncover the underlying and taken for granted meaning within the text (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey, 2013). This methodological approach requires a close reading of articles to discern the assumptions made within them and the discourses that authors promoted in their writing (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey, 2013). Discourse analysis requires critical interrogations of texts to elucidate the assumptions encoded within (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey, 2013). This critical analysis of texts is used to expose the implicit and explicit power dynamics that are promoted within the articles (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey, 2013). For example, in Orientalism Said (2014) uses discourse analysis to explore the power relations in the Western representation of the East or how the Occident represents the Orient. This methodological approach was used as the writers of articles may not explicitly state certain viewpoints such as the racialisation of perpetrators and survivors; however this can be implicit within the text and images used within the article, allowing an analysis of these implicit messages the authors wish to convey.

Grounded theory was another methodological approach used in this project which uses an inductive method. The methodological rules for this project applied the rules developed by Corbin and Strauss (1990). The grounded theory approach involved the reviewing of collected data for repeated themes or pattern which are coded. These codes are then reviewed considering all the collected data and regrouped into larger themes or concepts and finally into overarching categories. I chose these methods so that I could assess the data and see what themes the articles that I used for my project contained. Themes from discourse analysis allowed me to develop a theory to explain my critical interrogation as opposed to going to my articles with preconceived notions of what themes and patterns I would find. For example, for the category of 'It's not men,' I have included the preliminary codes of anger, alcohol and drugs, incident-specific attributions to violence such as rugby games or financial stress and gender.

The grounded theory approach allowed me to make changes to my initial proposal for research as themes and patterns were found. One of these that is significant methodologically is the inclusion of images as data. I found after gathering my data and doing my initial coding that the pictures that accompanied the articles were an important part of the discourse on domestic violence and thus, decided to include this in my analysis as well. The images mainly came from The New Zealand Herald and Stuff, as the Otago Daily Times did include pictures with each one of their articles.

There are limitations to the methodologies used as well as the data gathered. Using discourse analysis as a methodology involves subjective interpretation of the data, and thus the interpretations that I have made may not be what others may find in their reading of the data. The basis of my data collection was to get a representative sample of online print

news media that is consumed around New Zealand. However, it may be useful to analyse the discourses regarding domestic violence in other more popular online print news media such as Newshub and Radio New Zealand.

Findings

There are five main themes that were found in relation to the discourse analysis conducted. These are: physical violence, coercive control, it's not men, race and class and monetisation. However due to constraints of space, in this essay I will discuss the themes of physical violence, it's not men, and monetisation in detail below. These themes should not be understood as isolated patterns but as interconnected and contributing holistically to the online print news media discourse.

Physical Violence

Most of the articles were based on physical violence, sexual violence, or death except one article on domestic violence as power and control dynamics within teen relationships. This finding is consistent with previous research conducted by Carlyle, Slater and Chakroff (2008) and Lloyd and Ramon (2017) who have found a similar focus on physical violence in domestic violence coverage. Although the articles were framed with a focus on physical violence they did contain references to verbal, psychological, emotional and financial abuse, as well as power and control. In this way it is evident that journalists thought and promoted the idea that physical violence was the only form of violence even though they had the recognition of domestic violence as including non-physical forms of violence.

Newspapers in modern-day rely on the popularity or number of clicks they can generate as this accounts for the capital newspapers can generate (Thussu, 2007). Newsworthiness refers to the choices made in which news stories to present and what to focus on to ensure a wide reach, remaining relevant, and increased profits (Carlyle, Slater & Chakroff, 2008; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Sims, 2008). Sensationalising violence was considered newsworthy as such it was clear that the focus on physical violence was more about sensationalising these stories for popularity and money (Carlyle, Slater & Chakroff, 2008; Galtung & Ruge, 1965;). The titles of the articles are intentionally presented with physical violence as a focus to draw readers in, for example, titles like "Teeth broken in domestic violence spate" (Elder, 2014) and "Yasir Mohib jailed for 12 months for hammer attack on wife, after discharge without conviction overturned" (Savage, 2017). Similarly, descriptions of death and violence in articles are a way to sensationalise violence and use the news as entertainment for example statements like: "...was sent to prison for eight years after beating his 20-year-old girlfriend to death" (The Otago Daily Times, 2016) and headlines such as "Family violence: It's possible I would have killed my missus"(Leask, 2016a). This sensationalisation allows print news media to draw a broad range of audiences, generate interest and remain relevant. News as such can be

considered infotainment; it is more about entertainment value than accurately presenting domestic violence (Thussu, 2007).

The images associated with the articles reasserted the focus on physical forms of violence. Multiple news article carried shadowy images of men towering over women with their fists clenched ready to physically assault the woman in the image, who were shown clearly and in focus in the images. The women in these images were also often framed passively and as bracing themselves for a physical assault. These images were stock photos sourced from stock photo websites such as Getty Images and Shutterstock. In some cases, these images were reused multiple times across the years in the articles that were published. Although, as mentioned above, some of the articles consisted of references to coercive control. These stock images bring the reader back to the notion of domestic violence as solely physical violence. As images are often considered a shorthand to understanding what the article is about these images tell readers to equate domestic violence with physical violence (Thussu, 2007). The images accompanying the articles are also often the first thing that people see in the thumbnails of articles on social media such as Facebook or at the top of the articles they read. In an age where people often do not engage with the full article and just read the headlines with the associated images, this leaves people misinformed as to what domestic violence consists of (Thussu, 2007). This lens of viewing violence as solely physical and incident-specific conceals the nature of domestic abuse as a pattern of abuse and autonomy limiting behaviour (Stark, 2009). This has dire consequences for people who are exposed to these representations (Stark, 2009). The effect of these framings of violence is that women may see the non-physical violence they experience as outside these situations and thus not harmful.

These images also have implications in the understanding of what constitutes evidence, for example articles that were accompanied by images of black eyes. In our social lexicon black eyes on women are indicative of domestic violence, as black eyes are considered as a form of objective evidence that can be taken to intervention or law-enforcement agencies as an indication of the harm that has been experienced. Non-physical forms of abuse rely on women's testimonies of their experiences which do not have the same power and evidentiary capacity that physical manifestations of abuse do in mobilising campaigns against violence and abuse. In cases of non-physical forms of violence where there is no 'objective' physical evidence, there is a dismissal of women's accounts of non-physical forms of violence. Thus, these images prioritise visible, objective evidence at the cost of women's experiences and stories.

It is also worth considering what images may be used for the representation of coercive control. Since it often involves financial, psychological and emotional abuse as well as power and control, it is difficult to imagine a picture that can capture these concepts as a shorthand. The article that I mentioned above regarding domestic violence in teen relationships may come close as it refers to the use of technology in power and control. In the article, the authors have used the image of a mobile phone with the social media

application Instagram open on it. As the article refers to the use of social media as a tool of power and control, this picture is useful in the context of the article. However, it is not a very informative standalone picture insofar as it could be interpreted as a general image of a social media application without the context provided in the article. Thus, it will not be able to serve as a quick, shorthand representation of power and control or non-physical forms of violence.

It's Not Men

This theme includes all the ways in which the articles when referring to domestic violence, shifted the blame from men and masculinity to individual substances and incidents that were supposedly to blame for their violence. This theme includes the continuing references to alcohol and drugs, and anger as well as financial hardship and even rugby games in an effort to shift the blame for violence perpetrated by men. The findings of this theme are consistent with previous research by Lindsay-Brisbin et al. (2014) that argued news coverage transferred the blame for domestic violence onto external causes like alcohol or anger.

The framing of violence as occurring in association with drugs and alcohol was a common theme throughout the articles that were analysed. For example, statements like: "half of them had to cut back or stop using alcohol and other drugs before they could stop being violent" (Moran, 2014), "Alcohol was a factor in many domestic violence incidents and last night was no different" (Elder, 2014) and "Some incidents were sparked by housing issues and general poverty - as well as drugs and alcohol." (Moroney, 2016) shift the blame for violence onto alcohol and drugs. This shift of blame represents a shift to a socially acceptable excuse for violence (Lindsay-Brisbin et al., 2014; Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996). Alcohol and drug use is often associated with less accountability and responsibility for actions as it is understood that people have lower inhibitions and are unable to control their behaviour (Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996). Thus, forming a stronger excuse for aggressive and violent actions as they are associated culturally with aggressive and rowdy behaviours that follow from lowered inhibitions (Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996).

