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Edition 9

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Editors' Note

Edition 9 of *Interesting Journal* is made up of 21 pieces of work from the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts. This collection consists of independent academic works that have been written by undergraduate students during Semester Two 2018, Summer School 2019, or Semester One 2019. All works have been peer-reviewed by our editorial team, and reviewed by a University of Auckland staff member who taught or marked the course that produced each work, and are experts in each respective field.

This year's edition is as broad as ever, and has provided the editorial team with opportunities to reshape the way we present work in this publication. As a journal that predominantly publishes essays, It has been a pleasure to include work in different formats this year, such as Hetherington's creative writing piece, *The Front Porch*, and McKay's collection of poetry, *Potato Germ and Gold: A Collection for Grandpa*. Moreover, Edition 9 is also the first edition to include a 'featurette section': a section dedicated to showcasing works that complement each other. While we always take care to publish essays in an order that provides narrative and flow, some of this year's submissions accompanied each other so well it would have been a missed opportunity not to feature each side-by-side for ease of comparative analysis.

A common theme in a lot of this year's work was the idea of perception: How we view the world; how we view ourselves; how we are affected by our own perception of time, of politics, self, or nationality; how we perceive media, or policy, or politics; and how all these perceptions create a complex (and often unjust) system. In a year where debates regarding identity politics seemed to be constantly making news headlines (here and overseas), I was intrigued that so many pieces submitted and published concerned the notion of how we perceive our own identity—and how the identity others perceive constantly impacts us. As a social scientist myself, I am of the belief that to ignore 'identity politics' is to ignore the different needs and suffering of systematically disadvantaged groups (and is, simply, a privilege that not many of us cannot afford). This edition invites readers in to learn and understand some of the trials facing these groups, and reminds us that we cannot leave people behind in the continual fight for equal rights and opportunity.

As always, we hope you enjoy this edition, and are as inspired as we are by the varied and thoughtful perspectives put forward in this journal. Through listening to the whakaaro of others, we all move forward with more knowledge and more compassion.

Alika Wells

The *Interesting Journal* team would like to thank everyone at the Faculty of Arts Student Development and Engagement Team for their support, with special thanks given to Vandana Minhas-Taneja and Charlene Nunes. We would also thank the Dean of Arts, Professor Robert Greenberg, for his continued support of the journal, and all the members of staff who agreed to review and provide feedback on all the publications in Edition 9, as part of our peer review process.

MINORITY VOICES: PAST AND PRESENT

The humanities provide a forum to study and understand the voices of minority groups and ethnicities. As well as mapping large-scale historical and current trends in art, literature, politics, and numerous other fields, the humanities have an intrinsic focus on the human and individual experience. These essays, coming from English, History, and Politics, all draw attention to the dangers of allowing minority voices to go unheard, and suggest that we must constantly be aware of maintaining an open point of view. The tools of inquiry and the research skills the authors use to make their arguments can be applied beyond their disciplines.

Narayanan's essay analyses Korean poet Don Mee Choi's poem Shitty Kitty. Through close reading and attention to language, Narayanan opens up for the reader the poem's disruption of the notion of a 'single history'. She sheds light on Choi's references to historical events concerning the Korean and American armies and Choi's approach, which juxtaposes large-scale events with individual experiences. Narayanan's interpretation of the poem leads her to conclude that history cannot be objectified and distilled. She identifies the poem's inability to provide answers as to what the history of the wars it discusses should look like. Rather, she invites the reader to acknowledge the space it opens for questions and multiple historical narratives.

Taking a similar note in her essay on the importance of remembering, Maquiso outlines the inherent dangers in subscribing to a dominant narrative from a historiographical perspective. Focusing on the American Civil Rights movement, she questions the predominance of narratives which extol the goodness of prominent leaders like Martin Luther King while sidelining the struggles and impact of 'radical' agents such as Black Power. She addresses Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi's 2011 statement: "Is it possible that the antonym of 'forgetting' is not 'remembering', but 'justice'?" To remember fully, Maquiso argues, is justice. Historians must strive to present balanced accounts of the past. Researchers must be aware to avoid 'false remembrance' and dangerous one-sided narratives.

Lastly, Bayakoko presents a political essay on the modern-day human rights abuses committed against the ethnic Muslim Uyghur minority in the Chinese region of Xinjiang. She draws attention to a surveillance state in an area of China where fundamental human rights are denied. Her discussion questions whether the country's actions against its vulnerable inhabitants contradict its status as a developed country.

These essays encourage multiplicity and openness of perspective, and speak to essays in our New Zealand section which bring the case of the minority voice very close to home. Maquiso and Narayanan's discussions both demonstrate the importance of listening, interpreting, respecting, and above all, learning with open minds. Bayakoko's case study demonstrates why these skills are so important. The suppression of minority voices and the rejection of their cultural and social experiences and traditions is a real and pressing challenge. Uncovering these voices of the past and present gives society a lens through

which to view issues of today and the future. It negotiates a path towards equality in the exercise of human rights; a climate of dialogue and understanding that leads not to division but enrichment, to an inclusive, sustainable and peaceful society.

Susannah Whaley

English 305

Modern Writing and Critical Thinking

Nithya Narayanan

Reimagining History: Objective identity versus Subjective Alterities in Don Mee Choi's 'Shitty Kitty'

Shitty Kitty
By Don Mee Choi

Here comes Shitty Kitty en route to the Gulf of Tonkin or en route to a race riot? That is the question and meanwhile discipline is the keystone and meanwhile did you see on TV helicopters being ditched into the sea? That is also my film and meanwhile all refugees must be treated as suspects. Looking for your husband? Looking for your son? That is the question and meanwhile she was the mother of the boy or that is what the translator said or Shitty Kitty or shall we adhere to traditional concepts of military discipline tempered with humanitarianism? That is the question and meanwhile South Korea exports military labor left over from the war. That is also my history or is that your history? That is the question and meanwhile

(CHORUS: Dictator Park Chung Hee and his soldiers in Ray-Bans)

How much?
$7.5 million=per division
or Binh Tai massacre=$7.5 million
or Binh Hoa massacre=$7.5 million
or Dien Nien—Phuoc Binh massacre=$7.5 million
or Go Dai massacre=$7.5 milion
or Ha My massacre=$7.5 million
or Phong Nhi & Phong Nhat massacre=$15 million
or Tay Vinh massacre=$7.5 million
or Vinh Xuan massacre=$7.5 million
or Mighty History?

That is the question and meanwhile a riot began over a grilled cheese sandwich at Subic Bay. Discrimination or perception? That is the question and meanwhile the sailor refused to make a statement or translate? That is the question and meanwhile twenty-six men all black were charged with assault and rioting and meanwhile did you translate? That is my question and meanwhile lard or Crisco? Aye, aye, sir!

(Anti-CHORUS: kittens in frilly white bonnets, bibs, and mittens)

K I T T Y S O N G

I, aye-aye-sir!
I, crazy-daisy-sir!
I, export-quality-sir!
I, grill-grill-sir!
I, meow-meow-sir!
I, kitty-litter-sir!

In her poem 'Shitty Kitty', South Korean poet and translator Don Mee Choi explores the contrast between objective and subjective formulations of history. The piece is part of Choi's second collection, *Hardly War*, which fuses poetry, memoir, and even opera libretto to explore the complex history of war. Choi, whose father was a photojournalist in the Korean and Vietnam wars, is deeply interested in the inherent multiplicity of history — a theme which seems to define the work as a whole. In 'Shitty Kitty', Choi appears to set up the 'identity' of a single, objective history. However, this identity is then complicated — and eventually subsumed — by the introduction of multiple subjective 'alterities', or versions, of history. The poem, whose title references the nickname for the US Navy aircraft carrier, *Kitty Hawk*, is filled with allusions to the Korean and Vietnam wars. Within it Choi invokes ideas as diverse as the October 12 race riots, the samizdat anti-war newspaper *Kitty Litter,* and the 'blood money' that was paid when Lyndon Johnson asked Dictator Park Chung Hee for combat troops. Fundamental to this poem is the opposition between two kinds of history — history as objective and authoritative, and history as subjective, as inherently multifaceted. Choi continually presents us with what appears to be a singular, objective version of history — the 'official' account of war — only to problematize and challenge that approach by introducing the possibility of history as multiple. The opening line of the poem and its pattern of questions perform the belief that history is not easily distilled into the identity of a single, objective account. Similarly, while the poem's chorus performs the identity of objective history, and thus values only the generalised collective, the anti-chorus — sung by "kittens in frilly white bonnets, bibs, and mittens"— performs the alterity of that approach by revealing individual identities and subjectivities.

The opening lines of the poem — "Here comes Shitty Kitty en route to the Gulf of Tonkin or en route to a race riot?" (Choi, 2016, p. 41) — initially appear to identify with a single, objective history, but ultimately reveal the alterity of multiple, subjective histories. The opening sentence begins with an authoritative statement ("here comes…"). Stylistically, the phrase "here comes" seems to align with reportage or commentary. This is a style that we would typically associate with a reliable, objective account of events. Furthermore, the fact that the sentence begins in the present tense creates the illusion that the history being narrated is the only possible version. In other words, the sense that history is being reported *as it occurs* creates the impression that it cannot be flawed or multifarious, reinforcing a sense of objectivity. Thus far, the sentence appears to suggest that the poem will conform to the identity of a single, objective history. However, as we move through the sentence, the alterity of multiple, subjective histories is revealed. Midway through its trajectory, the sentence splits into two possible avenues of meaning: "en route to the Gulf of Tonkin or en route to a race riot?". The repetition of the same clause ("en route to…") implies a kind of equality between the two subjects — the Gulf of Tonkin and the race riot — as if the poem

is proposing that either version of history is legitimate and possible. Thus, Choi starts to break down the objective identity of the sentence through the introduction of multiple versions of history. In addition, when viewing the sentence in its entirety, it is interesting to note that it commences as a statement but concludes as a question. The assertion "here comes…" sits at odds with the concluding question mark in a way that is rather grammatically disjunctive. Choi could easily have framed the sentence as a traditional question from the outset; for example: "is Shitty Kitty en route…?". Instead, the transition to the question arrives right at the end; it is almost as if the speaker realises midway through the sentence that the identity of a single, objective account is problematic. In concluding the sentence as a question, Choi highlights that the idea of the U.S.S. *Kitty Hawk* gives rise to a multiplicity of meanings; it has meant different things to different groups (the Vietnamese in the Gulf of Tonkin; African Americans in the race riots) and has functioned as the site of multiple oppressions. Its history, Choi seems to suggest, is not easily distilled into the identity of a single, objective account.

Choi's repetitive use of the question structure further illustrates this point. In the two prose-style strophes of 'Shitty Kitty', the reader is presented with a series of questions, each generally followed by the phrase "that is the question and meanwhile…" (pp. 41-42). Again, Choi constructs the impression that the poem identifies with a single, objective history, but then subsequently proceeds to erode that illusion. "That is the question", when read in isolation, implies that the poem poses a single question which has a single answer. It is a phrase which appears to associate the poem with a single, objective account of history. But the repetition of the word "meanwhile", which stretches the question out into endless multiplicities, shows the alterity of this idea: history always exists, at least for Choi, in complex shades and versions. The word "meanwhile" points to the idea of multiple, temporally co-existing histories and contexts; as one thing happens somewhere, something entirely different is happening elsewhere. Once again, we have the alterity of multiple, versioned histories complicating the identity of a single, objective history. It is interesting to note, too, that the structure of endless questioning that Choi adopts continually evades resolution; no question is directly answered in the poem. To some extent, the phrase "that is the question" ultimately frustrates its own apparent purpose; it purports to foreshadow a singular answer but never actually provides one. The difficulty of providing a single answer is one that seems to define *Hardly War* as a whole. In another poem, 'The Fall of Seoul', Choi writes "are you OK, ROK?" (p. 11), ostensibly referring to the psychological impact of war on the Republic of Korea Army. The blank half-page following this question seems to underscore — quite literally — a sense of wordlessness; an inability to articulate answers to history's big questions.

The frequency of the questioning in 'Shitty Kitty' appears to increase as we move from beginning to end. In the earlier parts of the poem, questions are interspersed more frequently with statements ("all refugees must be treated as suspects"; "South Korea exports military labor left over from the war") (p. 41). However, post-chorus, the questioning occurs more rapidly and with fewer interludes ("discrimination or perception?"; "the sailor refused to make a statement or translate?"; "did you translate?"; "lard or Crisco?") (p. 42). The increasing rigor of the questioning seems to reflect, almost pre-emptively, the reader's growing frustration at the lack of answers provided. By the time we reach the end of the poem, the phrase "that is the question" comes to signal not an imminent answer, but rather the failure of the text to provide answers. Sukjong Hong (2017) identifies failure as a recurring theme in Choi's work. According to Hong, this includes Choi's "failure to abide by any convention of poetry…her failure to translate…and, ultimately, her failure to rewrite the history of…war". One might build on Hong's analysis by noting that the failure to rewrite history manifests, in 'Shitty Kitty', as a failure to provide answers. The act of answering would close down possible meanings and histories; the act of questioning, by contrast, opens them up. In resisting the implications of its own structure — that is, in continually questioning but not answering — the poem's potential identity as a vehicle for objective history comes to be subsumed by the introduction of several possible alterities, or versions, of history. By not answering, the poem raises the possibility of infinite potential histories that we may never fully know. As Kathleen Rooney (2016) writes, Choi's approach "allows her…to have it both ways — to look at her subjects while simultaneously, and paradoxically, showing that some subjects are just too big to see in full". Rooney's point is particularly pertinent in the context of the poem's continuous questioning. Choi's questions address major historical events, such as the 1960s US race riots. However, in leaving the questions largely unanswered, the poem highlights that those histories are far too complex and layered to be summarised in a neat, singular answer.

