THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

FACULTY OF ARTS

Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

IJ

2 INTERESTING JOURNAL

Our life. Our world.

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Publication Information

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ISSN 2422-8931
University of Auckland
2015.

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Publication Date: 13th October 2015

Editors: Bhavin Parshottam & Miloni Trivedi

Printed by: University of Auckland

Interesting **Journal**

Our life. Our world.

#2

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Special Mentions

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Bella Nina Horlor & Susanna Collinson
(Editors of Interesting Journal #1)
- Thank you for giving us this opportunity and trusting us to further Interesting Journal.

Professor Peter Joseph Sheppard
(Head of School of Social Science)
&
Associate Professor Malcolm Colin Campbell
(Head of School of Humanities)
- Thank you for encouraging, funding and continuously supporting us in our journey.

Dr Steve Matthewman
(Head of Sociology)
- Thank you for being not just an advisor, but also our friend. Without your enthusiasm and encouragement we would still be stuck trying to find someone like you, we wish nothing but the best for you.

Students and Lecturers
(Contributors to Interesting Journal)
- Without you, this journal would be incomplete. (Literally)

Kariappa Maletira Karumbaiah
(Special Friend and Advisor)
- Thank you for your ideas, insights and ingenuity.

Gordon Chan
(Honourable Special Guest Advisor)
- Thank you for being the light in our darkness as those who fear the darkness have no idea what a light can do.

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Editors Note

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This journal is compiled of 20 essays from various papers within the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland. All the essays are independent academic works that have been written by undergraduate students in Semester One 2015. The approach we as editors have selected to present this material is in the form of a story. We have categorized the essays into three topics; *Existence*, *Experiences* and *Encounters*. Our story links the essays across the three categories. Each topic will be preceded by an introduction summarizing the essays in that category.

It is not necessary to read the essays in the form of our story. They can be read individually. The story is simply our way of presenting the material as a whole to you as the reader.

Introduction

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Our life. Our world.

2015, the modern era. We are now 15 years past the millennium. Our world is drastically different from the way it used to be, and is still rapidly changing.

The world has been shaped by stories of our existence and how we came into being. Historically, religion was highly influential on the way we led our lives. It not only explained how we came into existence, but also provided the reasoning behind the mechanisms of society.

The experiences that we go through and the journeys we take through our lives have their roots stemming from history, but impact upon our future. The encounters that we experience shape our reality today.

The world in the post modern era is increasingly influenced by new forms of media. This is changing the historical dynamic that shapes the way we think.

We are going to take you on a journey, whereby we will explore our existence, experiences, and encounters of and within our world.

Existence

Human beings are intelligent creatures. We are independent thinkers, who have the intellect and ability to consciously make our own decisions and choose our own paths. If this is true, then how does destiny play a part in our lives? Is every action and reaction predetermined or do possess freewill? Who are we and how do we choose who we want to be? These are concepts that will be explored in "An Islamic Understanding of Free Will".

The concept of predetermination and freewill is often linked to religious beliefs. It is intriguing to consider the influence Christianity plays on our modern lives. The story of Adam and Eve especially holds great significance in contemporary advertising. It has shaped social attitudes around the cultural constructions of gender and sexuality. "The Admen's Apple" discusses how advertising has used the story of Adam and Eve to market to the modern audience.

With a religion, namely Christianity, comes a firm belief. With a belief comes a certain mentality. In focusing on the social institution of marriage, realities of monastic life and the impact of these upon gender roles, "Monastic Mentalities Through the Life of Christina of Markyate" provides an analysis on the medieval mindset of the monastic era.

Changing from a historical lens to a literary perspective, "The Philandering Feminist: Marriage and Adultery in Bryon's "Don Juan" studies the social institution of marriage whilst exploring the notions of morality and feminism. The essay scrutinizes the impact of gender and provides an insightful analysis on the agency of women.

Taking a closer look at gender, the question of how gender roles, race and ethnicity impact the life of a Samoan woman is answered in "Brown Portrayal"; a socio-autobiography. With a personal perspective on the influences of Christianity patriarchy and racial profiling, we are given a real insight into how this affects a Samoan family's socialisation in society.

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Islam in the Contemporary World

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Jake Colloff

Of the many debates revolving around religion, one of the oldest and well discussed is whether or not humans possess free will ("the doctrine that the conduct of human beings expresses personal choice and is not simply determined by physical or divine forces."[1]) Or whether everything that will happen during the existence of our planet is pre-determined (predetermination: "The belief that all events, including human actions, are established or decided in advance"[2]). In this essay I will explore this argument from an Islamic perspective, and by drawing evidence from the Quran (the holy book of Islam) make a judgement on whether free will really exists, or if our destiny is already set in stone.

In this essay I will discuss two types of free will: free will of causation and free will of compulsion.[3] This paragraph will deal with the free will of compulsion. To understand this concept we must first look at its definition. Compulsion is "The action or state of forcing or being forced to do something."[4] Therefore, freewill of compulsion is simply the act of being able to choose and decide on matters, rather than doing something because we are forced to, or because the outcome has already been pre-determined. One of the main arguments against free will of compulsion is based on the idea of God's foreknowledge of all things, which can be seen in the Quran verse "so you may know that Allah is over all things competent and that Allah has encompassed all things in knowledge."[5] The argument states that if God has foreknowledge of all things, then all things must therefore be pre-determined, otherwise the future would be unknowable. This argument is supported by a passage in a hadith "Allah sends His angel to it (the baby) with instructions concerning four things, so the angel writes down his livelihood, his death, his deeds, his fortune and misfortune."[6] This seems to agree with the idea of predetermination as the angel writes down all these things about a baby, before they happen.

Though this argument makes sense in its own right, there are also many verses in the Quran that seemingly contradict this, such as; "Do as you please; He is seeing of everything you do."[7] "Whoever wills-let him believe. And whoever wills-let him disbelieve."[8] And lastly, "Had your Lord willed, everyone on earth would have believed. Will you compel people to become believers?"[9] These three quotes all have implications that humans must have a free will of their own. Though they are seemingly contradictory, I believe there is a way which both arguments can be interpreted to agree with each other, this idea can be conveyed through another quote from a separate source, "If I am the pawn of the gods, it is because they know me so well, not

1 free will. Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, Inc.http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/free will (accessed: April 23, 2015).
2 "Definition of Predeterminism in English:." Predeterminism. Accessed April 23, 2015. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/predeterminism.
3 Tanveer, Hussain. "The Quran, Determinism and Free Will." Accademia. Accessed April 24, 2015. http://www.academia.edu/902712/The_Quran_Determinism_and_Free_Will.
4 "Definition of Compulsion in English:." Compulsion. Accessed April 23, 2015. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/compulsion.
5 sūrat l-ṭ alāq Q 65:12 (Sihih international translation)
6 Sahih Muslim, *Kitab-ul-Qadr* (Translated by Abdul Hamid Siddiqui)
7 Fussilat Q 41:40 (Talal Itani translation)
8 Al-Kahf Q 18:29 (Talal Itani translation)
9 Yunus Q 10:99 (Talal Itani translation)

because they make my mind up for me."[10] Though this quote comes from a fictional book (and references multiple gods), I think it provides a great argument against predetermination as it implies that God can be foreknowing, not because everything in the future is predetermined, but because he/she knows everything about everyone and can therefore perfectly guess how everyone will live their life. Again there is a quote supporting this theory that can be found in the Quran "They wrap their chests to hide from Him. But even as they cover themselves with their clothes, He knows what they conceal and what they reveal. He knows what lies within the hearts."[11] This quote shows that despite any falsehoods, Allah knows us past all pretences to the depth of our true being, we can therefore assume that with that knowledge he/she can predict all the choices we will make, and ultimately everything that will happen in the future, before it happens.

If we look back to our original definition of predetermination (as can be found in the introduction) it states that everything we do is already "established" in advance, which is not the case in this circumstance, rather it is 'predicted' with faultless accuracy. Thus whilst it disagrees with the pre-determination argument it coincides with the supporting quotes that state that God is all knowledgeable/encompasses all knowledge. Lastly, it can also be applied to the argument and quotes supporting human free will, as both the quote, and the definition of free will state, that our choices are not determined by divine forces. For all the reasons above I believe that in the Quran disproves the view of, 'free will of compulsion' from a Muslim perspective.

Having argued for the free will of compulsion, we must now look at the free will of causation (Causation: "the act or agency which produces an effect."[12]) In short, freewill of causation means that we are able to make decisions, independent of all the things that have affected us in the past leading up to that decision. This concept can be dismissed easily from a psychological/ sociological point of view, as "the process of socialization is long and complicated. It begins at birth and ends at death. From its inception to its end, man is subject to the moulding force of the group of which he is a part. As long as he is in interaction with others, he must at every turn adjust himself to their behaviour. Social interaction is the condition and the end product of group living. Through imitation, suggestion, and sympathy man becomes like others; through consensus, man wills what others will, and in this willing he finds his security and individuality."[13] In short, what this quote tells us is that the personality and behaviour (including choices) of every individual is formed by previous social interaction with other individuals, meaning that no one is able to make choices independent of their history, as our choices are simply a reflection of our personality. Now, instead of asking whether humans have freewill of causation, a more profound question would be whether our social and cultural upbringing is decided by Allah or whether it's simply a product of chance. For answers to this, we must again look to the Quran, which reads "... (Allah is) the Creator of all things..." as well as "He creates whatever He wills. He grants daughters to whomever He wills, and He grants sons to whomever He wills."[14] From reading these lines it seems that the production of a child into a society is controlled by Allah. Therefore, we can deduce that our social and cultural influences that determine our choices comes as a bi-product of Allah's decision to place us within a specific family in a specific

10 Megan Whalen, Turner. "Chapter 11." In *The Queen of Attolia*, 171. HarperCollins, 2000.
11 Hud Q 11:5 (Talal Itani translation)
12 "Causation." Merriam-Webster. Accessed April 24, 2015. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/causation.
13 Hubert, Bonner. America Psychological Association. January 1, 1953. Accessed April 26, 2015. http://psycnet.apa.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/index.cfm?fa=search.displayRecord&uid=2008-16127-004.
14 Ash-Shura Q 42:49 (Talal Itani translation)

community. So, it is essentially he/she that determines the path of our life and the choices we make. We therefore must conclude that, not only do we not have free will of causation, but the factor that determines our cause is God; in this way he/she does pre-determines our lives.

With both arguments explored we must lastly ask ourselves which one of these matters more, compulsion or causation? And since these two ideas of conflict, do we, or do we not possess free will? One argument is that, if Allah is responsible for the personality we develop, and it this personality that we use to make our choices, then Allah essentially determines our choices as well, and therefore we do not really have freewill of compulsion at all. This follows a form of reasoning named logical consequence.[15] This is where if A and B are true, then C, the result, must also be true. Though this form of argument may seem sound, it does have its flaws. For example, if (A) the Wellington Phoenix beat West Ham in Football and (B) West Ham beat in Manchester City Football, then (C) the Wellington Phoenix must be favourites to beat Manchester City. As any Football fan could tell you, this is certainly not the case. I believe there is fault in the argument that Allah determines our choices for two reasons. The first reason is that our past does not make our choices compulsory. Rather, our experiences guide us as we analyse a choice before making a decision. The earlier definition of compulsion stated that compulsion relies on us being forced into making a decision, which is not the case. Supplementing this argument is the fact that freewill of compulsion is something that fundamentally cannot exist, and so rather than leaving it to chance, we are influenced by a being that, as stated in the first paragraph, wants us to have free will.

In my personal opinion this, along with fact that Allah is all knowing and so knows how best to guide us, should be enough to convince us that we do in fact possess freewill of compulsion. The way in which I prefer to look at this debate can be explained well in a quote by Jawaharlal Nehru "Life is like a game of cards. The hand you are dealt is determinism; the way you play it is free will."[16] In this case, I see the "hand [we are] dealt' as being where we were born, the personality and cultural/social/ economic situation of our parents, the members of our community, our genotypes and phenotypes; everything we do not have control over. The way we play our cards, on the other hand, is a metaphor for the choices we make on our own. Of course these may have been influenced by our upbringing, but ultimately there is no one standing over us forcing us to choose a certain option. We are able to analyse a decision in our head, predict the outcomes, then using our past as guidance, choose the option we think is best. To me, this is the way in which we should look at this debate, and explain why despite not having freewill of causation, we still have freewill of compulsion.

To conclude, when looking at a matter of free will, we must ask ourselves whether we mean freewill of compulsion or freewill of causation. Causation is something that we have no control over and so must leave in the hands of God, whereas the Quran holds a lot of evidence supporting the fact that we do have free will of compulsion. It is not for no reason that there is a lot of debate over this topic as many verses from the Quran are seemingly contradictory, and can be interpreted in multiple ways. Therefore, it is down to one's personal beliefs whether they think freewill of compulsion can co-exist with freewill of causation. My

15 Jc Beall, and Greg Restall. "Logical Consequence." Stanford University. January 7, 2005. Accessed May 11, 2015. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/logical-consequence/.

16 Winston W. Borden. "How's the Card Game Going?" In Ruminations: Memories and Tales of a Furrowed Mind, 48. Minnesota: Farm Market Press, 2007.

personal view on this topic is that they can exist together as I believe causation acts as a guide rather than a force. In the end, I believe one must simply stick to their morals despite their beliefs on this subject, because if everything is predetermined you may not be able to change the future, but you can still try to be the person you want to be.

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Theology 300

Danger and Desire: The Bible in Visual Culture

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Nevin Govindasamy

The Admen's Apple

Even in today's modern world, the Bible continues to be an important cultural object in creating and influencing social attitudes. The Bible's historic socio-political power has been an instrumental feature for is enduring global significance. However, this power has also directly contributed in establishing and reinforcing potentially damaging stereotypes relating to gender, sexuality and heteronormativity. Due to several factors, Genesis 2-3 has been a culturally significant narrative ever since the birth of Christianity. Initially, Genesis 2-3 was used in patriarchal society to justify the subordination of women and by the early Church to help explain the reasons behind Jesus' sacrifice to redeem the world from sin. However, Eve's role in 'The Fall' of Genesis 3 soon began to be interpreted as an explicit misogynistic warning for the danger of female sexuality. While the profusion of artistic portrayals of Adam and Eve demonstrates their cultural significance, such depictions have tended to reinforce the narrative's heterosexual construction and engrained misogyny. Similarly, contemporary advertisements have also capitalized on these sentiments by incorporating elements of the Biblical story. However, advertising is not constrained by the same theological or moral limitations as traditional scriptural interpretation. Although the vast majority of commercial portrayals of Eve remain highly sexualized, the depiction of the Biblical narrative has varied greatly. This has been made possible through the radical change in the social attitude surrounding gender and sex. This change in attitude has created the space for advertisements to use the traditionally heterosexual story of Adam and Eve to explore queer sexual identities.

The Bible's intertwined relationship with various ruling political empires through its claims of divine inspiration have directly contributed to its significance in shaping social attitudes. For The Bible provided a source of legitimacy and authority for the ruling class, and "from Constantine's conversion in the 4th century, various Christian orthodoxies would established [the Bible] as their foundational document."[1] This relationship to state power ensured that the Bible would become required reading in nearly every Western culture since the passing of the pagan era. The cultural infiltration was aided by the presentation of the Bible as a "self-evident treasury of the actual words, thoughts, actions, political opinions and future aspirations of God."[2] This has been reinforced through attitudes which maintain that "every detail [in the Bible] is inspired and every detail is significant, for God would not use superfluous words."[3] Over the centuries, the Bible's important socio-political position meant that it became significant for both the development of philosophical thinking and as a source for artistic expression. However, certain narratives have gained more historical prominence for their social commentary, explanatory nature or theological content. These passages continue to remain relevant in shaping cultural conventions and stereotypes for not only Christian believers, but also for people of other faiths and the wider secular community.

The creation of humanity in Genesis 2 is one of the most important narratives in the Bible, and gained significant attention during the development of early Christianity. The order and nature of the creation meant that "male theologians of the early Christian centuries read

1 Jacques Berlinerblau, *The Secular Bible* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58.
2 Ibid., 65.
3 Patricia Williams, *Doing without Adam and Eve: Sociobiology and Original Sin,* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 34.

the story of Adam and Eve as confirmation of gender hierarchy."[4] Genesis 2:5-7 introduces the sentiments of hierarchy and social order into the narrative. During the early stages of creation there were no 'plants of the field' because "there was no one to till the ground" (Gen 2:5); but God proceeds to rectify this problem by 'forming man out of the dust of the ground' (Gen 2:7). Gale Yee notes that, in this context, Adam is envisioned as a male peasant "responsible for tilling the ground in the production of cultivated plants" – utterly dependant on and in service to God.[5] Many consider the mere fact that Adam was created before Eve justifies the superiority of men over women. However, this narrative theme of subordination is further applied to women several different ways.

During the creation of Eve in Genesis 2:18-25, male superiority is indicated by the fact that the creation of the first woman was only achieved through Adam. God sees that "it is not good that man should be alone" and thus fashions Eve from one of Adam's ribs to provide him with an adequate 'helper as his partner' (Gen 2:18, 22). This androcentrism is reinforced through the description of kinship in Genesis 2:24; whereby man's desire to 'leave his parents' to 'cling' to his wife not only becomes the defining cultural norm, but also that the woman is merely reduced to a point of gravity, the object to be acquired. Scholars, such as Phyllis Trible, have attempted to argue that the Hebrew word 'ezer, used to describe Eve as a 'helper' for Adam (Gen 2:18), "does not imply inferior rank, as the term does in English."[6] However, these arguments have difficulty justifying why a different sex should be created to suit this role and cannot downplay the overarching narrative theme of creation which runs through Genesis 2.

As such, the ideology of the narrative is constructed to reflect that the 'help' that the woman supplies is her sexual ability to reproduce; demonstrating that "as the mans is created by God, from the ground to serve and tend to the ground, the woman, built from the man, exits to serve and tend the man."[7]

The creation of humanity in Genesis 2 was an extremely useful narrative for reinforcing the patriarchal power structures throughout history. However, the continuation of the narrative in Genesis 3 has become an even more important cultural feature. For the majority of Christians the problem "undermining human well-being is the alienation of humankind from God," and the manifestation of sin in the world as a result.[8] One of the most important tasks in the development of Christianity was locating the 'original sin' catastrophic enough to 'account for Jesus' sacrifice in his excruciating and humiliating crucifixion and death.'[9] Initially, following an interpretation from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, the earliest Christian communities had turned to Genesis 6:1, but "by the 3rd century, Genesis 2-3 has become the central text Christians accepted as describing the catastrophe they sought."[10] Genesis 2:7 notes that after eating from the Tree of Knowledge 'the eyes of both Adam and Eve were opened' as they equally arrogate forbidden wisdom of their nakedness. However, due to the influence of Christian thinkers, particularly through work of St. Augustine, Eve has become known as the greater transgressor in these events and "the authoress of what Christian theology has come to know as 'The Fall.'"[11]

4 Tatha Wily, *Original Sin: Origins, Developments, Contemporary Meanings* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002), 173.
5 Gale Yee, *Poor Banished Children of Eve* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 69.
6 Katie Edwards, *Admen and Eve: The Bible in Contemporary Advertising* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012),22.
7 Yee, *Poor Banished Children of Eve,* 70.
8 Wily, *Original Sin,* 29.
9 Williams, *Doing without Adam and Eve,* 32.
10 Ibid., 33.
11 Danna Nolan-Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Gender, Power & Promise: The Subject of the Bible's First Story* (Nashville: Abington Press, 1993), 30.

The sequence of events corresponding to The Fall has led to an enduring misogynistic characterization of women as seductive temptresses. During Genesis 3:1-6 the serpent only talks to Eve about the power of the Forbidden Fruit, and subsequently it is Eve alone who tempts Adam into eating it. There are two important and significant issues that reinforce the misogynistic attitude towards Eve's sexuality. First, there is no conversation between the serpent and Adam, therefore no opportunity for him to be persuaded, tempted or tricked by the serpent in any way – indirectly elevating Eve's role in The Fall. However, more importantly, there is no dialogue or act of persuasion by Eve to convince Adam to break God's command. This resulted in the ancient Christian community attempting to solve the narrative gaps by "proposing a variety of inducements that Eve must have used on Adam."[12] The most popular interpretation has been that in accordance with her feminine features, Adam was unable "to resist his sexual desire for Eve when she offers him the Forbidden Fruit."[13] The consequences in Genesis 3:16 alludes that Eve's behaviour in tempting Adam was implicitly sexual in nature. God punishes Eve to endure 'greatly increased pains in childbirth,' but also to 'continue to sexually desire her dominating husband.' In this way, the message encoded in the text is that "women need to be subjugated and controlled by men; with the text teaching men that the consequences of letting woman have power are dangerous."[14]

The sentiments of the potentially dangerous sexual power held by women have drastically affected the ways in which artistic depictions of The Fall has been portrayed historically. Paintings from the 15th and 16th centuries, such as Tommaso Mosolino da Panicale's The Temptation of Adam and Eve (c1423-5), Hugo van de Goes' The Fall (1479) and Michelangelo's The Fall of Man (1510) contain several important features to allude to the manipulative power of female sexuality. In all of the aforementioned paintings Eve is depicted as overtly feminine; she has soft, subtle features, long, flowing hair, her breasts are naked and her genitals are subtly covered. The paintings increase the culpability of women by portraying the serpent as a hybridized female. This grotesque depiction of the serpent is not intended to be attractive at all. Rather, it is a visual representation of the manipulative power possessed by women which can be disguised by their sexual characteristics. On the other hand, these depictions also reinforce than Adam is drawn towards Eve's nakedness; in all the paintings his eyes are locked on her and one hand is reaching out to touch her body. This is dramatically emphasized in Titian's Adam and Eve (1550), where he cannot overcome his desire to grab one of her breasts. While these attitudes reinforce misogynistic attitudes towards women's bodies and their personalities, they also reflect cultural attitudes towards the relationship between men and women.

Paintings from significant artists such as Michelangelo and Titian not only demonstrate the cultural permeation of the story of Adam and Eve, but also the influence of the narrative on cultural attitudes towards gender dynamics. For the majority of history, the visualized relationship between Adam and Eve has been strictly heteronormative, with absolutely no space or opportunities afforded to queer sexual identities. While relations between the parents, children and other family members are downplayed in story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2-3, verse 2:24 in particular has been used to exclude relationships between people of the same sex. According to this interpretation "human sexuality is clearly monogamous, exogamous [and]

12 Linda S Schearing and Valarie H. Ziegler, *Enticed by Eden: How Western Culture Uses, Confuses (and Sometimes Abuses) Adam and Eve* (Texas: Baylor University Press, 2013), 113.

13 Edwards, *Admen and Eve,* 66.

14 Ibid., 25.

heterosexual: one partner, outside the family, of the opposite sex."[15] This has contributed to the deeply engrained cultural stereotypes surrounding gender, sexuality and behaviour. Even in today's modern society, with the profusion of images generated on the internet, it is still extremely difficult to source any queer visual depictions of Adam and Eve. However, contemporary advertisements provide an opportunity to explore and exploit and subvert "contemporary heterosexual gender roles and the distribution of power in sexual relations" in the Genesis narrative.[16]

The enduring cultural significance of Adam and Eve continues through the use of their image in contemporary advertising. However, their story has "projected a malignant image of the male-female relationship and of the 'nature' of women that is still deeply imbedded in the modern psyche."[17] Advertisements tend to reflect 'soft' social stereotypes, which only reinforces deeply entrenched attitudes, values and behaviour in society. In turn, this can lead to "oversimplified conceptions and misapplied knowledge evaluations, and thus to wrong evaluations of subjects of a social category."[18] The majority of contemporary advertising based on Adam and Eve is still heavily dependent on the "idea that somehow Eve 'persuaded' Adam to Eat the Forbidden fruit."[19] In addition, many advertisements directly reflect or reference historical visual depictions of the couple, particularly those associated with female sexuality and heteronormativity. However, the status of women as sexualized objects within popular culture and post-feminist discourses has radically reshaped cultural responses towards female sexuality. While portrayals of Eve in advertisements may reflect certain cultural or visual stereotypes about her sexuality, there is also a vast range of interpretations as to its intention and effects.

The simplest expression of Eve's sexuality in contemporary advertising simply mirrors the Biblical narrative in Genesis. These adverts have the most in common with traditional artistic conventions in portrayals of Adam and Eve. As such, Adam is usually only is only superficially engaged in the action of the scene, corresponding to his passive narrative presence in Genesis 3. This is demonstrated in an MTV bumper video from the 1990s, which is a direct adaptation of the narrative and where Eve offers the Forbidden Fruit which Adam unhesitatingly accepts. The only significant change in the narrative is that knowledge gained by eating the Forbidden Fruit is not of good and evil, rather the apple offered by Eve represents MTV's risqué and countercultural entertainment. On the other hand, in Ascis' online advertisement, Left and Right (2009) Adam is shown to be 'looking at Eve, whom he appears to find irresistible, in contrast with Eve who is completely unaware of his presence.'[20] Furthermore, despite all the worldly attractions presented to Adam in the Ascis advertisement including cars, computers, sports and videogames he is drawn towards Eve nonetheless. As such, neither of the two aforementioned adverts makes any attempts to substantially subvert attitudes surrounding female sexuality.

While the power of female sexuality has continued to be reinforced through depictions of Eve in contemporary advertising, it has also become a conscious tool to both empower and commodify the female body. With the advent of postfeminist culture, attempts have been

15 Nolan-Fewell and Gunn, *Gender, Power & Promise*, 29.
16 Edwards, *Admen and Eve,* 18.
17 Hilaire Barnett, *Sourcebook of Feminist Jurisprudence* (London: The Glass House, 1997), 47. https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=Nj2HE6vBIbwC&pg=PA47&lpg=PA47&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false
18 Martin Eisend, "A meta-analysis of gender roles in advertising," *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 38 no. 4 (2010): 419.
19 Schearing and. Ziegler, *Enticed by Eden,* 113.
20 Edwards, *Admen and Eve,* 17.

made to turn what was once considered as negative, such as misogynistic attitudes towards female sexuality, into a positive message of self-empowerment for women. This has been demonstrated in the world of contemporary marketing whereby the "male domination of old has been overthrown in favour of women taking control of the representation of their sexuality and using it for their own financial and social gain."[21] In addition, the attitude in society has become a lot less conservative regarding sex and sexuality. This has allowed Eve to be used to promote much more controversial or risqué companies or products. This has its ultimate manifestation through the use of Adam and Eve to promote an online adult store of the same name. The company's video advertisement features an overtly sexualized Eve with long, blond hair and an extremely low cut and seductive red dress, in which she proudly discusses her expanding sexual horizons through the use of the website and encourages viewers to do the same. However, this is not the only way in which traditional attitudes towards sexuality has been re-contextualized in contemporary advertising.