Following from this, many articles also reported that a reduction in dependency had helped or was needed to stop men being violent towards their partners (Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996). However, this is not supported by research that reports increases in abuse while men are trying to reduce their drug dependency and increases in non-physical forms of violence (Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996). This sentiment also similarly does not recognise all non-physical forms of abuse and violence that occur in the absence of alcohol (Zubretsky, & Digirolamo, 1996)

Anger was similarly used as another socially acceptable excuse for physical assaults in domestic violence cases. This was encapsulated in descriptions such as "...became angry

and verbally abused her before he hit her head against the gear stick multiple times" (Coster, 2017) and "inside I wanted to smash stuff" (Leask, 2016a). Uncontrollable anger is another socially acceptable excuse, for example, expressions like 'seeing red' refer to being so uncontrollably angry that your judgement is clouded. Anger is thus often presented in our dominant cultural norms as a situation in which people have lowered inhibitions and less accountability for their actions (Lindsay-Brisbin et al., 2014). This lack of accountability again excuses the violence of men against women and again ignores the bulk of non-physical violence that occurs in the absence of anger.

In most representations of domestic violence, there was also little focus on patterns of abuse as most articles relied on incident-specific presentations of violence, which is consistent with previous research on media representations of domestic violence. The emphasis on anger, alcohol and drugs as well as financial pressures and rugby games reinforce the incident-specific framings of violence, and act as an excuse for the violence against women by saying that these events and substances had caused the violence. For example, one article described the increased in police call-outs after rugby games with reference to alcohol use as well (APNZ, 2012). This article also said that there would have been more call outs if the All Blacks had lost. This uncritical representation of domestic violence as being caused by the results of rugby games and alcohol as opposed to the violent behaviours of men shifts the blame and makes it seem as if it was an inevitable and normalised issue that can occur in relation to these events.

In this study, there were a few articles addressing the issue of gendered norms itself in domestic violence. Examples include: "Because we all know that violence towards women stems from such casual misogyny" (Stewart, 2015) and, "very strong gender organisation of society that helps create the problem" (Leask, 2016b). Connell's (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity which argues that there is a dominant understanding of an ideal masculinity that all men are expected to work towards often involves ideas of aggression. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is a useful lens to interrogate the violence of men against women. In New Zealand, hegemonic masculinity invokes the idea image of the "Kiwi bloke", who is the DIY man, likes rugby and drinking (Law, Campbell and Schick, 1999).

The limited use of a gendered lens in domestic violence coverage reduces the societal responsibility for the problem (Kozol, 1995). This fails to create the collective societal action that is required to address the strongly patriarchal culture in New Zealand that prizes an aggressive masculinity (Kozol, 1995; Law, Campbell and Schick, 1999). Focusing on anger, alcohol and drugs individualises domestic violence as an issue of a few harmful people as opposed to being a part of the wider patriarchal culture that denigrates and controls women (Kozol, 1995). The definition of domestic violence as coercive control is even more important when it is considered in this context as Stark (2009) points out the domestic violence will continue to exist as long as gender inequalities in society persist.

However, this focus on masculinity also leads to the inevitable question of men who are exposed to the ideals of masculinity and do not enact the violence, power, and control against women. This focus on masculinity as Allen (1990) suggests, disavows men of their responsibility and accountability in supporting patriarchal structures that oppress women, and in the case of my research, the violence of men against women. Placing the blame for violence against women by men on masculinity shifts the blame from the men who commit this violence onto society that constructs notions of men and masculinity as aggressive, consequently reducing the accountability and responsibility of men who enact this violence (Allen, 1990). Thus, we need a nuanced argument that balances structural factors that facilitate and allow domestic violence along with an argument that questions the agency of men that perpetrate this violence against women.

Monetisation

The monetisation of domestic violence occurred in relation to a bill proposed by the Green Party in New Zealand. This bill proposed ten days of specialised domestic violence leave for women who disclosed that they had experienced violence. This bill again imposes the idea of violence as episodic as opposed to continuing patterns of violence. The rationale behind this bill is to support women who have experienced violence, to ensure that they can retain their jobs, so they can be financially independent, attend to court dates or counselling as well as being able to take care of themselves and their children. Although the rationale behind this bill is noble, the way it is being argued as an economic saving is problematic. In most of the articles discussing this bill since 2016, there were references to how domestic violence is costing the economy and businesses. Examples include: "supports victims to stay in paid employment, maintaining productivity and reducing recruitment and training costs for employers." (Leask, 2016b), "Family violence costs New Zealand more than its annual export earnings from the forestry sector" (Collins, 2014) and "businesses bear the cost of domestic violence and proactive action prevents lack of productivity because the biggest win is retaining talent." (Nadakarni, 2017).

These monetary assessments are taken mainly from the Glenn Inquiry that estimated the physical and non-physical costs of violence between $4.1 to $7 billion and projects an increase to $80 billion if nothing is done over ten years (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). These included calculations of the cost of treating health related issues as well as the cost of ACC compensation and benefit payments (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). The monetary value attached to these issues can be damaging. An example of possible damage is the government conducting a cost-benefit analysis of compensation and benefit payments and deciding as a result to cut these payments. The ramification of this is that women who have experiences violence are left without the support they may need and remain trapped in harmful relationships. Although these are deemed to be just economic calculations, these can have adverse consequences for those that have experienced

domestic violence and the supports available to them. Similarly, the Glenn Inquiry also refers to the cost of pain, suffering and premature mortality as one of the highest costs of violence (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). It is also worth questioning how the Glenn Inquiry (2014) placed a monetary value on emotional abuse and trauma. Approaching these problems based on how expensive they are as opposed to how damaging they can be to the lives of those who live through physical, sexual, emotional, and financial abuse creates a hierarchy of problems that conflates an economic issue with a social one.

It is understandable that an argument of cost may be more appealing to facilitate the adoption of this bill. As such, these arguments reflect the neoliberal capitalist society we live in, as it shows that to make the solving of moral and social issues appealing, we as a society have to be told that this problem is costing us money. If we did not care about moral and social issues before, we should now as taxpayers. The monetisation of domestic violence essentially argues that women's well-being is only of value in that it contributes to the economy. It also implies that domestic violence is only a social problem insofar as it costs the economy and businesses money. In addition to this, it creates the rhetoric of a cost-benefit analysis for domestic violence and for supporting those that have experienced domestic violence. Academic discourses also seem to approach this monetisation unproblematically and uncritically and do not question to consequences of this framing. In this way, it begs the question would we want to work towards eradicating domestic violence in all its forms if its economic costliness was not pointed out?

Conclusion

This essay explored online print news media representations of domestic violence. This was conducted through a discourse analysis of 65 articles from the New Zealand Herald, Stuff.co.nz and the Otago Daily Times. This research project was based on a small amount of data; therefore, it may be useful for future research to look at more data. Other popular online news media outlets such as Newshub and Radio New Zealand may also be useful in providing an understanding of discourses of domestic violence in popular online news media sources in New Zealand. My results are consistent with previous research on news media representation of domestic violence which showed a focus on physical forms of violence, and incident-specific representations at the cost of coverage on non-physical forms of violence and patterns of abusive behaviours. Along with this as previous research has found, my research confirmed news media narratives shift the blame for violence to alcohol and drug use, anger and financial stresses as well as implicit references to race and class. Finally, there was also the theme of monetising domestic violence referring to it as an economic problem as opposed to a social one.

Most articles focused on physical violence as it was considered newsworthy, which resulted in its centralisation and presentation as the main form of violence. This focus also presented physical violence as the most harmful type of violence. Following the trend that media uses to make profits, online print news media sensationalised violence

in the cases that were shared turning news into entertainment which contributes to increased popularity and readership. The images associated with articles reasserted the focus on physical violence presenting the central focus of the articles as physical violence.

The articles often shifted the blame for violence onto socially acceptable causes such as anger, alcohol or drugs, as well as incident-specific issues such as rugby games or financial pressures. Gender was not problematised in many of the articles, showing that there was a lack of critical interrogation for the reasons for violence in the patriarchal context of New Zealand. In my analysis however, I suggest that focusing on masculinity as the reason for violence is another way to reduce the accountability of men. Instead, we need to a balanced argument that looks at the impact of masculine culture as well as the responsibility and agency of men.

Finally, I looked at the monetisation of domestic violence, wherein it was discussed as an economic issue that was costing the economy and businesses as opposed to a social issue of harm against half the population. This discourse is reflective of the neoliberal capitalist society that we live in where monetary arguments hold more sway than moral or social ones. Monetisation also has adverse real-life consequences for those who experience domestic violence as it may result in a reduction of services and support for these women. These inaccurate and harmful media representations of domestic violence can have adverse consequences for women.

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Criminology 710

Cybercrime

Kate Thompson

Image Based Sexual Abuse and the Misogyny of the Internet:
a case study of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack

Please note: This essay contains the mention or discussion of rape culture and sexual violence.