In particular, one of these questions, "discrimination or perception?" (p. 42), is imported from a heading in *Report by the Special Subcommittee on Disciplinary Problems in the US Navy* (1973). The irony is that, in their original context, the words — while *framed* as a question — do not in fact pose a genuine question. In the report, the phrase titles a section which essentially posits that the racism experienced by African Americans is an imagined concept (U.S Congress, 1973, para. 145). The report was written in response to the October 1972 race riot — dubbed the 'U.S.S. *Kitty Hawk* riot'— an incident which took place during the Vietnam War. This was a conflict aboard *Kitty Hawk* in which racial tensions culminated in physical violence between black and white sailors. In reference to these race riots, the report writers swiftly conclude, with little discussion or evidence, that "what

[these men] view as discrimination is, more often than not, a perception rather than a reality" (para. 145). That is, they conclude, without really considering, that there was no legitimate reason for the race riots. In Choi's poem, however, "discrimination or perception?" seems to operate rather differently. As with other questions in the poem, this pondering is immediately followed by the phrase "that is the question". "That is the question" seems to make a kind of pointed reference to the subcommittee report. The phrase functions here in its most literal sense; it is almost as if Choi is clarifying that "discrimination or perception?" really does, for her, constitute a question. Unlike the report, in which "discrimination or perception?" masquerades as a question without actually being one, Choi is emphasizing that she treats the phrase as a genuine question that merits genuine exploration. Of course, like the rest of the questions in the poem, "discrimination or perception?" remains largely unanswered. But once again, we have the poem questioning — or even rejecting — the identity of objective history and adopting, instead, the alterity of multiple possible histories.

By subverting the report heading in this manner, Choi seems to insinuate that the identity of objective history is somewhat problematic for her poem. History represents dominant perspectives, such as those of the report writers. It follows, then, that what we assume to be an 'objective' history may in fact be reproducing and representing the attitudes of the powerful. In this particular case, the subcommittee report displays a convenient erasure of racist history but cloaks that erasure within the objective identity of the report. By appropriating the phrase "discrimination or perception?", 'Shitty Kitty' performs the idea that it does not want to accept, blindly, the identity of objective history. It wants to be defined by the exploration of multiple alterities and perspectives, not just the dominant ones. It is an idea essentially similar to the one Choi postulates in 'Race=Nation', in which she describes her poetry in this book as an act of "disobeying history, [of] severing its ties to power" (p. 3). It is notable that in challenging the identity of objective history, 'Shitty Kitty' does not treat any particular version of history as authoritative or final. Choi is, in essence, substituting a non-authority stance for an authority stance.

For Choi, the identity of a single, objective history is also problematic because of its elision of the alterity: the individual human cost of war. Lizzie Tribone (2016) writes of 'Shitty Kitty' that "while imperial history relishes mythmaking and triumphalism at the expense of the human and psychological costs of war, Choi revels in history's untold spaces". What Tribone characterizes as "untold spaces" could be understood as a reference to the impact of war as subjectively experienced by the individual. Her remark summarises perfectly the oppositionality between objective, 'macro' history and subjective, personal histories that preoccupies Choi across *Hardly War*. In 'Woe are You', Choi frames objective history as the "BIG PICTURE" (p. 7) — the capitalisation indicating, perhaps, the way in which the

dominance of a 'collective' history may function to neglect, or even obfuscate, the subjective story of the individual. In 'Shitty Kitty', this tension is revealed through the contrast between the chorus and anti-chorus. While the chorus performs the identity of objective, distanced history, the anti-chorus reveals the alterity of individual human cost. The pattern set up in the chorus poem (X massacre=$Y) is clearly that of an account. As Choi indicates in the explanatory notes, this is a reference to the fact that South Korea was paid millions of dollars for supplying their combat troops to the United States (pp. 93-94). In this listing, there is virtually no intra-linear spacing between the word "massacre" and the equals sign, and between the equals sign and the dollar sign. The effect is one of visual cramping. In reading for textual affect, one might say that there is no room here for emotion, or for a discussion of subjective human impact. Further, the word "or", which repeats itself after each named massacre, creates a sense of infinite replaceability and interchangeability. It is as if each of these massacres can be substituted for another; individual deaths, in this objective history, have no meaning whatsoever. This idea is further reinforced by the fact that the text in the chorus consistently displays left margin justification. Such a format gives rise to a strong sense of uniformity; it is almost as if the poem is representing, visually, the way in which objective history merges independent identities and erases individual value. It seems that the structure of the list is parodying itself; were it not for the dollar sign preceding each figure, one might automatically assume that this was a list of casualties organized by massacre. But this is not, in fact, the case. The basic structure of the chorus associates it with the identity of an objective, emotionally remote historical report.

However, the anti-chorus counteracts the work of the chorus, revealing the alterity (the individual human cost) that the chorus neglects. The anti-chorus performs this alterity by conceptualising the sailors as individuals suffering the human costs of war. The emphasis on individual identity is reinforced through the repetitive structure of the "I". Each line begins with a vehement restatement of the "I" and, in each case, the "I" is clearly demarcated from the rest of the text by a comma and a space. The repeated assertions of "I" emphasize the existence of an individual subjectivity that is distinct and separate from the collective. Read in this way, even the "I, aye-aye-sir!" (p. 42) in the first line takes on fresh meaning. The words "aye-aye-sir!" are generally understood to be an expression of obedience to one's superiors. Indeed, as noted in the subcommittee report, "'aye, aye, sir' traditionally means, 'I understand your orders and will comply with them, sir'" (U.S. Congress, 1973, para. 124). However, "I" and "aye" are homophonic. When read in the context of Choi's repetitive use of "I", the phrase "I, aye-aye-sir" aurally manifests as a repetitive assertion, or chant, of individual identity — "I, I, I" — as if the sailors are resisting being merged into a single, objective history. It is the kind of wordplay that Paul

Cunningham (2016) aptly terms "sinister cutification". Cunningham writes that, in *Hardly War*, the "language of innuendo and even pun…demonstrates how cutification can be integrated into poetry to make something seemingly innocent or innocuous feel absolutely threatening". In 'Shitty Kitty', what is ostensibly an innocent expression of submission doubles as an incantation of resistance to the 'generalising' force of objective history.

What is also of interest is how the visual layout of lines in the anti-chorus compares to that of the chorus. In contrast to the uniform, left margin justification of the chorus, the anti-chorus displays centred text. This causes each of the preliminary "I" s to occupy a slightly different position to the others, emphasizing that each "I" exists as an independent and discrete identity. Choi's poem 'Neocolony's Colony' also has centred text, with the word "me" (another assertion of individual identity) repeated at the beginning of each line (p. 43). It would seem, then, that Choi uses centring as a means of emphasizing the existence of multiple identities and histories. In 'Shitty Kitty', the anti-chorus is interested in the alterity that the chorus omits; it is interested in a history that takes individual human experience into account. The emphasis on the experience of the individual is further reinforced in the line "I, meow-meow-sir!" (p. 42). At face value, the word "meow" appears simply to refer to the sound made by a cat. However, it is interesting to note that in 'Neocolony's Colony', Choi bifurcates the word "meow" into its constituent syllables: "me" and "ow" (p. 43). Perhaps the "meow" in the anti-chorus of 'Shitty Kitty', too, can be interpreted as two distinct words: "me" and "ow". The "me" points to individual identity; the "ow" is an expression of pain. Thus, when distilled into its elements, the word "meow" might be understood as a veiled reference to the pain of the individual. Once again, we have the alterity of subjective human experience challenging the identity of objective history that the chorus has set up.

'Shitty Kitty' consistently questions the assumption that a single, authoritative version of history can exist. To Choi, the history of war is always subjective; always multiple. Choi urges us to consider with caution those histories which purport to be objective; her re-situating of sentences from the subcommittee report evidences this. Similarly, the contrast between the chorus and anti-chorus serves to highlight the way in which the human impact of the wars — as subjectively experienced — is frequently masked by sweeping 'macro' views of history. The tension between objective and subjective framings of history is one which underpins the entire poem, and is fundamental to Choi's re-imagining of these wars.

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History 308

African-American Freedom Struggles: USA 1900 -2000

Kyra (Ana Kathrin) Maquiso

Memory and Historiography as Weapons of (In)justice

"Is it possible that the antonym of 'forgetting' is not 'remembering', but 'justice'?"
Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi

Forgetting, according to Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (2011), is the failure to transmit information about the past to the present generation. At face value, *remembering*—the process of recollecting or actively transmitting one's memory of the past—seems to be its intuitive antonym. Yet in assessing the role of memory in the history of the African-American civil rights movement, this dichotomy becomes untenable. I will make two main points to demonstrate this. First, I will argue that *remembering* is not an adequate antithesis to *forgetting*: Due to the subjective and fluctuating nature of memory, remembering could mean the transmission of incomplete or exaggerated versions of the past which, in a sense, is a form of forgetting. Secondly, I will argue that the true opposite of *forgetting*—the fuller transmission and recognition of the past—is what we know as "*justice*", that is, acknowledgement of as full a past as possible. Failure to do so ("*forgetting*") is an act of injustice, or could lead to further injustices if unchecked. I shall derive most of my findings from examining the historiography of the African-American civil rights movement in the twentieth century. However, the insights I put forward are intended to apply to any historical context.

In common usage, we refer to *history* as the series of events that have happened in the past. History, in its purest and unadulterated form, can never really be accessed again, for, as LP Hartley (2002) once surmised, "the past is a foreign country". Instead, we rely on our memories. *Memory* is the subjective interpretation of past events, shaped by one's own perspectives, attitudes, and life experiences. Unlike history, which is fixed, memory is in constant flux and "permanent evolution" (Romano & Raiford, 2006). Ta-Nehisi Coates (2014) draws attention to the juxtaposition between his and United States President Barack Obama's interpretations of American history. According to Coates, Obama—who has "ancestral connections" with white America, and is "distance[d] from the poisons of Jim Crow"—held a more optimistic view on the historical trends of American civil rights. Coates, on the other hand, who witnessed stark racial inequities and marginalisation as a turmoiled black youth, characterises American history as one of racial oppression. External influences also shape one's memories. For example, the common memory of the struggle for civil freedoms as marked by "charismatic personalities…usually men" and "telegenic confrontations" may be the result of selective coverage by mass media journalists (Hall, 2005). Memories are also carved by what one (intentionally or unintentionally) chooses to forget, for forgetting is a useful and inevitable function of the human brain.

Remembering cannot access history itself—only a version of it, through *memory*. However, we know that memory is tempered by subjectivity, external influences, such as the media, and forgetfulness. Thus, when one *remembers*, one may inadvertently fail to transmit pieces of the past the human memory has omitted or de-emphasised. The most dominant version of civil rights movement history—referred to as "consensus memory"—is an example of this memorialised forgetfulness (Romano & Raiford, 2006). In a way, this account is a false remembrance, as it remembers legal victories, such as *Brown v Board of Education*, as well as charismatic leadership that led to social change, but forgets the contribution of low-key grassroot movements. It remembers Martin Luther King Jr. as the good and harmless accommodationist, but fails to recall his controversial stances against capitalism and poverty (Romano & Raiford, 2006). Hence, as Hall (2005) suggests, "remembrance is always a form of forgetting", because the process of accessing memories may retrieve an incomplete and exaggerated version of the past, which consequently, may fail to transmit pieces of history into the present. Remembering is, thus, an inadequate antonym for forgetting.

So what is a sufficient opposite? It is the successful acknowledgment of history in a form that retains its integrity. While it is humanly *impossible* to remember history in its entirety, a truer opposite to forgetting history is to give due weight to historical events, avoiding exaggeration or omission—in other words, a genuine pursuit towards the full picture of history. Arguably this is what we term as "*justice*", for the subjective *remembering* of history falls short of granting the past the attention or scrutiny that it deserves. Conversely, turning a blind eye on the past is itself an act of injustice, and one that perpetuates injustice. Attempting a full recollection of the past does justice to the historical enterprise itself, to present-day society affected by its history, to the legacy of the civil rights movement, and to past historical agents.

False remembrance is an injustice to historiography. Yerushalmi (2011) labels such distortion of history as an "aggressive rape of whatever memory remains", and those who partake in this as "assassins of memory", "conspirators of silence", and "agents of oblivion". In doing so, he emphasises the "moral imperative" of the historian to "stand guard" of historical fact. The vocation of the historian is full truth. The historian is the defender of evidence, for the persuasion of history is so powerful that it is often used as a tool to legitimise present actions. As such, knowledge of the past, in its entirety, is what we seek, and what should be preserved. The prerogative of the historian is not to dictate what should be forgotten, for no aspect of the past is unworthy of scrutiny. In the absence of any law that dictates what portions of history should be forgotten or remembered, Yerushalmi leans on remembering "too much", for the loss of historical memory is a great injustice in

itself, and could lead to injustice if manipulated by malicious uses of power to legitimise unjust aims (Yerushalmi, 2011).

A falsely remembered history can be used to manipulate power that a true version of history would not have justified. Hall (2005) recognises this in analysing how the conservative elite used the dominant (but inaccurate) master narrative of the civil rights movement to advance its own agenda. The dominant narrative chooses to emphasise legal victories like the *Brown* decision and desegregation of the institutions, suggesting that the mere dismantling of de jure discrimination ultimately led to fairness. It focuses on Martin Luther King Jr's calls for formal equality and accommodationist platforms, painting the legacy of the movement as "colour-blind". Yet this forgets "the complexity and dynamism of the movement" and "its growing focus on structural inequality" (Hall, 2005). The master narrative further paints racial discrimination as a sectional issue—a Southern phenomenon. In doing so, it fails to acknowledge that racial discrimination is a national issue deeply rooted in American values that perpetuate white supremacy. It evades any calls for reforms of racial capitalism that relies on free market forces and individual accountability that continue the economic deprivation of the black community, and excludes any justification for affirmative action to alleviate their continuing marginalisation (Hall, 2005).

This is not exclusive to the Right—the Left is also prone to this manipulation. Obama's speech commemorating fifty years since the March on Washington exhibits a familiarity with the historiographical trends of the civil rights movement (Wall Street Journal, 2013). Yet this address failed to recognise Malcolm X or the contributions of the African-American radical movement to civil freedoms. Adopting the dominant narrative, Obama highlights the role of King and his non-violent peers in achieving social change. In part, this was to give tribute to an important landmark in civil rights history: The 1963 March on Washington. Some, however, might argue that this emphasis acts to discourage radicalism as a tool for protest, perhaps to prevent violence and disruption in present society. But some may go even further, to interpret Obama's emphasis on the difficulties of change (that change is hard, that change takes time) as a call for continuous support from his constituents, who may be disillusioned by the lack of social change under his leadership. In this sense, as Hall (2005) suggests, history is a persuasive warrant to political power. Skewing the legacy of history into a form that is inaccurate is not only an injustice to history itself, but also to society for wielding it as a weapon of manipulation for one's own agenda (Yerushalmi, 2011).