The reflexive self-awareness of the power of female sexuality has provided the opportunity for companies to subvert the traditional heterosexual relationship between Adam and Eve. The Doritos advert featured at the Super bowl in 2011 initially begins with a conventional interpretation of Genesis 3. A highly sexualised and half-naked Eve is confronted by the serpent, before plucking the Forbidden Fruit while Adam watches her mesmerized from the side-line. However, when Eve subsequent offers the fruit to Adam he unexpectedly refuses her advances, replying 'nah, I'm good' as he proceeds to produce a packet of Doritos corn chips. On the other hand, the advert for Vanilla Mozi repellent candles shows Adam becoming frustrated and bored with Eve, driving him to eat the Forbidden Fruit in a final act of desperation. Nevertheless, in spite of these changes to the narrative of Genesis, the purpose of these adverts does not "image the Biblical Eve in a more positive/heroic light."[22] The implications of these adverts are that if their situations had been different then there would be no reason for the narrative to play out in any alternative manner. Furthermore, in each of these two adverts, the condition that subverts the relationship between Adam and Eve is only temperamental, implying that the traditional heterosexual relationship between the couple will soon (if not already) resume.

Finally, the heteronormative narrative of Adam and Eve is also beginning to be subverted by advertisements to explore queer sexual identities. The television commercial for Central Beheer Insurance and another advert in 2011 also created by Doritos, both depict Adam as hyper-masculinized, muscular, and athletic, but also a homosexual man. While these depictions "may attract a gay male consumer, the man in the image does not risk putting off heterosexual males by returning the gay male gaze."[23] Just as in adverts that subvert the power of female sexuality, the adverts that subvert heterosexual relationships initially appear to reflect a more traditional interpretation of the story. At the beginning of each advert a beautiful and seductive Eve wanders through the Garden of Eden, where she subsequently catches the eye of an equally attractive Adam. While the initial construction of these adverts appears to be very similar, they characterise Eve in a slightly different way from one another. During the Doritos advertisement, Adam actually starts engaging in intimate activity with Eve which is quickly interrupted when he notices another gay man in the scene, with the punchline directly asking consumers 'what is your flavour?' In contrast, the commercial for Central Beheer has Adam

21 Ibid., 68.
22 Schearing and. Ziegler, *Enticed by Eden,* 121.
23 Edwards, *Admen and Eve,* 125.

introduce himself in a wildly camp and flamboyant fashion, thus a wise consumer is the one who 'thinks ahead' by taking out an insurance policy against life's unexpected pitfalls. In this way, the Doritos commercial "utilizes the image of Eve as a seductive temptress who almost succeeded in making man forget his own sexual preferences;" but, on the other hand, the Central Beheer also depicts Eve in the traditional role of a temptress, albeit a bit clueless of Adam's sexual orientation. [24]

The Bible is an extremely unique document. For the majority of its history is has been central to patriarchal power structures and political empires. One of the most important narratives both theologically and culturally has been the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2-3. Sentiments developed around the interpretation of the narrative have dramatically shaped and reinforced misogynistic stereotypes surrounding the social position and sexual deviousness of women. These attitudes are not only reflected, but also emphasised in artistic portrayals of Adam and Eve. Nevertheless, the narrative is still a widely recognised cultural symbol, which has been exploited by contemporary advertisements. While certain adverts simply mirror the traditional narrative and visual stereotypes associated with Adam and Eve, changing cultural attitudes have allowed others to begin to positively empower or humorously subvert female sexuality. Despite that they ultimately reinforce traditionally heteronormative cultural associations, several adverts have also attempted to use the story to explore queer sexual identities. The profusion of images drawn from the story of Adam and Eve shows that there is no one, 'correct' interpretation. As long as the narrative remains relevant it will continue to provide a source to explore the sexual nature of humanity.

24 Schearing and. Ziegler, *Enticed by Eden,* 123.

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History 219

Medieval Mentalities, Western Europe c.1100-1500

x

Chantelle Murray

Monastic Mentalities through the Life of Christina of Markyate

Christianity was a dominant institution in the Middle Ages and affected many people's way of life. The most extreme of these was to entirely devote yourself to God by either being a hermit of some sort or as part of a monastic community. In twelfth-century England there was still a continued conflict between the Eremitic tradition, which focused on solitary religious practice, and the Cenobitic tradition where religion was practiced in monasteries. Christina of Maryakte experienced both of these traditions and we gain insight into these in her biography The Life of Christina of Markyate. Sometimes the views in The Life must be considered with caution because we do not know how common they are. Nevertheless, The Life casts some light onto the views of society through Christina's family. One major view presented is that married life was preferable to Godly celibacy. Christina's parents preferred her to marry than to be a nun. A somewhat conflicting view, which is implied in The Life, is that monks held a valued position in society. Christina's parents visit a hermit for spiritual advice, and upon research this was a common phenomenon.[1] Monks were therefore viewed as wise and as someone to look up to. The Life also allows us to see how the monks themselves worked, for example that they believed that the denial of pleasure would lead to a more holy life. A final way in which The Life of Christina of Markyate illustrates medieval mentalities is through the lens of gender. It is possible that Christina's sex may have been one of the major causes of her struggles to lead a chaste, religious life, but inferences must be tentative.

A societal view of a monastic life and spirituality, as presented in The Life of Christina of Markyate, is that marriage was a higher ideal than celibacy. Christina's parents attempted to force their daughter into marriage, despite her plea that she wishes to lead a chaste, religious life. They initially try to shower her with gifts and flattery to change her mind, but their methods become more and more extreme with Christina remaining unbreakable by her belief.[2] The text describes that Beatrix, Christina's mother, beat Christina violently in secret at a banquet, but on their return everyone could see Christina's bruising.[3] Many of the Huntington community knew what was happening to Christina and did not try to stop it. This suggests that they sided with the parents in believing that Christina should be married. It is explicitly clear that Christina's family and their friends were "united fronts together in [this] purpose" of forcing Christina to consummate her marriage.[4] However, obedience to one's parents was considered highly important in this time period. The reverend prior Frederbert in The Life emphasised that this is one of God's commandments.[5] It is possible that the other members of the community who supported Christina's parents were not supporting her marriage specifically, but reinforcing the parents' right to reign in their rebellious daughter. Furthermore, Christina's family was part of the Anglo-Saxon nobility during the Norman invasion.[6] The Anglo-Saxons were declining in parallel with the rise of the Normans. Christina's marriage to a wealthy young man may have

1 Anon, *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-Century Recluse,* ed. And trans. C.H. Talbot, Oxford, 1959, p.89; Stephanie Hollis and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'St Albans and Women's Monasticism: Lives and their Foundations in Christina's World', in Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser, eds, p.32.

2 *The Life*, p.45

3 ibid., p.75.

4 ibid., p.47.

5 ibid., p.61.

6 Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England,* Chapel Hill, NC, 1988, p.32.

allowed her parents to cling to their status and wealth.[7] Society's expectations in The Life can only tentatively be inferred as preferring marriage to a religious vocation, but it does show that secular ideas of familial obligations were stronger than a religious preservation of celibacy for God.

Despite the fact that The Life may suggest that married life is seen as superior than being a monk, monks were still considered with a great deal of respect by society. In The Life Christina's parents are said to go "as usual" to see the hermit Guino.[8] Hollis and Wogan-Browne highlight that in villages where priests were scarce, it was not unusual for a hermit to be sought for advice.[9] Society then must have considered monks as worth speaking to. King Henry II was said to give 50 shillings to Christina one year for her role as adviser and prophetess, which was relatively common for nuns.[10] This also demonstrates that society viewed monks as important. This is only an indirect view which appears in the text. The author of The Life of Christina of Markyate was most probably a monk at St. Albans because he refers to St. Albans as "our monastery."[11] The purpose of him writing the text was not to demonstrate society's views but to produce a hagiography commemorating and glorifying Christina's life.[12] Conversely, The Life does openly shed light on beliefs which monks had because the writer was a monk himself.

One of these monastic beliefs is that abstaining from worldly pleasures leads to a more holy life. A major theme in The Life is Christina's incessant struggles to preserve her virginity. She even goes so far as to hide in a wall while her relatives are looking for her.[13] Sharon Elkins says that The Life does not discuss the spiritual significance of virginity, but I disagree. [14] Christina explains to the prior Fredebert that she believes that "virgins are saved more easily."[15] Christina believes that virginity is a more holy option to marriage. Additionally, sex is only one of the temptations which monks try to renounce. While Christina is in the hermitage with Roger she fasted until blood "bubble[d] up from her nostrils", endured intense cold and heat and sat in a tiny, airless cell.[16] She follows Roger's example, a man who is said in the text to "allow himself no pleasure" so as to "progress more and more in the service of God."[17] It was believed by monks in the Middle Ages that denying yourself pleasure meant that you could focus on God without distraction.

Christina's gender suggests that perhaps women have a lesser place as a religious person. For example, Christina could not inherit Roger's spiritual leadership over his hermitage, even though she inherited his cell.[18] Instead the death of Roger was considered a "withdrawal of male supervision."[19] Similarly, Christina struggled to found her own priory, and it was under the

7 See *The Life*, p.67: The author details that the reason for Christina's parents' persistence was that Christina was beautiful and intelligent and could have enriched herself and her relatives.
8 *The Life*, p.89.
9 Hollis and Wogan-Browne, p.32.
10 Christopher J. Holdsworth, 'Christina of Markyate', in Derek Baker, ed., *Medieval Women: Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M.T. Hill on the occasion of her Seventieth Birthday,* Oxford, 1978, p.201.
11 *The Life*, p.81; Diane Watt, 'Christina of Markyate (c. 1096-after 1155)' in Diane Watt, *Medieval Women's Writing,* Cambridge, 2007, p.32.
12 The text was commissioned by Christina's close friend Geoffrey who would have wanted her to be portrayed in positive terms. See Watt, p.34.
13 *The Life*, p.53.
14 Elkins, p.28.
15 *The Life*, p.63.
16 ibid., pp.103-105.
17 ibid., p.83.
18 Hollis and Wogan-Browne, p.40.
19 Hollis and Wogan-Browne, p.40.

supervision of her close friend Geoffrey that her priory of Markyate came into being.[20] Elkins accurately highlighted the irony that Christina depended on males to allow her to lead a religious life as a virgin.[21] This dependence on males, however, was likely one of necessity. We cannot know for sure because the text itself omits any discussion on gender; we can only make inferences about the actions that are described. This is understandable considering that the text's purpose is to describe Christina's life, not analyse it. The text may have been written as a celebration of being a nun for nuns themselves to read. However, it is highly probable that Christina had to depend on males because females were not considered of high standing in the monasteries. More research into the historical context of gender relations may be necessary to solidify this claim.

The medieval mentalities concerning monastic life and spirituality were two-fold: society's views of monks and monks' beliefs of themselves. The Life of Christina of Markyate can make some suggestions about these, but they should always be viewed with caution. Society's views are refracted through the views of Christina's family, but this may not be representative of society as a whole. Christina's parents may also have relied on their daughter's marriage to shore up their precarious social position. Another view suggested in the text is that society viewed monks with respect and value. However, this view must also be considered with caution seeing as it is based on one piece of evidence that Christina's parents went to a hermit often for spiritual guidance. The perspectives of monks are more solid seeing as the author himself was a monk at St. Albans.[22] The Life provides insight into the strong belief at the time that abstaining from worldly pleasures led a person closer to God. This is particularly apparent considering Christina's unceasing struggle to remain a virgin. A view which is again open to interpretation is the impact which Christina's femaleness had on her life. The text does not discuss this but again conclusions can be made that Christina's struggles and dependence on male friends was because female monks were not considered with the same value as male monks. In studying mentalities we must accept that we can draw conclusions which are only tentative because we can never know entirely what people truly thought and felt.

20 ibid., p.41.
21 Elkins, p.33.
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English 102

Great Book: Seduction and Betrayal

x

Daniel Maier-Gant

"Vinegar from wine"; the decay of Byron's Dionysian elixir to "a sad, sour, sober beverage".[1] For the great romantic poet, marriage represented a repressive patriarchal structure of 'virtue' and hypocrisy. Love leads to marriage, but only as delicious wine sours to vinegar. And that was far from desirable. At the time, these revisionist ideas were seen as scandalous.[2] They came at a juncture of history; the feminism of Wollstonecraft and other enlightenment figures was beginning to spread, a feminism that would develop, grow, and change into the movement we experience today. The marriages of Donna Inez and Don José, and Donna Julia and Don Alfonso were very different, but both "sharpen'd" from its original love (or lack thereof).[3] While selfishly motivated, overly unforgiving, and marred by certain misogynistic conventions, Byron's commentary on marriage provided a unique and valuable insight to the experiences and agency of women.

Feminism is a diverse movement, full of dissenting opinions and voices. For the purpose of this essay, it will be framed in terms of disempowerment within marriage: the social and economic barriers that prevent women from pursuing their own happiness. Feminism is broader than this; Byron's comments on "dumpy women" are highly sexist, but beyond this scope. Furthermore, this particular view of feminism is heavily influenced by western liberal individualism. But at the time of writing, Wollstonecraft was attacking western patriarchal ideas regarding the role of women in A Vindication of the Rights of Women.[4] While to modern eyes Don Juan is an excellent example of why women need protection under the law, Byron's work, like Wollstonecraft's, was far more influential in terms of exploring the relationship between marriage, adultery, and "female virtue", as well as the various social and economic sanctions that come with deviating from these norms. In a world post-Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, and the second and third waves of feminism, some of these goals may seem unambitious.[5] But feminism has always been a balancing act between making ambitious, objective criticisms, and providing contextual relief to sufferers, with the nuance often sacrificed for expedience. This analysis will form the basis for my commentary on the marriages in Don Juan, Canto One.

The first marriage to be explored is between Donna Inez and Don José, Juan's parents. It was a marriage of illusion, with conflict smoldering just beneath the surface of respectability. In short, while they wished each other "not divorced, but dead; they lived respectably as man and wife."[6] But this peace would only last so long, for both husband and wife had strayed from their vows. "Don José... went plucking various fruit without her leave" and "Inez had, ere Don Alfonso's marriage, forgot with him her very prudent carriage."[7] [8] The ensuing battles mirrored Byron's own struggle with scandalous experiences, especially in regard to the role of a public that persecuted mercilessly, "some for amusement, others for old grudges."[9] Byron depicts Inez as holding a very particular role in upholding patriarchal value structures. She

1 George Byron. *Don Juan.* Project Gutenberg, 2007. Last update, 2012. Accessed May 10, 2015. Canto 3, Stanza
2 Caroline Franklin,. *Byron.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000. p62
3 Byron. *Don Juan.* Canto 3, Stanza 1.
4 Mary Wollstonecraft. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* Boston: Bartleby, 1999.
5 Simone De Beauvoir. *The Second Sex.* London: Vintage, 1997.
6 Byron. *Don Juan.* Canto 1, Stanza 26
7 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 18
8 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 66
9 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 23

formed part of a long line of highly moralistic women who see themselves as the guardians of public virtue. This high praise is actually a pointed means of denigrating Inez, and Byron says as much when he declares her lack of flaws "the worst of all."[10] The self-sanctification of rigid values is inimical to Byron's passionate nature. It is quite obvious to see which of the couple Byron favoured. José is portrayed as long-suffering, "an honorable man", whose "passions now and then outran discretion."[11] [12] Perhaps the most cringe-worthy of Byronic rhymes firmly places him on the side of José: "Lords of Ladies intellectual, inform us truly, have they not hen-peck'd you all?"[13] In this characterization, Byron at once stands with the equally adulterous male of the scene, while criticizing the patriarchal values represented by the hypocritical Inez.

This is in contrast with the second marriage of the Canto: Donna Julia and Don Alfonso. They were a cruelly mismatched pair; she was "charming, chaste, and twenty three," a hint at the balance of sexuality and virtue placed upon her; he was "fifty."[14] [15] Byron scoffs at this mismatch, remarking that "ladies... prefer a Spouse whose age is short of thirty."[16] He even hints that it is a marriage of money, not any sense of marital passion. It was also a mismatch in fidelity and jealousy. Ironically, the less faithful is also the more jealous. "Alfonzo's loves with Inez were well known", yet his jealousy is evident in his farcical behaviour.[17] Julia was either unaware, "or did not care."[18] She, as with Inez, is a strong believer in remaining virtuous; however, she is portrayed not as the perpetrator, but as the victim. Her desire is evident, "but for the Soul, which struggled through and chastened down the whole."[19] Julia acts "For honour's, pride's, religion's, virtue's sake."[20] She longs for Juan, yet "vows... she never would disgrace the ring she wore."[21] This internalized virtue then becomes a part of her punishment; while the world judges her, and she has lost all that she held dear, still "none can deem harshlier of me than I deem."[22] Julia's marriage, its collapse, and the associated punishments are the sum of an institution that penalizes female indiscretion to a far greater degree than that of the male.

The separate treatment of these two marriages reveals a lot about Byron's ideas of marriage, virtue, and women. The first of these revelations is shown through the differing portrayals of Inez and Julia. Both are adulterers, yet Byron singles out Inez for derision. Inez (sans adultery) would be the traditional heroine of the feminocentric moralistic novel. Byronic scholar Caroline Franklin sees this "cult of feminine morality" as a self-internalized system of patriarchal control, simultaneously relegating women to domestic spheres of power while transforming "their own subservience into a source of pride".[23] [24] In undercutting this idealized picture, it could be argued that Byron is advancing feminism by exposing this "man-made shackle".[25] As Franklin

10 Byron. *Don Juan.* Canto 1, Stanza 16
11 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 35
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 22
14 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 59
15 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 62
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 68
18 Ibid.
19 Byron. *Don Juan.* Canto 1, Stanza 60
20 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 75
21 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 109
22 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 193
23 Caroline Franklin. *Byron's Heroines.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. p121
24 Franklin. *Byron's Heroines.* p122
25 Ibid.

argues, Don Juan is "satirizing the idealization by women writers... of a new bourgeois feminine role that would ensure... stability."[26] Conversely, the lack of empathy bordering on cruelty that Byron shows Inez seems to make her more of "a stock misogynist type of the female pedant."[27]

Problematically, as Wolfson notes, "women's learning is treated as an easily exposed pretension."[28] While he abhors the values she upholds, valuable contributions are diminished by his inability to distinguish between female education and abrasive morality. Inez is just as much a victim of the system as Julia, another female character with a strongly ingrained sense of virtue. What separates them? As Franklin would say, "Inez's unpunished hypocrisy is finally more repellent."[29] McGann argues that the difference is "that the former has desires and dreams, whereas the latter has merely schemes, ambitions, and purposes."[30] Byron deflects blame away from Julia; his treatment of her is surprisingly tender. He blames first the sun, "who cannot leave alone our helpless clay", then the moon, "which leaves room for the full soul to open all itself, without the power of calling wholly back its self-control."[31] [32] He then moves to the human passions, for "who, Alas! can love, and then be wise?"[33] Inevitably, we find our way back to sexuality. Franklin neatly describes Byron's attack as being that marriage is "destructive of the freedom of the individual for both sexes."[34] Everyone commits adultery, yet remains externally committed to the institution of marriage. Byron's rhetoric is at its most recognizably feminist, both in a modern and contemporary sense, in describing the different punishments awaiting Juan and Julia. Juan is sent to travel the world. Julia is sent to the convent. And in that final letter is another insight; "Man's love is of his life a thing apart, 'Tis Woman's whole Existence."[35] While men's lives are full of diversion, women are disempowered and deprived. This imbalance drives women ever strongly towards infidelity, and punishes them all the more cruelly than men like Alfonso, José, and Juan. So while Julia is a valuable lesson in societal imbalances, Inez is vilified as a spiteful enforcer of puritanical virtue. While Byron seems ahead of his time, contemporary feminism requires us to move past shallow blame and examine the causative roots of negative behaviour. Byron does not quite achieve that.

We can glean further insight through the dynamic between Julia and Alfonso. Alfonso is both a villain and a farce. He leads the "great number" of married, jealous men who burst into Julia's bedroom, yet is also mocked as "pandering blindly to his own disgrace..."[36] [37] Furthermore, he is ruthlessly undercut in a scathing attack by the cheating Julia. Byron delights in emasculating this symbol of the patriarchy, with Julia asking that when Alfonso finds this mysterious lover, he gives him to her so her shame "shall not be in vain."[38] She stabs at his age, jealousy, and impotence. It also in finally resisting Alfonso that Julia becomes

26 Ibid. p127
27 Franklin. *Byron*. p68
28 Susan J. Wolfson. "Their she Condition": Cross-Dressing and the Politics of Gender in Don Juan." EHL 54, no. 3 (1987): 585-617, accessed May 10, 2015.
29 Franklin. *Byron's Heroines.* p125
30 Jerome J. McGann. *Don Juan in Context.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976. p124
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34 Franklin. *Byron's Heroines.* p120
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36 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 138
37 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 99
38 Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 154

the most striking; Byron glows over "her dark eyes flashing," "her streaming hair," and how "louder than her breathing beats her heart."[39] Byron's vivid prose celebrates her liberation. McGann notes how even though she is "inconstant as a wife... she is a very rock of fidelity to Juan."[40] It is with him, through the subversion of restrictive marriage, that Byron reverses the expectations of virtuous behaviour. Whether fantasy or feminism, this is a radical change.

The marriage of Byronic fiction is restrictive, moralistic, and doomed to failure. He is also aware of the imbalances that exist within these marriages between husband and wife. Such insight, though not fully realized, is an important cornerstone of the feminist critique of marriage and virtue as patriarchal instruments. He also celebrates deviating from restrictive norms, and ridicules the attitudes that reinforce these values. But while this is promising, it is important to remember that Byron was a product of his culture and his libidinous self-interest in women cheating on their husbands. Just as he has helped us redefine our understanding of the "Julia's" of our world, his shallow portrayal of the "Inez's" requires further feminist development.

39 I Ibid. Canto 1, Stanza 158
40 McGann. *Don Juan in Context.* p105

Sociology 100

Issues and Themes in Sociology

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Henrietta Crichton

The following autobiography will examine experiences that have had an impact on my life through discussions of sociological concepts of gender, race and ethnicity. I was born in Samoa and migrated to New Zealand at the age of 4, however the transition from Samoan to a Euro-centric environment had no effect on my intense traditional upbringing. As an outcome of my strict traditional upbringing, I have collected witnessed accounts linking to gender. Growing up in South Auckland, I have encountered all sorts of negative discrimination and stereotyping. My autobiography will explore aspects of my life events that analyses the sociological concepts of patriarchy and gender roles with subject to my traditional upbringing as well as evaluating the racial profiling relative to recent experiences. All these concepts will be examined through traditional, historical and religious lenses encompassing Samoan society and Auckland.

Patriarchy has been practiced unconsciously and exercised inside Samoan society since ancient times. It is a social system that surrounds the strong idea of societies and families with male dominance, husband or father-rule (Blackwell, 2000). My upbringing revolved around my father's final say. Growing up in a large family, I recall several times when my older brothers, who were both adults at the time, would often physically fight and argue with each other. My mother would intervene, but my brothers would never flinch at my mother's presence. My father would only speak once; both would immediately stop and come to a direct mutual understanding in obeying my father. My brothers' neglecting and ignoring my mother's authority is an example indicating the power and status difference between my parents inside our home.

Christianity also played an important part in explaining the patriarch nature of Samoan families. Many churches support the idea of patriarchy by subordinating women and submitting to man (Blackwell, 2000). Our household was and we still are firm believers of Christianity. Hence, this idea around father-rule male dominance within the household has long been a Christian and traditional influence in Samoan society. Crittenden and Right (2012) outline it is believed that patriarchal beliefs are cemented by common beliefs, customs and laws (p. 1268). The husband also has absolute authority over all matters concerning the wife, children and household (Blackwell, 2000). Thereof, I come to realise that Samoan patriarchal society is one where females are relatively inferior to males regardless of age (relation to my mother and brothers), in addition further implying the inequity of power between both sexes (Crittenden & Wright, 2012, p. 1268). In Samoa, female inferiority in a traditional household is considered a norm as patriarchy has been socially accepted and culturally enforced within Samoan families (Holmes, 2013).

In Samoan society, it is not only man who supports male-dominance inside the household but also enforced by females as well (Ferguson & Mironesco, 2008, p. 21). The female acknowledges and accepts the husband as the main head of the family. This idea of a husband being dominant inside the family has since been indoctrinated into Samoan way of thinking and lifestyles, and is still heavily present today in Samoan communities.

Patriarchy is a concept that can be used to understand gender inequalities (Holmes, 2013). Holmes (2013) argues, from a historical point of view, men as a group have had greater financial and political power than women, hence this was used to establish a society that benefited them (Holmes, 2013). Thus, as argued by Holmes (2013), "most women in the world still struggle for equality in paid work and domestic duties at home" (p. 130). And "although women have entered the workforce most men are not taking their share on the housework' (Holmes, 2013, p. 130).

Socialisation is a highly gendered process through which we base our behaviour on (Holmes, 2013). Through this process of socialisation an individual learns values and norms of society from social institutions such as family, peer groups, and communities (Holmes, 2013). I grew up with five older brothers, an older sister and a younger sister. My sister who was 6 years older than me would carry out traditional roles as the older sister, with the help from my mother. My older sister despite being younger than my older brothers took on 'feminine' roles considered in our culture to be normality. These Samoan traditional roles include cooking, cleaning as well as nurturing younger siblings and care giving for elderly grandparents (Janes, 1990). These domestic duties are not to be carried out by males inside the household. My brothers did not help with cleaning or cooking, and my older sister cleaned their rooms as well as done their laundry. They were treated as equals second to my father. My brothers had followed in my father's footsteps and grew up to neglect all domestic duties.

In this sense, these traditional feminine roles have been both influential and unconsciously enforced through socialisation due to its cultural acceptance by Samoan families. Hence, it further implements our cultural femininity norm. I've witnessed these traditional gender roles carried out by mother and overtime carried out my older sister. My sister learnt, viewed and absorbed these roles as cultural values from my mother and indoctrinated these duties into her lifestyle. Hence, according to Simone de Beauvoir, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a women (as cited in Holmes, 2013, p. 123). Similar situations apply to my female cousins and aunts who are also exposed to this process and overtime adapt this socialisation into their own lifestyles. It cements the idea of traditional gender roles to be a factor heavily influenced by socialization and carried out accordingly to suit cultural normalities.

Through historical lenses we see examples of gender inequalities in relation to what is considered feminine in society. An example of this is the use of American propaganda during World War II to reinforce the ideas of women belonging at home (Holmes, 2013, p. 123). This was enforced to portray the domestic duties and roles targeting women further highlighting gender roles to be socially expected.