> Hostility toward and harassment of women has migrated from the street and the workplace to the Internet…Making the Internet a frightening place for some users – women – is telling them that it's a place where they can't be safe, and probably shouldn't be at all.
>
> Online Safety a Civil Right, Expert Says; Women Especially Vulnerable
> Mary Anne Franks(2014: 5)

On August 31, 2014 the Internet was sent into a frenzy when hundreds of private nude photos of celebrities were released to the public (Lawson 2015a, Lawson 2015b, Marwick 2016). The web page hosting the hacked images on the social media platform Reddit quickly became the fastest growing subreddit of all time, and before being pulled from the Internet, received 250 million page views (Massanari 2015, Wollacott 2014). The images were originally hacked from celebrities' iCloud accounts through a security flaw with the app Find My iPhone. It subsequently emerged that the service had "no limits on how many times a user may guess a password, making it a prime target for a brute-force attack" (Akkad & Dingman 2014). The images, including mostly semi-nude and nude photographs of female celebrities taken for private use, initially "began circulating privately on darknet image bulletin boards" (Marwick 2016). That is, until an anonymous user collected the images and disseminated them onto mainstream social media sites AnonIB, 4chan and Reddit (Marwick 2014, Lawson 2015a). Countless media outlets perpetuated the publication of these images by reporting, linking, and sending online users to the sites hosting the images. Tiffany Wilks describes, "the media's response was how it usually is with nude photo leaks – irresponsible" (2014). However, it didn't take long for the mainstream media to backtrack and condemn the images due to their non-consensual publication (Jaworski 2014, Marcus 2014). This allowed for a large-scale conversation about online privacy and the cybercrime dubbed 'revenge pornography'. This essay will start with a discussion of definitional labels and the importance of utilising appropriate terminology. This will include an analysis of both the various phrases the Internet and media outlets applied to the celebrity nude photo hack and the academic discussions and suggestions for a more suitable replacement for 'revenge pornography'. This essay will then consider the contextual and cultural influences that contributed to this event. This will require an analysis of hacking culture, misogynistic cyber-harassment and celebrity culture. Finally, this essay will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack itself and the reactions it inspired.

Terminology

> Language matters. In particular, it matters when new understandings of social phenomena are being shaped.

Zachary Volkert opened his article on the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack with the words, "The Fappening – that's the name that's been given to the gigantic booty of sexts and other steamy photos that leaked all over the Internet" (2014). He did not coin the term 'the fappening', rather that was what the anonymous publisher of the hoard of images titled the posts on the social media site Reddit. The term is a hybrid of "the happening" as in an event, and "fapping", a slang word for masturbation (Sanghani 2014, Owoseje 2014, Warwick 2016, McCoy 2014). Another label assigned to the event by the media was "celebgate" (Jaworski 2015).

This reduction of serious crimes down to short, palatable, memorable catchphrases is not new. Radhika Sanghani points out, "we've been attaching catchy monikers to serious situations ever since Watergate" (2014)—and Watergate was before the Internet inspired the constant shortening of phrases into acronyms and Twitter introduced the hashtag. Now we apply and reproduce catchy monikers almost without thinking. It is thus not surprising that many media reports of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack adopted "the fappening" and "celebgate" to label the event. However, adopting these terms are not without negative impact. Both "the fappening" and "celebgate" reduce what is a serious breach of privacy, and as this essay will explore in greater detail, a form of violence against women, into a seemingly inconsequential scandal with heightened entertainment value. In an interview with Sanghani, Lancaster University language expert, Dr Claire Hardaker explains;

> …when you turn it into something that's a portmanteau, a linguistic comedy, it's a bit of a joke. It kind of diminishes the seriousness of having pictures of you completely naked traded around the internet and used in that way…there's an issue with making it so light-hearted
>
> (Sanghani 2014).

Hardaker is referring to the specific media use of "the fappening" as a label for the celebrity photo hack and the additional negative impact that comes from associating these photos with their use as masturbation aids (Sanghani 2014). This serves to validate the illegal dissemination of these images. It likens these images to consensual pornography used for the same purpose and carries with it the refusal of acknowledging potential harm felt by the victims.

Even when some media refrained from using these catchy monikers, they resorted to describing the event as a 'scandal' (Wilks, 2014). The issue is the connotations that come with the word "scandal"; it suggests "moral malfeasance", bringing "to mind an event that is morally wrong or questionable" (Marcotte 2014, Wilks 2014). However,

those questions are posed to the creators of the images, the female celebrities, rather than aimed at the morals of the hackers and leakers of the images (Wilks 2014). Calling this a scandal imports the expectation that an official apology or statement of regret from the scandalised starlet is to follow. The flow on effect is an implicit victim blaming and slut shaming response.

As mentioned earlier, large cohorts of the media contradicted themselves and backtracked from their initial troublesome adoption of catchy monikers and implicit victim blaming and eventually embraced a more nuanced approach. Celebrity blogger Perez Hilton is a prime example of this change in approach (Jaworski 2014). He initially posted the hacked nude images, then later changed them to censored versions. He eventually deleted his original post altogether, and replaced it with a list of the celebrity victims instead (Jaworsky 2014). However, this change in response could be the result of influential celebrities speaking out about the hack. Jennifer Lawrence, the movie star most synonymous with the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack, immediately responded to the publication of her private images with outrage, anger and without any apology (Valenti 2014b, Wilks 2014). She used strong language, asserting that the violation of her privacy and the publication of that violation was a "sex crime", and that those merely looking at the images were "perpetuating a sexual offense" (Valenti 2014b, Badham 2014, Milligan 2014, Kashner 2014). Jessica Valenti compares this response from Lawrence with Disney actress Vanessa Hudgens' statement released after she fell victim to a similar attack (2014b). She reacted with shame and repentance, both of which were notably absent from Lawrence's reaction (Valenti 2014b). The implications of these responses are discussed later in this essay.

The 2014 celebrity nude photo hack opened the door for a widespread media discussion of the non-consensual sharing of sexual images, a cybercrime popularly referred to as 'revenge pornography'. The term revenge pornography has wormed its way into the mainstream "to describe the growing phenomenon of vengeful ex-partners distributing private, sexual images without the consent of their former partners" (McGlynn & Rackley 2016). However, it is used as a holistic term to cover a wide range of image sharing behaviours not evidently covered by the words 'revenge' and 'pornography' (Morczek 2016: 1). These behaviours include: all sharing of sexual or nude images without complete consent; the non-consensual sharing of non-consensual images (covert recordings through the use of hidden cameras, whilst the victim is sleeping, intoxicated, or during sexual assault); the hacking of consensually taken images; and the non-consensual sharing of consensual images for motives including, but not limited to revenge (Citron & Franks 2004: 346). The term revenge pornography is inadequate, as it does not reflect the wide variety of behaviours it covers. It has been further critiqued as a misnomer as the acts it covers are often not always motivated by revenge and the content should not be defined as pornography (Morczek 2016: 1). Motivations other than revenge can and do include "coercion, blackmail, fun, sexual gratification, social status or monetary gain" (Henry & Powell 2016: 400). A variety of replacement terms have been proposed. These include

"non-consensual pornography" (Citron & Franks 2014: 345), "technology-facilitated sexual violence" (Henry & Powell 2014: 105), "non-consensual distribution of intimate images" (Mathen 2014, Morczek 2016: 1) or "image-based sexual abuse/exploitation" (Henry & Powell 2016; 401)). Henry and Powell argue for the exclusion of the word 'pornography', not only as it connotes consent and validity (akin to the use of "the fappening"), but also on the grounds that often the purpose is not for sexual gratification (2016: 401). Thus their chosen terminology, "image based sexual abuse" mirrors the labelling of child pornography as child exploitation material in order "to distinguish it from pornography but yet at the same time highlight the harmful circumstances of its production and the continued harm associated with its dissemination" (Henry & Powell 2016: 401). This argument is very convincing and thus this essay will refer to the 2014 celebrity photo hack as a case of image based sexual abuse.

Cultural Contexts

> Revenge porn is "explicitly purposed to shame, humiliate and destroy the lives and reputation of young women," and is understood as a "part of a widespread, deeply sexist online culture everywhere from blog comment sections to Youtube videos to message boards"
>> 'Revenge porn' is about degrading women sexually and professionally
>>> Jill Filipovic (2013).

Hacking

The rise of the hacker movement can be traced back to the computer centres of MIT and Stanford University in the 1960s and 70s (Adam 2004). As discussed by Caitlin Lawsom (2015a) the essence of hacking, according to Jon Erickson, "is finding unintended or overlooked uses for the laws and properties of a given situation and then applying them in new and inventive ways to solve a problem" (2008: 1). However, individual hackers and hacker collectives often widely differ in their understandings of what it means to hack and be a hacker, and thus rather than a unifying subculture, it is "a rich and diverse culture consisting of justifications, highly specialised skills, information-sharing networks, norms, status hierarchies, language, and unifying symbolic meanings" (Kinkade, Bachmann & Smith-Bachmann 2013: 29). This section of this essay will aim to identify the hacking subcultural context informing the motivations, and explanations afforded to the hackers responsible for the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack.