Acknowledging past wrongs, rather than acting as if they never occurred, brings justice to the inflicted. Society has often been silent from acknowledging the shame of white violence,

and only recently has there been a memorial to recognise lynching, and the injustice that terrorised the black community during the post-slavery era (The Guardian, 2018). Coates's (2014) article, titled "The Case for Reparations", is an example of the way historical memory of the African-American plight can be used to justify reparations. Coates bolsters his case with specific historical examples of African-American marginalisation: From slavery, to Jim Crow, to racial attitudes that labelled them as 'inferior'. By shedding light on a part of civil rights history that has often been denied and unrecognised—or forgotten—he demonstrates that blacks not only deserve compensation for past injustice, but also for their impacts on the present (in the form of ghettos, economic deprivation, and high crime rates). In forgetting the fact that racial discrimination is a national issue rooted in values that continue on today, as Hall (2005) notes, one turns a blind eye on the suffering that African Americans currently experience, and ignores the need to compensate for unjust losses. Memory serves justice to the present: If the past is not remembered as Coates (2014) insinuates, reparations would not be a justified step forward. Conversely, the act of ignoring grievances is an act of injustice; forgetting would make one blind to the compensation that is due to the inflicted.

The struggle for African-American civil rights is remembered by many as a brave and momentous undertaking, yet only few are memorialised as having taken part in this noble cause. The orthodox narrative of the civil rights movement tends to focus on male activists of power as the icons of historical change. In particular, Martin Luther King Jr. is depicted as the figurative head of the civil rights movement. His charisma and non-threatening stance as a peaceful, Christian activist captured the attention of many history books and grand memorials. However, while it may be argued that King's actions and ethos make him heroic, to pin him as the representative image of the black movement ignores the sheer diversity of the movement. In fact, King risked his popularity within this movement through his non-violent strategy. Elevating King further ignores the large-scale factors that made it possible for him to take centre stage (Carson, 1987). He was not *the* leader, but a remarkable example of *a* leader. Even King recognised his own limitations— including his own mortality. Rather than the creator of the civil rights movement, the movement created him, through the opportunities offered to him to step into leadership, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Thus, credit for the movement is due to other actors who were equally—if not more—impactful. The first step to justice is to recognise their efforts alongside King's, to choose not to forget them any longer.

The Montgomery bus boycott, which pushed King into prominence, was a success due to direct action and legal success. It was headed not by King, but by local black leaders like ED Nixon, Rosa Parks, and Jo Ann Robinson. Similar grassroot organisations, such as CORE, SNCC, and SCLC, led their own resistance campaigns. SNCC sit-ins, though

organised by those that admired King, were not directly influenced by him—in fact, SNCC actively resisted dependency on any leader (Carson, 1987). Women were also influential catalysts of change. The black church of the civil rights era, which was an outspoken denouncer of racial discrimination, is described by historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham as a "product and process of male and female interaction" rather than the "exclusive product of a male ministry" (Higginbotham, 1993). Higginbotham describes black Baptist women as "conveyers of culture", showcasing values that inspired the black community to aspire for a more liberated ideal, and communicating to the white community an image of black respectability by encouraging refined public behaviour (Higginbotham, 1993, p. 14). Too often the achievements of the African American civil rights movement are attributed to top-down institutions or the 'great men' of history (Romano & Raiford, 2006). And surely these actors were important: Leaders inspired many African Americans in their struggle, while legal victories encouraged leaders and created opportunities for mobilisation. In reality however, progress was accelerated through a mix of both top-down and bottom-up strategies. Yet memories have omitted many of the important characters in the narrative of African-American freedom. This reduces historical actors from brave agents of change to mere followers of "spellbinding speeches" and "blind faith" on charismatic leaders (Carson, 1987).

Among these forgotten agents are those that lie on the radical side of the movement's spectrum, such as Black Power, and similar 'radical' movements emerging in the late 1960s. Such movements are often seen as dichotomous to the classical civil rights movement. But this memory undermines their significance in attaining racial freedoms. Rather than the mere violent counterparts of the classical movement, the Black Panthers also offered initiatives like the Free Breakfast Program which aimed to rebuild marginalised black communities and critique the failure of government intervention to ensure the welfare of black citizens. Historian Robyn Spencer argues that Black Power activists were neither recklessly aggressive nor irrationally violent—they were supporters of self-defence only when provoked by white aggression, and their confrontations with authorities were driven by an awareness of their rights and their racial struggle (Spencer, 2005). Similarities between Black Power and the classical movement in their aims and methods are often overlooked (Danielson, 2004). Though sit-ins, boycotts, and protests undertaken by the classical movement were not violent in nature, they incurred backlash and confrontation, which in turn captivated significant national attention that would drive social change. Their challenge to the status quo was bold, provocative, and even radical. Yet Black Power is not remembered in the same way as King and his colleagues. Black Power is considered by many as a blot in the narrative marking the declension of the movement. But forgetting the rationality and impact of Black Power through such a short-sighted master narrative

trivialises their activities as mindless lash-outs, which is unfair given the skill, agency and strategic ability they displayed. Recognising the complexity and continuity of the Black Power movement acknowledges their positive contribution to an influential movement that shaped America's landscape. Furthermore, this calls present society to reconsider widely-accepted attitudes towards similar 'radicalised' movements today the acts of which may be labelled as irrational.

The preservation of historical memory is justice; forgetting amounts to an injustice. This draws attention to the importance of history, and the role of the historian in the pursuit of justice. Historians are often warned against valorising their vocation as seekers of truth, for they themselves are bound by the frailties of the human condition. Prone to bias, forgetfulness and mistake, they themselves can never fully realise the past in its purest form. Yet Yerushalmi (2011) insists that historians have a role as defenders of truth, to seek objectivity even when practically impossible. For in preventing this pursuit of justice, one opens the window for history to be bent by anyone who chooses to manipulate it for their own aims. The way Americans views their own history will, as Lawson and Payne (1998) note, shape the way they think about present-day race relations, and how they want to create a more just society for the future. Thus, historians must seek to present a narrative closest to accurate: They must defend history from being eschewed by bias, intuitive but fallacious dichotomies, and oversimplification, in order to preserve a complex and fairer understanding of the past. This issue is not limited to America—in Aotearoa, there is a growing concern of a waning consciousness of our history, and many argue that implementing historiographical skills in secondary education could ameliorate this (Harris, 2019). To contain the struggle for equal civil rights in the past is mistaken. In this battle the historian must stay on guard, for she or he plays a crucial position in a struggle which is impacted by the legacy of the past (Hall, 2005).

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Politics 211

Politics of China

Oksana Bayakoko

China, A Developed Country? Surveillance of the Xinjiang Region and Suppression of Uyghur Ethnicity

Editors' note: Please note that this essay has been extensively edited by multiple Interesting Journal *editors, particularly Susannah Whaley, for readability. This was done with the knowledge and consent of the original author, with the intention to allow a larger audience to access their work. All research, content, and opinions within the piece belong to the author.*

Introduction

Xinjiang is an autonomous region in north-western China where a Muslim ethnic minority, the Uyghurs, live. The Uyghurs are an indigenous population comprised of over 10 million people. Because of unrest and acts of terrorism by a few, the Chinese government has instituted a system of surveillance on the Uyghur population. This system of surveillance impacts their human and civic rights, and undermines their cultural identity. Uyghur activists and intellectuals have been arrested for trying to protect traditional culture and language, and have been accused of separatism and terrorism. In Xinjiang, many mosques have been destroyed and bulldozed. Beards and face veils have been suppressed, and even Muslim names have been prohibited. This essay argues that the Chinese Communist Party's surveillance of the Xinjiang Region is paramount to suppression and distortion of Uyghur ethnic identity, and that these actions contradict China's move towards becoming a developed country. Poverty, environmental degradation, and slowing economic growth appear to be the largest issues facing Communist China today. An unethical disregard for the wellbeing of towards 56 indigenous populations present in China, including the Uyghurs, demonstrates how one of the most ancient empires in the world is struggling to develop into a modern country, because it does not treat its own citizens with dignity.

This essay will begin by discussing Xinjiang's importance within China as an economic region. It will outline the history of the conflict between Uyghur and mainland China, and give examples of current events in this conflict. Lastly, it questions how the Chinese Communist Party's actions represent them on a world stage.

Xinjiang's Economic Importance

The east part of the Chinese mainland has a toxic and polluted environment. This is mainly due to the depletion of natural resources and stagnating economy of previously prosperous regions, such as Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Julin, where industrialisation began in the 1950s. China needs new, clean areas to sustain its economic growth (Chen, 2019). Last year, a number of factors continued to strain these limited recourses, including poor business performance, a damaged environment, inadequate policies, and a reduced supply of coal, which caused the shutdown of six million factories on China's mainland (Xie & Zeng, 2019). Cyber security standards and intellectual property theft by Chinese authorities have prevented many international companies

from continuing to operate in China (Sacks & Li, 2018). China is heavily dependent on foreign business investment, and the IIF reported the country is exceedingly indebted with more than 300% of debt to GDP (Han, 2019). Meanwhile, the stunning region of Xinjiang is prosperous and full of natural resources (the region's reserves supply 30% of China's domestic oil). This attracts a lot of foreign business investment, and leads to major growth in the region's tourism industry. Low labour cost in this area is also a significant attraction to foreign companies (Blumberg, n.d.). In recent years, China has spent billions developing the Xinjiang region. The rebuilding of the city has become a top priority for the Chinese government (Hoffer, 2011). With its beautiful mountains, the region borders eight other countries, making it important geopolitically (Chung & Liao, 2016). Contact with these countries is of utmost importance to Chinese president Xi Jinping's signature Belt and Road Initiative, a strategy of investment and infrastructure development on a global scale. The region, which, by itself, is a sixth of China's land area, is being engineered into a gateway to central Asia and markets beyond (Griffiths, 2019).

These commercial and tourism opportunities are the primary reasons for which the Chinese Communist Party is now attempting to impose total control on the ethnic minorities who have inhabited this region for thousands of years. If the Communist Party loses power in this area, it will lose access to all the wealth and riches of the natural resources. The city of Kashgar in Xinjiang is 2000 years old, and yet under the Chinese Communist Party, it is being demolished to make way for new development (Journeyman, 2016). Environmental damage through the exploitation of Xinjiang's natural resources has been recorded since 1958, when the first negative effects of rare earth mining appeared (Bortron, 2012). Nevertheless, its resources are relatively undisturbed in comparison to mainland China, making it an important asset.

Conflict and Human Rights Abuses

China's Cultures

Of the 22 million people living in the Xinjiang region today, 60% are ethnic minority groups, including Tatars, Khazaks, and Uyghurs. At 10 million, Uyghurs make up the largest minority. The co-existence of different ethnicities is not new in these regions. China is home to 56 indigenous ethnicities.

The Communist Party has occupied Xinjiang since 1952, following its victory in the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Subsequently, it began an assimilation policy in the area through the migration of Han Chinese, bringing the Xinjiang autonomous region under significant pressure. Between the years of 1957 to 1967, northern Xinjiang was populated by two million Han from mainland China.

Following the migration of the Han population to main economic areas, Uyghur quality of life has deteriorated, due to a loss of employment, and cultural suppression—which forbids them practising their religion. Kashgar, in southern Xinjiang, is today divided into two parts: Han Chinese and Uyghur. Each nationality holds their own traditions and cultures. For example, because Uyghurs only eat halal meat, they do not eat at Han people's houses (Starr, 2004). The differences in the cultural customs of Uyghurs and Han span everything from food and religious practices, to the time they go to bed (Journeyman, 2016). When the Han go to sleep, the Uyghurs on the other side of the city begin to cook dinner. Strong cultural differences are present to this day. Extensive policing and surveillance of Uyghur people has created extreme tensions amongst the indigenous and Han people—causing deadly altercations, including the first deadly knife attacks, which took place in 2009 (see below). Xinjiang's 2000-year-old way of life appears to have an unfavourable effect when brought into contact with China's ambitious plans to rapidly develop the region.

Current Problems

Owing to a combination of factors, including the government-sponsored migration of Han Chinese between 1950 and 1970, policies promoting Chinese unity and suppressing Uyghur culture, and severe punishments for separatist terrorism, public unrest has arisen between Uyghurs, Han Chinese and authorities. The Uyghurs' resilient and strong identity has continuously challenged the government's efforts to incorporate the Xinjiang autonomous region into China (Starr, 2014). Altercations with police in the ancient city of Kashgar demonstrated prejudices against indigenous people (Journeyman, 2016). Another large city of Urumqi experienced unexpected deadly conflict in 2009 as reported by South China Morning Post (2016). These particular protests began after two Uyghur migrant workers were killed in an ethnic conflict with other workers the previous month in southern China (Brainigan, 2009). Protests began to take the form of retaliation; in 2013, 200 Chinese people were killed, according to a report given by Agence France-Presse in Beijing (2013). In response to this, Chinese authorities arrested approximately 1000 Uyghurs, despite the fact that 30 Uyghurs were also shot to death (Ignored Voices, BBC, 2014). In 2014, 29 Chinese people were killed at the Beijing train station (Ignored Voices, BBC, 2014). Further protests occurred in Kirgiziya, where Uyghurs attacked the Chinese embassy. The Chinese government started to abuse Uyghur people to such an extent that some left China, searching for international support. Because of the protests and their frustrations, some individuals joined terrorist groups, with an aspiration to be trained and to protect their national ethnicity.

South-west of Xinjiang is a special military zone. Anybody arriving needs clearance at a checkpoint. The Chinese government feels that there is a risk of small separatist groups in

Xinjiang linking up with insurgents across the Pakistan and Afghanistan borders. They fear this would mean that full-scale conflict could emerge in north-western China (Journeyman, 2016). The army is present in Xinjiang, training for bomb attacks, warfare, and chemical and biological weapons attacks, with exercises being conducted in broad daylight. As covered by Al Jazeera (2018), a USA satellite has proof that between 1 to 3 million Uyghurs have been detained in political education camps. Because the Chinese Communist Party wants to demolish and rebuild the old city of Kashgar, 50,000 Uyghurs have been ordered to leave. Since all the projects that are built for the Belt and Road Initiative are mainly designed to serve the wealthy businessman class, ethnic minorities are being ignored (The Daily Conversation, 2017).