Racialization refers to the social relations to which 'racial' meanings are attached (Blackwell, 2000). It is the process through which ideas and beliefs about race with class and gender shape social relationships. The concept I will be examining is racial profiling. It is a form of discrimination by which law enforcement uses a person's race or cultural background as the primary reason to suspect that the individual has broken law (Vondanovich, 2013). I remember recently visiting a clothing boutique in Auckland City, walking around the store looking for mother's day gift ideas. I found myself under surveillance by the store workers. At the time I did not mind being watched and followed around the store, but eventually I exited the store without purchasing anything.

Statistics New Zealand (2013), documents 54.4% of the European ethnic population is found in Auckland City. Fergusson, Horwood and Swain-Campbell (2003) found that inside "New Zealand individuals who identify as Maori have higher rates of officially recorded offences than non-Maori indiduals" (p. 345). This in effect alters the way the criminal justice system deals with offenders of different ethnic backgrounds (Fergusson, Horwood and Swain-Campbell, p. 345). Hence, also argued is that this process of racial profiling "may include bias in police arrest practices and cultural biases within the justice system that place Maori at greater risk of being convicted" (Fergusson, et all., p. 345). It is evident that because of my race being similar to Maori physically, I was immediately profiled as a criminal because of my racial background with the common ideas of Maori (brown race) more likely to commit crimes. Racial profiling outside New Zealand society is linked through historical events. An example of this linking to wider society can be explained through the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. This historical event leads to the racial profiling of Middle Eastern ethnic groups being targeted with heavy law enforcement being most likely to be screened than any other 'race', particularly in U.S airports.

In conclusion, I discovered that patriarchy, gender roles and racial profiling to be concepts that I would never thought have applied to my life. Patriarchy and gender roles are concepts that I have analysed, surrounds the idea of female inferiority compared to male. Much of these issues I still encounter on daily basis whether it is inside my own home or in workforce environments. These issues again can be linked to wider society through religious elements and various historical events such as the American propaganda of female roles in World War II as mentioned in the autobiography, suffrage movements and recent issues such as work wage gap differences between men and women. Racial profiling is still evident in New Zealand society today. Pacific Island ethnic groups are often profiled to be incarcerated and criminals. I have experienced racial stereotypes many times throughout my life simply because of my racial appearance. This issue is still present in my life and can be related to wider society racial profiling through historical events such as the Middle Eastern profiling due to the 911 terrorist attacks in the U.S, again as mentioned in the autobiography and the Dawn Raids of the 1960's, with police targeting random profiled brown (including Maori) families labelled as 'over stayers'. These concepts apply to our everyday lives, present in our society today as well as societies of the past.

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Experiences

Life. It is not merely lived. It is experienced. Within our life, we go through many experiences that contribute to our understanding of the world. Shifting to a new place encompasses positive and negative experiences, especially stereotyping and racism. Integration, assimilation and authenticity are challenges that are an inevitable part of migration. The research essay "No White or Wrong Way to Being Irish American" explores aptly how these factors have influenced constructions of Irish American identity.

Moreover, we are given a Tongan perspective in "Hybrids Alike: Understanding Ethnicity and Identity", which raises and discusses further questions on how traces of racism, authenticity and stereotypes impacts our everyday experiences. Can hybrids ever truly classify themselves into a single category? How does this impact upon how we view ourselves and our own self image?

In further investigating the notion of hybrid identities the socio-autobiography "Ethnic Identity: Who am I?" examines how having a hybrid identity can lead to stereotypes, questions on authenticity and increase the complexity of power relations in society. Explored through a Maori perspective, we see how these connotations ring true for many New Zealanders' that have grown up with a hybrid identity.

After our journey from the Pacific Islands to America to New Zealand, "A Postmodernist Lens and Second Person Narration: Deciphering Identity through Invasive Language" takes us on a 'literal' journey of New Zealand by examining our national identity. By critically analyzing an excerpt from "The Brain of Katherine Mansfield" by Bill Manhire, this essay looks at the literary techniques used to parody New Zealand's cultural identity with a postmodern perspective.

Postmodernism is known for the fragmentation of society. The essay "(Un)Fulfilling Fragmentation: Dynamics of Desire, Pleasure and Reader/Author Relationship" looks at the leverage of expectations and emotions in our lives in Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey. This critical examination of the novel highlights why it is considered 'a great novel' even by contemporary readers.

Emily Dickinson is regarded as one of the greatest poets that lived. Her passion for the world is evident in her poetry, and this is why her work is still revered today. "Emily Dickinson: Potrayals of the Natural World" takes a small sample of Dickinson's poetry on the natural world and analyses how it is still relevant today.

Through our journey of experiences we have examined the workings of society, as well as the range of emotions we feel. However, no literary journey can be complete without a visit to Shakespeare. Exploring the relevance of Shakespeare to modernity "The Impact of Historical Memory in Richard III" is an interesting take on the literary classic.

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Ethnicities and Identities

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Sally Crawford

No White or Wrong Way to be Irish American

The future is not set, there is no fate but what we make for ourselves.
- Irish proverb

Practices of identity construction within the Irish American ethnicity has changed over time and within different subsets of this group. What sets Irish Americans apart from the construction of other "white" ethnicities, is that for the first generations of Irish Americans, they were not seen as white, but as a separate race. In reaction to this, Irish Americans sought to become white, assimilating into the American culture and separating themselves from African Americans, in order to gain the privileges associated with this skin colour. A key pathway in doing this was through the Catholic Church. What has usually been ignored by Irish American literature is that assimilation was also achieved through radical groups, such as the Molly Maguires. These assimilation processes continued until the nineteen-seventies, when political ideologies such as the melting pot started to be challenged. Irish Americans began to construct their identity both subconsciously in America, and consciously looking back to Ireland through tourism. As a result of using different sources to create the modern idea of Irish American ethnicity, one cannot tie this ethnic group to an absolute identity. By comparing ethnic construction by Irish Americans in both the past and the present, one can see that a change in the social, historical and political contexts very much shapes practices of identity construction.

The first generation of Irish Americans in the mid-nineteenth century came from a country where their identity was assigned, meaning that their ethnicity was largely shaped around the perceptions of outsiders or circumstances (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Negative stereotypes of Irish were common knowledge, such as being 'pot-bellied, bow legged, and abortively featured,' as well as a 'diseased stock' (Gibbons, 2010: 43, Igantiev 1995: 2). Physical and biological characteristics attached to what it means to be Irish shows that the Irish ethnicity was very much linked to the discourse of race.

When the Irish moved to America, this racist discourse attached to their identity travelled with them. As a result, the first generation of Irish Americans were put in the same social class level as the free African American slaves and American Indians. Due to similar material conditions and work tasks, Irish Americans were often handled in a similar fashion to African Americans. (Gibbons, 2010: 9). They were compared so often that the Irish Americans were referred to as 'smoked Irish' (Barrett, 2012: 4). The attachment assigned to these groups by the white native of America led to the construction of the Irish American ethnicity to be seen as a racially determined lesser group.

To escape these miserable conditions in their new context, the first and second Irish American generations sought to assimilate into the American community by becoming 'white.' This in turn would secure them advantages in the highly competitive American society, such as the right to have any vocation, the right to be elected, and the right to live in any area. (Ignatiev, 1995: 2, 3).

A key component of this assimilation process involved Irish Americans separating themselves from the African Americans, and according to Noel Ignatiev (1995), often this was through violent means. The Irish Americans, who were an oppressed group in Ireland, became part of the oppressing group in their new homeland (Ignatiev, 1995: 1). Many Irish Americans turned down the cry from abolitionist groups in America in the mid-1800s, some groups such as the Young Irelanders going even further, and openly encouraging slavery. John Mitchel, a political journalist and activist, published a paper claiming that slavery was inherently moral (Igantiev, 1995: 31). Irish American racism was further enhanced by work confrontations with African Americans such as the 1851 Longshore Strike. Irish Americans wanting to distinguish themselves as 'white workers', violently collided with the black people's struggle to sustain working rights, leading to warfare between the two groups on the docks (Ignatiev 1995: 120, 121; Barrett 2012: 5).

This relates to Cornell and Hartmann's idea of assertion, that an ethnic minority are themselves involved in the construction of their identity (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007: 81). The Irish Americans understood that while they had the right skin colour to make them eligible to be included in the white race, they had to earn that right, and so bleached themselves from Green to white (Ignatiev, 1995: 31, 59). While Moynihan (2013:6) states that this viewpoint of identity construction put forward by Noel Ignatiev has been highly contested in the academic world, it highlights an important point that practices of identity construction often revolve around difference; to understand one's own identity, one must compare and contrast with another identity.

One key avenue of identity construction for Irish Americans was the Catholic Church. This was particularly true for the first and second generations of this ethnic group, who fused their modern American identity with a strict and intense Irish Catholicism (Barret, 2012: 7). Because of their loyalty to the Catholic Church, they came to play roles of high influence in civic and religious life. This mutual collaboration between the Church and Irish Americans was a major factor in their integration into American society and an advancement for their social and economic goals (Byron: 1999: 12, 14, 15). This fusion of Catholicism and the Irish American identity was still strong in the nineteen-fifties for groups such as the Worcester's Catholics. The strength of their fervent and arguably militant Catholic identity allowed them to continue to be further embraced into the American culture (Meagher, 2002: 375). This strong union of Irish ethnicity and Catholicism is highlighted when John F Kennedy was appointed as President in 1960; he was not recognised just as having Irish roots, but Irish Catholic roots. Although the intertwining of Catholicism and American Irish identity has lessened somewhat since the sixties and seventies, there is still a continuing religious influence of this ethnic group for the Catholic dioceses across America, often chosen for leadership positions (Barrett, 2012: 288). As Cornell and Hartmann (2007: 91) state, this religious construction of their identity is primarily due to thinking alike surrounding critical aspects of both their individual lives and of the wider world. Even though Catholic Irish Americans may vary in terms of other aspects of their identity, their religious ideals brought with them from Ireland (either themselves or their ancestors) helped them to unify and utilise their religion as a pathway into the American culture.

An alternative assimilation model in which Irish Americans constructed their identity was to integrate themselves into the American working class traditions. As historian Eric Foner suggests, not all Irish Americans aimed to become part of middle class conservatism (Hayden, 2001: 81). Many Irish in the nineteenth century aimed to achieve assimilation through rebellious, democratic groups seen in the working class struggles in both Ireland and America (Hayden, 2001: 81). One of these groups were the 'Molly Maguires,' which originated in Ireland as a violent underground movement against landlords responsible for starvation and evictions. These acts of vengeance impelled Irish Americans in Pennsylvania suffering under similar conditions in the 1870s, leading to acts of sabotage against the mining companies (Hayden, 2001: 75).

However, some groups, while assimilating to an extent into America, fought to keep a stronger sense of Irish in their identity, or what Cornell and Hartmann call a 'thicker identity';

their Irish roots still largely constructed both their individual and collective action. The Fenian Brotherhood, formed in 1858, were determined to not give up 'their old country' and leniently given in to the dominant force of Americanism (Hayden, 2001: 82). These historical roots of an alternative Irish American identity construction, which have been diffused little until recent decades, makes a point that 'Irishness', just like Americanism, was a contested identity (Hayden, 2001: 82; Barrett, 2012: 7). As Cornell and Hartmann point out, 'substantial diversity may exist within a single ethnic population' (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007:79). Even within the same time period, Irish American identities were not absolute, but varied in thickness.

For Irish Americans today, their identity is constructed differently to that of their parents and grandparents, because of significant social and political changes in their American context. By the nineteen-sixties, ethnicity largely became a matter of choice, and ethnic experiences of daily living largely diminished (Byron, 1999: vi). Now being able to easily assert construction of their identity, many Irish Americans clung to their 'Irishness' (Barrett, 2012: 287). This particularly became apparent in the 1970s when the prevailing political goal changed from the melting pot to a more encompassing idea of multiculturalism – that everyone in America is now expected to have 'an ethnic identity […] furnished with a culture and a history' (Byron, 1999: vii). This change in context ultimately impelled a lot of Irish Americans to become more in touch with their Green roots, and creating a thicker identity through the process of assertion.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007: 89) state that it is important to explore how groups such as the Irish Americans struggle to control the meaning attached to being white. Unlike their predecessors, Irish Americans today are part of the larger white dominant group. By the nineteen-fifties, they were almost totally immersed in white American culture (Rains: 2007: 2). Because Irish ethnicity is seen as an 'innocent' form of whiteness, Irish Americans are allowed to maintain the historical claims of victimhood and exclusion but also enjoy the inherent freedoms of whiteness (Rains: 2007: 8). However, because the immersion of the Irish Americans into the white culture in America is only relatively recent, they are still in the middle of the process of understanding of what it means for whiteness to be attached to their identity.

Due to Irish Americans now being part of the dominant racial group and no longer having to profess their identity, a lot of what is now perceived to be Irish has retreated 'to the level of unconsciousness' (Hayden, 2001: 31). Irish surnames, homilies and expressions, and having Irish relatives are only perceived as being part of their Irish American identity when it is deliberately pointed out to individuals (Hayden, 2001: 88; Byron, 1999: 209, 217, 219). Because this subconscious identity construction hardly looks back to Ireland itself, it is seen by many as an 'inauthentic Irishness' (Rains: 2007: 4).

By looking back to Ireland itself, another key way in which Irish Americans construct their identity, Stephanie Rains (2007) argues, is through the media of tourism. Due to the increase of tourism after the Second World War, particularly in the sixties with rapid increases in technology, Irish Americans could have the tangible experience of returning to their 'homeland', instead of just constructing Irish American identity through narratives (Rains: 2007: 138). Central components of Ireland are recreated into leisure commodities by the tourism industry to represent primitivist notions of the Irish. In turn, Irish Americans, through 'static' tourism, could construct their historical ancestry through 'fantasies of pre-colonial primitivism' (Rains: 2007: 139). This is highlighted by the 2001 slogan of Tourism Ireland Limited, representing its country as the 'Island of Memories' (Rains: 2007: 140). The somewhat primitivist construction of the Irish American's roots are therefore a mix of assignment and assertion. In order to gain any 'authentic' Irish culture, Irish Americans are obligated to obtain it as a commodity, which is primarily shaped by Ireland (Rains: 2007: 140). At the same time, Irish Americans are able to pick and choose certain aspects out of this static culture presented, to create their ethnic ties to Ireland. Because the creation of the Irish American ethnicity is therefore somewhat individualised, as well as the fact that individuals may be more consciously aware of their Irish roots than others, there is a wide spectrum of modern Irish American identities.

The Irish American identity has been constructed over the past few centuries through the processes of assignment and assertion. Through this time period, the ethnic identity has experienced fluctuations largely due to changes in its social, political and economic context, and has been largely contested by different groups. In response to the racially constructed ideas of Irishness, many Irish Americans sought to assimilate into American tradition and be seen as 'white.' Assimilation was played out through different political and social groups, but most had the overall aim of gaining the privileges associated with whiteness. However, some subsets were concerned to hold on to some aspects of their Irish ethnic roots, such as the Fenian Brotherhood. One key way to achieve assimilation for Irish American Catholics was through their religious institutions. A change in political context in the nineteen-seventies led to the Irish identity to become slightly thicker. Irish Americans began to search for their diasporic roots and subconsciously assert their identity in their American context. The Irish tourism industry also plays a large role in how its diasporic people recreates their identity. What is important for Irish Americans today is how they respond to now being part of a dominant white group, while holding on to their history of oppression. Overall, one can understand that what it has meant, and means to be, an Irish American, is not absolute.

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Sociology 213

Ethnicities and Identities

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Linda Manu'atu

Hybrids Alike: Understanding Ethnicity and Identity

When I was young, I learnt that part of the essence of green is blue. Without blue, there can be no green. Blue is an inherent aspect of green's existence. This simple, universal fact is easily applicable to the way 'hybrids' like me, identify with being born and raised (and living) in New Zealand, with a Tongan heritage. Like the analogy of creating secondary colours, I believe these two countries are the essence of my ethnic and national identity. Coming up to my twentieth birthday, I have experienced events that follow in this life history that entail concepts hybridity, racism and authenticity. These events in my life have made me understand that there is no perfect delineation between my Tongan and New Zealand identity and that there is a means of seeking balance between these two cultures.

Emily Keddell explains in her article that lived experiences for a hybrid are "important in helping a child attain a healthy regard for themselves and others" (2006, 55). I agree with this statement because in 2001, my lived experience in Tonga helped me to grasp an understanding of being both from Tonga and New Zealand. I spent two months in the house that my maternal grandfather built himself and raised his children in – and I stayed there with my kainga. (Kainga) is a Tongan term used for close and extended relations). The idea of being both Tongan and New Zealander became evident when we classified each other by nationality – those who lived in America as 'The Americans', those from Australia 'The Ozzies', those from New Zealand 'New Zealanders', and those in Tonga 'Tongans'. Interestingly, we were not even called 'Tongans' in Tonga, whereas in New Zealand I had always explained to others that I am Tongan – especially having been the only pupil of Tongan heritage at my (Samoan) preschool of forty to fifty people of Samoan heritage. I was also the only Tongan student in my primary school classes, as well as my high school form class.

The significance of all these nationality based classifications amongst my kainga was that we felt a sense of belonging in two different places – in Tonga, as well as our country of upbringing. Stuart Hall stated that a lived experience would allow hybrids "to see and recognise the different parts and histories of ourselves, to construct those points of identification, those positionalities we call in retrospect our 'cultural identities' (1990, 237). This means that in seeing where my parents as well as all my ancestors lived, how they lived, and where they all are now, helped me to understand my cultural identity, my hybridity of being a 'Tongan New Zealander'. The reality is that my kainga and I are in sociological terms, hybrids alike. Being able to see that I was not the only hybrid or that I was not the only Tongan student caught in a school full of Samoans – it helped me accept my 'position' as a hybrid. I was no longer the 'odd one out', there were many of us, all making up a fraction of the Tongan Diaspora. It was then that I was able to see my identity of being from two countries, in a brilliant light. This experience has acted as a gateway to understanding my future experiences as a New Zealand-born Tongan. It is important for all people, hybrid or non-hybrid, to understand who they are. I am in a fortunate position, limited in the Tongan language, but able to understand numerous concepts of Tongan culture through living in Tonga for a couple of months.

Growing up, I think I heard just about every racial remark in the playground. I never expected a teacher to have a racist position, nor did I think people would ever be ashamed of aspects of their culture. One day, during 'sharing time', Elizabeth (pseudonym), a blue-eyed, blonde haired six year old, talked about her role at her aunt's wedding. When the teacher found out that my cousin married Elizabeth's aunt, the teacher began to frown and squint at me. She even 'interrogated' me that day. All her questions alluded to 'Polynesian' stereotypes. I knew that she did not like the idea of a Tongan man marrying an English woman.

At the Christmas barbecue that year, I recall somebody telling me not to tell anyone that there was horse meat in the kitchen because Elizabeth's aunt was there with her family. It is not uncommon for Tongan people to eat horse meat. I actually recall the time when I ate horse meat in secret because my family – all my cousins, aunts, and uncles, and so on, were embarrassed to let their European connections outside see. As a result of this 'indignity', at school I would feel uncomfortable when students mentioned that Tongans ate horse meat. When they learned of this custom, they would cringe, and recite that horses were 'friends', not food – as if I ate it every day.

I felt out of my depth when I heard other stereotypes such as Polynesian people only having one talent, being athletic. Others included our love of dog meat, daily criminal activity and gang affiliations or that we loved a certain music genre. These stereotypes would make me feel self-consious about some aspects of my Tongan heritage. All these stereotypes were relating to the idea of the ignoble savage – a concept by Michael Shermer which refers to people being stupid and brutal, by nature. (2003, 33) I sensed that this was what my teacher was alluding to, when she learned of my new in-law. Many of my peers would generalise Polynesian people as defiant people.

There are several television shows that depict Tongan stereotypes such as "Johan from Tonga". When people see the main character Jonah, played by a grown English man with brown-painted skin, bullying, swearing at his parents, teachers, and peers, as well as destroying property, getting involved with the police, singing about horses and so on – these ideas become attributed to Tongan people. Jason Kioa argues "This crude caricature is how thousands of Australians will relate to our Tongan young people." (2014, n.p) that these types of shows stimulate the stereotypes about Tongans. When other ethnicities commit crime, eat horse meat or excel in sport, these are not ascribed as traits of their ethnic group. However, these stereotypes are prevalent on Tongans due to the social ascription influenced by the help of the media.

Affirming Kioa's point, school teacher Marc Elrich wrote a powerful piece about his sixth graders in the United States (2015, n.p). His students believe that being defiant, being 'bad', is a black characteristic. The consequence of stereotyping is that people come to accept stereotypes and expect it. As offended as I was of people who labelled Tongans as dog-killers or gang-affiliated, I had assumptions about other ethnic groups, I generalised people such as my 'Asian' friends. Although they were Chinese, Taiwanese, Thai, and Korean, I had categorised that they were all high achievers and did karate all day. Realising that I did not fit the stereotypes of a rugby player, or a gang member, or that I have an eclectic musical palate, I began to see that my 'high achieving Asian' friends were academically successful simply because they worked hard. I saw that others assumed they did karate too. They would get hassled about doing karate, just as I was constantly asked about horsemeat. I have seen that anyone can be stereotyped, and they can stereotype others at the same time. Either way, people are affected by stereotyping. I have learned to position myself as someone who is not ignorant of other cultures and peoples.

Finally, another apparent issue I have perceived is that of authenticity. I have been questioned about my authenticity as a 'Tongan'. A couple of years ago at a wedding, someone asked me what my name was. I answered "Linda". This person sniggered into their wine glass and asked me why I had a “white” name. Their reply implied that I was ‘fiepalangi’ (term for a person that ‘wants to be British’), which I found deeply insulting. This idea is also explored by Marc Elrich, whose students called them “wannabees: want to be white” (2015, n.p). The students used the term to describe African-Americans – in a hybrid situation like me – who were high-achieving academics. Rather than think of their successes as a result of their hard work, they were classed as ‘trying too hard’ to be white. It is a stereotype that black-skinned people are not intelligent, so for those that do well for themselves, they are thought of as fiepalangi. At the wedding, all I did was answer that person’s question. Yet the person implied that I was trying to be white because my name was not a conventional Tongan name such as ‘Melenaite’, or ‘Meleseini’. As a reply to her remark, my name can be translated into Tongan as ‘Linita’ [say: Lee-knee-dah]. But, my name is Linda. I should not have to ‘prove’ my authenticity as a Tongan, by changing my name.

Similarly, I am often questioned about my faith as well. People often ask me which church I go to, assuming that I am Protestant. When I tell them I am Catholic and attend an English speaking Catholic Church, they compare it to their Tongan-speaking, Tongan hymn-singing, Tongan made church (Siasi Tonga – ‘The Church of Tonga’ which is a Protestant branch established by Tongans).

It is the case that most Tongan people are Christian. However, it is not the case that people are Christian because they are Tongan. Many people, including Tongans themselves, ascribe this idea that if a person is Tongan, they are therefore Protestant – which is invalid. There can be Catholic Tongans like me, gay Tongans, Muslim Tongans, atheist Tongans, half-caste Tongans, Tongans living outside of Tonga, and Tongans with Spanish, English or even Maori names. Therefore, names or religious practices do not define Tongan people’s authenticity.

Authenticity is expressed in one of Thomas King’s texts, stating “I want to look Indian so that you will see me as Indian” (2003, 59). In this context, King desired to appear authentic through his appearance. It is likely that people implied he did not look like an authentic Indian. This is the consequence of social ascriptions – they influence people and make them feel defective, when they are not. This leads to people accepting that authenticity lies in looks, in faith or in names. A Protestant, straight, non-hybrid Tongan can describe some Tongans, but it does not accurately describe all Tongans. Thankfully, due to my lived experience in Tonga, I can disregard what others ascribe to my cultural identity, such as my Spanish originating name.

These events that occurred in my life are examples of some of the challenges and influences of being a hybrid from one ethnic group, but a different nationality. Although I am ‘full’ Tongan, I have had a completely different lifestyle compared to my Tongan cousins in Tonga. After evaluating these occurrences in relation to the concepts of hybridity, racism and authenticity, I have learnt how to deal with social ascriptions such as stereotypes about Tongans and other ethnic cultures. I have also learnt not to self-ascribe those stereotypes because they cannot ‘measure’ my Tongan, or even my New Zealand authenticity. I am lucky to have grown up with experiences in Tonga. I say this because I have young relatives who were not born in Tonga, and have no knowledge of the Tongan language or many aspects of Tongan culture. They have mentioned that they are the only brown-skinned students among mostly European students – just as I was the only Tongan in a Samoan school. They might question their authenticity as Tongans, or be questioned as I was because of their lack of Tongan culture. Optimistically, they might one day feel a strong sense of belonging to Tonga, as I do, from my lived experience there. Even my Tongan language is limited, thus I study the Tongan language at university. Although I have not been to Tonga in the past five years, I know that this does not mean my ‘level’ of authenticity could diminish. Like the colour green, it comes in dozens of shades, but the essential properties are always yellow and blue. Rosa Sheets accurately summarise hybridity by observing the situation well in saying that “The individual takes the world in by observing and noting differences” (1999, 75). In this way, I can practice both cultures, rather than separate them. I realise that I am not an equal mixture of yellow and blue, but a different shade of green that captures both my Tongan heritage and my New Zealand life.

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Sociology 213

Ethnicities and Identities

x

Kataraina Tims

Ethnic Identities: Who am I?

This auto ethnographic essay analyses a range of factors that have shaped and continue to shape my ethnic identity. Throughout the essay, I will explore the interactions between self and social ascription and its influence on my identity formation. First, I will identify the extent to which aspects of my hybrid identity play a thick or thin role in organizing my social life and how the change in social environment can affect this. Secondly, I will explore how stereotypes of lower class Maori have been internalized by Maori and how this has influenced my own understanding of ethnic identity. Thirdly, I will examine the problematisation of having a hybrid identity when more conventional markers of Maori identity are asserted. I will conclude the essay by exploring how I assert my own ethnic identity in different environments and the influence that power relations have in doing so. Throughout the essay, I will use my own personal experiences to illustrate these factors that have formed my ethnic identity.