Although it is evident in the phrase 'the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack' it bears repeating that the images in question were accessed through illegal hacking. The technique employed by the hackers is described as a "brute-force attack" as it requires minimal technical ability and the mere willingness to continually try password combinations (Akkad & Dingman 2014). Technically, this is described as "cracking" rather than hacking (Lawson 2015a). However, these distinctions have not been generally

accepted by mainstream media, rather "they usually…equate hackers with cyber-criminals" and hacking as an "inherently negative criminal activity" (Twist 2003, Yar 2006, Taylor 2000, Adam 2004). Thus, this essay will continue to refer to it as the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack, and the parties behind the access as hackers, rather than crackers.

A wealth of research and literature has covered the relatively low representation of women in the computing and IT industries, with the exception of office, administrative, and secretarial roles.. It is therefore unsurprising that hacking is also male dominated (Adam 2004). This cultural element, coupled with the fact that the majority of the celebrities featured in the 2014 nude photo hack were female (two men happened to be included in photos with women) serves to cement this event within the broader understanding of imaged based sexual abuse as a form of violence against women.

Journalist Amanda Hess describes the website AnonIB where "hackers have set up camp" trading hacked images and advertising their abilities to hack more images (2014). She highlights their use of the word "win" attributed to the stolen and non-consensually shared images (Hess 2014). Not only are women reduced to their bodies, they are reduced to lifeless trophies (Hess 2014), "two-deminsional trinkets to be collected, traded and, sold" (Lawson 2015a). Catherine Lawson describes this "subjugation of the female body" in terms of "vigilantism in the pursuit of sexual gratification…[and] male domination" (2015a). A hacking subculture thus becomes apparent. AnonIB, and evidently other similar social media sites, provide a place for the normalisation of fetishizing violating women through hacking their private images (Marcotte 2014, Hess 2014). Walter DeKeseredy and Martin Schwartz successfully apply male peer support theory to imaged based sexual abuse (2016). They argue that "disseminating image-based sexual abuse is a means of "doing masculinity" in a culturally specific way" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz 2016: 3). This doing of masculinity turns violent, according to the theory, because "abusive patriarchal men situated in a patriarchal rape-supportive culture have male friends with similar beliefs and values that promote the abuse of women… [thus] allows men to feel normal and justified when committing violence" against women (DeKeseredy & Schwartz 2016: 4). Applying this theory more specifically to the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack, one can conclude that this specific subculture of hackers reinforce and support one another through bragging, sharing and competing over violating women's privacy.

Cyber Harassment

The prevalence of imaged based sexual abuse on the Internet and the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack did not occur in a vacuum. This section of this essay will argue that gender specific cyber-harassment both informs and is informed by the same misogyny related to imaged based sexual abuse. It is also important to note that image based sexual abuse often occurs alongside cyber-harassment. This can be in the comments section or

through messages sent directly to the victim.

Whether due to anonymity, instantaneity, or a disassociation with harms and responsibilities, the online world is often described as the lawless "wild west" (Citron 2009, 2014). These labels themselves are not helpful as they potentially excuse those who perpetuate cyber-harassment from responsibility and essentially send the message that it is merely part and parcel of being online and thus victims "need to tolerate these cyber "pranks", or opt out of life online" (Citron 2009: 376). This supports the conclusion made by Jane Fairbairn that online sexual violence (both image based sexual abuse and some forms of cyber harassment) creates a culture where such abuse is "expected, tolerated and/or encouraged" and women are held accountable for the acts committed against them (2015: 235). These circumstances, she argues, are what we mean when we speak of 'rape culture' and thus it pervades online cultures as well as offline cultures (Fairbairn 2015: 235).

In her article, Law's Expressive Value in Combating Cyber Gender Harassment, Danielle Citron cites various statistics, asserting victims of cyber harassment are more often women (2009: 378). In one study on chat rooms it was users with female names received an average of one hundred "malicious private messages" (defined by "sexually explicit or threatening language") for every four received by male usernames (Citron 2014: 14). Similarly, women are more often than men victims of imaged based sexual abuse (in a study of 1,606 victims, 90 per cent were women (Citron 2014: 17). Citron thus uses the term "cyber gender harassment" (Citron 2009). Online harassment of women can take a multitude of forms. Examples can include threats of rape and violence, and the humiliation and silencing of reducing women to sexual objects and gender-based stereotypes (Citron 2009: 380). Non-gender-specific examples of cyber harassment includes repeatedly sending unwanted messages, using public forums or message boards to harass, or provoke (Choja & Nelson 2016). Online harassment, in all of these forms, "inflicts emotional distress" and breaches "an individual's sense of safety" (Fairbairn 2015: 234). This cannot be truer than in the case of online rape threats. Much like the dissemination of image based sexual abuse, cyber harassment in the form of rape threats made against women remind women of male dominance over society and further entrench female value in her physical form, thus "casting women as sex objects that are unfit for life's important opportunities" (Citron 2014: 127). These threats act as a disincentive for women to participate online (Nakashima 2007). Therefore, cyber harassment, like other forms of violence against women, both online and offline, serve the purpose of silencing women and preventing them from participating fully in society.

Celebrity

The 2014 celebrity nude photo hack was not the first of its kind. For decades, female celebrities have been victim to stolen nude and sexual imagery being published without their consent. As far back as the 1960s starlet Marilyn Monroe had her nude images

leaked (Waller 2015). Well-known instances of imaged based sexual abuse include infamous 'sex tapes' from the likes of Paris Hilton, Kim Kardashian and Pamela Anderson. And, as previously mentioned, some comparisons have been made between 2014 victim Jennifer Lawrence and 2007 victim Vanessa Hudgens. Roxanne Gay, in the wake of the hack, hypothesised this leak was only the beginning, as "there will always be another leak, because there is always an insatiable curiosity when it comes to the nude celebrity woman's body" (2014). She was right; there was in fact another mass leak two weeks later (Ossola 2014), and more since. The cultural relevance of celebrities and the public's perception and expectations of celebrities cannot be overlooked in a discussion of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack.

In her article Pixels, porn, and private selves: intimacy and authenticity in the celebrity nude photo hack, Caitlin Lawson explores the motivations behind hacking, leaking and viewing the private nude images of celebrities (2015b). She argues that "the theft of female celebrities' private nude photos is an extension of this often rabid and invasive desire to see the private, 'authentic' woman, and more specifically the authentic sexual woman, behind her public celebrity mask" (Lawson 2015b: 607). Celebrities are a business, with careful strategy and marketing behind every image, every interview, every outfit, etc. And thus, the public seeks to know the real star without the strategy and marketing. Surely this is why actresses, models and singers are the most followed accounts on social media sites and tabloid magazines and paparazzi can make a living off 'inside source' gossip and covert photography. In this seeking of a peek behind the curtain, sex and sexuality are in no way out of bounds. "Celebrities often trade upon their sexuality or are the subject of sexual desire, speculation and rumour" and thus celebrity journalism often focuses on scandals centred on celebrity sex lives (Mercer 2013: 1). This analysis serves to explain the initial reaction of many media outlets to the hack. As this essay has mentioned, there were numerous examples of mainstream media perpetuating the abuse by sending audiences to sites where they could view the images. The hack was not viewed as an invasion of privacy, a violation, or a sex crime initially, because of its place on the continuum of seeking celebrity authenticity. Imaged based sexual abuse of celebrities, whether it is a nude photo hack, a leaked 'sex tape', or a paparazzi photo taken to expose a woman as she gets out of a car, is part of a celebrity-obsessed culture that follows, speculates, and reports on every aspect of stars' lives.

Jane Fairbairn's used the online harassment of women as evidence of the pervasive nature of rape culture (2015: 235). The same can be done with a discussion of celebrity culture and the 2014 celebrity photo hack. This event can be seen as not only a seeking of an authentic look at the private lives of celebrities, but a patriarchal enforcement of the natural hierarchy and reminder to women of their place (Gay 2014, PenzeyMoog 2015: 12). Feminist theories of sexual assault argue "when men commit sexual assault, it is not simply out of an uncontrollable urge for sexual gratification, but rather motivated by desires of power, a hatred of women, and the need to reaffirm stereotypical gender roles that place women under the control of men" (Bates 2016: 25). The prevalence and ease of

access to pornography online supports the argument that the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack was not merely the seeking of sexually gratifying material. Rather, the targeting of high-profile, admired, idolized, and successful female figures reflects a male backlash against women who have achieved too much independence and status. Building on the aforementioned feminist theories of sexual assault, it is argued that instances of rape increase when women's status increases (PenzeyMoog 2015: 16). Thus, the increased status of these female celebrities threatens male egos and results in violent responses that re-assert male dominance. Imaged based sexual abuse, more generally, reflects this theory in that women's sexual empowerment is used to shame, humiliate and violate (PenzeyMoog 2015: 17).