Sophisticated surveillance of Xinjiang restricts the freedom of Uyghur people, who are forced to abandon their religion and ethnicity, including speaking their native language. Uyghur individuals who refuse to follow the Chinese Communist Party's orders are detained and held in 're-education camps'. Uyghur intellectuals are calling such events a cultural genocide. Dislat Rexit, a spokesperson for the World Uyghur Congress (an exiled group branded by Beijing as separatist), said that continuous provocation and repression by the Chinese government is the cause of conflict (Agenda France-Presse in Beijing, 2013). Most native citizens are afraid to speak up to maintain their native environment and traditions, because officials have already sent many innocent people to jail, especially targeting the upper wealthy class and intellectuals (Starr, 2004). Police and officials are bribed to remove Uyghurs from their land, thus illegally acquiring the ownership of Uyghur land (Journeyman, 2016). Meanwhile, a Chinese tribunal has put forward an official document accusing the Chinese government of human rights abuses, with proof of legal live human organ harvesting, particularly harvesting organs from the indigenous Uyghur population (Doffman, 2018).

However, perhaps the biggest threat to Uyghur identity is the HIV/AIDS virus, which acts as a silent weapon. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is largest among the Uyghur minority in China (Starr 2004). Politically- and economically-motivated authorities are predominantly focused on fighting terrorism, trying to maintain social stability with the latest sophisticated surveillance system, and excessive policing. However, they refuse to carry out educational programs or any preventative work on the matter of HIV/AIDS. Radio Free Asia (2015, August 11) reported that, today, people refer to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the region of Xinjiang as 'a Uyghur disease'. After the deadly riots of July 2009, the Chinese government chose to penalise the Uyghur population for their rebellious behaviour, and stepped up its repopulation strategy and assimilation policy. This included bringing in more Han Chinese, including many HIV positive Han prostitutes. Consequently, hundreds (if not thousands) of Han Chinese immigrant prostitutes have moved to the southern part of Xinjiang in recent years, where they are allowed to open prostitution houses under the guise of massage parlours, beauty salons, disco halls, and bathrooms. This suggests that

HIV/AIDS is the ultimate silent weapon used in the genocide of Uyghur indigenous people, as it is mostly young (aged 20–40) Uyghur men who are infected, and they are not aware of the dangers of HIV. Chinese authorities forbade the publication of information on the virus, and are responsible for the lack of classroom education, doctors, public awareness campaign designers, HIV prevention workers, and even regulation to ensure the medical privacy of patients with HIV/AIDS. More than 90% of HIV positive individual in southern Xinjiang are ethnic Uyghurs (Radio Free Asia, 2015).

Xinjiang on the World Stage

In order for us to understand what is happening within the borders of Xinjiang, we must look back at recent history. Not so long ago, Tibet's indigenous population also experienced pressure and control by China. Since 1644, government representatives, known as Ambans of the Qing dynasty, held administrative stations in the city of Lasa. They were the symbol of Chinese authority, and with the fall of the dynasty in 1912, the Ambans were expelled from the city's territory (Noakes, 2012). Tibet was free to manage its own affairs. In 1985, in Washington, the White House raised the issue of Tibet at the request of the Dalai Lama, so that Congress could have insight into the human rights violations that had occurred, and the illegal occupation of the Tibet region by the Chinese government (Noakes, 2012). However, during a UN conference in 1994, Chinese delegates persuaded officials to drop the draft resolution on account of no vote because 17 countries were absent. This was because their business trade would suffer had they voted against China. China's actions demonstrate a lack of care on the issues of Tibet and likewise, Xinjiang, and the 56 other indigenous populations present in China to this day (Noakes, 2012). Business profits and trade are why most countries avoid raising human rights violations publicly.

Xinjiang's re-education camps, as we know them in 2019, originated as patriotic re-education camps in Tibet in 1994. In other words, the platform which the Chinese government is currently using to erase the identity of indigenous Uyghurs is not new. According to Enze (2010, p.2), Tibet and Xinjiang have ongoing conflicts and are the ethnic minorities that we mostly hear about in the recent global news. The government led by Xi Jinping are doing their best to rapidly develop China, but at what cost? Can China achieve their much-desired status as a developed country anytime soon if they continue to completely disregard the sustainability of both natural resources and ethnic human capital?

M. Han (2010, p. 8) identifies the narrative of kin relationships: In the event that one ethnic minority suffers because of their dominant neighbouring culture, a kin relationship will reassure them that their big brother or mother nation will salvage their ethnic traditions. I ask, where is

the mother or brother of Uyghur people? Turkey has been one of the few countries and international bodies to recognise China is committing cultural genocide (Hasan, 2019), and that the Chinese government is holding up to three million Uyghurs in concentration camps (Werleman, 2019). Why does the international community, the Human Rights Watchdog, and the UN not impose hefty penalties on the Communist Party to dismantle the re-education camps?

China appears to have a capitalist economic model, but a communist government. This is contradictory and puzzling. In the pursuit of riches and accumulation of wealth by the few at the top of the Communist empire, the Xinjiang region, so vast in natural resources, has become irresistible for Chinese authorities (Chen, 2019). Ageing, a decline in population, a stagnant economy, and impoverished north-east regions are coupled with China's rapid industrial development. Such a poor economy prevents the creation of new jobs. Meanwhile, the desert and enormous mountain range surrounding the main city of Kashgar makes it a great strategic area. Military helicopters fly over this land area of Xinjiang daily, guarding it (Journeyman, 2016). Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative proposes the building of many railroads to connect China through Xinjiang to other parts of the world. Therefore, this region is a goldmine for the Chinese government. Although ethnic violence has been triggered by the economic growth plan, can there be a more peaceful resolution, without destroying Uyghur people's souls, their identity, and their land? For China to become a developed country, their government must respect all ethnic minorities, since they were present on their land thousands of years before the conception of the Communist Party.

I strongly agree with Luprecht (2003, p.27): In order for China to become a sustainable country hosting a harmonious multi-ethnic society, there has to be a better system of distribution of resources, as this will prevent conflicts. In Xinjiang, a lack of integration has existed for millennia (Starr, 2004). With better education, especially rural and low-income areas, as well as the acceptance of cultural differences, each ethnic minority group will only benefit the People's Republic of China's development, creating a higher standard of living for all.

Conclusion

For thousands of years, China's dynasties have appeared and faded, borders have contracted and expanded, but the identities of China's diverse cultures have remained. The story of China is woven from the spirits of human lives of indigenous people who are present on this ancient territory, previously known as Inner Mongolia—in which Uyghurs are the largest minority of 56 different indigenous ethnicities. Indigenous people are being pushed to the extreme, through the confiscation of their land, natural resources, and the erosion of their economic activities. Their

bodies are used to make a profit, through organ transplants. In addition, the Communist Party's poor policies contribute to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS amongst the indigenous population, as well as high levels of other sexually transmitted diseases (of which indigenous people are neither aware, nor educated). Due to extensive natural resource depletion and the destruction of natural ecosystems all over China's industrial and urban areas, the authorities are well aware that their economic model is slowing down, so they are working extra hard to develop new systems and infrastructure to maintain a sufficient economic pace. However, the way that the Chinese Communist Party is approaching and abusing the human rights of their native people is unacceptable by international standards. The abuses and careless treatment of the indigenous people by the Chinese Communist Party become living proof that China has a very long way to go before achieving its developed country status.

Every single cultural identity has the right to exist on the territory of its birth. Consequently, if the Chinese Communist Party is not careful, the country could become dysfunctional, as the standard of living in China will decline if the fabric of society disintegrates any further. I strongly entreat the Chinese Communist Party authorities to raise the level of their knowledge and understanding that they are not only harming indigenous Uyghur minority, but also damaging and degrading China itself. Erasing China's indigenous people will erase China. Developed countries must take more responsibility and stop the human rights abuses committed against Uyghur indigenous people.

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AN ACADEMIC DOUBLE FEATURE

In the following chapter, the editorial team invites you to partake in what we've dubbed a collection of 'academic double features'. After reading the submissions this year, we thought that a few essays complemented each other so well that they had to be included together in a 'featurettes' section.

One of the wonderful things about studying arts is the appreciation one usually fosters for comparative analysis—the ability to examine two sides of an argument, or allow two perspectives complement one another. We hope the following works do just that. This chapter opens with Amy Dresser's work—a piece that initially came to us in two separate submissions. We felt each work added insight to the other, and Dresser worked with us to combine the pieces into an extended essay that we hope you enjoy reading as much as we enjoyed working on.

The following two 'sets' of essays are presented as they were submitted to us—as separate pieces, without reference to one another. However, each essay enriches its partner. Barley and Steinmann offer an exploration into various perspectives on the same debate; while Ashley and Leakey focus on different aspects of the same phenomena. We implore you to have fun reading this section, that is curated outside of our usual style, and are sure you will find that it provides the opportunity for a more rounded and deeper understanding of these complex (albeit, *interesting*) topics.

Alika Wells

Recognising, engaging with, and critiquing a multiplicity of perspectives is a crucial skill in the humanities, and in this section, we showcase exactly this. Different perspectives are not just about conflicting opinions or interpretations, but also consider how similar problems can be explored through distinct lenses. The following authors' works takes us from pressing concerns about sustainability and technology, to important philosophical questions surrounding a theist God. Each essay highlights the value of critical evaluation of narratives and arguments that are presented to us.

Dresser explores narratives of sustainability for two products: The KeepCup and Lush Cosmetics. Beyond the shared customer base, these seemingly disparate products have both created and profited from perceptions and practices of sustainability. Using theoretical frameworks grounded in social and economic anthropology, Dresser analyses and critiques the sustainability reputation of both products. Her work highlights how everyday objects are embedded in wider processes and the importance of questioning these narratives, particularly when they are leveraged for profit.

Barley and Steinmann both grapple with the new teleological argument's ability to establish the existence of a theist God, but each take different approaches. Steinmann argues that the new teleological argument is more successful than the old teleological

argument in doing so, based on the logical validity of the arguments used. Meanwhile, Barley explores the fine-tuning proposition in the new teleological argument. His work highlights critiques of the fine-tuning argument, and demonstrates how these work together to undermine the existence of a theist God. Barley and Steinmann exemplify how different aspects of the same problem can be examined through different frameworks and lenses.

Finally, we consider how technology shapes our identities and perceptions of time. Ashley examines how relevance-sorting algorithms, commonly used in many social media sites, can distort a user's perception of time. He applies philosophy and mathematical theory to the concept of time in an algorithmic world to show how algorithm-sorting delinearises time and manipulates memory, to the point that technology comes to control what users remember. Meanwhile, Leakey focuses on the effect of dating apps on users' sense of personal identity, dating behaviours, interpersonal relationships, and intimacy. His essay presents a fascinating window into the potential dangers of dating apps in homogenising dating norms but also their vital role in forming intimate social relationships in a modern age.

Ashley, Barley, Dresser, Leakey, and Steinmann all take unique approaches to challenge and expand our understanding of the things we take for granted. Their works may pertain to distinct problems, but they all demonstrate how unique insights are born out of engagement with different theories and perspectives.

Jinal Mehta

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Economy and Culture

Amy Dresser

Production and the People: KeepCups, Lush Cosmetics, and Narratives of Sustainability and Ethics

People are increasingly holding companies accountable for their impact on the planet and its people, and companies are increasingly finding innovative solutions to lower waste and improve corporate social responsibility. Social anthropology is useful to work people back into the narratives of sustainability which are sold to us, and to understand the social relations involved with production and consumption of products. Most companies are not sustainable or ethical and are therefore secretive about their production, but companies advertising sustainability must break that mould to earn their reputations. This essay uses two case studies to ask: Where do these products *really* come from? The KeepCup is socially embedded in the appearance of sustainability, which conceals its production. On the other hand, Lush Cosmetics is open about its production and a commodity chain analysis reveals how the company embraces social relations in order to remain authentic. The purpose of this essay is not to shun these largely ethical companies, but to highlight the importance of questioning narratives—such as sustainability—where they are also producing a profit.

The KeepCup and Keeping Up with Sustainability

Over eight million people own a KeepCup, including Green Party MP Chloe Swarbrick, actress Cate Blanchett, and myself (KeepCup, 2018). The KeepCup is one of the most popular brands of reusable coffee cups and claims to divert 3.5 million disposable coffee cups from landfills each year (McCauley, 2017). I will argue that the KeepCup is socially embedded in the notion of sustainability, which conceals its production and social reality. Firstly, I will discuss Tim Ingold's (1997) argument that technology (meaning any product) is embedded in social relations and can only be understood when placed in its social context. I will then explain how the appearance of sustainability is as important as actual sustainability for purchasers of the KeepCup. Secondly, drawing from Bryan Pfaffenberger (1988), I discuss the system of social and political relations related to the KeepCup, which is ignored because of its appearance of sustainability. Finally, I will briefly discuss how perceptions of the market as being autonomous from social relations perpetuates several myths of consumer culture. Ultimately, it is more helpful to understand technology, such as the KeepCup, through understanding of the market in its social context.

The KeepCup is a reusable coffee cup which retails online from $16-32 NZD, and is one of the most popular reusable coffee cups in New Zealand (KeepCup, 2018). I have chosen to focus on the KeepCup in particular because of the iconic status of the brand. From my experience, you do not have your 'reusable coffee cup'—you have your 'KeepCup'. Even when referring to other brands, many people still describe reusable coffee cups as 'keep cups' (Huffadine, 2018). The KeepCup was created by a pair of Australian baristas, and purports

to be differentiated from other reusable coffee cups, as it was specifically designed for its 'usability and aesthetics'.

Technology is embedded in social relations (Ingold 1997), and a social analysis of the KeepCup sheds light on the two reasons why the product is so successful: People's environmental concerns, and their reputations. Pfaffenberger (1988) describes two false perceptions of technology: Firstly, that technology is both morally neutral (technological somnambulism); and secondly, that it is autonomous from human social life (technological determinism). I will return to the notion of technological somnambulism, but the misconception of technological determinism is key to understanding the multiple consumer incentives of a KeepCup. To view a piece of technology, such as a KeepCup, as independent from human social relations is not only misguided, but impossible. Technology is "a social construction of the nature around us and within us" (Pfaffenberger 1988, p. 244).

Looking at the KeepCup without an understanding of sociality, one could assume that it is a result of environmental concerns and the baristas' technological innovation. However, viewing the KeepCup in the context of urban coffee drinkers, it is a reflection of environmental concerns, but also the desire to *appear* to care about the environment. We are becoming increasingly aware of the impact of climate change, and how consumer behaviour contributes to it; there are new stories every week about the impact of plastic bags, cars, and disposable food packaging. The environmental concern is easily explained, but this is not the only aspect in play. Reusable coffee cups have been around for a long time, such as the Thermos, and there are many cheaper and more environmentally friendly brands than the KeepCup. From both my experience and research, people buy the KeepCup in particular because of its appearance and brand status. Sustainability is becoming 'cool', but this is a certain version of sustainability (McCauley, 2017). If people truly cared about the environment, they would also stop eating meat, using cars, and buying fast fashion—but most people who own KeepCups do all these things. Viewing the KeepCup in the context of social relations reveals that the KeepCup is a reflection of the *trend* of sustainability.