Desire to Assimilate

In 2002, at the age of seven, my parents had moved my older brother and I out of a Maori medium school and into 'mainstream' schooling. My second day in, I was sitting with my other classmates on the floor in the middle of class. Our teacher asked if we could all choose a book from the shelf and read at our desks for the next half an hour. I stood up and waited behind the other children as they eagerly scrambled to find a book. When a gap had cleared, I walked closer to the shelf and began searching for a book that struck me of interest. As I went through each book, one by one, I began to panic. They were all written in English but I could only read in Te Reo Maori. By this point, all the other children had found their seats and were already immersed in their reading. As I stood there on my own, I felt awkward, confused, embarrassed, lost and self-conscious. I was painstakingly made aware that I was somehow different to my peers. They looked the same as me and talked the same as me but I did not share the same literary skills as them. At the age of seven, all I wanted was to fit in. I applied myself at school and quickly became skilled in reading and writing in English. Within the span of two years, I could no longer speak, read or write fluently in Te Reo Maori. My parents could only speak English. Thus my home and school environment made it easier for me to assimilate into 'mainstream' education and English literacy.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) take a constructionist approach to identity, in which identities can play a thick or thin part in shaping social life. While my home environment was predominantly Pakeha oriented, the school institution I began in had more influence in shaping my social life because I spent more time in the school environment, which was immersed in Maori culture, traditions and language. Therefore, my Maori identity played a thick role in the way that I understood the world and related to people around me. Included in this constructionist approach, Cornell and Hartmann (2007: 81) highlight the importance of environments, events, relationships and processes in the way that they continually shape ethnic identities. The change in my school environment to a 'mainstream' Pakeha environment played an important role in transitioning my Maori identity from thick to thin. The desire to fit in, which was a result from the change in environment, also hastened this transition. As a result of assimilating into the dominant culture of New Zealand society, it became increasingly harder to assert my Maori identity in later years.

The 'Poor' Maori

When I was eleven years old, my family and I moved into a relatively poor neighbourhood. The population in this neighbourhood was mostly made up of Maori identifying residents. One night I was out playing in the street with my two brothers and some other kids from around the neighbourhood. A girl, who looked a similar age to me, came up and introduced herself. When I told her my name, she seemed surprised. She asked me if I was Maori. I said "Yes." Her eyebrows burrowed together, "But aren't you rich? I heard your guys' house is pretty flash inside." I didn't know how to respond. We were definitely not rich but mum did the best with what we had. I knew some of the other kids had it pretty rough. Mum would always make sure we were fed well, showered and dressed nicely. My parents also valued education and instilled in us positive self-esteem. I was confused. Did being 'rich' make me less Maori?

This example highlights the assertion of material disadvantage as a marker of Maori identity. Borell (2005: 199) explains that the idea of material disadvantage as a marker of Maori identity comes from 'negative stereotypes, statistics and representations of Maori around notions of poverty, violence, and dysfunctional parenting and families.' In her study on young Maori living in South Auckland, Borell (2005: 200) has found that the idea of a 'normal' family, which includes the belief in an ideal nuclear family whose parents have the resources and materials to make healthy choices for their children, has been associated with a 'Pakeha' environment. In opposition, a 'Maori' environment is perceived to be an environment that is 'rough,' has few resources and is limited in opportunities (Borell, 2005: 200). Through this perception, the view that my upbringing at home was perhaps more aligned to a 'Pakeha' rather than a Maori environment can be understood. This may have helped form the conclusion that I must not be Maori. My identification as Maori was constantly called into question growing up in this neighbourhood and this largely influenced my own perception of what it was to be Maori. When, however I entered high school, my views on the markers of Maori identity changed from material disadvantage to cultural 'authenticity.'

The 'Authentic' Maori

My last three years in high school, heavily influenced my perception of the 'authentic' Maori and how I very much did not meet this criteria of 'authenticity.' At high school, a Maori unit had been established for students who identified themselves as Maori and who wanted to be immersed in an environment rich in Tikanga and reo. I enrolled in the school at the age of fifteen following the transition of my family from Australia to New Zealand. I was passionate about reclaiming my reo and asked if I could join the Maori unit. Unfortunately, I was denied entrance because I had not been part of the unit since Year 9. I was devastated. My family hadn't been involved in Maori culture since my older brother and I had left kura, with the exception of attending the odd tangi or two. The Maori unit were very exclusive and a tight-knit whanau. They were involved in a variety of cultural practices such as kapa haka and powhiri. Many of these students were fluent in Te Reo Maori or could at least converse in the language. To me and many other students, they were the embodiment of the 'authentic' Maori. Maori students who were not part of this unit, including myself, were often regarded as 'plastic' Maori. My racial features further accentuated this 'plastic' ideology.

The power of 'authenticity' in shaping ethnic identities is highlighted in this example. According to Poata-Smith (2005: 30), there is a tendency to fall back on simplistic notions of tradition, language and culture as essential markers of 'authentic' Maori identity. 'Authenticity' is characterised by 'fixed' elements such as knowledge of 'whakapapa, matauranga Maori, proficiency in te reo and tikanga' and involvement in cultural practices (McIntosh, 2005: 43). The issue that emerges from such fixed, essential classifications, is that it excludes people who do not meet these rigid criteria (Poata-Smith, 2005: 31). In a country ridden by a history of colonisation, there are many people like myself who experience cultural dispossession and feel further disconnected from their culture and ethnic group by these fixed notions of 'authentic' identity (McIntosh, 2005: 43). Furthermore, the issue of race interplays in this essentialist conception of identity. In You're Not the Indian I Had in Mind, King (2003: 55) states that 'authenticity' was 'simply in the eye of the beholder.' In order to be considered 'authentic' Maori and 'real,' one must look Maori. This highlights the power of social ascription in determining who can claim to be 'authentically' Maori. He further explains that these 'authentic' markers of identity are grounded in traditionalism and are held in binary opposition to modernity (King, 2003: 55). Thus, it can be understood how a person of mixed-race can experience an identity dilemma because this challenges the binary construct.

Identity Dilemma

The dilemma that I have experienced in my identity has influenced the way that I assert myself in different social settings. In New Zealand where western values dominate, I tend to downplay my Maori identity by introducing myself as 'Kat' or 'Kata' rather than in my full Maori name, 'Kataraina.' This is for three reasons: it eases the awkwardness that arises when people cannot pronounce my name, I am not questioned on my descent based on 'authentic' stereotypes of Maori and thirdly, I can play on the privileges and status that are associated with being Pakeha. In a Maori setting, I will usually introduce myself as 'Kataraina.' In doing so, I am able to assert my Maori identity, which is not portrayed by my racial features alone and therefore, reap the benefits of being Maori in a Maori environment. Thus, it can be concluded that this change in assertion of my identity is driven by a need to be accepted in different social groups and by the advantages that accompanies this inclusion.

This example illustrates the power that I have to reap the benefits of my dual ethnic identity by conforming to different social environments. However, there is a paradox that emerges within this advantage. While I can merge between a Maori and Pakeha environment, I will never be completely accepted by both social groups because I am not 'authentic' to one or the other. Therefore, the power of society to dictate ethnic identity formation is strong.

It is also interesting to note the power dynamics that interplay with ethnic identity formation. This example shows how Pakeha culture forms a main part of my identity, while aspects of my Maori identity are only drawn on in small Maori environments. Bidois (2013: 144) states that the binary construction between Pakeha and Maori culture, which features Pakeha as the dominant culture and Maori as the subordinate culture, has made it difficult for a person who identifies with both to merge and equally engage with the two cultures. The hierarchy of these two cultures has influenced the way in which I identify more with being Pakeha and less with being Maori. However this is also influenced by other elements such as race and the home environment. Nevertheless, power relations continue to have an important influence in the way that I assert my own identity.

Conclusion

There are a range of factors that have influenced and shaped my ethnic identity. The factors that have been most influential in the construction of my ethnic identity include social ascription, self-assertion, discourses on authenticity, social relationships, experiences, my own agendas and social environments. The changing social, economic and political relations are also interwoven in identity formation. There were two issues that constantly arose throughout my life in the construction of my identity. These were two binary constructs, the first, was between traditionalism and modernity, and the second, and was between Pakeha and Maori culture. As a person who has a hybrid identity, it has been difficult to express myself as a person of both Maori and Pakeha descent because the two cultures and identities have been structured as mutually exclusive. Furthermore, the power relations that are embedded within and between these binaries intensifies the dilemma that I experience in forming my ethnic identity and in converging the two cultures. Thus, my ethnic identity continues to be reshaped as these different forces interplay with each other.

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English 101

Literature and the Contemporary

x

Milly Sheed

A postmodernist lens and second person narration: deciphering identity through invasive language

"You are whisked off on a magic carpet ride across the fiords and mountains of New Zealand's southern wonderland. Sometimes the copter soars effortlessly above razor-sharp peaks, sometimes it darts through a narrow gorge, brushing the sides of spectacular mountain walls, giving you chance after chance to snap the magnificent vistas which open up on all sides. Here Nature outdoes herself effortlessly. Whoops! mind that rock wall! Let's hope no one was in the path of that avalanche! Yes, flight of a lifetime. Rugged splendour. Mitre Peak. Wild blue yonder. Sutherland Falls." (Chapter 7)

In this excerpt from "The Brain of Katherine Mansfield" by Bill Manhire, a post-modernist perspective is used to portray an impression of national identity. The excerpt invites us to scrutinise our place, amongst the bricolage of tribal junk that has formed the national identity of New Zealand, in a very personal and invasive manner. This is achieved through the use of second-person narration. The excerpt uses the façade of parody and tourist language to convey a powerful representation of an outsider's view on New Zealand - geographically and culturally. Through imagery, syntax and sound effects, our individualism is questioned and our experience of the passage is heightened as we embark on this journey "of a lifetime".

Second person narrative is used in an attempt to connect with the reader on a personal level. "You" are taken away on adventure over Southern New Zealand; it is "you" who is given the chance to appreciate glimpses of this sought-after landscape. The use of second-person perspective encourages a deeper identification with the narrative, but in contrast, it also provides a significant level of discomfort and disconnection with the language and characterisation. The reader's ability to identity with the text is based on national personality - the diction used is is specific to the culture and landscape of New Zealand, "fiords", "Sutherland Falls", "Mitre Peak". Only a true-bred New Zealander would be able to understand these terms, let alone personally relating to them - but we are not given a choice. The forcefulness of the constant address of "you" immerses us into the narrative.

The narrator uses parody in describing the landscape within this piece. Typical tourist language and clichés are used to disguise the beauty of Southern New Zealand with this façade. Diction such as "wonderland", "spectacular", "magnificent" and "splendour" are used - which come with abundant positive connotations, hyperbolic in fact. These are not the words a typical southern New Zealander would use to describe their homeland; it is the language of marketing and exaggeration. This is a response to the idealised view of New Zealand held by outsiders, a mimic in fact. The fantasy tourist imagery is made appealing to the reader through sound effects - assonance is used throughout the excerpt, "fiords…sours…gorge", "path…avalanche" and "splendour…yonder". Syntax also accomplishes this. The use of imagery is posed as a list with commas - one idea flowing after another in a fluent and soothing manner. This is pleasing, even lulling, to the ear and we begin to recognise the ever increasing impact that tourist marketing is having upon our lives. We are subject to it every day without comprehending the effect that it has upon us as individuals and how we communicate within our society.

Syntax changes in the second half of the excerpt from complex sentences into short, sharp sentences - separated by a collective confrontation in the middle of the piece. The contrast of the repetition of short sentences highlights the influence of the narrator on our reading experience; we are persuaded that it is our thoughts being conveyed; they are choppy, like our own unedited thoughts. It creates a more powerful communication between the narrator and reader and increases the tension and anxiety in the scene; the narrator boldly attempts to fabricate our superficial identity". The excerpt as a whole encourages us to acknowledge our own "character"; the stance of the narrator evokes a hindrance of individualism by slotting us all into the same category. Despite feeling a personal connection with the journey, we are alienated due to our individual culture, beliefs and backgrounds. The post-modernist mode accomplishes this strange narrator-reader relationship; we become textual affects as we pander to an identity which is given to us without a choice.

The reader is then suddenly reunited with the text, when collective personal pronouns are used. For example "Let's hope…" and, "Yes, flight of a lifetime…" The middle of the excerpt has an all exclusive effect; we are invited to be the tourist, to experience this adventure as a collective entity, and to be incorporated into partnership with the narrator. We are told we have the rare chance to "snap" pictures of this landscape - irony is presented here, as if we are a "New Zealander" already, why should this be such a novelty for us? We are excluded once again from identifying with the text as we are alienated from our own culture. The repetitive use of imperative command shows that the narrator cares for our safety, "mind that rock wall!" Shockingly however, the narrator expresses this in a jovial way, suggesting that this care is superficial. The narrator interjects, "whoops!" to demonstrate this. The thought of death by avalanche is trivialised by the narrator. Perhaps the mention of an "avalanche" and "mountains" relates to the Mount Erebus disaster, which caused the death of 200 New Zealanders in 1979. This only adds to the peculiar nature of the narrator's tone. It is established here that the narrator is definitely unstable and untrustworthy; a post-modernist mechanism.

The idea that beauty encompasses significant elements of danger is an overarching theme in this excerpt, particularly within the imagery used. In this "southern wonderland" we soar over the "razor-sharp peaks" of mountain tops; an instant juxtaposition is evident. This contrast is furthered with the juxtaposition of "rugged splendour". Presented in a sharp, short sentence to increase its emphasis. The use of these two opposing words in isolated intimacy with each other presents a typically impossible concept - beauty amongst the broken. Additionally, the danger of the risk of avalanche is masked in frivolousness; eerily so, suggesting that only by the expense of danger, are we able to comprehend beauty. The "wild blue yonder"; a cliché with a powerful undertone, suggesting the infiniteness of the landscape. The combination of dangerous elements in such close proximity to immeasurable beauty creates a poignant impression and adds to the complexity a genuine Kiwi identity by linking landscape to culture.

The narrator takes on a bold fixation throughout the excerpt; to fabricate the reader's identity using diction, syntax and imagery. We are both engaged and absorbed in the text, but also excluded and expelled from it due to the powerful, but invasive, use of second-person narration. The concept of national identity is corrupted by the narrator, as New Zealand sinks into a meaningless cliché of tourist prose.

English 102

Great Books: Seduction and Betrayal

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Julia Marchwicka

(Un)Fulfilling Fragmentation: Dynamics of Desire, Pleasure and Reader/Author Relationship in Laurence Sterne's "A Sentimental Journey".

With any great book, the reader can expect to become thoroughly absorbed in the narrative. Through "commonsense Cartesianism", the medium is entirely forgotten.[1] It functions only as a transparent vessel of communication between the author and the reader. Sterne's Sentimental Journey is considered a great book; however, it is impossible to look past its pages enough to forget its physical existence. Through exploration of the relationship between the reader and the author, and that of desire and pleasure, Sterne creates a provocative discourse in his eighteenth century novel.

The text is constantly aware of its medium, and thus aware of itself. The self-awareness of the physical text relies on its fragmentation. Sterne's prose is frequently interrupted with dashes and asterisks. It is segmented further with frequent ellipsis, creating space where a reader would usually expect a solid block of text. Rather, the reader is confronted with paragraphs of loosely composed writing; passages that are divided into brief chapters, sometimes under a page in length. A change of font and its size occurs frequently, diverting the reader's attention away from the narrative, and further disrupting the flow of the reader's experience. The writing is intruded on further by the inclusion of illustration, with its relevance at times not explained. Visual fragmentation draws attention to the medium, allowing it to become exposed, a thing in itself, rather than simply a means of telling the story. Furthermore, Sterne's direct addresses to the reader emphasises the discursive roles of the reader and author functioning while the reader immerses in the text. The narration is frequently interrupted by Sterne's exclamations of such address. This fragmentation juxtaposes the relationship between the reader and the author, illustrating its duality. However, this relationship is only achieved within the conscious presence of the medium. Like a stubborn chaperone, Sterne's text mediates the interaction between the reader and the author, reminding us of its presence whenever there is any danger of getting carried away and forgetting it. Therefore, the relationship between the reader and the author is more of a triangle, with the medium of the text acting as a conduit (Fig 1).

While the fragmentation of Sterne's Sentimental Journey is extensively visual, disruption in the text occurs also on both verbal and narrative levels. The separation of the text into two volumes, and those in turn being broken up into minute chapters, add to the premeditatedly chaotic ambience in the text. The relationship between the reader and author never has enough uninterrupted time to form a true connection. Rather, their interaction is a sequence of minimal exposures. As a result, since the reader is forced to often stop and break while reading, constantly aware of the medium, the reader also remains distrustful of Sterne. The illusion of the truth of the text is interrupted.[2] Visual disintegration of the text allows the reader to approach it, and enter its discourse, with the premise of disruption. This immediately renders the reader apprehensive and distrustful of the narrative and narrator. The text is further narratively disintegrated with dialogue frequently interspersed – seemingly at random – through Sterne's musings. The tempo and rhythm of passages often

1 Alex Wetmore. *Men of Feeling in Eighteenth-Century Literature,* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2013), 6.

2 Alex Wetmore. *Men of Feeling in Eighteenth-Century Literature,* 11.

follows a pattern: the sentences grow in length and complexity, only to culminate with a short and underwhelming statement. This dramatic change in pace intrudes on any hope of fluid reading of Sterne's text. The narrative also functions to build the reader's anticipation. This is done through a frequently applied combination of gradiato and non-sequitur. Anticipation and expectations of the reader are built up in a crescendo, finally climaxing in disappointment. Any hope of the reader's fulfilment is eliminated just before the point of realisation (Fig 2).

Reminiscent of the Greek myth of Sisyphus and his immense boulder, the fulfilment of the reader's anticipation by the author is an impossible achievement. In this case, however, unlike Sisyphus, Sterne relishes in watching the reader's reaction as he lets the boulder repeatedly roll down. In Lacan's theory, desire is "incompatible with satisfaction".[3] A Sentimental Journey functions in a very Lacanian way - desire cannot be fulfilled, and the reader is always left desiring. Freud's theory of desire frames it as "mobile", meaning that it is always moving onto the next subject.[4] Sterne constantly shifts the reader's focus and, subsequently, their desires. The pattern of Sterne repeatedly teasing the reader results in the reader's engagement with the text looking somewhat like this (Fig 3):

Over the course of the book, the reader learns to mistrust the author. From their immersion in this sentimental text, the reader is taught to always remain emotionally detached from the text itself, because otherwise they will face climatic disappointment. Sterne illustrates this in his text through the chapters titled "Fragment. Paris."[5] Here, Yorick encounters a fragment of a letter, and having become entirely absorbed with it, he despairs at his subsequent inability to find its other half. This anecdote of Yorick and the fragmented letter is a parallel to the relationship between the reader and the author's text. Both these texts are never to be completely finished, so Yorick and the reader alike are unable to fulfil their desire.

The dual opposite to the fragmentation prevalent in Sterne's text is the prevalent theme of connectivity. The author's focus on the minute details of Yorick's physiology draws attention to his somatic experiences and sensorium. The story is said to "occur in [Yorick's] own physiological landscape".[6] It is through that physiology that the author establishes an emotional connection with the reader. Yorick's sensations replace adventure, shifting the focus away from the narrative development and bringing to the forefront the emotional dimension of the text. Both Sterne's and Yorick's focus is on connectivity; Sterne's connectivity in the sense that he aims to generate an interaction of the reader with characters, and Yorick's connectivity via his interaction with other characters, physically and. Through vivid imagery, such as that of the tears and the nettles both stinging Yorick following the Monk's death, the reader is encouraged to experience sensations along with Yorick.[7] Furthermore, the Monk's snuffbox reoccurs in the text, serving as a reminder of Yorick's attachment to it, symbolic of the sentiment he feels towards the Monk. This empathy is utilised to add an emotional and sentimental dimension to the relationship between the reader and the author, which was initially based on distrust caused by constant fragmentation. Connectivity, therefore, holds a greater effect on the reader due to the backdrop of duality and with fragmentation so prevalently reinforced in the text.

3 Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, *Literature, Criticism and Theory*, 4th ed (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 210.
4 Ibid., 208.
5 Laurence Sterne. *A Sentimental Journey*, (London: Penguin Group, 2001), 97-101.
6 Ann Jessie van Sant. *Eighteenth-century sensibility and the novel.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 104.
7 Laurence Sterne. *A Sentimental Journey*, 22.

Sterne and his text's ultimate goal is the achievement of pleasure from the relationship between the author and the reader. Like with any great text, the pleasure from reading A Sentimental Journey is constructed to be almost transgressive.[8] From the very beginning of the text, the reader undergoes a process of proposition by the author. Once seduced into reading the text, the reader continues to be courted by the author in a rather rough manner. Throughout the text, Yorick strives for various ladies' attention, but Sterne longs, just as fervently as he does, for the reader's emotional climax. While the reader's pleasure is acclaimed as almost erotic, Sterne's text is full of innuendo.[9] The aspects of seduction in the text are never dispelled, but instead they work synergistically. The teasing refusal of fulfilment of the reader's desire by the author functions to provoke the reader to continue reading. Barthes and Coleridge both draw attention to the process of disavowal in any text concerned with pleasure.[10] Through this process, Sterne does not permit the reader to forget the seduction, again bringing into focus the medium. In the words of Barthes, "suspension can never be overstated" – the teasing of the reader by the author only keeps the longing and pleasure alive in Sterne's text.[11]

Sterne's text functions through its fragmentation. Keeping the medium of the narrative visible allows a specific interaction between the author and the reader. A Sentimental Journey therefore challenges the reader's expectations of a great text, playing on their emotional and sentimental investment in the narrative. The stopping and starting on visual, verbal and narrative levels, and the exploration of the unfulfilled desire of the reader, as well as that of pleasure in the text, allow this eighteenth century text to be classified as truly a great novel, even to the contemporary reader.

8 Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, *Literature, Criticism and Theory*, 289.
9 Ibid., 292.
10 Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, Literature, Criticism and Theory, 296.
11 Ibid., 295.

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English 219

Nineteenth Century Literature

x

Aine Kelly-Costello

Emily Dickinson: Portrayals of the Natural World

The natural world, which I will define for the purposes of this essay as everything that is not human or man-made, can be evoked, conceptualized and utilized in enumerable ways. Even a small sample of Emily Dickinson's poems demonstrates this notion amply; her immense output resists summation, even when grouped thematically. One approach involves examining her poems in a discourse with each other. This way, it is possible to move away from cycles of concern that centre on what Dickinson "believed" and to focus instead on "what she keeps caring about" (Weisbuch, 221-222). The eight poems explored in this essay indicate that a small proportion of the themes Dickinson "keeps caring about" include the mysterious or awe-inspiring in nature, conceptualizations of ecosystems, worldly perspective and human injustice. The chosen poems demonstrate how the perception of the narrator and also the reader together come to constitute the poems' portrayal of the natural world and allow us to explore the ramifications of those portrayals.

Dickinson frequently portrays nature as awe-inspiring, particularly from the perspective of a first-person narrator. In "I Started early — Took my Dog" (520) [1], the narrator "visit[s] the sea" (2), becoming completely immersed in its world. The "Mermaids in the Basement" and "Frigates — in the Upper Floor", "Presuming me to be a Mouse" (3-7) indicate the feeling of relative human smallness the narrator imagines these figures to pick up on. The Mermaids and Frigates "look" and "extend hempen hands" (4-6), and when we couple this image with the three-story structure which mirrors that of the traditional haunted house, something of the supernatural is evoked. The speaker makes clear that "no Man moved Me" while the tide came in (9), juxtaposing clearly which force yields the greater power at this moment. For a time, this world ruled by the sea and the tides is also blissfully separated from all other humanity, making it seem especially pristine, even sacred. The flowing nature of the tide's "Silver Heal" (18) is juxtaposed with the "solid town" (21), and it is eventually the sea that withdraws, leaving all sovereignty with it and its "mighty look" (23). There is no mention of Eden or God, but there is a definite sense that even considering disturbing this world would amount to nothing less than sacrilege.

In "What Mystery Pervades a Well!" (1400), nature is linked more explicitly with the supernatural and transcendental. The poem initially focuses on the haunting feeling associated with bottomlessness, which affects the narrator so profoundly that they are surprised - "The grass does not appear afraid" (9). The lingering presence of "eternity" in Dickinson's work, figuring frequently with reference to death as an eternal (live) being or as a state of perceived immortality [2] is implied in the limitlessness of the well. This poem also features reference to the supernatural, but this time tending towards the uncanny rather than the prelapsarian. A well is "Like looking every time you please/Into an abyss's face!" (7-8), a choice of phrase particularly jarring for breaking the expected ABCB rhyme (with "glass" (6)) as set up in the first stanza. It is strongly implied that those who are most at ease talking about nature have not experienced what, Dickinson seems to argue, is nature's transcendental mystery. "The ones that cite her most/Have never passed her haunted house,/Nor simplified her ghost" (18-20). As Hughes puts it, "for those with eyes to see, nature is haunted with a numinous presence that is unnerving and alienating because it is radically unknowable" (283-305). Such a presence is hinted at, with varying degrees of explicitness, in many of Dickinson's poems [3]. Whatever else she might have to say about the natural world, it does seem to be a recurrent theme that nature yields an eternal supernatural mystery whose source is ultimately only attributable to a divine presence which deserves respect because its form and power will always remain beyond human comprehension.

The poems “Bee! I’m expecting you!” (1035) and “Nature — the Gentlest Mother is” (790) differently discuss the interconnected nature of the ecosystem. A number of Dickinson’s poems evoke the natural world from the perspective of a child narrator, a marked benefit of which is the ability to wander into fantasy lands that adults are no longer supposed to inhabit. We imagine the poem “Bee!” springing naturally from a child’s fantasy, in which something more spiritual—more human, we might even say—than the food chain and life-cycles, connects the ecosystem. The fly’s letter-writing positions us in early Spring and its choppy, informal syntax portrays the organisms as affectionate friends who have missed each other: the bees are “due— / The Frogs got Home last Week—[...]/ Birds, mostly back—/ The Clover warm and thick—” (4-8). This harmonious child-like world envelops us in a very safe, thriving ecosystem. In “Nature — the Gentlest Mother is”, the salient feature of ecosystem portrayal is its maternal figure who with “infinite Affection/And infiniter Care” (21-22) can single-handedly control the world. This rather startling ability would seem to equate the mother figure, or at least her willpower, with the divine force pervading nature that eludes comprehension. We must remember, however, that this is only one possible rendering of that presence; it would be misleadingly simplistic to map this representation on to all of Dickinson’s other poems. This poem may also belong to the fantasy world of a child, insofar as it is not hard to imagine such a narrator transferring images of their domestic world into the much larger and less comprehensible outside world. Of course, the mother figure provides an interesting trope for imagining interrelation in nature in the sense that the “Rampant Squirrel” or “too impetuous bird” (7-8) that she gently admonishes share what is signified to be a familial connection both with her and with each other. As in “Bee!”, then, the ecosystem seems to thrive, here not merely via its interconnectedness but also through a form of hierarchical relation. At the poem’s close, Mother Nature’s ability to “[Will] silence everywhere” (24) is unnerving, however, as such a silence may imply a finite state from which the world could hardly recover. The unsettling feeling stems also from the juxtaposition between the conceptions of this most harmonious and caring figure and the sheer quantity of power that she can wield at her discretion. Remaining with us after reading is an awareness of our desperate wish to trust unconditionally in the will of Mother Nature, whilst being forever unable to relinquish this sense of unease.