A shrewd example of the intersection of hacking culture, cyber harassment and this theory of the re-assertion of male dominance was the nude photo leak threat made to Emma Watson. Following her UN speech on gender equality, a website was made alleging private nude images had been hacked of the actress and would be leaked imminently (Valenti 2014a, Minter 2014, Holpuch & Woolf 2014, Woodward 2015). Her rousing feminist speech and its success was immediately overshadowed by the threat, which sought to silence and "put the actor back in her box" (Minter 2014). Ironically, the threat turned out to be a hoax aimed at bringing attention to online sexism and the 2014 celebrity nude photo leak (which had recently occurred prior to this threat) (Valenti 2014a). Writing in The Guardian, Jessica Valenti rightly points out, hoax or not, the threat was still cyber harassment and the only thing it achieved "was to remind women that our bodies and the sexual fear with which we've been instilled since childhood are usable as a joke" (2014a).

Implications

> While celebrities often receive sympathy and do not suffer major damaging effects to their lives and careers, normal people experience a much less forgiving world.
>
> 'Revenge porn' is just a power struggle
> Katherine Waller (2015)

The 2014 celebrity nude photo hack propelled imaged based sexual abuse into the mainstream conversation. Despite the use of troubling labels that connote victim blaming rhetoric, and some initial failures to treat this event as anything more than a titillating celebrity scandal, the overwhelming reaction was of outrage and disgust. This essay has already argued this change in approach may be attributed to the strong response from victim Jennifer Lawrence. This stance has been posited by others, "it took someone hacking America's sweetheart [Lawrence] for people to speak out" (Marcus 2014). The status of the victims as celebrities has contradictory effects. On one hand it shows that even women with their status can be victimised by image based sexual abuse and thus brings to attention the threat to all women. On the other hand, "with them being

celebrities it's very hard to relate to them as a normal human being" (Sanghani 2014). Similarly, the widespread condemnation of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack has both positive and negative effects on the perception of the cybercime of image based sexual abuse. This final section of this essay will argue that the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack, as the example of imaged based sexual abuse afforded the most media attention to date, may perpetuate myths concerning harms and what does and what does not constitute violation.

The majority of image based sexual abuse victims are not celebrities. Instead, they are normal women without extensive fan bases. When their private sexual and nude images are publicly disseminated, they do not have the extensive public platform to reject the shame and humiliation and change the discourse surrounding their sexuality. The harms caused by image based sexual abuse are extensive and serious. They can include "shame and humiliation, an inability to find new romantic partners, mental health effects such as depression and anxiety, job loss or problems securing new employment, and offline harassment and stalking" (Citron & Franks 2014). Despite the far-reaching media coverage, there is no visibility of these harms affecting the victims of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack. Jennifer Lawrence did not react in a way that implied she was ashamed. Furthermore, she still enjoys a successful career, and she is romantically linked to socially desirable male counterparts. Consequently, Lawrence's response cannot be taken to mean she was unharmed. Furthermore, this essay does not wish to purport that Lawrence did not experience any harm, but to acknowledge that the harm is not visible to the public. Due to the lack of visible harm caused by the hack, it is likely the very real harms caused by image based sexual abuse are still largely unknown and misunderstood by the public.

Similarly, the nature of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack presents a limited example of image based sexual abuse. The images were hacked from the celebrities' private devices. Therefore, the condemnation of the hack can be attributed to the flagrant violation of privacy and the obvious illegal nature in which the images were accessed. The media and the public can thus easily make the connection to viewing this event as criminal and of a violating nature. Anonymous Internet users accessing the images through theft is arguably the equivalent of sexual assault through physical force by a stranger. One of the most pervasive myths of rape culture is that a legitimate sexual assault is a brutal, violent surprise-attack, perpetrated by a stranger. Thus, although the media and public understanding of the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack as a sex crime against women is positive, it has the potential negative effect of creating a cyber equivalent of an already rife rape myth with the real negative consequences.

The reactions to the hack were not completely void of a discussion of rape culture. Fellow actress Lena Dunham tweeted "The "don't take naked pics if you don't want them online" argument is the "she was wearing a short skirt" of the web. Ugh." (2014). This stance is positive as it rejects victim blaming and slut shaming. However, once again, the palatable

version of image based sexual abuse represented in the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack does not necessarily allow for a holistic understanding of what Dunham means. Certainly, this tweet was not meant to apply only to victims of hacking, however it is hard to imagine the same public understanding had the images been shared by a disgruntled ex.

Notwithstanding the limitations to progressing public understandings of image based sexual abuse, it cannot be ignored that private companies reacted to the 2014 celebrity nude photo leak by enacting new policies concerning content of this kind (Walker 2015). Many social media sites, including Reddit, Twitter, Facebook, and Instragram now have stricter rules against user content that amounts to image based sexual abuse (Walker 2015).

In conclusion, the 2014 celebrity nude photo hack can be viewed through a range of lenses. This essay has discussed the event in terms of the media representation, the terminology used, the relevant cultural influences and cultural implications and the contribution this event has made to societal understandings of image based sexual abuse.

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Media, Film and Television 709

Sexuality and Media

Helen Yeung

East Asian Erotic Cinema: A Departure from the "Powerful Phallus"?

Please note: This essay contains the mention or discussion of sexual violence and family violence.

> "*In the Realm of the Senses* noticeably displaces the usual pornographic emphasis on male sexuality and the powerful phallus, but replaces it with a contradictory structure. While this qualifies any simple reading of the film as a radical critique of patriarchy, it should not obscure the film's political significance for a reassessment of alternative ways of representing the male body."

Running Scared Masculinity and the Representation of the Male Body, Peter Lehman (2007, pp. 179-180)

In 2007, Peter Lehman discussed the acclaimed Japanese erotic film *In the Realm of the Senses* (dir. Nagisa Oshima, 1976) in his chapter "The "Gift" and the "Keepsake" in In the Realm of the Senses Castration Fantasies". He particularly highlights the usefulness of the film for analysing sexual representations of the male body as 'it not only foregrounds the male body but also significantly departs from three separate traditions of representing it (p.179). He further suggests that although Asian erotic films such as *In the Realm of the Senses* share some similarities with Western hardcore pornography, there are in fact significant differences between these "non-Western" depictions as they often derail from traditional patriarchal, phallocentric standards. While male sexuality lies at the centre of standard Western hardcore features, Lehman (2017) states how women's pleasure is often fetishised, and the end goal is aiming to affirm and satisfy male desires; this appears not to be the case for Oshima's cinematic piece. In this essay I will revise the film *In the Realm of the Senses* and examine two contemporary East Asian erotic films in the light of Lehman's argument. The first film is *The Handmaiden* (dir. Park Chan-woo, 2016), a recently released South Korean erotic thriller which *The Guardian* and various independent online film reviewers have deemed comparable to *In the Realm of the Senses*, particularly in terms of carnal pleasures, fantasies and cinematic aesthetics. The second is *Lust, Caution* (dir. Ang Lee, 2007) a Taiwanese erotic thriller which has similarly been referred to by film critics as cinematically influenced by Oshima's work. Through examining three aspects of voyeurism, phallic representation and castration, this essay will analyse whether his claims, which undoubtedly encapsulates a Western understanding of "East Asian erotica", can be applied to both the former and latter of the films.

Interestingly, the comparison of both films to *In the Realm of the Senses* is not the only similarities between them. Although Oshima's work was created in 1976, whereas both *The Handmaiden* and *Lust, Caution* were produced in the past decade, the three films are set in more or less the same historical period, within the context of Japanese imperialism. Set in 1936 Tokyo, when the Imperial Japanese Army was the armed force of the Empire

of Japan, and experiencing rapid growth in divisions; In the Realm of the Senses tells the story of Sada, a former prostitute who now works as a maid at an inn, and her affair with Kichizo, the owner of the inn. Although the year is unclear, *The Handmaiden* was also set in the 1930s in a Japanese occupied Korea. The film tells the story of a conman named Count Fujiwara, a Japanese heiress, Hideko and her maid Sook-hee. While beginning as a simple story where the Count and Sook-hee aim to steal the inheritance of the countess, the story unfolds to one of revenge, lust and love, revealing the possessive relationship Hideko's uncle has over her and her ability to recite ancient erotica. Like the former, *Lust, Caution* takes place over the span of 1938 in Hong Kong to 1942 in Shanghai, both significant dates in the period of Sino-Japanese occupation. It should perhaps be noted that while 1938 was the year the Imperial Japanese Army surrounded Hong Kong, 1942 marked the growing occupation of Japanese troops in Shanghai during the second Sino-Japanese War. The film traces the sexual and romantic relationship between a young woman, Wong Chia Chi, who was an enlisted assassin by the KMT secret service, and her target, Mr Yee, a special agent of the Japanese government in China. Taking into account the parallels of the three films, could these similarities contribute further in proving Lehman's claims about "East Asian erotic cinema", or are they merely homogenised conceptions of non-Western cinema?