The appearance of sustainability propels the KeepCup's popularity, and, in turn, disguises its unsustainable social and political production relationships. The KeepCup is marketed on the premise that it is better for the environment than filling landfills with disposable cups (Forsyth & Goden, 2018). For example, the website notes that the same amount of plastic in one small KeepCup is equivalent to 20 disposable coffee cups (KeepCup, 2018). This disguises the fact that the KeepCup itself is not sustainably made. The only publicly available information about the production of the KeepCup is that it is made in an Australian factory, with components exported from overseas (KeepCup, 2018). In order to fulfil the narrative of sustainability and moral goodness, the company (and its consumers) conceal its

production. This reflects the Marxist notion of commodity fetishism, in which our conceptualisation of objects removes the social relationships involved in the production and use of technology (Pfaffenberger 1988). Thus, I must return to technological somnambulism, the notion that technology is neutral, and thus does not merit serious consideration (Pfaffenberger 1988). The KeepCup purports to be good, but giving it serious consideration reveals that people ignore the relations of production in favour of focussing on the 'coolness' of their consumption.

The myth that the market is autonomous from social relations empowers the narrative of the KeepCup as a product designed for sustainability, thus taking it out of the context of social relations and ignoring the method of production. We view 'the market' as an entity external from human involvement, and thus we can view businesses and consumer items as subject to the whims of the market, rather than the social relations of human consumers (M. Busse, personal communication, 2018). Viewing the market as embedded in social relations would reveal that every person is a key stakeholder. Therefore, an Australian-produced reusable coffee cup could be more widely seen in light of the hypocrisy of its unsustainable production and the social pressures of appearing aesthetically sustainable.

The KeepCup is an item I use every day, and I am now no stranger to the false narrative of sustainability that underlines it. Viewing the KeepCup (and the market in general) in the context of human sociality, as Ingold and Pfaffenberger encourage, is crucial to understanding that people are buying more than a reusable coffee cup. They are buying ignorance of production, subscription to social pressures, and hope for the future of the planet.

A Closer Look at the "Love and Care" in the Production of Lush Cosmetics

My second case study builds on the first case study's conclusion, that customers purchase social implications when they buy a product, and therefore must examine the social relations of a product's production.

Lush Cosmetics "put an enormous amount of love and care into making [their] products, so it's important to [them] to find ingredient suppliers that do the same!" (Lush, 2018a). Lush is an international cosmetics company founded in the United Kingdom, with 931 retail stores across 49 countries—including one at 189 Queen Street, Auckland (Loeb, 2018). They make a bold claim considering they are operating on a global scale; economic anthropology is useful in shedding light on the "love and care" people at all stages of production put into the products, as well as the "love and care" shown to those people. This essay will argue that applying commodity chain and biographical analyses reveal the extent to which the

company tries to avoid alienating social relations in order to remain ethical and authentic. I will begin by describing the production, branding and consumption of Lush products, focusing on shea nuts as an example of the raw materials which go into the cosmetics. I will then discuss Jane Collins' (2000) approach to commodity chains and Igor Kopytoff's (1986) biographical approach to products to understand the role of social relations. Commodity fetishism is predicated on companies concealing the social relations involved in production, and the task of anthropology is to shed light on these social relations—such as for the KeepCup (Pfaffenberger, 1988). This essay asks: What is anthropology's role where a company is transparent about its production?

The production of Lush products is varied and global, and shea butter production is just one example of a raw material used by the company. Lush prides itself on its Ethical Buying policy to source raw materials directly from "small-scale producer groups", such as the Ojoba Women's Shea Cooperative in the Upper East Region of Ghana, who supply the shea butter used in bath bombs (Lush, 2018c). Women collect, sort, wash, roast and whip the nuts, using a mixture of machinery and manual labour (Lush, 2018c). In an ethnography of Ghanaian shea nut producers, Brenda Chalfin (2004) discusses that shea nut processing has always depended on the specialist knowledge and skills of women. The labour intensive nature of production means that women produce shea butter in groups with reciprocal labour exchange, sharing the burden of production but selling products individually (Chalfin, 2004). Chalfin (2004) explains that in the 1930s, rural women entered local markets to sell shea butter in response to growing urban demand and their own need for money. They transformed from subsistence farmers selling only their surpluses to businesses producing shea butter primarily for the market (Chalfin, 2004). In the 1950s, export began as shea butter became an ingredient for chocolate, and in the 1990s the producers' experiences had not changed while consumption had as shea became an ingredient for 'natural' cosmetics (Chalfin, 2004). This is one example of a raw material Lush uses, but I will not assume there is the same degree of transparency about every ingredient; Lush's Head of Ethical Buyer Daniel Constantine notes that he "would never be comfortable saying [their] supply chain is 100 percent clean" (Goldsmith, 2016).

Lush employees turn the raw materials, such as shea butter, into cosmetics and skincare products at their factories, which are called "kitchens". Lush is silent on how shea butter gets to the kitchens, which are located in several international destinations—New Zealand's Lush products are made in Australia, which is stated on the packaging. The United Kingdom Lush website reveals some of their employment practices, such as paying staff at least 20 pence above minimum wage, but there is little information available about the experiences of staff. As of 2016, the Vancouver kitchen employed 888 staff, and includes the Bubble Department, the Massage Room, the Soap Room (Weller, 2016). When sold, each product

has a personalised sticker with the face and name of the employee that made it at the kitchen; this practice extends to every kitchen, every store and every packaged product. Lush also provides detailed information about some ingredients on their website. Dan Dresser (no relation), a head manufacturer at the Vancouver kitchen, describes Lush as "the biggest mum and pop company [he's] ever seen" (Weller, 2016). Products are turned around to the retail stores in as little as 24 hours, with minimal product kept in storage as the company prides itself on freshness (Weller, 2016).

Lush uses its production as its branding in its retail and online stores. Most companies conceal their production in their branding, so it is useful to look at their marketing to understand how people consume Lush products. The company has a 'no advertising' policy—instead of formal advertisements, it relies on word-of-mouth and the power of its own brand of ethically made and environmentally friendly products (Gilliland, 2016; Lush, 2018d). This includes having many policies and details about suppliers available online. All of the information I have found about Lush products and their production processes is readily available online. Therefore, when a customer comes to buy a Lush product, they are usually already aware of the company's ethos. The brand of freshness continues to consumption, as the products have a much shorter shelf life than most cosmetics products. Additionally, rather than any traditional loyalty programme, Lush has a policy that if a customer returns five of the black pots products are sold in, the customer will get a free face mask. The pots are then reused, in keeping with Lush's environmentally friendly approach. The production of shea butter, cosmetics and Lush's marketing demonstrates their attempts to integrate "love and care" in their products. However, it is important to look more closely to see the reality of the social relations and cultural meanings involved in production, which I shall now do.

An analysis of the commodity chains involved in producing Lush products, once again using shea nuts as the case study, incorporates the social relations involved in production and consumption and shows some 'links' in the chain that are missing from the public perception. A commodity chain analysis involves an anthropologist analysing every step from production to consumption, as I am doing with shea nuts. Collins (2000) argues that tracing commodities reveals connections between production and consumption, and therefore how consumers impact production.

Shea nuts begin with the Ojoba Women's Shea Cooperative, which is comprised of 400 rural Ghanaian women and run by Americans Johan and Tracy Wulfers (Ojoba Collective, 2018a). The Wulfers began the cooperative to support "poor rural communities" and produce sustainable ingredients for cosmetics (Ojoba Collective, 2018b). The nature of shea butter production means it can only occur within a group; a member of the collective states

the collective allows them "to work together and not be shy", and earn far more money than they did doing odd jobs individually (Ojoba Collective, 2018c). The collective is a result of the Wulfers identifying an opportunity for ethical plant products in cosmetics and the Ghanaian women taking advantage of an opportunity for steady income. The Collective sells directly to Lush buyers, after which the shea butter makes its way to the Lush kitchens. Lush factory workers then transform it into bath bombs or other products; very little information is available from their perspective, but it is clear from the packaging who made each product. This brings the social relations between the factory worker and the product to the forefront for the customer. Chalfin (2004) notes that '[t]hose who promote shea as a luxury item highlight its African origins along with the labors of West African women", and assessing the commodity chain confirms this connection.

However, what Lush highlights is the labours of the more local factory worker. The consumers' desire for 'natural' and 'fresh' skincare products has shaped the formation of the Ojoba Women's Shea Cooperative. Sidney Mintz (1985, as cited in Collins, 2000) comments that consumption is a product of evolving cultural and economic interests. This is clear in the current demand for fresh and authentic cosmetics in a time of increasingly urban societies and awareness of international inequality. However, Lush products are a luxury—no one *needs* a bath bomb or a face mask—and Lush products are also a sign of prosperity. This is similar to Collins' (2000) case study on grape production in Brazil, in which consumers are entirely unaware that their desire for aesthetically pleasing and healthy fruit has redefined the labour force of the Sao Francisco valley. Robert Foster (2005) notes that a commodity chain is a network of labour, and knowledge gaps within the network allow for the creation of value. The missing knowledge for Ghanaian producers is the moral, environmental and superficial reasons consumers buy Lush products—which allows Lush to add value. The missing knowledge for New Zealand consumers (and consumers from other countries) is the agency and commercial initiative of those involved in making shea butter. Lush produced a YouTube video about the Ojoba Women's Shea Cooperative, and this includes far more footage of women and children dancing and singing than women actually producing shea butter. A commodity chain analysis highlights the social relations involved with production, and reveals that consumers are not actually buying into an 'authentic' colonial African fantasy, but real women's lives.

Alternatively, applying Kopytoff's biographical approach to a Lush product reveals how the product gains social meaning, and applying it to the production of shea nuts and Lush cosmetics reveals where value comes from. Kopytoff (1986) defines a commodity as something with use value (its usefulness to some people) and exchange value (its ability to be exchanged). He argues that analysing the 'biography' of an object reveals how it is classified and reclassified and thus the meanings of the culturally constructed object change

(Kopytoff, 1986). The production of shea butter is seen as women's work, and therefore it is necessary to look more closely at the gender relations which enable this. Delaney Greig (2006) has studied gender relations in relation to shea butter trade in Burkina Faso, a West African country which shares a border with Ghana. Greig (2006) comments that it is a patriarchal society, in which men are the heads of households and commercial activities, yet women carry the responsibility for household duties and raising children. This is consistent with the Ojoba Women's Shea Cooperative, in which several women commented that they work there because it allows them to pay for their children's education (Ojoba Collective, 2018c). Both the Cooperative and Lush are proud of this. However, they frame it as empowering women, and neglect to mention that women's economic participation depends on their husband's permission (Greig, 2006). Neither Greig, nor Chalfin, comment on whether the fact that shea butter production is predominantly done by women impacts its value. A biographical approach assesses how work is valued and classified; this is pertinent given that in many colonised or 'Western' countries, traditional ideas of gender mean that work done by women is valued less, from the Spanish maquiladoras to New Zealand nurses (Salzinger, 1997). Kopytoff's approach would investigate this.

Another aspect of shea butter production relevant to its biography is the West African export market. Chalfin (2004) notes that the market is volatile and dominated by three large export companies, which cause prices for shea butter to remain low. It is commendable that Lush and the Cooperative pay their workers well, but they still benefit from these wider power structures which lower the value of raw materials. In smaller societies, such as rural Ghana, the identity of shea butter is dependent on cultural rules (Kopytoff, 1986) Applying a biographical approach solely on how shea butter has value attributed to it at production demonstrates that Lush benefits from the commoditisation of all shea butter (Kopytoff, 1986).

Continuing the biography of shea butter and linking production and consumption of it as a Lush cosmetic product reveals reclassification and quasi singularisation (Kopytoff, 1986). Lush products are more expensive than most cosmetic products, and this is justified by the "love and care" they put into their products—the ethical and sustainable production (Lush, 2018a). 'Commodities' are products purchased in a store in exchange for money, which usually have minimal social meaning and are sold en masse. These are contrasted with 'gifts', which impart social obligations from the gifter to the receiver, and therefore are singular. Marcel Mauss (as cited in Foster, 2005) recommends that consumers should take moral responsibility and make commodities more like gifts—imbued with social relations. The Lush narrative of social relations and ethical production does so. The semi-transparency of raw materials and brief information about the kitchen worker who produced each product means there is a degree of singularisation and social meaning (Durkheim, 1915, as cited in

Kopytoff 1986:73). Performing a biography highlights how Lush products are constantly reclassified and revalued. This revaluation results in the most profit made when the product is sold with the highest degree of singularity and social meaning–when Lush sells to the consumer.

When selling cosmetics, Lush sells a product made with "love and care" and far more transparency than any other cosmetics company. Applying Jane Collins' approach of a commodity chain analysis emphasises the social relations involved with production, specifically how 'Western' desires shape distant communities, and how Lush takes advantage of the distance with an image of 'authenticity'. This is helpful when used in conjunction with Kopytoff's biographical approach, which reveals the external forces shaping commodities. At first glance, Lush turns commodity fetishism on its head by revealing the social relations involved with production. However, Lush only reveals enough of the social relations to produce a marketable brand of authenticity, and Collins' and Kopytoff's approaches demonstrate that there is more to "love and care" than meets the eye.

Conclusion

Placing the production and consumption of products in their social contexts reveals consumer motivations and production realities. Anthropology is a necessary tool used to examine the people behind production, who are so often removed from narratives, and to look at the people buying the products, who do not always have obvious intentions. People are buying the coolness of sustainability when buying a KeepCup, and ethical authenticity when buying Lush products. Analysing the commodity chain of shea nuts demonstrates how products *we* buy shape lives around the world. Every product exists in a social context and is subject to social influences, and for every product you buy, there is a chain of people and communities involved. Therefore, it is important to understand where products come from and who is profiting. This is especially true for companies, such as KeepCup and Lush, who profit from their perceived corporate social and environmental responsibility. Companies may produce environmentally-friendly products with 'love and care', but there is always more to this than what you see in a store.