In “What is — `Paradise`” (215), the notion of wanting to escape into another world is taken up more fully. The poem is written in a child’s voice, lending it an ability to see from a perspective that allows “Paradise” to be conceptualized with elements of real life. In referring specifically to Eden, nature’s mysterious element is evoked. Words written in quotations suggest the child narrator’s unfamiliarity with foreign concepts that might belong to a new and wonderful world, such as “`farmers`” that “`hoe`” and “`new shoes`” (3-7). This world offers something of a comforting novelty in its separation from poverty and “ransom folks” that “laugh at me” (16): “Maybe — “Eden” a’n’t so lonesome/As New England used to be!” (17-18). For the child, there is something that beckons irresistibly in the promise of divine security. They desperately want to believe “there’s such a person/ As `a Father` — in the sky —” (11-12), in particular one who will look after them if they “do what the Nurse calls `die” (14). For all the rejection of Calvinist Christian doctrine in her poetry (Hues, 283-305), Dickinson does show an appreciation for the reassurance one can come by through trusting in the divine. Thus, the poem presents the natural world as both a fertile land of imaginative possibility, and an entrance into the afterlife.

The poem “The Robin’s my Criterion for Tune—” (285) elucidates our innate biases stemming from the familiarity of the natural world surrounding us. Perhaps more explicitly than in “What is — `Paradise`”, humans are portrayed as imbibing their world-view from that which they are exposed to, and viewing their native climate and landscape as something which palpably extends into their daily life. The poem does not privilege a particular geography, but does point to a sort of humility in being forced to recognize the relative confines of our knowledge—and, in broad terms, our tendency to imagine the current state of our knowledge or perception as encompassing the world as it ‘actually’ is.

The Robin’s my Criterion for Tune—

Because I grow—where Robins do—

But, were I Cuckoo born—

I’d swear by him— (1-4)

This, evidently, is a more mature poem than the former, exploring the unconscious biases we usually do not heed, from which, Dickinson tells us, not even “The Queen” (16)—is exempt. “Without the snow’s tableau/Winter, were lie—to me—/ Because I see—New Englandly” (13-15). In this poem, then, the natural world functions both as a source of unconscious bias and as a lens to gain perspective on that bias.

Dickinson also explores human abuses of people and animals. In “It would have starved a Gnat —/To live so small as I” (612, 1-2), we immediately hear a child’s voice comparing their perceived circumstances with that of the gnat. The child is dependent on other humans, while the gnat is portrayed as more privileged and autonomous, capable of satisfying its basic needs of sustenance and well-being. This suggests that such an abuse as is being carried out on the child would not naturally occur in nature [4]. This child, however, notices in the gnat’s autonomy a disturbing quality: the gnat can “gad [their] little being out/And not begin again” (15-16). For the child, the natural world is especially enviable because it allows creatures the option of ending their own suffering. In “Civilization — spurns — the Leopard!” (492), the anthropological injustice is clearly directed back into a part of the natural world, but that injustice can also comment on the human condition. “Was the Leopard — bold?” (2). The question seems to be directed at the leopard’s presumably American keeper, who is not accepting of her “tawny” customs and “dun gown” (5-7). The leopard, of course, is the innocent one—”Deserts — never rebuked her Satin —”—and the proliferation of dashes perhaps functions to lend the animal mystique and make humanity conscious of its cruelty. These lines can also function aptly as a slight against the slave trade [5], and while the poem’s ultimate injustice is described in terms of the leopard, a postcolonial reading in which its fellow humans are displaced presents itself. The pungency of the leopard’s “Memories — of Palm —/Cannot be stifled — with Narcotic —/Nor suppressed — with Balm —” (11-13). We are left with a lingering image of the infinite emotive pull the creature, and likewise, colonized and displaced humans, will always feel for their native habitat [6].

In sampling even this small selection of her poetry, it is apparent that Dickinson engages deeply with the issues she cares about, dealing with many of her themes from multiple points of view and manipulating meaning and syntax creatively. She was, as is commonly remarked, a humble innovator, never afraid to admit that “I see—New Englandly” (285, 15). For Dickinson, the natural world can only ever be viewed in the eye of the beholder, be they a real or imaginary one. Its power and mystery can and should fascinate everyone; her poetry gives us a heightened consciousness of nature being a lens through which we can examine our own behaviours and ideologies.

Notes

1. All poem numbers refer to the Johnson edition (1960, Little, Brown and Company), consistent with the course anthology. The text of all poems is taken from the Emily Dickinson archives, Johnson edition.

2. For example: "Because I could not stop for Death" (712), "My life had stood — a Loaded Gun" (754), "A Wife — at daybreak — I shall be" (461)

3. For example: "Exultation is the going" (76), "An awful tempest mashed the air" (198), "What is — `Paradise`" (215)

4. The child appears to demonstrate some of the same biases found in 1035, 790 and 215 towards a prelapsarian ecosystem.

5. The poem is thought to be written in 1862, which was also the year of the emancipation proclamation.

6. This poem demonstrates aptly Dickenson's remarkable ability to see beyond her time, particularly as in the nineteenth century, animals were not supposed to be associated with emotions.

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English 102
Great Books: Seduction and Betrayal

x

Lisa Maya Jagoe

The Impact of Historical Memory in Richard III

This essay will discuss the significance of Bosworth Field in Shakespeare's Richard III as a portrayal of Shakespeare's historic knowledge, and will consider how an audience in 1591 Elizabethan London in would have responded to it in contrast with a contemporary audience. When Richard III was first performed, the monarch on the English throne was Elizabeth I, grand-daughter of Richmond (later King Henry VII). Shakespeare uses his historic knowledge to shape a play justifying the reign of Richmond, and thus Elizabeth I, to his London audience. Important points of discussion include how the scenes set at Bosworth Field portray atmosphere, character and action with the assistance of stage directions. All these aspects of Bosworth Field contribute to answering the question: how is historic memory made? It will be argued that Shakespeare uses a combination of popular culture and historic knowledge to provide a theatrical experience for any period of audience.

Richard III is an example of Shakespeare's ability to balance his historic knowledge and intricate characters in order to present a range of audiences with a brilliant, theatrical and memorable performance. Shakespeare was precise in his portrayal of historic detail surrounding Bosworth Field, which was almost certainly taken from Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.[1] It was probably not a book widely read by the majority of Shakespeare's audiences, but tales depicting the fall of such an infamous monarch certainly would have been a part of popular culture. The historical significance of the battle at Bosworth Field had an important impact upon the literary and art worlds, which causes the audience and critics to question how historic memory is made?

Bosworth Field was only discovered in 2009, so is a perfect example of how an audience does not need to know an exact location to understand the historical significance of it. This lack of historic evidence about Bosworth Field is partly due to an absence of a battle record from Richmond, as his biographer Bernard Andre refused to describe the battle, preferring to leave a blank page.[2] This in itself is indicative of how history presents the horrendous years spent under King Richard, as his successors chose to destroy evidence of him rather than leaving behind records of his rule. Richard III takes advantage of prior audience knowledge of Bosworth Field from tales, yet across the centuries audiences have approached the play with varying historical contexts. For Elizabethan Londoners the recent memory of Richard's tyrannous rule would have been a reminder of the glorious Richmond, and contemporary audiences have the knowledge that Richard was the last King of England to die in battle. In both cases the audience approaches Richard III with some historical information about the significance of Bosworth Field, which shapes their experience of watching the final few scenes and the build-up to Richard's death. Bosworth Field is only ever said once by name, when Richard states "here pitch our tents…in Bosworth Field".[3] This brief mention builds up the anticipation for what will occur at the location far more than if it was used liberally.

1 Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (New York: AMS Press, 1976).
2 Philip Schwyzer, *Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 62.
3 William Shakespeare, *Richard III* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), p. 94

The location of Bosworth Field acts as a tipping point within the play; focus and power begin to shift from one King to his replacement, who already has the audience on his side. The fact that it is Richard who mentions Bosworth Field by name reminds the audience that he is the villain in the play, and that it is his death which will shortly occur. To add to the building atmosphere, Richmond and his army are located in Tamworth, which is geographically very close to Bosworth Field. This shift of power in the play can be seen in the contrast between Richard's wicked deeds catching up to him and the morality of Richmond. The positioning of Richard and Richmond on the two sides of the stage confirms the imagined distance between the two camps and the oppositional placing of the two figures, who have now become respectfully demonized and idealized as villain and hero.[4]

Throughout the play there has been a build-up of action and anticipation of Margaret's curse taking revenge upon the increasingly immoral Richard, which happens the night before the battle at Bosworth Field. The curse has historic credibility as it is discussed in Holinshed's Chronicles, indicating that Richard "must needs have a woonderfull troubled mind".[5] In a further historical representation of the battle, Richard famously had "a dreadfull and terrible dreame and did see diuerse images like terrible diuels".[6] The ghosts of all the people Richard has recently murdered appear in his dreams, including his brothers, nephews and wife. This procession of ghosts would make full use of the doors on either side of the Elizabethan stage.[7] The ghosts not only act as a summary for the audience of Richard's most wicked deeds, but as a moral justification for the rule of Richmond. The ghosts seek to rectify this, and appear to simultaneously bless Richmond and curse Richard. Speaking from beyond the grave, the ghosts act as divine voices enabling Richmond to do what he must to overthrow the tyrannous Richard. Margaret's curse would likely have been a part of the tales later told about Richard's death, which would further support the significance of Bosworth Field in the historical memory of England. This lends historical validity to the curse on Richard, which was subsequently popularised after his death, showing how the impact of historical memory works to remember certain significant details around a location such as Bosworth Field.

Stage directions help to build up characters the night before the battle by showing a clear disparity in the natures of Richard and Richmond through certain actions. These similar actions epitomise the duties which belong to the head of an army, such as writing their orations. The use of these mirrored actions creates a rhythm which slowly works to build up the scene towards the battle at Bosworth Field, and Richard's inevitable death. It is in these similar actions that we see the differences in the natures of Richard and Richmond. Richmond is cheered by his comrades and their company, shown in the line "gentlemen, let us consult upon to-morrow's business".[8] In contrast, Richard orders his men away from him, with the line "leave me, I say", showing an outward manifestation of his insecurities in stark contrast with Richmond's composure.[9] While stage directions show soldiers willingly "pitching Richmond's tent", Richard has to order his soldiers to erect his tent several times; indicating how cracks are starting to form in the control he has over his subjects.[10] Throughout history the King of England has been said to rule by divine right, which is disturbing for an Elizabethan audience when a prospective King has to murder another King to acquire the crown. Thus Bosworth Field acts as the location where everything comes to a head

4 Janette Dillon, *Shakespeare and the Staging of English History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 34.
5 Holinshed, 438.
6 Ibid.
7 Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare After All* (London: Anchor Books, 2004), 156.
8 *Richard III*, 95.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.

for Richard and all his previous personal insecurities begin to shape his outward behaviour.

There are many ways in which the action of the final battle scene could be staged. Historical accounts from the battle describe trumpets sounding, soldiers shouting and archers letting fly their arrows.[11] For a theatre such as Shakespeare's Globe (and when the play was later performed at Court), the theatrics and action around the final battle at Bosworth Field would certainly have been glorious. Before his oration to his army, Richard is interrupted by the stage direction of "a clock striketh", which acts as a theatrical countdown towards the final battle.[12] A combination of Shakespeare's affinity for staging fights and his intricate knowledge of how to work the stage would have created a busy, loud and overwhelming fight scene at Bosworth Field. The anticipation for the battle at Bosworth Field is an indicator that the audience has now placed their loyalty and hopes entirely with Richmond. Throughout the battle scenes, Shakespeare uses stage directions such as "in another part of the field" to continually move the action around different parts of the stage, creating a sense of chaos and confusion.[13] When Richard does die, it is acknowledged merely by the stage direction "Richard is slain".[14]

There is some confusion around why Shakespeare chose to honour such an infamous monarch by surreptitiously having him die in a corner of the stage. When an anti-climax occurs in a battle scene, the pause in action usually allows for the audience to stop and take a broader look at the situation. Richard's defeat at the hands of the glorified Richmond could almost be treated as a trial by combat, where good is victorious over evil. The audience would already be on Richmond's side, but seeing Richard die in such a brief, undignified way strengthens his position as the victor.

The effects of Bosworth Field come together to portray how historical memory is created in Richard III, through the use of popular culture and historical knowledge to shape the experience of watching the play for any era of audience. This historical knowledge pre-empts action and emotion within the scenes at Bosworth Field, as the audience anticipates the fall of one of England's most infamous monarchs. The presentation of Richmond as the victor and saviour of England's liberty is cleverly crafted through the disparity in their natures before the battle scene. Thus, Shakespeare exemplifies how historical memory can be made and retained across the centuries through a balance of prior knowledge and theatrical performance, which rewards the audience with a memorable experience at Bosworth Field.

11 Holinshed, 438.
12 *Richard III*, 102.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid, 105.

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Encounters

We are now on the last leg of our journey, where we will encounter a wide variety of aspects in our modern day life. Looking at finance in the post modernist age,"Facebank and the Personification of Finance" examines how the dehumanization of banks has affected our lives. We are left with the fragments of human relations coupled with mere materialism.

Taking a closer look at the concept of materialism, "From God to Gucci" examines how our conscience has been overruled by our materialistic desires. Our soul no longer requires spiritual fulfillment as it has been replaced with secular totems. The cycle of consumerism is something we all can relate to, especially in this modern day and age.

The advent of the internet has not only had an impact on our consumerism but also on our lifestyles. The technology savvy youth of today regard internet as the bane of their existence. We have become so dependent on our technology that life without it seems impossible. We no longer turn to books to gain access to information; Google is our end all be all. "A Post-humanist Analysis on how the Internet shapes our Society and Practices" explores the cause and effect of technology as well as looking at how we participate in the co-creation of media.

YouTube is a social media platform that has revolutionised the way we watch videos. The vast amount of user generated content has given us an immense amount of control, not only over what we watch and produce, but also our relationships in the digital world. "Generation Vlogger: Recording Realities in the Age of Digital Media" looks at how the viewing experience and ability to create entertainment has been redefined.

Whether it be taking selfies, creating memes and .gifs, we have all become prosumers, and this talent is primarily displayed on social media. "#AthletesOnInstagram" looks at how traditional media roles have been subverted. We see how social media has become a platform for athletes to prosume and to engage actively with their fans and create a representation of self.

Encounters
Continued

Athletes are no less than celebrities and sports are a huge part of our culture, especially in New Zealand. In taking a look at Auckland City Football Club, "The Winning Formula" analyses how this club can be classified as a neo-tribe. The club have been deviant from the norm and established themselves as a subculture.

Looking at another aspect of football, "NZ Women's Football- The Gendered Struggle for Coverage" looks at how women are encouraged to conform to stereotypes in order to gain media attention. The essay investigates the issue of why, despite being a national team, women have to prove their legitimacy and establish their right in a male dominated world of sports. The lack of equal opportunities for women sports players raises a question on the influence of media.

Despite being an entity, the media too has sponsors; sponsors who use media as a tool to market their band. On a daily basis we are bombarded with advertisements throughout the day as competing brands strive for our attention. "Potato and gravy on the sideline: KFC's sponsorship of Super Rugby in New Zealand" looks at commercial sponsorship during sporting events. The essay looks at how, by using a variety of communication methods, KFC attempts to create and maintain connections with the tech-savvy youth of today.

The encounters we have experienced have given us a different perspective on the reason for our existence. How we came into being, who we are, and how are we changing are all questions that have been explored in this journal. We must take advantage of the opportunities we encounter, make the most of the experiences we explore and ultimately prove that our existence is worthwhile.

After all, it is Our life. Our world.

Sociology 336
Fantasies of Finance

x

Paloma Ozier

Facebank and the Personification of Finance

'Facebank' is a mechanised contraption designed to deviate from a traditional piggybank, as it is ascribed with human features and mannerisms. This essay will examine Facebank and its relation to finance, as a personified object that gives body to the perverse character of the banking system. In doing so, Sigmund Freud's conception of the uncanny will be drawn upon in order to illustrate the way in which Facebank ruptures commonly held ideas of a bank's material function. Further, it will be asserted that finance commonly adopts a 'face' in order to personify itself, and thus obscure the material relations of dispossession that exist as its premise. However, it will be posited that Facebank splits the imagery of 'personhood' that is commonly assumed by banks, and instead exemplifies the insidious relations elicited by finance.

Facebank is a mechanical device designed in the shape of a miniature automatic transaction machine; it is a plastic cube with a human-like face moulded into it, its lips indicating a receptive slot. Equipped with 'electronic facial muscles,' Facebank is designed to 'sense' and respond to coins fed into its mouth (Amazon, 2015). It consumes money through an automated process that causes its orifice to open and close; as it 'swallows' it emits sounds of pleasure. Facebank is marketed as a 'fun' way to save. Children are thus encouraged to enjoy the act of depositing money into a machine, as the concept of a bank is imbued with human characteristics, and thus fetishized in the form of a 'friendly' ATM (Japan Trend Shop, 2015).

What is perhaps most unnerving about Facebank is the personification ascribed to it. The product description claims that 'he's a little sweetheart really and will never say no to any spare change you'd like to feed him… he knows when a yummy scrummy coin is coming in. Just pop the coin in his mouth and watch him gobble it up' (Red5, 2015). Here, a variety of conventionally human capacities are ascribed to Facebank in a gesture of anthropomorphism; it is assumed that 'he' is capable of communication and intentionality as it is posited that 'he will never say no,' and that 'he knows.'

Facebank may be aptly described as 'uncanny,' in the Freudian sense, as that which exists at the parameter of the human and the automated. (Freud, 2003). For Freud, the uncanny is commonly exhibited in the enigmatic state between the living and the dead, between that which is familiar and that which is profoundly foreign (Lydenberg, 1997). A recurring literary example of this is dismemberment and the severing of limbs (Dolar, 1991). This absence is uncanny, precisely due to the familiarity and 'homely' nature of limbs attached to the human body. Accordingly, Facebank is objectified at the intersection of the human and the mechanical; its lack of limbs demonstrates its dismemberment, yet it is simultaneously personified as a 'sensing' and 'intending' entity.

Further, Mladen Dolar (1991) posits that the uncanny may appear in the form of 'the evil eye,' whereby a human or non-human entity fixes their eye upon another, thus exciting distress and dread in the object of their gaze. Dolar asserts that the uncanny involves a rupture in the commonly accepted state of reality, splintering conventional divisions between objects. Correspondingly, the uncanny requires a form of castration, as it is that which 'prevents us from finding our Platonian missing halves' and thus reaching 'imaginary completion' (Dolar, pp. 12). Thus, 'the uncanny emerges as a reality, but one which has its only substance in a posititivization of negativity, a negative existence, castration' (Ibid). Facebank exemplifies this castrated state. Its image demonstrates a figurative violence, as the amalgamation of distinct parts involves the act of dismemberment; the human face is severed from its bodily organs and sutured to a mechanical apparatus. Unsurprisingly, Facebank's online reviews frequently mention its disconcerting gaze, with consumers describing it as 'evil' and 'nightmarish,' and claiming that 'I bet you feel creepy but good at the same time!' (Amazon, 2015). Thus, Facebank presents itself as outlandish and un-whole, as two parts at odds with one another.

The personification of banks is relatively prevalent; numerous advertising campaigns propose that the bank in question shares the experiences of its customers, and thus understands their material needs (ANZ, 2015). Banks thus seek to appear as personable and welcoming; this veneer is necessary in order to obscure the object of customer relations, that is, facilitating the imposition of debt onto the individual. Maurer (2005) argues that the financial system, as involving 'the management of debt and equity as a means of raising capital' has historically been imbricated in structures of violence and primitive accumulation (pp. 178). Debt, as a form of indenture, can swiftly result in dispossession, causing detrimental effects on the poor, as borrowers default on payments that they cannot sustain yet are forced to make.

In affecting a semblance of 'personhood,' banks commonly adopt faces; this is seen through visual imagery as well as the use of amiable and reassuring language (ANZ, 2015). Banks frequently represent themselves through images of smiling individuals, with scenes conveying relations between lovers, friends, families and business partners. Thus, banks seek to differentiate themselves by posturing as familiar and humane. These semblances serve to disguise the actual relations underlying financial processes, as financial imperatives are based upon the need to accumulate capital through the expansion of personal credit and the imposition of debt onto those who are unlikely to repay it (Maurer, 2005).

By adopting a face, and thus affecting a sense of personhood, finance attempts to appear as justified and symbolically coherent (Jones, 2011). Yet, finance is adrift and substance-less, as that which involves 'the dematerialisation of the world' (Ibid, pp. 27). Traditionally 'secure' material assets are set in motion through the acquisition of debt, as finance eliminates the distinction between the material and the symbolic (Martin, 2009). Thus, Finance is fluid, yet its consequences manifest in material form, as 'objects and relations are unmoored and cast into ever new combinations' in accordance with the dynamics of credit and debt (Jones, 2013). Similarly, everyday objects are severed and rearranged; Facebank may be considered a representation of this form of displacement, as two distinct entities conjoined. This uncanny combination is embodied as a castrated form: a face sealed onto a cube, lacking limbs and organs. However, this perverse object is not simply a misguided or comical representation of finance. Rather, it may be asserted that Facebank stands in for the dual nature of a bank as such, as that which is simultaneously 'friendly' and insidious. This is observed as banks maintain customer relations on a superficial level, while binding individuals into contracts that lead to deficit and dispossession.

Accordingly, finance adopts a face so as to convey the false appearance of being intimately bound to personhood; it presents a harmonious relation between individuals, and thus disguises the social relations of alienation that underpin its existence (Maurer, 2005). Maurer asserts that 'its subjects and much of the world may feel utterly estranged from, indeed 'liquidated' by, the financialised time-space of the contemporary moment' (pp. 190). Thus, in compensating for this sense of estrangement, it is crucial for finance to present itself as coherent and personified. Further, when a particular face is identified as a representation of 'finance', finance itself is able to evade scrutiny (Jones, 2013). Thus, it is beneficial for banks to present a face that stands in for the structure as a whole. In this way, the undesirable and 'faulty' tendencies of the market may be attributed to an individual, while the system as such remains intact (Ibid). Conversely, Finance itself is not simply located in a single space, nor attributable to any particularity or individual. Rather, the system is distributed and slippery, impossible to pin to a central entity. Consequently, any attempt to isolate 'the market' as a particular object fails to locate the system as such (Ibid).

However, Facebank reveals the fragmentation of finance through its uncanny form. The term 'uncanny' denotes that which disrupts our sense of familiarity. As finance is 'without a face,' this faceless condition must be constantly masked, and thus a myriad of objects and images come to fill this space of inconsistency. Facebank represents the appetites of a bank, as the nature of its design causes it to consume until it malfunctions. Correspondingly, banks relentlessly seek to transform money into credit, thereby acquiring an increasing amount of capital that appears to produce itself (Maurer, 2005).

Further, Maurer posits that one may 'attend to the cultural formations co-occurring with finance capital, and find artifice, illusion, mystification and the occult' (pp.181). Facebank appears as an object with 'mystical' qualities, as a money machine that 'loves' to be fed, with a mouth detached from its digestive organs (Amazon, 2015). The spectral association with detached and floating faces is a trope that has been historically prevalent. As a symbolically castrated object, Facebank is spectral, as it takes on the guise of a detached human face, posturing as a desiring entity with sensory capacities. It is fitting that associations should be drawn between the notion of finance and spectral bodies, as finance is without organs, yet materialises itself ubiquitously. Jones argues that the world of finance breeds a sense of 'dislocation, indeterminacy and lack of fixity' (2013, pp.21), appearing always to exist elsewhere, while nevertheless shaping our conditions of existence in an immediate and material way.

In summation, it may be posited that Facebank, as the synthesis of a human face and an ATM, gives body to the perverse arrangement of finance, whereby banks operate as detached and mechanical; presenting themselves as personable, they systematically grant credit in order to facilitate long-term indenture. Facebank gives form to this automated structure, as it is dislocated and un-whole; initially appearing as the seamless fusion of two parts, Facebank's uncanny form signifies the distortion of the smiling façade adopted by banks and other financial enterprises. Further, it exemplifies the void that exists at the core of the banking institution, masked by an array of human characteristics. Thus, in observing Facebank, we are able to glimpse the violence that underpins finance as such, as an automated and fundamentally inhuman set of relations.

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Sociology 200

Theory and Society

x

Dielle Rodrigues

From God to Gucci:

Religion is a controversial topic in the 21st Century. We cannot seem to talk about religion without feeling like we are imposing our beliefs and ideas of worship upon others. This is because many people are devoting their time and money towards pleasures of the eyes and not the soul. We seem to be collecting under "cathedrals of consumption" and worshipping totems that have no real meaning.[1] We have become a society where we are no longer bound by our conscience but instead our credit cards.

Sociologist Emile Durkheim strongly believed that religion was important for maintaining control in society. To Durkheim religion was a social experience. This is an essential part of humanity, where communities gather together to evoke a higher mental state and participate in what is common. For example, Catholics all over the world celebrate weekly Mass where they go to express their devotion to the cross and receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ. Durkheim reinforces this idea in his study, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912) where he emphasises the role of the totem.[2] His study claims that societies divide human experiences into two categories, sacred and profane. Firstly, religion is centred on the sacred, where experiences and devotion are meant to be awe inspiring and acted upon with reverence. In contrast, profane describes the secular, everyday reality. These terms are not inherently given, but are labelled by our society. This explains why societies today are more bound to commodities, such as mobile phones rather than a rosary, which is what the Catholic community would be previously found holding in their hands at all times. This change in the shift of society, towards a more consuming individual shows not only how consumerism is so prevalent, but also how we no longer base God or religion as the centre of our lives. Instead we are left with secular 'totems', which do not completely fill our desires.

Religion has a vital role in gathering communities together in social cohesion and in creating the norms and values in society. Most commonly, communities gather around a common symbol or belief in order to maintain unity, such as through the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Society never stops creating sacred totems.[3] Religion is a system where totems enable more intimate interactions within the individuals. These collective representations are a shared way of thinking. The move away from a religious icon, such as the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to changing it into a commodity, such as the Apple iPhone shows how our focus as a society in the 21st century has shifted from a religious to a secular one.