As previously highlighted, Lehman (2017) emphasises how in Western hardcore pornography, women's pleasure often becomes fetishised and devalued. He points out that the "lesbian scene", a common occurrence within the heterosexual pornographic framework, depicts women's bodies solely for 'male spectator pleasure', something non-existent in the context of *In the Realm of the Senses.* This reoccurring trope will be the first element analysed in relation to the chosen films. As Lehman (2017) argues, the Japanese director does not present characters fully in the 'psychological realist tradition' of classic cinema, nor does he portray 'sexual athletes' performing in the tradition of pornographic film, he instead presents the characters giving each other pleasure which trumps over the 'spectator's voyeuristic pleasure' (p.190). Joan Mellen (2004) presents a similar viewpoint, stating that with Oshima's distancing style and common use of high angle shots, this instantly removes *In the Realm of the Senses* from the category of pornography, which has the purpose of providing 'vicarious sexual arousal' for the voyeur audiences (p.32). Evidently, both scholars emphasise the lack of voyeurism in Oshima's work. However, a closer examination of the film reveals that these claims are somewhat premature. As Jerry S. Piven (2003) argues, the language and imagery of erotic obsession in the film is repeatedly exhibited to the viewer through themes of voyeurism, sexual violence, and sadomasochistic domination and submission. The predominant usage of voyeurism in *In the Realm of the Senses* is highly gendered, showcasing instances of both a male gaze and interestingly, also a "female gaze", contributing further to the question of whether women are fetishised in the film.

Unlike hardcore pornography's obsession with fetishising women, it appears to be common for instances of the voyeur in *In the Realm of the Senses* to be entirely from a

"female gaze". In the opening scene of the film, for instance, Sada and one of the female servants are drawn towards the sounds of sexual activity in the master bedroom of the house. They are shown secretly peering into the room, watching Kichi and his wife have sex. From Oshima's use of a point-of-view shot, Sada and the female servant have both become voyeurs within the film. Sada is visibly aroused by these actions, as a close-up shot depicts her gaze starting from the wife's breast then shifting the focus to Kichi's lower body, as his penis thrusts in and out of his wife. She consumes the eroticism voyeuristically, desiring sexual intimacy that is ultimately out of reach. As a cinematic occurrence, voyeurism is often left in the eyes of the male viewer to feast on the sexualised body of the woman, but in this case, the roles are reversed, something which could be argued as a departure from male sexuality. As Laura Mulvey (1999) argues, in a world 'ordered by sexual imbalance', pleasure in looking has often been divided between the active/male and passive female; the determining male gaze places the female figure in an exhibitionist role, with their appearance strongly coded for visual and erotic effect (pp.837-838). However, within *In the Realm of the Senses*, Kichi instead, is the object of desire through Sada's eyes, his sexuality used to fuel her erotic desires. Another scene which emphasises this is during Sada's encounter with the old, unconscious beggar on the way back to the inn with her female co-workers. While her co-workers are startled by the sight of the old man's penis, Sada, on the other hand, is intrigued, expressing erotic interest and unable to remove her gaze. This reversal of gender and power dynamics, as opposed to the male-centric framework traditionally employed in pornographic film, is further evident when the old man visits her during nightfall, begging her for an orgasm. During this scene, Sada appears to react out of compassion, willingly exposing her vagina to the old man so he can stare at her voyeuristically. While she remains the sole controller of her own body, the old man maintains a "passive" role, with Sada patting his penis and saying, "poor old thing".

However, the departure from this reversed complex of the male gaze is short-lived, as other representations in the film are unable to depart from the sexualised body of women and ultimately, patriarchal structures which dominate mainstream pornography. For instance, in the scene where Kichi approaches Sada while she is cleaning the veranda of the house, he comments "what a nice view". The "view" of course, shown in a voyeuristic nature from Kichi's gaze, refers to Sada's buttocks, as she kneels on her knees and continues scrubbing. He further comments on her body, stating "I like the way your hips sway". Her actions of cleaning the floor are consequently sexualised, becoming erotic imagery for male consumption. As Mulvey (1999) puts it, the male protagonist controls the film's phantasy, holding the active power of the erotic look. Meanwhile, the woman remains a spectacle for both the man and the audience, her body sexualised and fragmented for consumption. Through the male gaze, Piven (2003) argues how Kichi gains control of the narrative with his voracious, invasive sexual hunger, he forces his way through Sada's kimono while she pretends to be passive and resists his seduction, this invasive pseudo-rape becomes arousing for them both. This sense of erotic imagery is again repeated when the pair run out of money to pay for their expenses at the "love hotel". Sada returns to prostitution, agreeing to meet a client in another town. Kichi becomes aggravated and despondent, forcefully taking Sada from behind while a

female servant watches uncomfortably. Through examining patriarchal structures in mainstream pornography, it appears that these scenes in the film fail to differ from such representations. In both scenes, Sada plays the erotic role of a 'hapless naive girl', making her the ideal sexualised woman which Kichi craves for. As Catherine A. MacKinnon (1989) argues, [Western] pornography is a means through which sexuality is socially constructed, it portrays women as objects for sexual consumption and constructs its consumers to desire women that desperately want to be possessed, dominated or dehumanised. From MacKinnon's (1989) perspective, sexuality becomes the dynamic of control by which male dominance, ranging from an intimate look to institutional rape, eroticises the actions taken from a man to a woman, to an idea of identity and pleasure.

The act of sexual violence in relation to male dominance and female erotic desire is similarly evident in Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution*. Shortly after Wong Chia Chi moves into Mr Yee's home. The scene begins with Wong Chia Chi arriving home, opening the curtains to let light into the room. Upon drawing the curtains, through the use of a wide-angle shot, Lee cleverly shows Mr Yee gazing directly at her through the reflection of the foggy windows. Startled by the reflection, both Wong Chia Chi and the audience become aware of this voyeuristic male gaze fixated on her as the object. With her mission to seduce him, gain his trust and ultimately assassinate him, she is shown to remove her thick winter coat, revealing her slender figure in a qipao, a tightly fitted one-piece Chinese dress. Seductively standing side-on, Wong Chia Chi displays the silhouette of her body and approaches him, taking the cigarette out of his mouth to initiate control of the situation. However, both she and the audience are taken by surprise as Mr Yee stands and grabs her forcefully at the neck, displaying the first signs of sadomasochism which define this encounter. Wong Chia Chi is again shown to attempt to gain control of the situation, asking him to sit down and allow her to take the lead. The film returns to the voyeuristic male gaze as she slowly unbuttons her qipao, revealing her naked thighs through semi-transparent stockings. Mr Yee is shown glancing over, tapping his fingers and becoming increasingly impatient. He furiously walks over and takes action, pulling her by her hair and slamming her into the wall repeatedly while tearing her clothing and undergarments apart. Amongst all of this, the diegetic sound emphasises Wong Chia Chi's acceptance and pleasure in these actions of violence and sexual domination, a silence is heard in the background paired with her moans, shrieks and heavy breathing. The violence does not stop here, with Mr Yee whipping her aggressively with his belt, tying her hands up and finally, taking off his pants and entering her forcefully. As MacKinnon (1989) states, inequality, subjection, objectification along with the drastic reduction of control is frequently apparent in depictions of women's sexual desire; each violation of women, whether it be rape, prostitution, sexual harassment or battery, is made into 'sexy, fun and liberating' for women's "satisfaction" under male power. Whitney C. Dilley (2014) furthers, the sex in the first sexual encounter is like a rape, yet at the end of the scene, Wong Chia Chi's smile shows the eroticisation of this dominance, as she feels deeply attracted to the man who had used her.