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Philosophy of Religion

Isabelle Steinmann

Comparing the Success of the Old and New Teleological Argument

The existence of a theist God and how to establish Her existence has been debated for centuries. Here, I will argue that the new teleological argument is more successful than the old in establishing a theist God. This becomes evident when comparing the types of arguments used, the range of what is established, and the responses to the naturalist objection.

The teleological argument is a non-deductive, a posteriori argument for the existence of God. It argues that the universe exhibits apparent design features, and from these, a universe designer can be inferred. In particular, it posits that these features are a result of 'God's intentional planning' as opposed to 'mindless natural processes' (Sober, 2003). Throughout this essay, it will be assumed that the universe designer whose existence is in question is the theist God; specifically, a concept of God which is omnipotent, omniscient, perfectly good, and a personal being.

The old teleological argument takes the form of an argument from analogy between the features of the natural universe and artefacts. It describes the complexity and functionality of organs or the way in which different organisms adapt to their environments. It then draws an analogy between these objects and complex, functional, and adaptable artefacts. Finally, it claims that, as we can infer the existence of a designer from the order of artefacts, by analogy we also can infer a universe-designer from the order of the universe. The new teleological argument moves away from the physical characteristics of organisms to analyse the 'fine-tuning' of the universe using probability-based arguments. Fine-tuning refers to the way in which the basic structure of the universe appears to have been calibrated to accommodate life. For instance, the specific value of the cosmological constant is such that stars are able to form; it is well supported by scientific research that life could not have developed had these constants been even slightly altered (Collins, 2003). It is the aim of the new teleological argument to assert that the most likely or best explanation for the structure of the universe being as it is, is that it was designed by a theist God.

One advantage of the new teleological argument arises from the type of argument it utilises. The old teleological argument is an argument from analogy, so it is more limited as the strength of the argument rests largely on the strength of the analogy being made. It is important to note that while specific natural features and artefacts are often compared, such as Paley's likening of an eye to a telescope (Paley, 1802), the base analogy is between the natural universe as a whole and artefacts in general. The argument aims not just to show that particular features were designed, but that the universe was designed. In order to compare two objects, one must have adequate experience with or understanding of both of them. We have plenty of experience with artefacts; we interact with them daily and,

although we may not always understand the intricacies of their inner workings, are comfortable in evaluating their features and purposes. However, it is nearly impossible to have any real conception of the natural universe. A finite mind cannot truly fathom an infinite object, especially an object that it exists inside of. The universe cannot be viewed externally, and we know of no other universes with which to compare it. Furthermore, it is indisputable that we do not have any 'experience of the origin of universes and of causes which bring them about' (Davies, 1993). Analogies, of indeterminate strength, may be drawn between water pumps and hearts or between computers and the mind. But to make meaningful inferences based on a comparison of any artefact with the infinite natural universe is preposterous.

In contrast, the argument structure of the new teleological argument avoids dubious analogies. One formulation of it is based on the likelihood principle, such that evidence of fine tuning 'strongly support[s] theism over the atheistic single-universe hypothesis' (Collins, 2003) as fine tuning is more likely under theism. However, this interpretation is flawed as it does not take into account the prior probability of God's existence. Perhaps we may concede that it is more likely that fine-tuning be caused by God than by random processes, but this does not mean it is more likely that God exists than that She doesn't. Another iteration of the new teleological argument takes the form of an inference to the best explanation. This argument claims that the existence of an intelligent designer is the best explanation for fine tuning and should, thus, be accepted. Although this circumvents the issues of the likelihood principle, neither argument seems to capture the way in which faith is held. In particular, whether the existence of God should be considered as an issue of probability. For those of a theist belief, their faith is in more than just the *probable* existence of God. It is not sufficient to demonstrate only that God is likely or a best explanation. Existence is one of the perfections of God; as Anselm describes in his *Proslogion*, '[God] hast being in the truest and highest sense'. It seems, therefore, inappropriate to argue for God using probabilistic terms. While the new probability-based structure of the new teleological argument may be an inappropriate way in which to view God, it is definitely more successful than the disparity-ridden analogy on which the old teleological argument is based.

While otherwise flawed, it is the old teleological argument which comes closer to establishing a personal omnigod than the new. The old argument, if successful, is able to establish not just a designer who allowed life to develop, but a designer who created humanity specifically and purposefully. As it focuses on the physical features of organisms and includes human artefact-designers in the analogy, the old teleological argument is able to give a more personal account of the designer it explores. The argument claims that

humans were intentionally and purposefully designed. Thus, by examining our features we may attempt to extrapolate our purposes and, in doing so, make inferences about the nature of our designer. For example, from our desire for deep, interpersonal connections, one may argue that our designer values love. As the analogy of the argument is between the universe and man-made objects, we may also infer some degree of similarity between the designer and humanity; by analogy, 'the Author of Nature is somewhat similar to the mind of man' (Hume, 1779). Furthermore, one may say it is clear the designer is powerful, as it created the universe, and wise, as it designed intricate natural features. Benevolence may even be inferred if one believes it to be 'a happy world after all' with suffering aiding in 'the formation of character' (Paley, 1802). Consequently, the argument produces at least some understanding of the designer.

The new teleological argument, on the other hand, is unable to provide any real conception of God. All that it establishes is an intelligent designer who, for whatever reason, enabled the development of life in at least some parts of the universe. It can be again inferred that this designer is powerful, but not much else can be deduced. The designer may be some curious science-God experimenting with different initial conditions in Her lab. The designer may be completely disinterested in humanity, or unable to interact with us at all. While its structure is stronger logically, it has lost the vital personal aspect of the old argument and, as such, is unable to convincingly argue to a sort of designer even vaguely resembling a personal omnigod. However, this does not necessarily make the new argument intrinsically weaker. It simply implies that the conclusion which it reaches is not as powerful or as helpful in establishing God. The argument can still demonstrate the existence of a God-like figure whose characteristics may be discussed separately (Sober, 2003). Some may even argue that the apparent shortfall in the new teleological argument is really an error in the concept of God. If the notion of God is adjusted to be less demanding, then the new teleological argument may meet this hypothesis. However, as God becomes less personal and less perfect, She loses Her ability to influence and give purpose to our lives. A key facet of most religious traditions is to provide guidance on how to live 'the good life' in both moral and practical capacities (Everitt, 2004). If little information is given on the nature and purposes of God, little guidance can be derived. So, although the new teleological argument may succeed in establishing a designer, this designer is unequipped to fulfil the role of a theist God. If both arguments are accepted, the old is more successful in arguing to a personal omnigod than the new as it discusses the designer in more personal terms.

The third major difference between the old and new teleological argument is in their responses to the naturalist objection. This objection claims that the features of the universe

are due to naturally occurring processes as opposed to being the work of an intelligent designer. The old teleological argument is particularly vulnerable to this objection. Evolutionary theory and other developments in our understanding of biological processes allow us to understand scientifically how organisms came to be the way that they are. Darwin's 1859 theory of evolution revolutionised thinking by proposing that while traits may appear randomly, those 'which help organisms survive and reproduce have a better chance of becoming common traits' (Sober, 2003). This reasoning scientifically explains complex natural features without the need for an appeal to an intelligent designer. The new teleological argument is able to respond to the objection more convincingly than the old teleological argument. The scientific explanations presented to explain fine-tuning are not nearly as clear or as evidentially supported as evolutionary theory is in explaining the phenomena discussed by the old teleological argument.

However, the new teleological argument does rely on the claim that it is unlikely for fine-tuning to have occurred randomly. This may not be the case. The existence of a universe-designer only seems more likely than some types of atheistic worldviews. If one believes in a single universe, it may seem unlikely that the universe would be calibrated as it is. However, if one believes in a multiverse, a possibly infinite set of universes, it is not at all strange that the constants of this universe are fine tuned. Suppose there are a multitude of universes each with a slightly different base structure. It may be exceptional to have a universe that is *just right* in its parameters, but, like with the lottery, someone has to win. But perhaps we are creating a problem that does not truly exist. Fine-tuning rests on the assumption that it is possible and logical to be able to vary the parameters of the universe. There is no clear reason why this should be true. Just because we can imagine having a world where the gravitational is constant is 10 or 100 times greater does not mean that it could actually exist. The values these constants can take may not be able to differ at all or, like the energy levels of electrons in atoms, may come in specific, discrete structures. Similarly, they may be interrelated in a way that we are unaware of. Shifting one could impact another in a way which causes them to systematically change in a much more complex fashion, perhaps even allowing 'life [to] evolve as a result of a quite different mechanism' (Swinburne, 1990).

As discussed earlier, our only experience of universes comes from our experiences with this universe. There is no evidence of other universes to compare with our own, so claims cannot be made about the probability of our universe being a certain way. The probability of pulling a marble of a certain colour out of a bag can be commented on only if certain properties of the situation are known; in particular, if it is actually possible to have a bag of marbles and knowledge of how the marble colours are distributed. There is no reference

class for creation of universes and, as such, 'we have no grounds for saying each combination' of constants 'is as probable as the other' (Everitt, 2004). Perhaps having a life-permitting universe is not as unlikely as it seems. The existence of the natural features included in the old teleological argument can be comfortably explained by modern science, while the origin of those of the new teleological argument is still controversial.

The new teleological argument is therefore more successful than the old in attempting to prove a theist God. Although the designer it establishes is not as well defined, it has a stronger argument form and a more convincing reply to the naturalist objection. While neither argument is likely to convert a rational, sympathetic unbeliever to theism, they may both strengthen the rationality of the beliefs of a theist.

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Philsophy of Religion

Spencer Barley

Objections to the New Teleological Argument

Introduction

I intend to argue that the 'New Teleological Argument' (NTA)[1], as formalised by Robert Collins, is neither conclusive nor tenable[2]. This substantially weakens the arsenal of arguments in favour of God's existence. To make my case, I will present two counter-arguments, the 'Argument for (and from[3]) Designer Indeterminacy', and 'The Problem of Poor Design'. Either of these counter-arguments might be sufficient to show that Collin's argument is inconclusive. But when considered together, they seem to further place the NTA in an untenable position. Firstly, I will outline Collins' NTA and discuss various approaches one could take to dispute it. Secondly, I will present the two aforementioned counter-arguments to Collin's NTA, and demonstrate how they (both individually and in conjunction) injure his argument.

Collins' New Teleological Argument

Collins formulation of the Teleological Argument is as follows:

> "*Premise 1*: The existence of the **finetuning** is not improbable under theism.
>
> *Premise 2*: The existence of the **finetuning** is very improbable under the atheistic single-universe hypothesis.
>
> *Conclusion*: From Premises (1) and (2) and the **prime principle of confirmation**, it follows that the finetuning data provides strong evidence to favour of the design hypothesis over the atheistic single-universe hypothesis" (Collins, 2003, p.125).

The arguments of other advocates of the NTA are very similar to that of Collins'; they argue for the same, or extremely similar, premises and conclusion[4], and most of them utilise the prime principle of confirmation (PPC).Therefore, if one can show that *Collins'* argument is problematic, then, to the extent to which these problems are shared between NTAs, one will have undermined the 'new teleological argument' at large. So, for the most part, I will use 'NTA' as synonymous with "Collins' NTA".

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[1] Also known as the 'Argument from finetuning'.

[2]This in spite of the fact that it is distinct from, and superior to, the original Teleological Argument; especially due to its inclusion of the infinite regress reply, as will be discussed in 1.4.

[3] This is actually two objections couched under one heading.

[4] A distinction here perhaps being that Collins is more reserved and conservative with what he believes his argument to achieve, i.e., showing "evidence to favour the design hypothesis" rather than 'reason to believe in (or proof *of*) God's existence'.

There are two phrases in Collin's argument which must be understood in order to comprehend it, e.g., 'finetuning' and the 'Prime Principle of Confirmation'. Therefore, before delving more deeply into Collins' argument, I will attempt to make sense of these terms.

The Case for 'Finetuning'

Fortunately for mankind, the universe permits life; as we can tell from the very fact that we are here and *alive* to observe it. Another way of putting this is that: The universe has enough of the necessary features for life so that at least one instance of it (or an instance of one planet *with* it) has been observed. The case of 'finetuning' is concerned with how delicate, and seemingly unlikely, this arrangement of life-permitting features is. Delicate is used in the sense that: "[I]f the values of the physical constants[5] were even the *slightest* bit different, the universe would have turned out life-prohibiting" (Licon, 2015, p. 412). Therefore, the range of life permitting (or 'LP') values is extremely narrow; they must fall within a small distance of "the way they actually are if the Universe is to contain (carbon-based[6]) life" (Colyvan, Garfield, & Priest, 2005, p. 325). The fact that the universe *does* permit life, and that its values *are* in this narrow range, is argued to be very unlikely given the extremely large range of possible non-life-permitting values it could have had. For example, Collins' considers the possible range for the cosmological constant to be 10^{53} times larger than its range of life-permitting values (Collins, 2003). Therefore, if one accepts the 'principle of indifference[7]', it appears (*a priori*) extremely unlikely that the cosmological constant's value would be life-permitting, at least through chance alone. This is the crux of premises (1) and (2). Given the delicacy of life-permitting values and the improbability that the universe would have them by chance, the universe appears to be 'fine-tuned' to permit life. Such a state of affairs seems very unlikely for an atheistic account, which can only explain it as the result of a mindless chance process[8]. However, such a state of affairs does not seem unlikely for a theistic account; such finetuning for the purposes of life would in fact be expected![9]

[5] It is not only the physical constants (such as the gravitational or cosmological constants) which have this delicacy. If the initial conditions during the Big Bang (such as the distribution of matter and energy) were slightly different, it is also thought that life would then not have been possible.

[6] Some argue that perhaps silicon-based life, or some other unknown form of life, would still be possible. However, this is argued as being too speculative to be a genuine objection to the NTA.

[7] That we should, *ceteris paribus*, "assume equal probabilities to equal ranges of the parameter" (Collins, 2003, p. 129).

[8] There *are* other attempts to explain it; such as being a 'brute fact', or positing 'multiple universes', but theists argue against the validity and reach of such alternative explanations.

[9] Because God, a perfectly good and powerful being would intend to produce life (or moral agents). We will see the difficulties with this claim in section 2.1.