The totem of the phone brings individuals together, separated by specific brands as each product appeals to different personalities and beings. This is why competition occurs in consumerism and why there is variety amongst different phones, such as Samsung and Apple. Through Durkheim's theory of totemism, a community can give a collective agreement on what can function as a totem. A Rolex watch, for example is a symbol for the wealthy and the elite. An individual, who buys this object, is attracted to not only the aesthetic value but also the value in the object that they similarly identify with. As the individual identifies with the totem, a community starts to form as the collective are all gathered around the

1 Tricia Sheffield, preface to *The Religious Dimensions of Advertising* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), xi

2 Emile Durkheim, Carol Cosman and Mark Sydney Cladis, *The Elementary Forms of its Religious Life, Book 3* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2001)

3 Tricia Sheffield, *The Religious Dimensions of Advertising* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 46

similar commodity. However, Durkheim realises this sense of becoming part of a collective and draws a distinction between the differences that occurs in these social spheres. This hierarchy between the rich and poor - those than can afford the elite items and those that cannot are emphasised by the type of watch they end up wearing. He understands the similarity of how the change in society from God to Gucci – religious to secular occurs. Likewise the 'sacred' totem can also change as the culture develops. The Rolex can lose its status symbol, if a knockoff or a cheaper copy comes into the market which in return degrades its value. The community then has to develop a new symbol to signify their wealth. The difference between a religious symbol and the consumerist totem is that God does not require recognition from individuals of their devotion, in contrast to humans seeking recognition for what they consume and acquire from stores to show that they are a part of this consumer community. This is the collective effervescence; it is only sustained because capitalism needs them to create excitement and euphoria amongst the people, in contrast of the reverence society held for its totems in the past.

Therefore, consumerism is a modern form of totemism. Through manipulation of symbols and community status transforms a commodity into a totem, giving the object meaning which 'speaks' to the consumer. This totem expresses the desires of the community, and fills a sacred role in a secular society. This can be compared to having a 'blind faith' in items that are not sacred in a religious sense but sacred for a consumer. Durkheim explains this through collective interpretation and representation, where a community that is unified by this totem decides what is sacred and what is not.

The shift of mentality amongst society is noticeable. No longer does religion have its reverent meaning, but is slowly becoming part of the consumer and capitalist market. During Easter, where the death of Christ occurs no longer has its original meaning, but has now become a shopping frenzy where Easter eggs and sales are more important than preserving traditions that have been going on for decades.

As humans, we aspire beyond our limits and set unattainable goals. This is the cycle of consumerism, we are in a never ending circle to attain more wealth or commodities- that nothing in ever enough. By pursuing this unachievable goal of a 'sacred' totem, which is unattainable as it constantly changes, condemns individuals and society into a state of unhappiness.

It is truly a shame that at the end of the day you cannot take your Gucci bag with you to heaven after all.

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Film, Television and Media Studies *101*

Film Studies

x

Beth Owens

A post-humanist analysis on how the internet shapes our society and practices

Steve Matthewman's quote that "the media student does not change the light bulb. The light bulb changes them" (35) is in reference to philosopher Marshall McLuhan's 'light bulb' analogy. McLuhan uses electricity to illustrate how new technology can radically shape society, transforming "…every structure of time and space and work and society that it penetrates or contacts…" (McLuhan cited in Matthewman 35). This is a prime example of a 'technologically determinist' viewpoint. As Paragas and Lin explain, this theory places humans completely at the mercy of centralised technologies and helpless in the face of their effects (1).

When studying a new medium such as the internet, it is important to take a moderate view by neither under or over-estimating its power to shape human activity (Marshall New Media Cultures 4). Under-estimating its effects affirms that "…the capacity and effects of technology introduced… are a matter of interpretation by human actors according to their social conditions" (Paragas and Lin 13). This socially constructionist ideal gives humans' total control over the outcomes of technology, and to interpret them as they see fit. Yet social constructionism and technological determinism are far too simplistic (15) to accurately gauge how the internet shapes society and our practices. They either view it as to be shaped, or for it to shape us (6). If the web is examined using the middle point of this dichotomised spectrum, the internet's effects become "…only partially determined…and are shaped from social and cultural conditions…" (Marshall New Media Cultures 1). In this 'post-humanist' perspective humans modify their surroundings through technology for certain purposes. However, we do not always have control over its impact and there are unintended consequences (Colombetti 375). Post-humanism therefore views new mediums as an incidental development rather than an inevitable one which has come about by, and also influences, a wide variety of societal factors (371).

I will argue in this essay the importance of post-humanism and post-humanist theory in analysing how the internet has shaped our practices and society. I will demonstrate that through its combined focus on both the 'object' (technology) and the 'subject' (the user) (Matthewman 35-36). Post-humanism produces a much more balanced and moderate analysis of the internet's effects. This results in a much more perceptive understanding than can be achieved by the technologically determinist or socially constructionist viewpoints. I will use the ways in which the internet has shaped our social, political, and general media practices as examples of these three forms of analysis at work.

The role of the internet in shaping today's social practices is much contended. There is a belief that it fragments our society through the prevalence of social networking sites (SNS) such as Facebook and Twitter. These supposedly isolate us from face-to-face 'real' communication, thereby weakening our social ties (Tufekci 14). In contrast, it can also be viewed as a uniting force; a refuge from the racial, religious and gender prejudices which govern society (15). These views, technologically determinist and socially constructionist respectively, are not enlightening in this debate as the internet neither isolates nor frees us from the influences of society. A boundary cannot be drawn between the 'real' and 'virtual' worlds. Since we can all equally experience the web and interact online, it cannot be any less of a 'reality' than everyday life (Colombetti 371). In regard to social networking sites, online communication is still therefore regarded as 'real' communication.

This lack of distinction between real-life and virtual activities applies equally to societal discrimination, as the internet is clearly not a haven from the material world. The 'trolling' phenomenon demonstrates that prejudice thrives even more online where there is little accountability (170). Through this post-humanist standpoint, the internet is clearly a 'tool' for social interaction and an extension of 'us' and our values. Most significantly, it is subject to both technological and societal conditions. This notion explains how through our pursuit of 'networked individualism', to "increasingly interact as individuals rather than as members of groups" (Tufekci 18). The internet has shaped both our social practices and societal networks. It has facilitated a shift in our social ties away from those which are geographic or familial to those which are interest and belief-based. Our heavy usage of social networking sites is a key example of this (18). However, the internet did not produce this desire. This results from the social conditions of wanting to widen our circles outside of our pre-determined connections; the internet has become a primary method of facilitating this.

Technologically determinist theories also occur in an 'inverted' manner in relation to the web. Technology is still centralised as both the cause and effect, but as the 'saviour' of mankind rather than the destroyer. In shaping our political processes, it is seen as the saviour of the democratic system by giving its users a stronger political voice. In the words of Stromer-Galley and Wichowski "These include the autonomy of individuals freely express opinions, the ability and opportunity to criticize claims, and the degree of reflexivity of those expressing opinions" (178). For social constructionists, the view is of a platform that challenges politician elitism through increased political content (182). Whilst there is undeniably more political information available to us as a result of the web (Himelboim 636) whether or not people take advantage of this or share their opinions goes unaddressed by either theory (Reed 125). In the post-humanist view, it is more accurately up to users to make use of the internet to actively pursue political changes through their own agency.

We have the ability to create our own effects as 'actors' in a larger societal network, yet in this 'actor-network' theory we are "always caught up in larger networks of power and causality…that shape and limit their nature and uses" (Reed 12). The internet has therefore shaped society by making it simultaneously more and less democratic. Outlets such as WikiLeaks mean that governments are forced to be more open (Himelboim 640) as result of the internet's infrastructure which makes information available on a mass scale. However, political 'actors' also use their agency to manipulate the web for their own purposes, meaning the internet cannot make democracy universally forthcoming. Authorities in places such as Iran and China consistently use the web to censor anti-regime content, and even to track down and eliminate activists (Reed 126-127). This highlights a much darker side to the political processes that the web facilitates; the stifling of the right to free speech and personal opinion.

The lack of acknowledgement over the underlying social and cultural conditions affecting the internet also extends to the belief that it will "usurp" old media forms and permanently shape our media practices (Marshall Newly Mediated Media 407). In this technologically determinist approach, traditional formats such as newspapers and television will increasingly undergo convergence to become part of the web's interface (410). However, it is important not to view this remediation to online entities as a pre-determined effect, or of being entirely down to 'us' and the desire for one technology to do all (407). In reality, it is an integration of what we believe different technologies should allow us to achieve in the wake of the web (421) and the opportunity it provides for these traditional media forms to adapt. Unrestricted by schedules or location as television is, we have the final say in what content we interact with. Consequently, the internet shapes media activities by eroding the boundary between the human, the 'user' and technology, and the 'content' (Colombetti 373). The result is the 'prosumer' identity, born from the infrastructural need for users to both 'consume' content and to 'produce' it (Paragas and Lin 10). This development is dubbed 'web 2.0' to describe the evolution from solely consuming content to also contributing in the form of social media posts, videos, pictures or personal blogs.

This "technological adaptation" makes humans increasingly a part of what makes media function. (Marshall New Media Cultures 15). In this two-way process the internet also gains a role in how we operate, assisting with our perceptions and navigations of society. This constantly evolving, dynamic relationship is known as 'cybernetic' post-humanist theory, where in the words of Colombetti "whatever is able to process information broader and faster is better than the actual human being…[is] the way towards the real completeness of the human being itself" (367). The internet has therefore caused our media practices to evolve beyond simply being 'practices' to a part of our humanity which maintains our lives, beliefs and values. The internet has assured we are no longer passive towards the media, but actively invested in it and its future development.

By using post-humanist theory to analyse the internet in relation to our social, political and media practices, it is clear that its effects on these processes and society are extremely fluid and still not fully understood. Post-humanism creates a balanced analysis which acknowledges both the internet's positive and negative impacts, and the equal influence of both is technological framework and human interaction. The analysis above shows that Matthewman's belief in McLuhan's 'light bulb' analogy is only partially correct. The internet does shape our practices through its very presence in society, but this technologically determinist viewpoint minimises the fact that technology does not spontaneously come into being. The internet would not exist all if it hadn't been for human innovation. This will consistently influence its development and how it is used, but not to the socially constructionist degree where it is marginalised as being wholly under human control. As a medium which is barely two decades old, the internet's effects are still on-going and it is impossible to say that we have seen the full extent to which it will shape society and our practices. Its open-ended development will continue to influence our activities in ways that we cannot foresee. Continuous post-human analysis will be needed in order to further our understanding of what the internet will mean for society, and ultimately what it will mean to be a human in that society.

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Film, Television and Media Studies *309*

Watching Television

x

Rebecca Jamieson

As technology has changed, television has become a media form that extends far beyond the screen in the living room. It is a constantly evolving concept which has blurred together with other kinds of media, like the internet, to give us greater flexibility and a more active role in our consumption. This adaption provokes questions about the future of the medium, such as how has the rise of user-generated content websites, like YouTube, caused us to rethink what we know about television. YouTube adds a social-networking element to media consumption which pushes content beyond the realm of entertainment and into mass-communication. Content such as "vlogging," which is a term based on 'video-blogging,' facilitates communication to the extent that vloggers are able to form a mediated relationship with viewers as they let them into their lives through the screen. Vlogging behaves as a form of user-generated reality television, as it is personality driven and based on relationship dynamics. An example of this can be seen through the popular vloggers the Shaytards; a family of seven headed by Shay and Collette Butler who have been doing daily vlogs for over six consecutive years. The Shaytards channel is an example which supports the argument that YouTube is an incarnation of television which preserves and negotiates with many of the features of traditional television and allows us more control over our content than ever.

The way YouTube content, such as vlogging is produced has a lot to do with its prominence in digital media. YouTube hosts a large variety of user-generated content, creating "a social environment in which everyone has the potential to be both a consumer and purveyor of content" (Haridakis and Hanson 317). Because content like vlogs can be created relatively inexpensively by anyone with a camera or smartphone, vlogging is an even cheaper kind of content to create than the already economic reality television of traditional media. YouTube has a much faster rate of content production than traditional television can have, with around 300 hours of video being uploaded to the site every minute (Statistics). Consequently, YouTube also allows for a far greater diversity of content than traditional television, contesting the "vertical integration" and new media corporate conglomeration that Caldwell discusses (67). YouTube content varies as to how 'professionally' it is made, with production techniques often improving in quality as certain content gains viewer popularity. For example, the Shaytards have at times employed a professional editor to edit their daily vlogs, helping the videos to achieve a higher standard of production. Despite the association with vlogging as an amateur form of content, Shay Butler demonstrates how production can become corporately professionalised in a way that is similar to the production of higher budget traditional television. In 2009, Shay co-founded a multi-channel Network called "Maker Studios" which assists content creators on YouTube in making their content by facilitating collaborative efforts and promoting higher quality videos through access to advantages like green screens, cameras, sets, editors, directors, programming and promotion. The company became so successful that in March 2014 it was sold to Disney for $500 million, demonstrating that even major corporations like the Walt Disney Company are recognising the potential of YouTube for the entertainment of the digital era.

However, YouTube is increasingly reincorporating elements of television in its composition, suggesting that we are not yet ready to diverge completely from the familiarity of traditional television. For example while anyone is free to upload content, YouTube does still utilise a ratings system based on viewers giving a video a "thumbs up" to indicate that they liked it. Unlike television the "thumbs up" rating does not determine whether a video will continue to be hosted, but it does have several other functions. The more "thumbs up" a YouTube video has, the higher it will be ranked in a search which means people are more likely to see it and a larger audience can be reached. It also indicates to viewers whether a video is worth watching, and tells content creators if a particular kind of video is popular or not. Creators have their own "channels" on which to upload their content, which users can "subscribe" to the way they might to cable television. YouTube channels differ from television channels because they are free from standardised linear scheduling and enable a selective viewing process in which viewers actively decide what content they will watch (Lotz 56). These channels often contain a particular kind of content such as vlogs, comedy skits, or music videos, and help to categorise videos so that the sheer diversity and volume of YouTube content is more accessible. YouTubers may often have multiple channels dedicated to different kinds of videos. For instance, the Shaytards channels is dedicated specifically to vlogs, but Shay also has the Shay Carl channel on which he posts skits, brand videos, and other miscellaneous videos, and the Shayloss channel which is about health, fitness and weight loss. The live broadcasting of television is replicated through live streams on YouTube which enables viewers to have access to immediate streams of content.

Like in television, YouTubers may upload special episodes or "stunts" which, although they do not directly relate to advertising, do often help to significantly increase the number of views to a channel (Caldwell 61). Every year, the Shaytards upload a "Christmas special" which is usually over an hour long in duration and incurs some of the highest views of all the other vlogs of the year. Another kind of vlog that gets particularly high views is the birth vlog. There have been two birth vlogs on the Shaytards channel depicting the births of the two youngest children. Viewers are given privileged access into a treasured family event, and the amount of the labour and birth process that was shown increased in the second birth vlog. Both vlogs have received millions more views in comparison to the number of subscribers to the channel, suggesting that the event holds such fascination for people that it attracts views even from people who may not be familiar with the family.

"Flow" is another television phenomenon which is re-envisioned by YouTube. Many scholars consider "flow" to be one of the defining features of traditional television, with Lotz describing the experience of watching television as "a continuous flow of program content... over which individuals [have] no control," and which is "available only at a particular moment" (53). The concept of "flow" is disrupted by the rise of new media because of time-shifting devices like DVRs and online delivery. However, YouTube does not entirely do away with "flow," but instead it exists in a different form. For example, when a viewer watches a video the webpage displays a list of related videos to choose from labelled "Up Next," and the top video on the list will play automatically after ten seconds unless it is cancelled. This feature aims to maintain viewers' attention within the realm of YouTube instead of it shifting elsewhere after watching a video. The Shaytards channel also harnesses this idea of flow in another way. At the end on each vlog is an "end slate" featuring clickable thumbnails, which link to other videos and the equivalent of that day's vlog from each of the six years they have been vlogging. This encourages viewers to continue watching the channel and also increases views on older videos, which might otherwise be forgotten.

The Shaytards prove that YouTube is not just a site for amateurs to upload videos but a medium from which creators can make a professional living. Since YouTube is not formatted in the same way as television, its methods of monetisation are adapted specifically for the medium. YouTube has a scheme to enable video monetisation for its creators called the "YouTube Partner Program." YouTube claims that "more than a million channels in dozens of countries are earning revenue from the YouTube Partner Program, and thousands of channels are making six figures per year" (Statistics). Though it previously required a certain number of video views, the program is now open to anyone who has uploaded a video, and works using Google AdSense to run advertisements before videos. The amount of money made depends on how many ad views or clicks a video gets. YouTube demonstrates the "coexistence of multiple strategies of advertiser support of content" through another common practice of monetisation – the brand deal (Lotz 54). Brands may offer to pay YouTubers such as the Shaytards to feature a product or service in their videos as a means of advertising it to viewers of the channel. This provides YouTubers with another means of generating advertising revenue which they have greater control over than the pre-roll ads. The Shaytards have notably worked with brands such as NatureBox and Audible among others, which Shay has maintained are brands he genuinely likes and uses.

YouTube may be understood as a product of the volatile televisual form through its demonstration of Caldwell's notion of "conglomerating textuality" (50). The Shaytards for instance do this through a variety of extensions from the main channel, which helps to sustain the engagement of the viewers beyond the vlogs themselves (50). There are additional YouTube channels which are connected with the main channel that allow viewers to access more content and learn more about the family, such as the Shay Carl and Katilette channels which are the personal channels of the husband and wife. They take part in further channels such as The Mom's View, a Maker Studios channel for mothers in a talk show format; and have their own podcast called When The Kids Go To Sleep, which allows viewers to have "opportunities for intimacy" that let them feel as though they are receiving privileged information beyond what is conveyed in the vlogs (52). Shay has even starred in his own short cartoon series called ShayBeard and has made various guest appearances on other channels including the well-known show, Annoying Orange. These proliferations help to "secure an ongoing relationship with viewers" which provides more opportunities for connection via the web and adds to the sense of being part of the family's life. In a display of the effects of media convergence, the distinction between YouTube and traditional television was blurred when the Shaytards were featured on America's Funniest Home Videos in 2014, and it is reported that Shay will subsequently help create a YouTube web series for the program. The Shaytards also make use of "merchandising augmentations," selling a variety of merchandise like t-shirts, calendars and socks in the Maker Studios online store (52).

YouTube illustrates the extent to which media has converged with the smaller screens of tablets and smartphones (Dawson 232). Statistics reveal that half of all YouTube views are from mobile devices, suggesting that textual mobility has become as important for users of the site as conventional viewing on a laptop or desk top computer (Statistics). Dawson describes two different discourses of mobility, linking it to both the "voluntary geographic mobility of consumers and to the ability of programming to migrate across platforms" (232). It is plausible that YouTube content is primarily an individualised medium, and thus is consumed outside of the "social and spatial constraints... of domestic viewing" (233). This idea may explain the high percentage of mobile viewing because there is such diversity of content that each family member may consume something different on their respective mobile devices. YouTube videos exist in varying lengths, but shorter videos are more likely to be viewed on mobile devices because of factors like the expense of mobile internet access and distracted viewership (244). Dawson's notion of "unbundling" is present in YouTube because content like vlogs are able to be watched in "fragmentary, yet self-contained segments," such as watching the single vlog for that particular day (234). The vlogs can be viewed daily on their own, but also exist as part of a larger vlogging narrative. The flow between these unbundled vlog segments is disrupted because of the limitations of the "hardware aesthetic" of mobile devices. Certain aspects like the clickable images in the end slate of Shaytards videos do not work on mobile devices, but only on computer screens (235). The links are not able to be selected because of the touch screen that most mobile devices now have and there is no auto-play function on the mobile app, so viewers have to actively seek the next video if they want to continue watching.

Audiences play an essential role in the configuration of YouTube as it is a medium that not only preserves the entertainment value of television but is also a form of "social network-oriented online communication" (Haridakis and Hanson 317). While the notion of the televisual audience has evolved with an active control over consumption allowed by digital video recorders and online delivery systems, YouTube further facilitates the active audience because it is allows for a constant stream of feedback and exchange between its users. The comment system that accompanies most YouTube content allows viewers to respond to videos, communicate with other viewers, and gives the creators the opportunity to engage with their audience. Further engagement can occur through the use of video responses and on external social media like Twitter. This creates an "imagined community" of viewers that enjoy a particular Youtuber's content such as the Shaytards with the shared experience of viewing (Anderson, 6). With around 60% of views coming from outside the YouTuber's country these communities are shown to very be geographically dispersed, probably more so than traditional television often is (Statistics). Connectivity can be further enhanced by the direct audience address and the immediacy portrayed by daily vlogs, something which the Shaytards do regularly. This gives a sense of being up-to-date and involved with their lives which is far more poignant that what is given by a television show like Keeping Up with the Kardashians.

If YouTube is a socially mediated variety of online television, then the Shaytards may be described as an evolved form of reality television. At its core the channel is a family drama, but without the conflict and emotional strain that is often central to the appeal of this kind of reality television. So what is the mysterious ingredient that has earned the Shaytards almost 3.5 million subscribers and an astounding 1.6 billion channel views? Haridakis and Hanson propose that people choose the media content they consume based on what will fulfil their needs and desires (318). The popularity of the Shaytards could be argued as coming from an element of wish-fulfilment as they are a representation of the ideal 'happy family,' with Shay and Collette Butler acting almost as surrogate parents to their viewers. Perhaps there is an innate desire in people for this kind of family life or childhood which they may not have themselves, and the experience of watching the Shaytards is a way for them to indirectly satisfy this need. Far from the glamour of the Kardashian family, the Shaytards could be seen as 'anti-celebrity,' with much of their appeal coming from their relatability and the sense that they are "just like us." There is a lesser psychological 'distance' between them and their audience, and because they are on YouTube and not traditional television, they are not separated by the appearance of unattainable superiority that Hollywood fame and riches inevitably creates.

Nevertheless, despite the advantages of YouTube, the Shaytards do not escape the enduring question of authenticity that reality television struggles with. Though authenticity is a theme in all mass media, in television there is a "dominant ideology [which] insists that performers who are not overtly acting are 'being themselves'" (Tolson 277). This issue comes from a disconnection between the public persona and the real person which causes the audience to wonder if what they are seeing on screen is genuine or artificially constructed (278). Audiences want to believe they are seeing the "real person" as it gives them an illusion of privilege and encourages an emotional investment. Sender emphasises the importance of "emotional realism" to reality television, where people can empathise with a television personality's emotions and find them believable even if the circumstances are artificial (107). An example of this can be seen in a show like Survivor in which the environments of the people are manipulated by producers to produce a believable emotional response. Because the Shaytard's vlogs are recordings of their everyday life and activities they are exempt from this kind of circumstantial artificiality, and could therefore be seen as more authentic than traditional reality television. They are not being shadowed by cameramen or manipulated by producers but rather are filming themselves, which may result in a more relaxed and genuine recording. However, the vlogs are still being mediated through the footage that gets included, because what is portrayed is carefully selected by Shay. This process of selection means that vlogs are not a completely unmediated record of reality. Thus, regardless of the perceived naturalness that the YouTube makes possible, it can be argued that true and complete authenticity in mass media is an unattainable ideal.

YouTube can therefore be seen as a form of socially mediated television that is made possible by the technological and industrial developments of digital media. It has redefined the viewing experience into something that is both active and interactive. By showing reality television-like material on another medium it has made us expand our definition of television, whereby we can now appreciate content beyond traditional high-budget shows. As the Shaytards demonstrate, YouTube is closing the gap between producers and consumers which gives us an unprecedented authority over our mass media. We are the generation that is able to record and remediate our own realities through digital technologies. And if YouTube can now be classed as television, we are led to a final transcending question – where to next?

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Film, Television and Media Studies *313*

Sites of Contest: Media, Sport and Culture

x

Nikau Gabrielle Hindin

#AthletesonInstagram

Social media provides a platform in which users not only produce their own media content, but can also access active audiences. This accessibility has given athletes agency to produce alternative sports media where traditionally they have been excluded (Sanderson and Kassing 115). Social media also gives fan communities the opportunity to curate their own media consumption and engage with athletes more directly. Firstly I will define 'Instagram' and its notable differences from other social media platforms. I will then discuss how Instagram has the capacity to break down traditional media roles. In addition, I will analyse how Instagram can intimately connect fans to an athlete and consider how athletes use Instagram to construct a brand identity that is appealing to both fans and sponsors. Finally, I will discuss how Instagram gives athletes agency to raise awareness about issues they are passionate about.

Research Methodologies

Andrea N. Eagleman and Lauren Burch's study on the visual self-representation of Olympic athletes' on Instagram guided my own examination of athlete's Instagram profiles. They looked at how Instagram is used by athletes as a tool for self-branding and the difference between female and male profiles but their study lacked investigation into how athletes use Instagram to promote other brands and advocate their personal beliefs. I used their research methodologies to construct my own study where I collected quantitative data to examine the types of photos athletes' post, which photos are most successful based on 'likes' and compare the popularity of individual athlete profiles to their corresponding sport team profile. The athletes I chose to examine in more depth were Konrad Hurrell (Warriors), Maria Tutaia (Silver Ferns) and Kelly Slater (eleven time ASP World Tour Surf Champion). They were selected based on their locality, popularity, frequency of posting, and gender. I divided their posts into seven categories and recorded the number of likes and average number of likes per post category (see table 2.) In addition to academic sources, my research involved textual analysis of individual posts that support their theories. Lastly, I will also support my argument with the insight gained from an interview with Graham Wright, Head of Brand Engagement and Sponsorship at Vodafone.

Instagram

Instagram is the fastest growing social media platform and an appealing avenue for athlete and fan engagement (Eagleman & Burch 2). Launched in 2010, Instagram is a mobile phone application with over 300 million users who post an average of 55 million photos everyday (Ibid.) Instagram is similar to Facebook and Twitter, in that, users create an account, share content and follow other people's profiles. While Facebook and Twitter are text heavy, Instagram's main mode of communication is through photographs and videos. Users can 'like' content simply by double tapping the image, they can also comment on photos, use hashtags to categorize posts and tag other users. Since the social media platform has grown in popularity, users can now follow their favourite athletes, celebrities, sports teams and brands. Since Instagram was originally made for peer engagement and the fact all users must go through the same process to upload photos, content maintains the authenticity that other social media platforms have lost (Instagram Details). Further, users can also 'unfollow' accounts if they don't like the photo posted, ultimately users are curating the kinds of images that appear on their personal 'feed'.

Athlete	Account name	Followers	Posts	Sample size	Time Period (w)	frequency
Konrad Hurrell	koni_hurrell	63.7 k	635	60	12	5/w
NZ Warriors	Nzwarriors	52.4k	1695	60	5	12/w
Maria Tutaia	Mariatutaia	21.1k	555	60	19	3.2/w
Silver Ferns	Silverfernsnz	4893	40	60	34	1.8/w
Dan Carter	dancarter_	256k	703	60	28	2.1/w
All Blacks	Allblacks	135k	466	60	12	5/w
Kelly Slater	Kellyslater	1m	799	60	22	2.7/w
Carissa Moore	rissmoore10	132k	526	60	15	4/w

Table 1. Documentation of Instagram accounts, comparison of number of followers and frequency of posting.