Through examining hardcore pornography in the contemporary Western world, Natalie Purcell (2012) argues that for decades, this genre has been preoccupied with prominent themes of dominance and submission, from subtle power play to extreme violence, in the sexual fantasies of men and women. These sexual fantasies repeatedly reinforce

to consumers that women prefer intimate, love centred fantasies, and tend to be more masochistic than men; while men are more 'aggressive, adventurous, and promiscuous', far more likely to imagine themselves 'sexually abusing, coercing Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution* follows heavily in the footsteps of the elements discussed by Purcell. In the second sexual encounter, although it becomes less aggressive than the first one, Wong Chia Chi still evidently holds the passive, masochistic role, while Mr Yee continues being the active inflictor of sexual violence. Throughout the scene, the two appear to have growing affections for each other, they passionately kiss and trail their tongues over each other's bodies. However, once he penetrates her body, Mr Yee is shown to continuously grab and shove Wong Chia Chi's face, holding her body down during intercourse. This portrayal of sexual violence appears again in the scene leading up to their third sexual encounter, Wong Chia Chi and Mr Yee are shown to be in the backseat of his car. Irritated by her request to enter his workplace, he aggressively grabs her face, pulling her closer by her neck. He then says "You shouldn't be so beautiful. I was thinking of you today. My secretary said I was distracted". While outlining the gruesome details of how he tortures two key members of the opposition secret service, he forces his fingers inside Wong Chia Chi's vagina. This scene indicates the strong relationship between militarised violence and sexual violence, both of which traditionally centralise male dominance. At a debriefing with her commander, Wong Chia Chi further emphasises her sadomasochistic relationship with Mr Yee, stating "I'm like his slave, allowing him in [to my body]...He'll make me bleed and cry in agony before he's satisfied. That's the only way he can feel alive". Despite noting the sexual violence inflicted on her, through Wong Chia Chi's dialogue, it is evident that she has grown emotionally attached to Mr Yee through these encounters, as she explains that he has wormed his way into her heart like a snake. Through these examples, it becomes clearer that the eroticised female body is in fact increasingly used as an object of male consumption in "East Asian erotic cinema".

Shifting to Park Chan-woo's *The Handmaiden*, despite its acclaimed ending of Hideko and Sook-hee double-crossing the male characters and ultimately escaping from their hands of control, the subjection to male sexual violence appears inevitable. After placing Sook-hee into a mental institute as part of their grand scheme to escape, Hideko attempts to drug the Count so she can go back and save her lover. Placing a vial of sedative into his wine, she enters his hotel room acting gratuitously since he helped her "start a new life". In order to deceive him into drinking the wine, she allows him to kiss and touch her. To gain his trust, Hideko transforms into an eroticised female object, passively allowing the count to take control. Her submissive role is reinforced as she innocently nods while he states, "There are so many things I want to teach you". As the Count gets increasingly aroused, he forcefully bends Hideko over while holding her to the ground, pulling her legs out. He tells her "I won't harm you. You have read it many times in the books. In truth, women get enormous pleasure from a forced relationship. "Now, I will rip off your underwear". Evidently, the sadomasochistic erotica Hideko has recited previously has taught the Count that sexual violence is pleasurable for women, providing him with a rationalisation to continue raping her. A point of difference this scene has from sadomasochistic behaviour in pornography, is that after Hideko's escape she informs the Count through a letter to her uncle, "No women in reality feels the pleasure from a forced relationship".

Despite the absence of heterosexual sex scenes in the film, the eroticised female body is replaced by lesbian sex scenes, continuing to cater to a phallocentric, patriarchal standard. While this lesbian storyline can be read as a radical shift from heteronormative sexuality in film, the way Hideko and Sook-hee are portrayed seem to align more with Lehman's claims in regard to Western pornographic film. Leading up to the scene, Hideko and Sook-hee are shown lying in bed and discussing the Count's proposal to her. Hideko, who plays off the persona of an innocent, sheltered young woman, claims to be scared of the Count, asking Sook-hee "what is it that man wants?" and for advice on what to do on the wedding night. Leading up to the sex scene, the characters kiss, with Sook-hee repeatedly saying "That is how you feel when you want the Count", "I am sure the Count would do the same", and Hideko asking, "Do you think he'll do it as softly as you". Through the dialogue, it is evident that despite being a lesbian sex scene, the characters are engaging in this activity for male fantasy and consumption. Although, unlike hardcore pornography, there is a lack of desire for male ejaculation as the dialogue expresses a dependence on male sexuality for women's pleasure, placing Sook-hee as the "replacement figure" of the Count. These lesbian sex scenes in pornography function as a way to fuel the male spectator's pleasure and desires as the women make love. This centralisation on male sexuality is also contributed to by the diegetic sound. As Lehman (2007) states, women are often depicted moaning with pleasure in hardcore pornography, a statement of their dependence on the phallus for their pleasure, 'these moans are the sound equivalent of the visual structures fetishising the looks of pleasure on their faces, and both sight and sound affirm the phallus as the sole source of that pleasure' (p,183). During the lesbian sex scene between Hideko and Sook-hee, there is an obvious silence in the background which placing emphasis on the moaning and heavy breathing of the characters, this is accompanied by a number of close up shots of both characters' faces, something commonly seen in male-centred pornography.

Another primary aspect Lehman (2007) discusses for *In the Realm of the Senses*, was its deemphasis of the "penis" or "phallus", used interchangeably, in sex scenes as compared to standard Western hardcore features. Whether it be through the duration of a man's erection or the strength, power and size of his penis, hardcore pornography commonly uses these to place emphasis on the 'remarkable phallic power' of men (p.185). Although we frequently see Kichi's penis during the sex scenes of *In the Realm of the Senses*, there is an absence of making his penis seem "impressive" or overtly desirable to the audience. For his role, it is evident that Oshima did not cast an actor with an overtly large penis, nor did shooting take place only when the actor was aroused. Throughout the film's sex scenes, Kichi's un-erect penis is presented to the audience and, we never hear Sada or any women articulate their need for an "impressive" looking phallus. This sense of deemphasis on phallocentrism is further highlighted by the film's repetitive narrative structure in her words, with much of the sexual activity in the film focused on Sada's pleasure as opposed to Kichi. In one of the sex scenes, Kichi says to Sada "I want to feel pleasure", followed by "Don't think of me". Her pleasure appears to be paramount while his pleasure is secondary. Lehman (2007) further comments on the film's lack of "money shots", "meat shots" and an aim to specularise male ejaculation. Although after the first time Sada fellates Kichi, Oshima uses a close-up shot to display the semen dripping from her mouth. There is certainly no emphasis of the act of fellatio being performed on his penis.

However, regardless of the focus on women's sexual pleasure, the phallus is nevertheless widely present in the film. The most obvious being when Sada and Kichi escape to a resort, during a mock wedding ceremony for the two, they consummate the marriage in front of a group of geishas to "officiate" it. While watching the lovers engage in sexual activity, the three older geishas excitedly turn to the younger geisha telling her this is what she will be expecting from her future husband. Mimicking the actions of Kichi and Sada, the older geishas begin by massaging the body of the younger geisha. Then, while holding her down forcefully, they place a bird-shaped porcelain dildo up her vagina, consequently "deflowering" her. The dildo used by the women in this scene becomes a reminder of or even the substitute of the absent penis. Piven (2003) further argues that the sexual intercourse of Sada and Kichi and the penetration of the young, virgin geisha, are both exhibitions which 'revengefully repeat the violations of the past and displace their sexual victimisation [as women]' (p.63). As we remember, Sada's first sexual encounter with Kichi was forceful and aggressive, bordering the lines of sexual molestation. Through mirroring these instances of inescapable male domination, Piven (2003) argues that this is Oshima's attempt to offer insight into the 'insidious consequences' of cruelty towards women, the 'ruthless reenactment' of violence by victims of violation (p.63). Although this may act as social commentary towards deeper societal issues, the sole existence of such scenes continues to perpetuate the importance of the male phallus. This is further reinforced near the beginning of the film when Sada and her female co-workers walk home. They are shown to play a word linking game, where they relate two words with connecting ideas to each other. The women jokingly link the word "hairy" to "crab [legs]", and "chastity" to "men". Perhaps a way to remind us of the inescapability of the phallus in dominating the act of women losing their virginity.