The Prime Principle of Confirmation (PPC)

The 'Prime principle of Confirmation' (also known as the 'likelihood principle') is essential to Collins' conclusion. It enables Collins to extract from premises (1) and (2) the conclusion that the observation of finetuning is strong evidence for the design hypothesis. The Prime Principle of Confirmation (PPC) states: That if an observation is more likely given Hypothesis A (H_A) than Hypothesis N (H_B), then the observation is evidence in favour of H_A. Furthermore, the strength of the evidence can be determined by the extent to which the observation is *more* likely given H_A than H_B. For example, in Case (1), the observation that Charlie's fingerprints are on the murder weapon is much more likely if he is the murderer than if he is not, therefore, the *actual observation* of his fingerprints should be seen as good evidence that Charles is indeed the murderer. Now consider Case (2): The observation that Charlie is in the vicinity of the crime scene (for instance, the car park outside his apartment) *is not* that much *more* likely if he was the murderer than if he was not; therefore, the evidence is quite weak. In Collins' argument, he claims that the observation of 'fine-tuning' is *much* more likely if the design hypothesis were true, than if the atheist hypothesis[10] were true. Therefore, the PPC states that we should consider our *actual observation* of finetuning as strong evidence in favour of the design hypothesis.

The PPC itself doesn't suffer from much criticism. Rather, some argue that it is occasionally misused by some versions of the NTA. As in a court of law, and in the cases above, the PPC doesn't prove or confirm a hypothesis; despite the evidence it provides, the PPC cannot *show* that Charlie is the murderer. All it achieves is to provide evidence *in favour* of the hypothesis. Another important distinction to make is between *likelihood* and *probability*. 'Likelihood' is the value of Pr(O|H)[11]. It is a hypothetical calculation occurring without the introduction of the *actual* observation. On the other hand, 'Probability' is the value of Pr(H|O). It is a hypothesis's *posterior probability* given the observation (Sober, 2003). These two values are related but can be quite different; the '*probability*' of a hypothesis relies on factors outside of 'likelihood'. For example, consider the two hypotheses; (1) I am seeing the real Amanda, and (2) I am hallucinating an illusory Amanda. It may seem unintuitive, but both (1) and (2) have the same 'likelihood'; it is equally likely given either (1) or (2) that one would observe Amanda. To calculate their probabilities, one can use Bayes Theorem:

$$Pr(O) = \frac{Pr(H) \times Pr(O|H)}{Pr(O)}.$$

[10] For the sake of brevity, instead of saying the 'atheistic *single universe* hypothesis', I will take it as implied. Multiple universe theories will not be discussed at length in this essay.

[11] The probability of the observation, given the hypothesis. H=hypothesis O=observation (Sober, 2003).

"Pr(H) is the hypothesis' *prior probability*—the probability that H has before we take the following observation O into account" (Sober, 2003, p. 27). So, because the prior probability of (1) is greater than (2) it is a more 'probable' hypothesis, even though their likelihoods are identical. Other examples can be given showing that 'low likelihood' hypotheses can be more probable than a 'high likelihood' hypotheses.

Therefore, establishing a likelihood of a hypothesis cannot establish its probability. The PPC only establishes likelihood, and therefore, the NTA cannot use it to establish the *probability* of the design argument[12]. Collins is aware of this limitation of the PPC, and thus, only concludes that his argument "provides strong evidence to favour the design hypothesis". However, it is worth noting this distinction as it is vital to the objections against Collins' NTA.

Disputing Collins' New Teleological Argument

Now that finetuning and the PPC have been clarified, I can re-examine Collins' formulation of the NTA:

> "*Premise 1*: The existence of the finetuning is not improbable under theism.
>
> *Premise 2*: The existence of the finetuning is very improbable under the atheistic single-universe hypothesis.
>
> *Conclusion*: From Premises (1) and (2) and the prime principle of confirmation, it follows that the finetuning data provides strong evidence to favour of the design hypothesis over the atheistic single-universe hypothesis" (Collins, 2003, p.125).

The argument appears valid, as noted by Collins, in that if the premises and the PPC are correct, then the conclusion appears to follow (Collins, 2003). However, there seem to be at least three possible *approaches*[13](other than questioning its logical validity) that one could take in disputing his claim[14].

Firstly, one could take issue with finetuning by disagreeing that the universe's observed life-permitting values are as 'delicate' as Collins postulates. In other words, the scientific evidence Collins, and others, put forward to show 'fine-tuning' (or the objective narrowness

[12] Sober also claims that the PPC cannot "tell you which hypothesis you should believe" (Sober, 2003, p. 28); drawing an additional distinction between likelihood, probability, and *belief*.

[13] These approaches are general strategies and are distinct from the two *objections* presented in this essay.

[14] There are certainly more approaches than three, however, and far more than two objections to be made. The distinctions between these approaches are made not to enumerate all possible tactics of objecting to the NTA but, rather, to define by contrast the route I will take to do so.

of the universe's life-permitting values) is erroneous. However, I will not take this approach; I take the scientific findings presented by Collins as correct and a given.

The second approach would be to provide a naturalistic alternative to theism, under which the observation of finetuning is equally, or more, likely. This is how the original (or old) teleological argument (OTA) has largely been defeated. The OTA focused not on the cosmos' life-permitting features, but rather on the delicacy of the life-enabling features of organisms, and their components[15]. For example, Paley discussed the human eye which if slightly altered, in shape or arrangement, would no longer function (Sober, 2003). The OTA also used the PPC. The debate, as it saw it, was between the likelihood of such an occurrence happening under God's direction, versus the likelihood of it occurring given a mindless random chance process. It seemed much more *likely* under the God hypothesis than the random chance hypothesis. This has come to be viewed as a false dichotomy, due to Darwin's theory of evolution. Chance was not the only alternative to the God Hypothesis; there could be other *non-chance* mindless processes which were as equally 'likely' as theism. In this case, the mindless process was evolution; through which, the finetuning of organisms (as it were) was likely.

One could follow this route and claim that there is, or could be, some other mindless *non-chance* process which renders likely the universe's finetuning. However, the theists have a response to this; they would then ask, "how likely it is that such a mindless *non-chance* process would exist, *by chance*?". They would step back, and treat the process described as the observation in a new argument (the *new* 'New Teleological Argument'[16]) Eventually, the atheist would have to concede to chance, or commit to an infinite regression of naturalistic processes[17]. The atheist could *also* use this tactic and ask about the likelihood of God (or a designer) existing by chance; surely (they would argue) it is more likely that God had a designer as well, than existing by chance.

As one perhaps can imagine, neither side (theist or atheist) is convinced or satisfied by these regressive arguments. Perhaps to avoid running headfirst into this debate, the primary naturalistic alternative to theism—multiple universe theory—is excluded from Collins' formulation of the argument; he refers solely to the atheistic *single-universe*. Therefore, I will

[15] Sober makes the distinction between NTA and OTA as being either 'cosmic' or 'organismic' design arguments (Sober, 2003).

[16] Not that they'd need to change the name, as this reply is embedded within the existing NTA.

[17] This is because seemingly, to any naturalistic universal theory or 'first mover', the theist can ask how *likely* it is to exist that way by chance.

not discuss multiple universes. Furthermore, to avoid the threat of infinite regress, I will also not pursue the approach of supplying an alternative to theism.

The third approach in disputing the NTA is one mentioned by Collins himself. He believed that in order: "[T]o show inference to design[18] based on the finetuning is flawed, sceptics must show that it is based on a manifestly problematic form of reasoning" (Collins, 2003, p. 123). The following three counter-arguments and/or objections attempt to do just that; namely, to show that the argument is flawed by 'manifestly problematic reasoning'.

Counterarguments to Collins' NTA

The Indeterminacy of the Designer

One classic 'Humean' argument is that, although a teleological argument may provide evidence for the existence of a designer, it cannot provide evidence for any particular designer. For example, the designer *could* be the benevolent omni-god worshipped by the Abrahamic religions, or it may be some totally other entity, with any variety of traits. For example, it could be one *god* out of many, it could have forgotten our world entirely, or our world could contain many errors and its designer be a deeply flawed and ambivalent (or even malevolent) being[19].

If one were to bring Hume's argument to bear on the NTA, it might be along these lines: Although the finetuning of the universe might be used to support the existence of, at most, an *intelligent and powerful designer* in relative human terms, it can give us little to no further indication or support for his having any particular traits, such as those that would identify him as the deity of a particular religion. Collins accommodates this argument by simply conceding that the NTA cannot *describe* the designer. His argument provides evidence for the *design hypothesis* (that there exists some designer) not the *God hypothesis* (that *a*, or *the*, God exists). As Sober notes, this concession doesn't render the argument trivial; discovering the existence of some designer would be "*big* news" (Sober, 2003, p.34)! So, in this manner Collins seems to have evaded injury from the argument *for* designer indeterminacy. However, Sober suggests an argument *from* designer indeterminacy which appears especially problematic for Collins' account.

Sober's objection lies in reference to Premise (2) of Collins' argument, which states that Pr(O|Design) is higher than Pr(O|Chance). He considers this claim the "Achille's heel of the

[18] We shall take 'inference to design' as equal to his later formulation; assuming PPC and evidence in favour, rather than overall probability.

[19] As may be more suitable in conjunction with the evidence from the 'argument from evil'.

design argument" (Sober, 2003, p. 36). If we take the observation of the universe's constant values$v_1, v_2, \ldots, v_n$: What is the likelihood of these values occurring given an intelligent designer? For NTA to succeed, this likelihood must be higher than the likelihood of these values occurring given a chance process. The problem raised by Sober is that, in this case, one can confer "a probability on the observation [given the design hypothesis] only when it is supplemented with further assumptions about what the designer's goals and abilities would be if he existed" (Sober, 2003, p. 36). For example, perhaps an intelligent designer would not have the desire or the ability to give the universe values of $v_1, v_2, \ldots, v_n$. Given such a designer, the likelihood of the observation of$v_1, v_2, \ldots, v_n$ would be zero. Alternatively, perhaps the given designer desires and is capable of bringing about, exactly those values, in which case the likelihood of their observation given him/her/it would be 'unity'. Therefore, there seem to be a bottomless plethora of different likelihoods for Pr(O|Design), each possible likelihood corresponding with each meaningful variation of the goals and abilities[20] of the designer taken to be a given.

Since we have seen that, given the right designer, the likelihood of Pr(O|Design) can be zero, and if we assume Hume's argument that the TA cannot determine any designer in particular, it appears that the NTA is fundamentally flawed in its second premise (that Pr(O|Design) is greater than Pr(O|Chance)[21]). To escape this flaw, the supporter of the NTA must find some rigorous way to determine or select the attributes of the particular designer in question. Furthermore, they cannot look towards the actual observations of the universal constants to determine the plans and capacities of the designer; that would be to beg the question. Rather, there is a need for *independent* evidence to determine what the designer's attributes *would* be if he existed. As Sober states: "[O]ne can't obtain this evidence by *assuming* that the design hypothesis is true" (Sober, 2003, p.36). The supporter of NTA also cannot conjoin 'Design' with a certain 'goal-ability' pair to determine a definite 'likelihood'. This, as Sober demonstrates, is a flawed and false methodology. Instead, evidence must be found for the goals and abilities *intrinsic* to the design hypothesis itself, not conjoined to it as an ad hoc auxiliary hypothesis.

Therefore, Sober's argument attempts to show that NTA's second premise is either flawed or that the NTA needs to be augmented with additional evidence (independent from our actual observations) to determine what attributes a designer *would* have if he existed[22]. To demonstrate the difficulty of this latter task, Sober makes an analogy with humanity's attempts at communicating with extra-terrestrials, to highlight the difficulty in

[20] With regard to the values observed.

[21] For even the low likelihood given to chance is greater than zero or null.

[22] Some philosophers attempt to do this. Swineburne, for instance, tries to logically deduce that God in fact has the Goal attribute pair of both "power and abundant reason" to permit life.

understanding, detecting, and speculating upon non-human like intelligence. The burden of evidence appears to rest with the NTA to provide compelling and rigorous evidence that a designer *would* have a particular pair of goal and ability traits. In this way, it must determine the traits of the designer before it can be used to show his/her 'likelihood'.

The Problem of Poor Design

The 'Problem of Poor Design' is (or will be) closely tied with Sober's argument. The objection argues against the likelihood of the traditional omni-God normally envisaged as the designer, and who people try to posit or select for in response to Sober's concerns. It does so by asking why would such a God create underlying laws of physics which make a life-permitting universe (relative to the range of possible universes and values granted by the NTA) so rare and delicate that it *requires* finetuning? Licon puts the argument as such:

> "If God, as a perfect designer, created the universe for the purposes of bringing about moral agents, we would expect the universe to do an excellent job of doing that. But, in light of how rare such a universe is, *given the laws of physics*, there seems like good reason, in light of how poorly designed the universe is, to doubt that God was responsible for the universe" (Licon, 2015, p. 412).

Licon seems to be arguing that there is a conflict between a universe thought to be created for the purpose of life, and the fact that the current laws of physics dictate that out of "all the nearly unlimited number of ways a universe could be arranged, only a mere handful of them would even *permit* the existence of moral agents"(Licon, 2015, p. 423). To him it seems unlikely that a perfect designer would have to finetune a universe to ensure it does what it is designed to do. Furthermore, he argues that the necessity for finetuning is, therefore, evidence of 'poor design'. He 'flips' the improbability of the universe's observed life-permitting values back upon the theist. He claims that the very improbability of such values, and the fact that the universe doesn't tend towards life, seems to provide evidence that it is unlikely to have been created by an intelligent designer for the *purpose* of life[23]; or at least by the 'perfect designer' of the Abrahamic religions. This makes the values of $v_1, v_2, \ldots, v_n$ seem to have low likelihood given God (or some omnipotent designer who desires and is obviously capable of producing life); He wouldn't have created a universe with the imperfect (poorly designed) laws filled by these values. Here, we have reached the crux of the problem: Advocates of the NTA seem to be in an untenable situation, a catch-22. Either they cannot utilise the PPC without specifying a particular designer; *or* when they attempt (whether or not they succeed in doing so justifiably) to select God or some designer with similar goal-

[23] This 'purpose for life' is the goal portion of the 'Goal Ability pairs' discussed by Sober.

ability pairs, then the very evidence of finetuning seems to work against that selection. This leaves the supporter of NTA in a very puzzling and arguably unwinnable situation.