Instagram's Expressive Potential

"Traditionally, athletes and fans have been comparatively non-influential in the production of sports media. They are actors and consumers of the story line, but uninvolved in how those stories get shaped and presented (Sanderson and Kassing 115)." Instagram breaks down these traditional media roles through giving athletes agency to construct alternative narratives. Konrad Hurrell is an Instagram sensation despite having played for the Vodafone Warriors for only three years (Player Profile). Due to his active and humorous online presence Hurrell or @koni_hurrell has 63.7 thousand followers while the NZ Warriors only have 52.4 thousand (see table 1). Of the athletes I have analysed, they all have more followers' than their team, which suggests that Instagram is more effective when operated by individuals rather than a collective. Fans prefer to follow athletes who post "a kind of publicly accessible diary" as fans can identify the face behind the content and engagement is more intimate (Eagleman and Burch 2). In the sample of 60 photos I examined, Hurrell's most popular post was a video was of him doing a dance called 'the Nae Nae' (see Fig

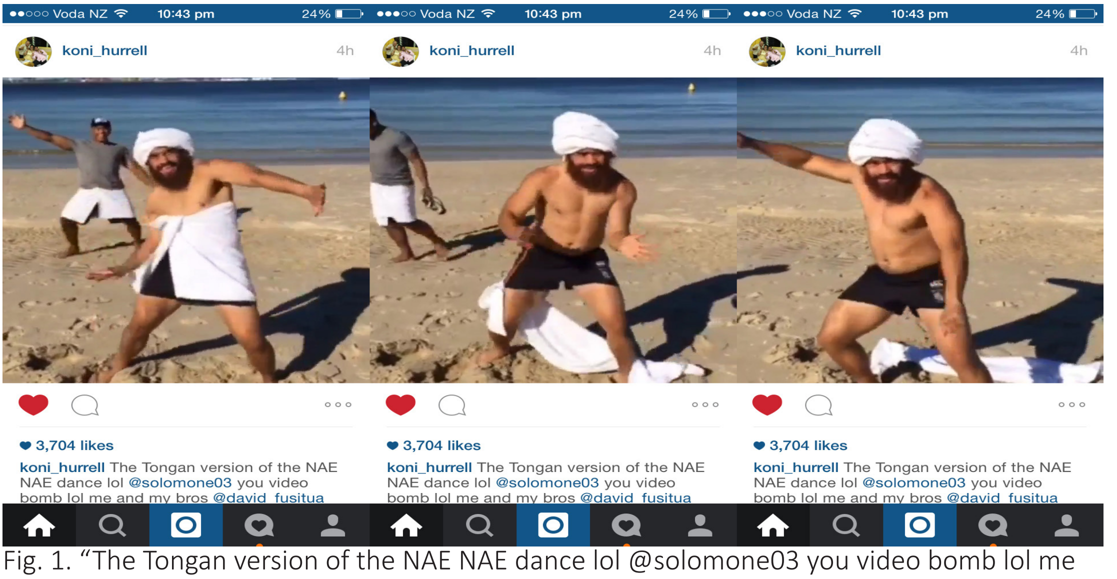

Fig. 1. "The Tongan version of the NAE NAE dance lol @solomone03 you video bomb lol me and the bro @davif_fusitua and @solomone03 after our swim today ⍰ #ouua" 5513 Likes. 21 May 2015. Screen shot of @koni_hurrell video.

Here, Hurrell reinterprets a popular hip-hop song and dance by adding his own personal flare. Unlike other social media platforms, Instagram was designed for smartphones meaning athletes have access to a media-distributing platform– even at the beach (Ibid). This video appears spontaneous and its low production value highlights it was recorded on his personal mobile device. Lebel and Danylchuk emphasize how sharing photos is intimate and "allows athletes to give fans a glimpse into their lives, thus providing them with insider information that sports fans covet. It may be the truest behind-the-scenes look a fan can experience (qt in Eagleman and Burch, 2)." This post is most popular because it is authentic, humorous, and responds to popular culture and these traits run through his entire account. Hurrell is appealing to audiences because his shameless capacity to poke fun at himself and his teammates is rarely on display on a public platform. Traditionally, fans would be restricted to content and interviews produced by mass media and would not be able to connect to Hurrell in the same way. Instagram has the capacity to connect fans and athletes more intimately and show a less formal side of the athlete.

Marketing Potential

While Instagram can be used informally, athletes can also use the application to create a carefully preened representation of the self to appeal to not only fans but sponsors (Eagleman and Burch, 2). I chose to examine the Instagram account of Maria Tutaia, New Zealand Silver Fern and Captain of the Northern Mystics because she is a female athlete who plays in a first tier sport, has a large following, and uses Instagram to promote not only her personal brand but other brands too.

Maria Tutaia 21/5/15			
Types of Posts	# posts	Medium likes	Ranking
Personal Life	26	1171	5
Relating to their sport/team	6	1468	1
Promoting other products/brands/events	19	1167	6
Breaking news	0	0	7
Political, religious, educational promotion	1	1210	4
Appearance of other athletes/stars	6	1260	2
Internet meme, screengrab or video	2	1235	3

Table 2. With a sample size of 60 photos I observed the kinds of photos athletes are likely to post and put them into the above categories. I then recorded total number of likes to find out the average likes per category, giving me insight into which kinds of posts were most popular. Ranking on the far right column indicates the most popular post type, not the frequency of post types.

Konrad Hurrell 21/5/15			
Types of Posts	# posts	Medium likes	Ranking
Personal Life	24	2129.5	4
Relating to their sport/team	18	2865.4	1
Promoting other products/brands/events	3	1637	6
Breaking news	0	0	7
Political, religious, educational promotion	4	2572.5	2
Appearance of other athletes/stars	7	1998.7	5
Internet meme, screengrab or video	4	2543.8	3

Table 3. It is noted that trends that appear here are not necessarily true for all other athletes. This sample has been used for more in depth quantitative textual analysis for the purposes of discussion in this essay only and must be seen in isolation from other athletes.

While Hurrell uses Instagram for personal expression, entertainment and promotion of rugby league, Tutaia posts very little about netball and is more conscious of how Instagram can be used to control her image and attract sponsors (see Table. 2 and 3.) Social media is especially useful to female and 2nd tier athletes, who receive less mainstream media attention to generate publicity and build their personal brand (Ibid.) It is interesting to note that photos promoting other brands receive the least amount of 'likes' for both Tutaia and Hurrell yet this type of post is Tutaia's 2nd most common and Hurrell's least common. Tutaia's "marketable lifestyle" and "attractive appearance" makes her a brand's ideal ambassador; constantly uploading photos of events she is attending, tagging fashion designers and brands of foods (Ibid. 4). Graham Wright, Head of Brand Engagement and Sponsorship at Vodafone, pointed out the disability of players openly endorsing products and services, suggesting that followers don't always like product endorsements and we can see this in the above tables. Despite this, Tutaia is no doubt highly conscious of remaining appealing to brands and while these posts receive few 'likes', unlike Hurrell, she may depend more heavily on sponsors due to her gender and lower income generated from playing netball. Ultimately, she has a strong and loyal fan base who continue to follow her despite catering to sponsors. I note she does attempt to find ways to make her product endorsements subtle and entertaining. Further, she delivers a diverse range of posts that also cater to specifically to her fan base.

Creating alternative narratives

Social media is an essential tool for athletes who seek to counteract or influence mainstream media's depiction of themselves. Eagleman and Burch suggest that Instagram provides female athletes with the opportunity to counteract "traditional mass media depiction" of them by creating their own preferred visual content (4).

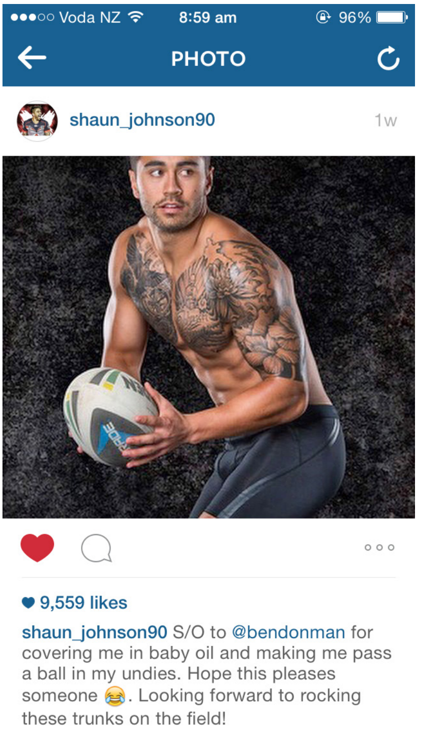

Fig. 3. "Don't forget to buy this weeks @womansdaynz. Wearing @sunseekeraustralia."

Fig. 4. Shaun Johnson's humorously endorsing his Bendon Man campaign.

Female athletes are more often depicted in posed or passive shots that emphasize their feminine attributes, while male athletes are portrayed in more dominant poses or action shots (See Fig. 3, Eagleman and Burch 4). While social media can offer alternative sporting narratives, it is also a space where familiar tropes and stereotypes are reinforced. Above is a screen shot of Tutaia endorsing her NZ Woman's Weekly spread. While she may not have wanted to be portrayed as a highly sexualized "sizzling silverfern", ultimately she agreed to pose in these photos. Re-posting these images however, means she is reinforcing other media producers' construction of her brand. This makes me question how much control she has over her image. Alternatively, perhaps she has full control but is simply aware that brands and sponsors are more lucrative if she reinforces this sexualised image. Further, unlike mainstream media's narrow depiction of Tutaia, she has continuous access to a personal audience of 21 thousand followers –some of whom may have found her Instagram account from the mainstream publication– who see her in many different types of photos, most of which she is fully clothed in, which expands her personal image. Marshal asserted that those with a large following on social media are "hugely conscious of a potential audience (40)." Tutaia is able to self-publish many different sides of her brand to appeal to as many fans as possible. Ultimately, the more followers she has the more power she has over her image and ability to counteract mainstream media.

Bad Press and Breaking News

Instagram can be a tool for athletes when activated to counteract bad press, share political opinions or raise awareness for issues they are passionate about.

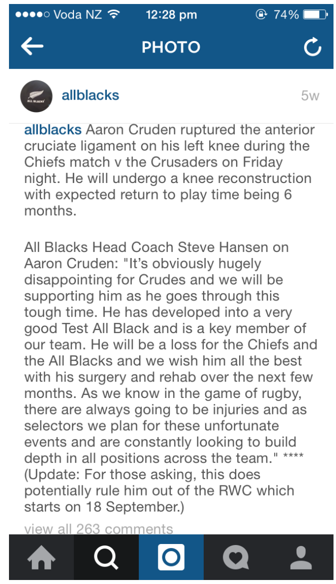

Fig. 5. Konrad Hurrell publically apologising to Antony Tupou immediately after the Warriors vs Sharks game.

Fig. 6. All Blacks breaking news about Aaron Cruden's devastating injury.

Fig. 7. Caption to the All Blacks post abot Aaron Cruden.

In Fig. 5 Koni Hurrell apologises to Anthony Tupou for injuring his jaw immediately after the incident occurred. Hurrell has an advantage over mainstream media because his genuine apology and acknowledgement that it was an accident will be distributed to fans and journalist quickly, subsequently avoiding accusations that his actions were intentional. "Such commentary allows [athletes] to contest mass media news reports and invoke alternative explanations for events (Reese qt in Sanderson and Kassing 116)." Three days after this post, Hurrell was still slammed by the New Zealand Herald as a "dumb" and "damaging" player who is a "liability" to the Vodafone Warriors club (Rattue). Fans on Instagram, however praised him for his speedy and genuine apology. Instagram allows fans to weigh in on news stories and generate support for the athletes when sports reporters have directed support elsewhere (Rattue, Sanderson and Kassing 119). To an extent, social media allows athletes to maintain control over "career-punctuating and potentially career-defining moments" demonstrating a "deliberate circumvention of traditional sport media practices (116)." This exemplifies how increased fan and athlete engagement not only broadens the availability of alternative sport narratives, but also gives athletes a voice when faced with negative press and a reliable inside source for consumers.

Athletes aren't the only ones who use Instagram to disseminate information and news to the public. Sports organisation and teams announce games, scores, injuries and current events via their own Instagram accounts (@nzwarriors, @allblacks @bluesrugbyteam @ NRL, @superrugby). Athletes and sports organisations can use Instagram as an instant way to disseminate news without going through mainstream media news outlets. One tension arising from increased fan and athlete engagement are sport organisations and teams having to contend with athletes "divulging information that the organization would prefer to remain “in” house…” One way sports organisations have addressed these concerns is by adopting social media policies that govern when the athletes can use these tools (Sanderson and Kassing 118).” It is interesting to note that Hurrell, Tutaia and other New Zealand athletes I examined, broke no news via Instagram and are no doubt governed by policies preventing them from disclosing certain information (@shaun_johnson90, @manuvatuvai, @dancarter).

In Fig. 6 The All Blacks announced Aaron Cruden’s severe injury, which may have implications on the upcoming Rugby World Cup Squad. The post’s caption is journalistic in style: with an opening statement identifying who, when, where and what, as well as a quote from head coach Steve Hansen. This exemplifies how traditional journalistic practices influences and develops the way new media is used. Rowe and Hutchins suggest that traditional journalism is “now outmoded in their capacity to create, maintain and influences audiences” and due to our accelerated culture their ability to break news stories has reduced (10, Novick and Steen 121). This leads me to the question of how we define institutional media and point out that nothing prevents mass media producers from using Instagram as another platform to disseminate news. Further, are teams such as the All Blacks seen as institutional media producers? Through social media and the World Wide Web, the All Blacks have a large fan community in which they create content in a way like media producers. This blurs the line between traditional media producers, sports organization and athletes who also have a large following. Have we all become producers? It is too early to say whether or not traditional media houses are “outmoded” but certainly athletes and teams are benefitting from being able to bypass mass media and instantly access a large audience.

Political Commentary

Kelly Slater 21/5/15			
Types of Posts	# posts	Medium likes	Ranking
Personal Life	14	43525	2
Relating to their sport/team	17	55302	1
Promoting other Products	12	32124	4
Breaking news	0	0	6
Political, religious, educational promotion	11	31068	5
Appearance of other athletes/stars	6	42011	3
Internet meme, screengrab or video	0	0	7

Table. 3. Using a sample size of 60 Slaters posts were categorized and their ‘likes’ counted to determine which category was most popular.

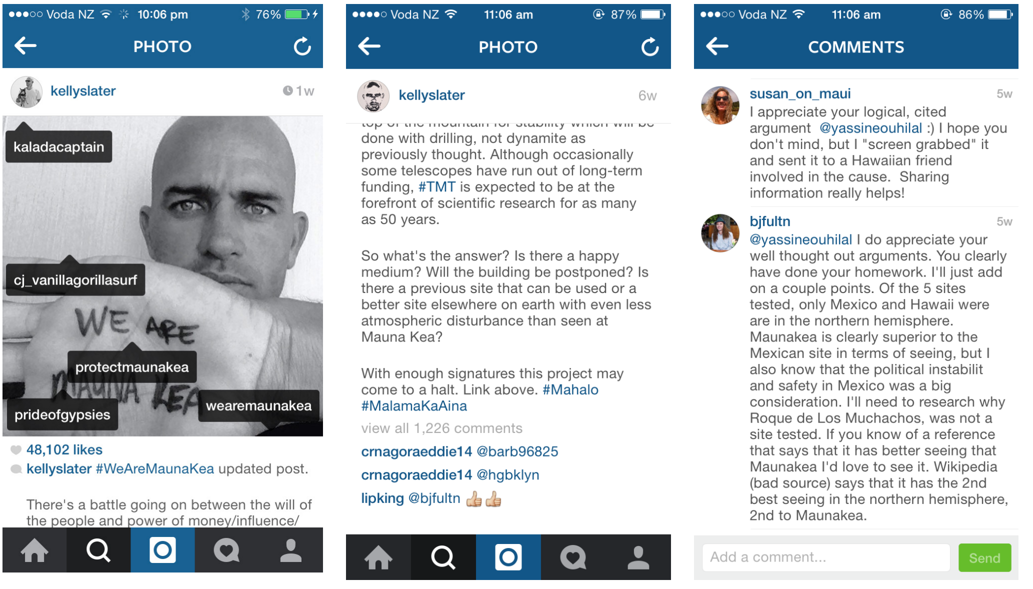

Fig. 8. Kelly Slater publically supporting "We Are Maunakea" Movement against the building of a Thirty Meter Telescope on the sacred mountain Maunakea, Hawai'i. Fig. 9. 1226 comments. Fig. 10. Fan engagement and contribution in commenting section.

Kelly Slater uses Instagram to disseminate meaningful information to the public through sharing his personal view on relevant issues. Recently, he posted about the imminent construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on Maunakea, Hawai'i. He wrote a detailed caption stating why many indigenous Hawaiian and local people want to shut down this project. With one million followers, Slater's stance against this multimillion dollar project is valuable in raising global awareness, rallying support and linking people all around the world to sign the petition. It is interesting to note that posts about political issues, religious perspectives, education and promotion of charities receive the least amount of 'likes' in comparison to the other categories of photos examined and this trend was also evident in Hurrell's and Tutaia's profile. On the other hand, 1226 comments were generated under the post, which is much higher than on other posts and shows how it produced in depth discussion about this issue (Fig. 9.) Through "comment participation... fans [become] instant and direct contributors to the social construction of [a particular event]" In this example Slater "updated" his post with corrected information presumably having been corrected by a follower (See Fig. 8, Sanderson and Kassing 120). Fans participation and commentary on posts drive the dialogue forward. In addition, consumers assist in disseminating content through reposting and sharing with friends (see Fig. 10, Ibid.) Kelly Slater is an example of an athlete who not only uses Instagram for self-promotion but also to raise awareness about issues he is passionate about.

Limitations of research methodologies

It is important to note that the numbers of followers, 'likes' and 'comments' on Instagram profiles are continuously changing. Due to time constraints, this data is restricted by a limited a small sample size of 60 posts per athlete, which means we can only glimpse at the current trends seen in athlete profiles. Finally, athletes were selected because they showed particular trends in their photos. Instagram is a diverse and vast media text and many different trends may be spotted depending on which accounts were selected for analysis.

Looking forward Instagram’s ability to transcend traditional producer and consumer roles has allowed for an intensification of fan and athlete engagement in sports media. Part of Instagram’s original appeal was its ability for users to instantly upload photos straight from their phone, creating the kind of authenticity we saw in Hurrell’s video. As Instagram has developed from a phone application for consumers to a platform, now invaded by sports teams and sport organisations, I am seeing more highly mediated content, which in some respect takes away the authenticity of the application. The application’s future is determined by how fans and athletes use it. If athletes choose to employ a secondary party to post photos or if their content becomes restricted due to external censorship, then they will no longer be a genuine source. Ultimately, it is up to the fan to curate their own media consumption and determine the kinds of content they want to see on Instagram. Simply through choosing to ‘follow’… or ‘unfollow’.

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Outsiders: Youth and Adult Subcultures

x

Sharnika Leleni

One could easily argue that the Auckland City Football Club (ACFC) is the most successful football club in New Zealand. For the last five years they have won the New Zealand Men's National ASB Premiership, going on to then win the Oceania Champions League. In 2014, they made history by placing third at the FIFA Club World Cup, narrowly missing an opportunity to face the infamous Real Madrid in the final. Despite all this, most people in New Zealand have probably never heard of them. Based on participant observations and longstanding involvement with the club, which has opened up countless opportunities to converse with other ACFC members, I make two arguments in this essay. First, that the ACFC can be understood as a 'neo-tribe', a concept developed within 'post-subcultural studies' (Bennett, 1999; Maffesoli, 1996; Muggleton and Wienzierl, 2003). Secondly, they do not receive much recognition from their peers because they occupy something of a liminal social location: while the club is known for its international style of play, which could easily be construed as the cause of their recent success, it has been rendered 'deviant' by the New Zealand football federation.

Auckland City Football Club as a 'neo-tribe'

Michel Maffesoli's (1996) notion of 'neo-tribes' has become important to many scholars who seek to understand subcultures, representing a significant departure from earlier attempts to theorise social groups that fall somewhere 'outside the norm'. Arguably the most well-known attempt to account for subcultures is embedded in the work of Clarke et al (1975), who suggested that subcultures are comprised of working class youth who seek to challenge the inequalities associated with capitalism. According to Clarke et al (1975), working class youth resist class-based societies by developing new styles – such as musical tastes, dress, and language – that break with mainstream conventions. In their account, this was an extremely limited form of resistance as it was only 'symbolic', and therefore didn't actually change the world in any substantive way. Maffesoli (1996) is often credited with introducing the idea of 'neo-tribes', which encourages us to move away from seeing subcultures as defined by structural elements such as class, race and gender (Bennett, 1999; Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003). Instead, the focus shifts to the fluid nature of social life, or how individuals move in and out of interest groups. Alongside this, 'neo-tribes' opens up a space to focus on how people use group life to meet individual needs, pursue passions, and gain a sense of personal satisfaction from life. Members of the ACFC embody many of the qualities associated with 'neo-tribes'. There are different roles within the club and, more pertinently, participants come various walks of life. There are three major groups that contribute to the club: the football players, the supporters, and the management. These participants vary in age, ethnicity, have different class backgrounds, and are likely to speak different languages.

ACFC is known as an established club. It therefore attracts younger players who see it as an opportunity to be scouted by more professional clubs. But ACFC also allows players to come back and play as their international careers come to a close, thereby ensuring that older members are present as well. 'Peter', for instance, is 19 and the youngest player in the side. However, the team's captain is 38, and was recognised as the third best player in the 2014 FIFA Club World Cup. To put this into perspective, the best player was Christiano Ronaldo. What is interesting about both of these players is that they are not necessarily interested in 'resisting' economic inequalities as Clarke et al (1975) would lead us to expect. Rather, they are utilising their subcultural passion to pursue private interests and find a place in society: 'Peter' would like to play in a professional capacity; the team's captain is maintaining his connection to something he is passionate about, which makes sense given the relatively short 'shelf-life' of professional athletes. Also consistent with the concept of neo-tribes, club members tend to drift in and out of participation. This is something I have witnessed on many occasions over the years, and reflects the fact that members are not one-dimensional characters, but lead lives in which individual needs constantly change and new behavioural expectations arise. Alongside their club life, most members lead a relatively 'normal' existence that involves regular employment and family commitments. Furthermore, unlike many other subcultures such as 'goth' or 'punk', ACFC members do not adopt a style that is carried across social locations. To be sure, there certainly is a stylised uniform – jerseys, shorts, and football boots – but it is almost meaningless in any other social context. Rather, the stylistic elements of football are practical, and simply work to demarcate teams.

Despite the incorporation of all this social diversity, there is a common thread that unites the players, and that is their shared passion for football. Individual members may have diverse personal motives, they may seek to be successful in football, but they also relish the collective aspects of the game and the satisfaction that comes from doing something well. In this sense, they are very much a 'neo-tribe' insofar as it is common interests, rather than shared structural location, that brings them all together

The liminality of the ACFC: Internationally habitual, but labelled as national outcast

Victor Turner (1967) uses the notion of 'liminality' to illuminate those moments of social life marked by ambiguity or disorientation. This is usually the product of being caught between social worlds. In some sense, it could be said that attending university is something of a liminal moment insofar as one is transitioning between initial schooling and the workplace. As many would agree – especially students – this is certainly 'disorienting': the future is uncertain, one questions their choices, anxiety arises, what awaits 'post-university' life?

While not quite as dramatic perhaps, the ACFC also occupies something of a liminal location within this sport 'scene', trapped as it is between competing conceptions of what it means to play football. The ACFC has received a great deal of recognition for its accomplishments throughout the globe, which has a lot to do with the internationality of its members, but it is also a product of the team playing in what could be described as an 'international style'. This international approach is defined by recruiting good players irrespective of where they come from, and a focus on maintaining possession of the ball and technique when on the field (Johnstone, 2014). Such a style of play rejects that generally adopted within the national, New Zealand football culture where the emphasis is on aggression and attacking. In many ways, these differences position the ACFC as a 'deviant' team within an otherwise 'mainstream' NZ football culture.

Ramon Tribulietx, the coach of ACFC, has acknowledged, albeit in an indirect way, the extent to which others hold the team's style of play in low esteem:

> I'd heard for a long time that you can't play possession-based football in New Zealand, blah, blah, blah… (Tribulietx quoted in Rattue, 2014)

Others have also noted how the ACFC is often reprimanded for its approach and simultaneously fails to receive the recognition it deserves. As Smith (2014), a sports journalist, has said:

> [ACFC] should be commended, not criticized, for their recruitment policy. They've

> brought out players from more exotic football backgrounds such as South America and Spain. That's allowed Coach Ramon Tribulietx to play a brand of positive, possession-based football which was on show for the world to see in Morocco

Insofar as ACFC are criticised by the 'mainstream' football establishment within New Zealand, they are effectively construed as 'outsiders' (Becker, 1963) or labelled 'deviant'. It is evident that the powerhouse of national football does not like ACFC's internationality, both in terms of its individual players and playing style.

However, while rendered deviant within New Zealand for their international approach, this has been the source of the team's success, evidenced by their performance in the ASB Premierships, Oceania Champions League, and the FIFA Club World Cup. By comparison, New Zealand's only professional side, Wellington Phoenix, have not been able to produce these types of results on the international stage. Further, the All Whites have only placed in the twenties at the world cup or have not qualified. Nevertheless, the accomplishments of the ACFC are rendered invisible due to the way in which it is labelled.

Conclusion

I have analysed the ways in which ACFC constitutes a modern neo-tribe, which is embodied in the social diversity of its players and membership, and by its ability to attract participants on the basis of shared passions and interests. The neo-tribe concept was found to be important because it enables us to understand the sense in which ACFC is a subculture, even though it is not a social group bound by the class, gender, or ethnicity of its members. Alongside this, I also explored how the ACFC is quite conventional by international standards, but rendered deviant within its national context. This leaves the ACFC in something of a liminal position, wedged between two competing sets of norms or values. This liminal location – or what amounts to an 'outsider' status within New Zealand – brings with it some advantages, but also some disadvantages. The advantages have been fairly obvious: ACFC's international approach to the game has generated its unparalleled success on the field. However, its outsider status has often meant that any accomplishments do not receive the social recognition they deserve. There is perhaps a metaphor in all of this for us: true success and happiness need not be dependent on social recognition, or the lack thereof.

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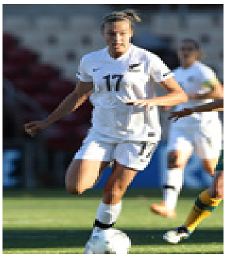
Sites of Contest: Media, Sport and Culture

x

Sarah Penwarden

NZ Women's Football: The Gendered Struggle for Coverage



Hannah Wilkinson in action, Copyright: Paul Seiser PHOTOSPORT, June 24 2012.