The Handmaiden holds similarities to *In the Realm of the Senses*, lacking in depictions of male ejaculation or close up shots of the penis thrusting in and out of the vagina, yet characterised by an inability to escape the confinements of the "powerful phallus". Early on in the film, the first introduction we have to suggest the sexual attraction between Sook-hee and Hideko is during the bath scene where multiple phallic items are present. One of them being Sook-hee's finger entering Hideko's mouth, a replacement of the phallus entering an orifice. During this scene, the camera slowly centralises on Hideko's face, eliminating Sook-hee from the frame aside from her penetrating finger. Upon the removal of the finger, a closeup shot then displays the Countess sucking innocently on a lollipop, the second phallus in the sequence. The story itself centralises on Hideko, who had been raised by her uncle for the sole reason of performing and reciting erotic literature for an audience of elitist men. Park employs a number of flashbacks in the film to display Hideko's upbringing. At a young age she is shown to be forced to practice reciting erotic books and memorising body parts, her failure to do so resulting in both verbal and physical punishment. One of the first phallic symbols we encounter is the clay cobra figure which guards the door of her uncle's chamber. As one of the flashbacks during Hideko's childhood display, her aunt, who had the previous role of reading erotic literature, attempts to escape the chamber after being violently attacked by her husband. Her actions are put to a halt as she runs to the door and catches a glimpse of the clay cobra, a symbol of phallocentric control, and obediently returns to her seat at the table. This "release" from patriarchal standards is signified when Sook-hee finally discovers

what Hideko has been doing this whole time. She asks "All this time. Is this what you have been reading to that disgusting old man and other gentlemen?", with Hideko nodding to confirm. After destroying the erotica collection, Sook-hee picks up a steel rod and smashes the snake into a thousand pieces. This liberation is paired with a narration of Hideko's voice, calling Sook-hee her saviour.

The last vital point of difference which Lehman (2007) discusses in reference to *In the Realm of the Senses*, is how Sada's castration of Kichi at the end of the film offers an opposing conception to the Western male horror and dread to castration. He argues that 'the male in action and representation is not a powerful, impressive machine of phallic sexuality but an appealing body that is literally offered up to the woman for her pleasure' (p.189). On the surface, as Kichi invites Sada to castrate and kill him as she pleases, it is indeed tempting to perceive this as a liberating depiction of female sexuality. While Sada begins to strangle him slowly for increased sexual pleasure during intercourse, she asks "Do you really want me to?", he responds "No. But if it pleases you. Yes". He later restates to her "My body is yours. Do as you like", telling Sada that all he wants is her happiness. However, Lehman seems to have neglected other occurrences in the film. When Kichi has sex with his wife, Sada is shown playing with their naked children in another room. She angrily clutches the little boy's penis making him scream with pain. Not only is the little boy's penis a 'diminutive surrogate' for his father's, Piven (2003) argues that this is a foreshadowing of Sada's castrating behaviours of jealousy and rage, these actions signify an 'impending madness' growing within her (p.67). Her madness is further emphasised when the female worker at the "love hotel" suggests Kichi run away before Sada returns, worriedly saying "If you stay, she'll end up killing you". The female worker's predictions are proven correct, as the ending of the film shows Sada vowing to kill Kichi repeatedly and obsessively, "Then I'm going to kill you. I'm going to kill you. It's extraordinary, it's marvellous. I'm going to kill you, I'm killing you". After the final strangulation takes place, Sada's desires of killing him come true. She is then shown to take out a knife which she previously used to threaten Kichi, cutting off his penis and testicles. While Oshima appears to suggest that sexual desire can be consuming to the point where the object of desire is murdered; it is vital to recognise that Sada is in reality 'an uncanny repetition of the mythic female demon who kills men parasitically and sexually' (Piven, 2003, p.68).

This portrayal of Sada can be further understood through psychoanalytic terms. According to Mulvey (1999), the female poses a more complex problem, she connotes something that "the gaze" continuously circles around but fails to address: 'her lack of penis, implying a threat of castration and hence unpleasure' (p.840). Thus, the woman as an icon, actively showcased for the gaze, pleasure and enjoyment of men, constantly 'threatens to evoke the anxiety it originally signified' (p.840). Piven (2003) argues how Sada represents a reoccurring Japanese male fantasy and fear of being bled dry by a female demon, a woman transformed from a naive, helpless figure to an 'insidious succubus' who murders her lover in sexual ecstasy (p.68). The consequences of Sook-hee and Hideko's sexual liberation submits to a similar idea of how female sexuality can ultimately lead to the fall of men. Upon their escape, although the act of castration in *The Handmaiden* is not left within the literal control of the female figure, nor presented as an act of women's fulfilment. Both Hideko's uncle and Count Fujiwara meet their fate of death after being double-crossed by the two women. About to face his death, Hideko's

uncle continues to reinforce that she existed merely as an object or even a tool to help him gain status and wealth. As he gruesomely tortures the Count, seeking revenge for losing his prized possession, he states "I'm just an old man who enjoys dirty stories. It's all over now". Prior to his attempts to castrate the Count, Hideko's uncle continues to thrive off Hideko's eroticised body, asking him for a detailed account of how the sex was like on the night they consummated their "marriage". He manages to "save his penis" in the end by poisoning Hideko's uncle with the mercury smoke from his cigarettes. From his previous dialogue, it appears that he thrives off Hideko's mysteriousness, upon his death from the smoke, he continues to fetishise her as an eroticised object. A series of flashbacks are shown of him reminiscing Hideko's face during her erotic literature readings. As Mulvey (1999) explains, the male unconscious has two means of escape from these anxieties of castration. While one is through investigating the woman, demystifying her mystery, counterbalanced by the 'devaluation, punishment or saving of the guilty object'; the other results in a complete disavowal of castration by turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous (p.840).

The male protagonists employ both of these means of escape in *The Handmaiden* and *Lust, Caution*. Mulvey's (1999) first avenue, which involves exercising the punishment of the guilty object. Is exercised through Wong Chia Chi's execution by Japanese troops at the end of the film, where she is ultimately punished for her role as a seductress and betraying Mr Yee. The second avenue: 'fetishistic scopophilia', which builds up the physical beauty of the female object, transforming it into something satisfying, is undoubtedly evident at the ending of Park's film (p.840). The ending scene shows Hideko and Sook-hee in another lesbian sex scene. Although a penis is not depicted nor the use of a dildo, the silver bells, previously used by her uncle as a form of punishment in her childhood, acted as a reminder of or substitute for the absence of the phallus, emphasising the inescapability from the male body. Perhaps some may see the switched ownership of the silver bells as a symbol of liberation since Hideko is now free from the constraints of her uncle; however, the way the scene is depicted begs to differ. The way the two women are portrayed is obviously catered to a male audience. During this scene, a wide-angle shot is used to show the fully naked bodies of Hideko and Sook-hee kissing in bed. Following this, a number of closeup shots fragment parts of their bodies as the bells are placed in the mouth, sucked, then put inserted into their vaginas. The diegetic sound, again similar to hardcore pornography, places emphasis on the two giggling in a playful manner, followed by heavy breathing, moaning and silence in the background. Through both films, the continued existence of a phallus, the punishment of women as seductresses, along with the fetishisation women, makes it difficult to believe that "East Asian erotic cinema" is able to derail from traditionally male-centric representations of sexuality.

While *In the Realm of the Senses*, along with *The Handmaiden* and *Lust, Caution*, inconsistently displays similarities to Western hardcore pornography and even patriarchal representations in contemporary Western cinema. This raises the question as to whether "East Asian erotica" can even be considered a separated, homogenised genre from the West. Interestingly, an examination of Oshima's career as a Japanese film director reveals strong connections to Western cinema, particularly the growth

of French New Wave filmmakers in the 1950s and 1960s. *The Handmaiden* itself has been adapted from Sarah Water's historical crime novel, *Fingersmith*, a story set in Britain during the Victorian period, and Ang Lee has commented on the attractiveness of Western culture, directing multiple award-winning American films over the years. Perhaps Lehman's (2007) idea of East Asian erotic film offering a "radical critique of patriarchy" merely stems from normalised Western stereotypes of East Asian women as passive, hyper-sexual entities for male consumption. Such a view is contributing to the West's perceptions of itself as masculine, dominant, progressive and strong, while the "East" is portrayed as feminine, weak, submissive and backwards. As cultural critic bell hooks (2014) comments, 'from the standpoint of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy, the hope is that desires for the "primitive" or fantasies about the Other can be continually exploited, and that such exploitation will occur in a manner that reinscribes and maintains the status quo' (p.45). In Lehman's (2007) case, the ending of his chapter inherently fails to differentiate between the rich socio-political mosaic of the "East", jumping from generalised, outdated claims of this region to only encompass China, Japan and India; to assuming that erotic traditions and attitudes can be understood through a few ancient texts. Such a view continues reinforcing orientalist narratives of the non-Western world, in this instance, perceiving the "East Asian erotic film" as a mystical departure from reality, failing to take into account the intersections these films have with the West.

To conclude, through examining the three films in relation to Lehman's (2007) claims, it is apparent that he has not provided a clear understanding of the complexities within "East Asian erotic cinema" or what he vaguely refers to as "non-Western" depictions of sexuality. While neither of the films are able to disconnect from the fetishised erotic pleasure of females, whose satisfactions appear to be bound to the phallus whether it is present or replaced. Nor are women in the film able to escape the castration anxieties of men, ultimately falling back into patriarchal representations and structures. Evidently, neither of the films offer a step away from patriarchy, let alone a departure from the "powerful phallus".

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