In New Zealand, the sports media is dominated by broadcasts of male sportsmen, teams, and 'masculine' sporting codes, as well as media texts such as news pieces and comedy shows which reinforce male hegemony in the sporting domain. In a sector of the media so predominantly orientated around men, women's sports struggle to gain quality media coverage and are limited by the confines of a gender discriminant discourse. A sporting code which is familiar with these particular struggles and limitations is women's football, as Grundlingh describes; "it is evident that soccer is considered a predominantly male orientated sport mostly played by men, and women soccer players are often not accorded the same status within this sporting environment" (46). National women's teams such as the Football Ferns struggle to prove their legitimacy and value in their discipline, and are often encouraged to conform to stereotypical gender roles in order to gain media attention and increase fandom and support.

In this essay I will draw upon relevant scholars' research such as Gareau and Ravel's framing techniques, Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities', and employ their theories to make sense of the restrictions that women footballers face in New Zealand. My research will include a case study where I will analyse a comedy segment on the popular New Zealand sporting show "The Crowd Goes Wild" based on a press conference with the Football Ferns, and explore how the media uses specific gender discriminant techniques to reinforce negative connotations surrounding women in football. Throughout the essay, I will integrate commentary from Football Ferns striker, Hannah Wilkinson, with the intention of exemplifying how these gendered sporting inequalities are experienced first-hand from the perspective of a player. Finally, I will offer an alternative way for New Zealand women's footballers to overcome gender limitations.

Limitations Women Footballers Face

The primary cause underlying the gender inequalities that women face in the media, is the historical discourse that soccer has been framed as a sport exclusively for men to play. From a young age, boys are socialised to participate in sports such as rugby and soccer, whereas young girls are encouraged to play traditional 'girls sports' such as netball and hockey (Grundlingh 50). For some girls, this gendered system of socialisation is resisted and their love of soccer begins from a young age, choosing to play soccer informally with brothers, neighbours and friends on the streets and in back yards. This was where Hannah Wilkinson's passion for football began in a family who put no pressure on her to conform to 'feminine sports':

> "There was no pressure on me to choose any specific 'female' sport, I just went ahead and joined in with my bothers playing football." (Wilkinson)

Grundlingh notes that often "it was accepted for girls to play soccer outside with the boys and have fun until a certain age" (48). The 'certain age' that Grundlingh refers to here is when a child transitions into womanhood. At this point, the gender expectations that a child can escape from are enforced on young women, as society expects them to conform to the status quo gender roles. Women's soccer falls outside of the traditional 'feminine sports' framework, and herein lies the root of limitations and gender discrimination of female athletes, as Hallman explains; "soccer was long regarded as an unacceptable sport for women. Women who played football exposed themselves to criticism for masculinising themselves and betraying female societal values" (33). This societal structure is essential in understanding the limitations that women's teams such as the Football Ferns face with regards to media coverage, as these values are directly reflected by the media, where "gender appropriate sports tend to yield more coverage than gender inappropriate sports" (Gareau and Ravel 2) Women players are forced to find a balance between femininity and masculinity, in order to justify their choice of sport and be accepted and covered by the sports media.

The rejection of soccer as an appropriate sport for women to play is evident in the form of crowds and supporters who attend matches, particularly in New Zealand. When the Football Ferns play home matches, the crowds are relatively small and are predominantly a younger, female audience. Hannah Wilkinson attributes this trend to the idea that New Zealand, in general, has a lack of support and awareness for women's football compared to overseas countries such as the USA.

> "I would say [the supporters are] female, particularly with younger female football players coming through and seeing us as role models. I would say we have male support too, but more so in America due to the popularity of the women's game over there. Also I find that males in New Zealand tend to support traditional 'kiwi' sports such as rugby or cricket." (Wilkinson)

The lack of crowds for the Football Ferns in New Zealand compared to the USA was commented on in a recent New Zealand Herald article about an upcoming friendly match in St Louis, America, where it was noted that the Ferns would face their largest ever crowd, "a cauldron of 30,000 screaming fans" (Halloway). The issue of crowds and supporters is highly relevant to the media limitations that women footballers face. If the Football Ferns succeed in gaining the support of an older, increasingly male crowd, and essentially win over the New Zealand public, the game attendance would be larger and would therefore gain media attention. As Wilkinson notes:

> "I don't think New Zealand would know who the 'Football Ferns' were without a media outlet explaining it... It's just so difficult for sports like football, let alone women's football to gain people's attention." (Wilkinson)

The media and crowd size is essential to the promotion of the national team, as well as progression towards acceptance of women's soccer as a gender appropriate sport.

A recurring issue noted in a variety of scholarly women's football articles is the media's expectation of players to conform to feminine gender roles and to portray an often over-sexualised image. In order for a story on any women's sport to be considered newsworthy, female athletes are required to perform at an extremely high level, as well as look good for the cameras in order to appeal to a wider audience. This is particularly relevant to women's footballers, as they struggle with finding an accepted feminine gender identity in a 'masculine' sporting code. This media trend can be observed worldwide, for example, Gareau and Ravel noticed when observing media portrayals of the French national women's team, the media was constantly "oscillating between gendered individuals and 'real' legitimate athletes" (1). The unfair expectations and overly gendered framing reflects ideas about what it means to be a woman in sport and underpins a dominant heteronormative gender discourse in society. Hannah Wilkinson elaborates on her personal experience of these expectations as a member of the Football Ferns on the world stage:

> "At the level that I play at, I am always weary of my appearance as a female, knowing that there are cameras around I'm always ensuring I look as best as I can. Particularly in highly publicised games in places like the USA or in the Olympics or World Cup- you know, straightened hair, eyes all made up." (Wilkinson)

Wilkinson expresses the dominant ideology that women footballers are limited in their expression of self and gender, and feel the pressure to simultaneously look their best, and perform their best. As Miller elaborates; "The players are turned into runway models, having their hair and makeup done before showing their stuff in front of an audience". This is a direct result of gender inequality in the media's portrayal of sport and femininity. These portrayals have an adverse effect as they take away from the athletic ability, high skill level and the game itself by refocusing the audience gaze on the femininity of the players.

Case Study: 'The Crowd Goes Wild' Football Ferns Segment

Case studies play an important role in exemplifying academic theories as "media texts offer especially rich opportunities to observe the cultural construction of meaning" (59). A text which perfectly demonstrates the reality of gender framing in the New Zealand media towards women's football is a segment from the popular comedy sports commentary show 'The Crowd Goes Wild.' In this segment two British comedians, Eddy Brimson and Rich Wilson, attend a Football Ferns press conference and interview coach Tony Readings, and a selection of players. The interview serves as overwhelmingly convincing evidence of the New Zealand media's gender biases. Ravel and Gareau note five traditional framing techniques which the media uses to emphasise gender roles and take away from the authenticity of women's sports: gender marking; infantalization; and the three which are best exemplified in the 'Crowd Goes Wild' segment; compulsory heterosexuality, appropriate femininity and downplaying sport (2).

Compulsory heterosexuality is defined as the box that female players are placed in where they are limited to conforming to a heterosexual discourse, with no room for variation; "we generally see compulsory heterosexuality as a construct that places heterosexuality as the only form of sexuality. Heterosexuality can also be seen as in institution and practice that manifests and maintains male power" (2). This is best seen in the segment through the recurring rhetoric where Brimson and Wilson suggest that while on tour for the World Cup, the Football Ferns might have a 'slumber party' to entertain themselves during the evenings.

> Brimson: "I don't know if you've ever been to Canada but how are you going to keep the players entertained, cause like, Canada is like really boring… slumber parties?"
>
> Readings: "Maybe that could be a question you ask the players at the end."
>
> Brimson: "Cause we're both free during that month and would be quite happy to come along and help"

Here, the heterosexual male fantasy of a team of grown women having a 'slumber party' to entertain themselves is alluded to, when Brimson suggests he would like to join in. This hypersexualises the players and suggests that their only form of entertainment should be something that fits compulsory heterosexuality and would appeal to men. In doing so, this manifests and maintains male power by drawing away from the importance of what the team are actually travelling for, the World Cup, and places the importance on what would be happening after the game. In essence, the focus is no longer on the talent of the players or the importance of the game, but on the requirement that the women should conform to heterosexual idealism. While this is constructed as a joke within the segment, it holds an underlying meaning which shows the struggle that the Football Ferns face with the media not taking them seriously as athletes.

A second framing technique observed is 'appropriate femininity' which is defined as "emphasising stereotypical female characteristics. (57)" Ravel and Gareau suggest that this often comes in the form of interview questions pertaining to specific aspects of femininity, including feminine appearance (9). This can be observed in the 'Crowd Goes Wild' segment when Wilson tells Football Fern Betsy Hasset that she reminds him of Miley Cirus, alluding to her short, blonde hair cut.

> Wilson: "You've got a bit of a Miley Cyrus vibe about you... Just the way you look, yeah, I'm not saying that you like to sit on great big balls and swing."
>
> Hassett: "Maybe we should do a music video."

This topic of conversation is then further reinforced by a bassline super which reads: 'Betsy Hassett – Comes in like a wrecking ball'.

The narrative of appropriate femininity through emphasis on the player's hair styles is continued when Brimson interviews the next Football Fern, Rosie White, and begins by talking about her ponytail.

> Brimson: "Could you wear a hat?"
>
> White: "...Could I wear a hat?"
>
> Brimson: "Yeah, just to make sure you don't get your ponytail pulled on."

Screenshot from Crowd Goes Wild Interview: 'Betsy Hassett – Comes in like awrecking ball'. Copyright: CGW Youtube, May 17 2015.

By continually drawing attention to the female players' physical appearances, Brimson and Wilson emphasise the importance of appearing feminine over skill and athleticism. Ravel and Gareau argue that this "trivialises team's accomplishments by alienating women interested in the sport who do not meet these standards of beauty" (3). This section of the interview further sexualises the players, and critiques their physical appearances. In doing this, the players are simultaneously objectified and undervalued as professional athletes.

A third framing device used in the 'Crowd Goes Wild' segment is a focus on non-sport related content. While what should be most important in media coverage of a sportsperson is their achievements in their sporting code, often when women's sport is covered the focus is on every other element of the player's life; "sports media focus on personal details about the lives of female athletes, rather than focusing on their athletic achievement" (3). This can be observed in the segment when Betsy Hassett is interviewed. Wilson begins by asking Hassett where she is currently playing football, but the questioning very quickly takes a different direction, implying that the interviewers have no interest in her current football career at all.

> Hassett: “I was playing at Manchester City.”
>
> Brimson: “Are you gonna come back to the UK?”
>
> Hassett: “Hopefully somewhere in Europe, not sure exactly where but…”
>
> Brimson: “He’s got a spare room.”
>
> Wilson: “Haha, yeah my wife will be really pleased with that.”

By drawing the attention away from football immediately when Hassett begins to discuss her football career outside of the New Zealand national team, the idea that women’s football as a career has no value and is of no interest to the television audience is reinforced. Furthermore, Hassett is sexualised by Brimson when it is suggested that she comes to stay with Wilson at his home in the UK. Focusing on non-sport related aspects downplays women’s football as a sporting code and emphasises the challenge that women footballers face when trying to be taken seriously by the New Zealand media.

Overall, the ‘Crowd Goes Wild’ segment on the Football Ferns demonstrates the underlying inequalities that second tier women’s sports face in the media. Hannah Wilkinson notes that she has seen gender inequality in the media first-hand:

> “I’ve seen countless male sports broadcast over our games, and even a lack of advertising for any home games we have or builds ups to pinnacle events like World Cups.” (Wilkinson)

While this segment is outlined as a comedic piece with light-hearted intentions, as Bruce notes humour is used “in ways that appear to take a post-modern ironic position - a bit of a laugh at men behaving badly. Thus, even with its focus on men ‘taking the piss’, it doesn’t challenge our taken for granted understandings of sport” (66). This segment proves that the Football Ferns are restricted not only quantitatively in the frequency that they are covered by the New Zealand media, but also qualitatively, as when they are covered they are highly engendered and discriminated against.

The Future of Women’s Football

It is clear that women’s football is faced with an immense challenge in their struggle for a level playing field in the media. However, scholars have noted an emerging discourse which appears to have the ability to transcend ideology focussed on deep-set gender roles. The concept of nationalism entails the sense of pride, connectedness and a shared sense of belonging experience by a nation, and is often brought out through the celebration of national sporting success. In order to understand why this is possible, it is important to draw on Benedict Anderson’s theory of the imagined community. This is the idea that a community is imagined because it is impossible that all of the members will meet or know each other, yet “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 7) It is these ties to an ‘imagined community’ through sporting nationalism that opens an avenue for women's football to escape gendered media framing. As argued by Ravel and Gareau, nationalism is "a symbol of unity that can act as a primary framing device. National identity can therefore trump traditional framing, setting some women apart from others" (3). Hannah Wilkinson agrees that New Zealand has a particularly strong affliction with nationalism, and sees it as the way forward for the Football Ferns.

> "New Zealand has such strong ties with traditional sports. As our national team becomes more and more successful, the more influential we will become. New Zealander's love it when we win on the world stage – that's why we're so obsessed with the All Blacks." (Wilkinson)

Wilkinson's ideas on nationalism and the role it plays in sports are closely aligned with Bruce's idea that "a sense of national identification has been built around male athletes, especially the All Blacks, but international sporting success by women increasingly appears to be valued" (59). Perhaps the way forward for women's football is to move beyond media gender discrimination and focus on obtaining international success, thus stirring a sense of national pride within New Zealander's and increasing media attention.

As second tier women's sport in a discipline dominated by men and patriarchal engendered systems, women's football teams like the Football Ferns face many limitations. Some of these limitations include restrictions on individual players' gender performances, as well as a struggle to be considered 'legitimate' and valued for their skill and athleticism. These same gender that surround women's football as a sport are evident in the New Zealand media. Through understanding media framing techniques such as compulsory heterosexuality and appropriate femininity, the ways in which gender discourse manifests in sports media texts are overtly dominant. As exemplified in the Crowd Goes Wild segment, the Football Ferns are unable to gain quality, unbiased media coverage, which effects society's view of both the team and the sport as a whole. Players like Hannah Wilkinson are directly impacted by these conditions, and are forced to actively resist the stereotypical gender discourses that are enforced on them and further reiterated by the media. As Bruce neatly summarises; "The main thing women want from the media is to be in it. We want to be recognized in both our complexity and our diversity" (52). Perhaps by raising awareness of the limitations that women's soccer players' face, utilizing nationalism as an avenue to transcend gender framing and encouraging grassroots participation in the sporting code, a shift in ideology and media representation will occur. Only then will we see true equality and equal opportunities for New Zealand women's teams like the Football Ferns.

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Sites of Contest: Media, Sport and Culture

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Potato and gravy on the sideline: KFC's sponsorship of Super Rugby in New Zealand

How is commercial sponsorship integrated into televised sporting events as an attempt to re-engage youth, and to what extent does the internet assist this notion?

Super Rugby and KFC: the co-dependent relationship of sponsorship

Young sports fans are a key target market for commercial sports organizations. This demographic segment is the future of revenue streams for both the stadium and broadcast sports events. This means that sports organizations must make considerable effort to entice young fans to events and engage with them frequently in order to foster and maintain an enduring relationship. Commercial sponsorship is a common practise that augments this relationship and helps sports organizations reach out to a wider customer base than that which they would be able to access on their own. Due to the digital, media-saturated lives of modern youth, implementing sponsorship campaigns is becoming more difficult than it ever has been. Sports organizations increasingly have to compete for the time and attention of consumers who have the unlimited entertainment resources via the internet at their fingertips at all times. Sponsorship campaigns operating in this modern environment must therefore constantly update and adapt their communication methods in order to ensure youth can be reached in new places and engaged with in different ways. To investigate this further, I attended a Super Rugby match at Eden Park on May 23rd 2015 in order to gain an insight into the implementation of KFC New Zealand's youth-targeted sponsorship during the live and broadcast game.

The "why" of sports sponsorship

The modern youth market operates within a media-saturated digital world. There is a greater range of entertainment available instantly than ever before. What this means for commercial sport is that with the advent of the internet, there are now many more other viewing options for the potential audiences. Sports organizations have to compete for viewing times of their audiences to ensure engagement and continuous revenue streams, as well as dealing with a newfound reluctance from youth to pay for sports content online (Smart, 266). Despite this, corporates remain eager to position their brands alongside sporting events though continued sponsorship.

There exists a co-dependent relationship between a sports organization and its sponsor. Primarily, the sports organization receives funding and an opportunity to offer their service and expand their reach into the existing customer base of the selected sponsor. On the other hand, the sponsoring company is exposed to numerous potential benefits for their sales and brands. Dittmore and McCarthy go as far to suggest that fan bases will often become loyal brand ambassadors for the sponsoring companies of their favourite sports teams (174). For Vodafone New Zealand, sponsoring the Vodafone Warriors is a way to keep the brand prominent and memorable at the same time as making the most of an opportunity to position itself as a kiwi brand (Full Credit). On a deeper level, sponsoring sporting events also allows brands to monetize the emotional connection that fans have with teams, individual athletes, and the games. In Dedicated Followers of Fashion? Boden found that sports stars have an ability to connect with fans in a manner similar to that of celebrities, because sports stars are also role models (290). This means that they can connect particularly well with younger fans that often want to be just like them (Boden, 297).

“Their appeal may be commercially manipulated, but the ability of pop stars and sports stars to connect with the imaginations of children ensures market after market for global consumer capitalism.” – (Boden, 297).

Denham, who notes that sports stars serve a greater purpose than simply being role models for youth, further explores the significance of this commercial viability. He found that “elite athletes represent the dreams and fantasies of the audience” (125). It is essential when dealing with sports sponsorship that we understand that the connection from young fan to sports star is not just one of looking up to them; it is often an association of wanting to be just like them (Denham, 125). This emotional connection is an appealing factor for potential corporate sponsors because it presents an opportunity to associate their brand with the positive feelings of “becoming” one of their idols through selective consumerism (Boden, 297). The following discussion will take a look at Vodafone’s sponsorship of New Zealand’s only NRL team the Warriors, and analyse KFC New Zealand’s youth-focussed sponsorship of the Super Rugby. Both of these brands have used their sponsorship as an opportunity to associate themselves with the positive emotional connections between a loyal fan base and their respective team or event.

Reaching today’s youth through social channels

In order to most effectively reach this youth segment, marketers know they must incorporate digital communication channels into their sponsorship campaigns. Vodafone New Zealand’s Head of Brand Engagement and Sponsorship Graham Wright identified the youth segment as a “really important category” given that they are the upcoming wave of smart phone owners, TV viewers, and internet users (Full Credit). The youth are upcoming consumers, so marketers want to appeal to them now in hopes that they will be customers for a lifetime. Wright went on to say, “we don’t stick to particular channels but we know that social and digital channels are very much where youth audiences are working and playing so it makes sense to be in that same environment” (Full Credit).

When sponsoring a sporting event, Biscaia et al say that a major role sponsors ought to play in their campaign is to “attract fans to the stadium” (8). It is suggested that this be achieved through ticket discounts so that more people attend the game and are consequently exposed to the brand’s marketing message (Biscaia et al, 8). Graham Wright demonstrated Vodafone’s fulfilment of this responsibility in their sponsorship of the NRL Warriors. He said that they offer propositions that will appeal in the online environment. This might include discounted or free tickets, or as Dittmore & McCarthy coined it, “TwitTix” (168). However, the most important appeal is what Wright called “value-add opportunities” (Full Credit). These might include VIP access, complementary drinks at the game, or a meet and greet experience. The value-add opportunities are the most important because they involve experiences that can the young fans can share in their own channels, ultimately putting an “all thanks to Vodafone” message in their social channels. If this perspective is applied to the KFC sponsorship of the Super Rugby, they too seem to be promoting an “all thanks to KFC” message through their campaign.

Over the past few months, there have been a few occasions on which KFC has used its social media channels to offer “TwitTix” and “value-add opportunities”. Through Twitter, KFC are offering tickets to five users who have retweeted, and therefore shared with all of their followers, a particular tweet. In this situation, each party plays a role: KFC gives away tickets on the condition that their Twitter followers share their message with all of their followers too. Even on this one small note, the sponsorship of Rugby is a way for them to reach twitter users who do not necessarily follow the @kfcnz twitter profile. On the other hand, KFC's "value-add opportunities" come from their Facebook promotions. Customers who have recently purchased from KFC can enter a unique code from their receipts to go in the draw to win a VIP experience at the Super Rugby. Just like Wright's "all thanks to Vodafone" message (Full Credit), KFC New Zealand are similarly creating an "all thanks to KFC" message through their TwitTix giveaways and online value-add opportunities. Using these digital channels entices young fans to the game, who make up a large part of the audience in these online environments. This approach attributes to KFC NZ's ultimate goal of the sponsorship campaign: positioning the brand as a Kiwi favourite that brings friends and family together to enjoy an event like a great game of rugby (Crusaders).

#CurtainRaisers college games: engaging youth in the Super Rugby

Before all Super Rugby games this season, a college match is played. The event is called KFCNZ #CurtainRaisers, and many local high schools participate. This reflects the desire of the Super Rugby licensees to better connect with the youth market (Crusaders). Before the match between the Blues and the Hurricanes on May 23rd, there was a match between Auckland Grammar and Kelston Boys High School. The college game was structured identically to the following game between the Hurricanes and the Blues, which meant the high-school-aged athletes were playing a game just like the players they look up to. The game was also broadcast on live television as a build up to the professional game later that evening. Denham suggested that young sports fans are willing to pay "top dollar" to dress or behave like their favourite players (125), however these particular young men were able to participate in a broadcast game in the same environment and at the same event as professional players. This novelty is strictly limited to the individuals in the college teams, however their schoolmates were in the stands cheering them on. The #CurtainRaisers event increases youth engagement with the event, particularly for students from local boys' high schools.

The college event being coined with a hashtag shows the campaign's focus on youth: they are fostering a platform for online discussion and content sharing regarding the college games. Unfortunately, the activity in the hashtag feed is minimal. The only rugby-related posts in the hashtag feeds on both Facebook and Twitter are from The Blues' profiles. Perhaps incentives are required to encourage the young target market to share their experiences in this particular public feed.

Engaging with youth through a bucket of fried chicken

It was during the college game that the presence of the KFC brand was at its peak, which makes sense because the sponsor was taken aboard so the Super Rugby could make the most of its wide youth reach (Crusaders). One particularly intriguing aspect of their presence was their bucket mascot. In a costume shaped like a KFC chicken bucket, a mascot full of energy followed the play up and down the side-line throughout the entire college game. He interacted with the crowd during downtime by waving at spectators or encouraging spectators to copy his dance moves. Overall, he seemed to be ensuring he was always on camera, so that viewers at home are receiving signals about KFC as much as possible. How could one miss a jumping, waving human-sized bucket of chicken in the background of the gameplay?

It seemed the bucket mascot had two roles. Primarily, to maximize the time spent in front of the camera to ensure maximum brand exposure during the broadcast, which is a direct benefit to KFC in terms of advertising and brand recognition. Secondly, the mascot was encouraging crowd participation and hype, which benefits the Super Rugby event.

This second responsibility of the mascot demonstrates the reason KFC was selected; to engage with the youth segment and "revitalize rugby for the youth market" (Crusaders).

Integration into the televised broadcast – or lack there of

Having discussed approaches to sponsorship from the Super Rugby as an organization and from the sponsor KFC itself, I will now touch on the approach to sponsorship from the broadcaster, Sky Sport. While sitting with the Sky TV crew in the outside broadcasting (OB) van at Eden Park, I asked during the ad break how they incorporate the KFC sponsorship into their live editing. The response from one of the team was clear and simple: "We don't give a f*ck about that." The crew reluctantly considered giving some airtime to a Placemakers promotion during halftime (they were giving away $5000, it seemed like something the audience at home would enjoy watching), but not even this event made it into the live broadcast. Instead, half time was made up of interviews between Sky Sport's own personalities and players from the Blues. I understood their desire to broadcast content using their own commentary team, however I was confused by their utter lack of interest in the sponsorship. Likely adhering to industry wisdom of the "correct way" of selecting and editing content (Silk et al, 18), the messages from the sponsors were brushed over. These decisions left the youth-oriented marketing as an experience for the live stadium audience only.

Exposure of the sponsorship in the live broadcast went as far as the electronic billboards on the side-line and the company logos wrapped around the goal posts, which explains why the KFC bucket mascot was so actively following the game and consequently following the camera; he was forcing brand exposure into the broadcast of the college game. Apart from logos frequently making it into shots of gameplay, the only other time an active marketing message was given airtime was ironically enough during the commercial break, an additional fee the sponsors paid directly to Sky Sport. However, what if Sky Sport utilized the active marketing message so freely at their disposal? Increased exposure to the sponsors' efforts could connect and engage the important youth segment during the televised broadcast and hopefully influence them to tune in to the next Super Rugby event at home. This could benefit Sky Sport by ensuring the longevity of sport as a "battering ram" and a leading offer for pay-to-view television, as described by Rupert Murdoch himself (Smart, 259-260). That said, if the sponsorship brands were freely given a lot of airtime, it would reduce the demand for the high-cost commercial break and might decrease revenue streams for the broadcaster. In this situation, it seemed there is a trade-off between exposing the youth-reaching message of the sponsor during the game and exposing the message during the commercial break. The option generating immediate income was selected over the option that might be able to increase the amount of frequent young viewers in the long run.

Conclusion

Youth-oriented commercial sponsorship of the Super Rugby was integrated heavily into the stadium experience for the fans watching the game live at Eden Park, however the sponsorship was not as present for the viewers at home. In the stadium environment, the KFC sponsorship is making considerable effort to attract and engage youth in the Super Rugby event. The KFCNZ #CurtainRaisers event allows college athletes to participate in a professional broadcast environment, showing young fans that it is possible to be just like the Super Rugby players they look up to. At the same time, the prominent KFC presence through side-line advertisements, goal post branding, and an energetic bucket mascot create an "all thanks to KFC" message. This message communicates that this has all been made possible thanks to the fast-food chain, which is crucial for creating positive emotional associations to the brand. The appeal to youth during the live event was present everywhere one could look within Eden Park, yet was brushed over during the live broadcast apart from during the commercial break at half-time. If at the end of this season of Super Rugby, KFC have managed to attract more young fans to the live and broadcasted events, perhaps Sky Sport ought to reconsider the extent to which they integrate the sponsor's message into the televised event. If the plan does in fact work for the event, increased audience exposure to the message during the game would also benefit the at-home youth reach for Sky Sport. If youth are convinced by sponsor messages to engage with the Super Rugby either at the stadium or from the comfort of their homes, it will attribute to sport remaining a leading offer in paid television as well as increasing ticket sales for the upcoming generation of consumers that are being reached and appealed to, digitally.

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