However, they can attempt to object to the claim that there is evidence of 'poor design'[24]. One objection is that the necessity for finetuning is only considered 'poor design' relative to human designers because "finetuning is costly in terms of time and resources. But these limitations do not apply to God" (Licon, 2015, p. 419). This fits into a cluster of objections which posit that we, as mere humans, have unreliable design-intuitions (that we cannot fathom or discern how God would construct the universe). However, here again we encounter a 'catch 22'. If our design intuitions *are* reliable, they form the basis of the poor design argument. If they are *unreliable*, that means that we are sometimes mistaken in thinking *x* or *y* is, or is not, divinely inspired. If this is the case, then our design-intuition that the improbability of the universe's life-permitting values implies divine design can, itself, be mistaken.

> "If we have faulty design intuitions, *when it comes to God's handiwork*, then this seems to cut against *accurately* identifying instances of divine design, across the board".

Although Licon's argument for poor design is not definite, in that someone may eventually discover an objection which refutes and disproves the evidence he takes as 'poor design' is genuinely so, it appears quite compelling.

Conclusion

Through the two counter-arguments presented above, I have attempted to show that in order to utilise the PPC with regard to Premise (2) of Collins' argument, one must specify the goals and abilities of the designer. Furthermore, even if this *is* (or can be) achieved, then the argument from 'poor design' seems to eliminate specifying the designer desired by theists (namely the 'perfect designer' of the Abrahamic religions). Therefore, the supporter of NTA appears to be mired in an untenable situation. It may turn out that there is some path through these objections. However, I contend that such a path will be a difficult one and that finding it will require much philosophical work.

[24] Although, if successful, this still wouldn't alleviate the need for independent evidence to select *a* God, or a GA pair, as being intrinsic to the design hypothesis, and not an ad hoc auxiliary hypothesis.

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Communication 100

Communication, Technology and Culture

Harry Ashley

Modern Relevance-Sorting Algorithms and the Collective Human Experience of Time

The land next to us; where the first they met
Were the Lotophagi, that made them eat
Their country diet—and no ill intent
Hid in their hearts to them; and yet th'event
To ill converted it, for, having ate
Their dainty viands, they did quite forget
(As all men else that did but taste their feast)
Both countrymen and country, nor addressed
Any return t'inform what sort of men
Made fixed abode there; but would needs maintain
Abode themselves there, and eat that food ever.

"The Lotus Eaters", from Homer's *Odyssey* (Kendal 2016)

This essay will attempt to show some correlation between 'relevance-sorting' algorithms and the collective human experience of time, summarily promoting the conjecture that these 'relevance sorting' algorithms, due to the way in which events and information are *mosaicked*, *retrieved*, and *made accessible*, have a distortive and disjointing effect on the individual and collective temporal narrative.

Background

It is appropriate, when discussing the nature of the mathematics that undercurrent our contemporary existence—this *undercurrent* sometimes dubbed the 'algorithmic culture'—to explore works of the first-principle kind where, if one is looking for an extended theory of temporality, one will find Heidegger. A resonant passage in his *Being and Time* rejects the popular characterisation of time as a 'constant' and 'linear', objectified flow (1927). He instead roots our perception, a direct result of 'being-there', or "*Dasein*", in the way moments change: "When Dasein is 'living along' in an everyday concernful manner, it just never understands itself as running along in a Continuously enduring sequence of pure 'nows' (…). The time which Dasein allows itself has gaps in it, as it were. Often we do not bring a 'day' together again when we come back to the time which we have 'used'" (Heidegger, 1927, p. 462).

Let us think of temporality in the ontological sense, as being defined, in the human experience, by a sensory 'rhythm'. Heidegger (1927) calls the rise and fall of the sun the "most natural" rhythm (p. 465) which is then divided into "smaller" increments which we call hours and minutes—though, to demonstrate the subjectivity of these notions, the anthropology student will tell you that such conceptions have traditionally varied on a cultural basis: The time it takes to eat a bowl of rice or for an incense-stick to burn were common units in 19th century China, for example (Ball, 1906, p. 713). It is exactly the imprecision of these less mechanical measurements that leads to differences in not only the understanding of temporality, but consequently the perception of it (Lauer, 1973, p. 461). I find this demonstration makes intuitively believable the manner in which the collective temporal experience can be shaped by cultural signs.

What Are Relevance-Sorting Algorithms?

Typically, websites and content hubs execute numerous programs. For each of these programs, there are several 'functions', and for each of these functions, there may be multiple algorithms. A generic search program will take an input, run a selection algorithm (*S1*), pass these selections through an Intermediary Data Set, use a separate algorithm (*S2*) to assign ranks based on pre-determined variables to each of the search elements, and then loop *S1* and *S2* an arbitrary amount of times, before exporting an Output Data Set that is received by the user via the graphical interface (Just & Latzer, 2017). I will focus on algorithms of the *S2* type (i.e., that *arrange* elements)—namely those that rank by prioritising 'relevance' (Gillespie, 2014).

Delinearisation of Temporal Existence (*Mosaicking*)

In *History of Bourgeois Perception*, Donald Lowe (1982, p. 38) aptly enunciates the influence of changing content-linearity on the temporal experience, in the context of the 1830s' introduction of newspapers: "Unlike the linear development of a plot or an argument in the book, the concurrent reporting of news (…) made newspapers a mosaic of unrelated events. Newspapers contracted time to the instantaneous and the sensational, expanded space to include anything from everywhere."

The 'Relevancy'-ordering algorithm on many sites simply aims to maximise user interaction (Chandler & Munday, 2016); that is, it aims to anticipate the user's *character* and provide a constant contrast from one item to the next to satisfy what Cooley (1909, p.

84) described as an "old appetite" for content that is "copious, designed to occupy, without exerting, the mind". An individual user, despite an ability to consciously distinguish reality from virtual content, has a more unconscious, primordial relationship with time—this can be affected by simulation. Where newspapers are read for a short time daily and consist of somewhat anthological narratives, the algorithms that arrange the Instagram or Facebook "Newsfeed", or the YouTube homepage, disregard linearity entirely, opting for thumbnails and mosaicked moments without any acknowledgement of chronology (Chandler & Munday, 2016). Everything is collapsed into a single, but extended, moment. The rhythm of shifting years is transposed to that of a swiping thumb. The term 'delinearisation' can describe this collage of time and denote the phenomenological shift algorithmic-sorting has on temporal experience: Life becomes a disjointed series of short stock moments. Psychological and ethnographic investigation has told us for a long time that humans intrinsically define themselves by their community—the earlier-mentioned hegemonic cultural rhythmics are shaped by this phenomena—and so the stories of one's peers, which are those being sorted and delinearised, are more personal in nature, thus rendering our individual and normative temporality more malleable than any in the daily newspaper would (Mead, 1934).

Reduction and Homogenisation of Memory *(Retrieval)*

Recall that temporality and memory are inextricably linked—there is no perception of time without beats and, without the ability to remember, the 'gaps' between these beats are indeterminable. The neural links between these 'stored' beats can be thought of as the 'arrangement' of memory.

Sorting algorithms (characterised in *Mosaicking*) are often programmed to exploit the user's nostalgia with the intention of generating clicks (Shaw, 2015). Facebook's 'TimeHop' feature exemplifies this type of algorithm-induced remembrance by selectively displaying buried posts or 'landmarks' from the past on the user's content feed. Along with many of these algorithms (such as those on video-sharing websites) that 'recommend' older material, these features exercise a form of the 'testing effect', where the re-presentation of a memory makes the subject more likely to retrieve it afterward (Roediger et al., 2011). These algorithms 'share' the same elements within virtual circles, so the reinforcement happens simultaneously to networks of users, homogenising the arrangement of memory and strengthening these communal rhythms. They also are erratic in nature. Often, the memories they choose to reinforce are insignificant to the user, and

as a result, the testing effect is weakened (McGaugh, 2015). Minor, decontextualized and mildly amusing snippets begin to draw the landscape of personal and social temporality, while the beats that would be meaningful to users are shunned by the algorithm and lost in the circus music.

On a Speculative 'Distance' Problem *(Accessibility)*

I have two main thoughts on the problem of accessibility and spacio-temporal 'distance'. The first is that the prioritisation of relevance in algorithmic sorting indices encourages what we can, rather pretentiously, call '*Veloxism*' ("velox" is Latin for "quick")—the state of complete spontaneity and instantaneousness; of living in a technologically-determined 'vulgar' Dasein; of being entirely inseparable from a capricious, present moment. Veloxism is an asymptote: It can never be reached, only headed towards. The second is that these indices can compress the interpretation of historical time.

Firstly, relevance-sorting algorithms are so useful and accessible for information retrieval that it is no longer necessary to memorise anything that is stored online (Sparrow et al., 2011). This is known, though perhaps not consciously, and a slow-building reliance on these algorithms for recollection is apparent (see *Retrieval*). Furthermore, the popularity of short, digestible pieces is more prevalent (see *Mosaicking*), as demonstrated by the appeal of social networks, such as Snapchat, the way in which instant messaging has replaced the email, and numerous studies on our ever-shrinking attention spans (Lorenz-Spreen et al., 2019). The Western obsession with maximising activity in minimal time has spread with globalisation and snowballed with the technological advancements that are naturally used to push this necessity (the "always-on" culture is one example of this) (Larkin, 2018; Lauer, 1973, p. 452). It manifests itself in the basest form, in decisions that can now be made incomprehensibly fast using algorithms. The cultural drum is faster and the individual falls toward Veloxism once reflexivity becomes implausible.

Secondly, the exponential 'Time Decay' function determining relevancy barely accounts for differences of one or seven years (Chandler, Munday, 2016). Those looking retrospectively at time are then subjected to a similar confusion. Where twenty years ago unearthing a newspaper from ten years earlier would require dedication and a consequent subconscious comprehension of the item's temporality, nowadays, an article of the same relative age can be "stumbled" upon. These algorithmic indices have no way of "forgetting". When a society loses its immersion in the broader status quo, it may be the case that momentum in social progression slows.

The two propositions seem contradictory, and yet, they presuppose each other. The paradox served with calculus is that when 'gaps' approach infinitesimality, the difference of a point to any other point approaches an immeasurable infinity—similarly, as the algorithmic tempo becomes incomprehensibly fast, *any* broader temporal stretch becomes more incomprehensible. Measurement units are only useful so long as their meaning is understood. The closer to Veloxism we get, the less distinguishable moments are from each other. Just as the subjective perception of time "speeds up" with age, the influx of sensory cues can both expand instantaneous time, and crunch it retrospectively (Lehnhoff & Wittmann, 2005, p. 934).

Conclusion

Perhaps our biological restrictions will give this accelerando a ceiling. Perhaps as long as the sun is rising and falling and as long as rice still takes time to eat, we will know to separate ourselves from these algorithms. But it's indisputable that our perception of time is malleable, and that algorithms have and will continue to shape this perception—the question is simply the degree to which they can.

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Communication 204

Social Media

Cameron Leakey

"Looking for?": Sexuality, Identity and the Creation of Online Social Space—How Dating Apps have Changed Modern Dating

Dating applications draw from society and inform and recreate identity structures which have a dominant influence on interpersonal relationships, dating behaviours and intimacy. As such, dating apps have altered dating in the 21st Century, for better or worse, through the creation of a highly filtered online social space. Online dating applications, or dating apps, are location-based mobile applications through which users can interact with the aim of meeting people for intimate relationships (McIntosh, 2013). Fifteen percent of American adults, and twenty-seven percent of American adults aged 18–24, have used an online dating site or mobile dating app (Smith, 2016). The mediation of dating applications—the technical features, cultural conventions, and context of the dating application—is key to establishing online identity through their creation of social space. This online identity is then presented through the app to other users which, in turn, reinforces societal conceptions of ethnicity, sexuality, and gender identity. Mainstream appearance and beauty standards are also reflected within users' identities within the application, which acts to reinforce these standards. Dating applications have commodified, modernised, and recreated social norms into more concrete manifestations, solidifying dating behaviour into online space.

Online identity is informed by dating apps through the technical features of these apps. A prime example of this is Grindr, a dating app targeted at gay and bisexual men (GBM). This app has changed the way GBM create interpersonal relationships and construe themselves as sexual identities (Jaspal, 2017). Historically, GBM have existed within a majority heteronormative society. Therefore, they have had to search for social spaces in which they could find romantic/sexual partners (Miller, 2015). By examining dating apps through the lens of 'uses and gratifications theory', one can consider them as fulfilling the need for GBM to interact and form relationships, within an online context (Miller, 2015). Uses and gratifications theory recognises that media audiences have inherent needs that specific media is able to fulfil (Miller, 2015). This theory, therefore, provides reasoning for how a media consumer's social and psychological factors influence their media consumption (Miller, 2015). As such, dating apps for GBM are utilised for their ability to provide social space for romantic and sexual encounters. Grindr's grid interface further reinforces the social space for GBM as the presentation of many app users at once gives users the notion that they are surrounded by many other GBM, a notion not felt in many offline spaces. Dating apps for GBM, such as Grindr, provide this defined 'queer' space; this in turn affects identity. This can be discussed through Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 1986). This theory promotes two aspects as to how humans construct identity. The first, assimilation-accommodation, refers to the absorption of new information in the identity structure and the subsequent adjustment that the user has to this environment (Jaspal, 2017). The second,

evaluation, refers to the process of attributing value and understanding to the identity aspects (Jaspal, 2017). The mediation of Grindr informs the identity structure from which new identity forms draw. The presentation of other gay men within the app is highly constructed and suggests a structure of ideals and behaviours that GBM may adopt in an effort to construct a 'socially acceptable' identity—one that fits within the expectations for GBM and is created within the Grindr context. These ideals and behaviours can be influenced by presentational affordances, such as the choice of profile photo and disclosure of physical attributes (i.e., 'body type' and 'height'—factors that affect sexual attraction) (Anderson, Holland, Koc, & Haslam, 2018). The mediation of Grindr reinforces social behaviours and expectations for GBM men. An example of this is the grid interface of the app that shows users in descending order of geographic proximity to the user, which can be indicative of how accessible a romantic/sexual partner may be (Anderson, Holland, Koc, & Haslam, 2018). On Grindr, each user has a profile, consisting of a single image alongside self-presentational elements, including display name, ethnicity, HIV Status and what the user is "looking for" (Anderson, Holland, Koc, & Haslam, 2018). These features, particularly "looking for" and HIV Status, create a pretext of a sexual relationship between Grindr users, which is tied to historical conceptions of promiscuous sexual conduct between GBM (Madon, 1997). This interface is successful at reinforcing these behaviours; 38% of GBM use Grindr for casual sex (Goedel & Duncan, 2015). The interface and unique features of Grindr have taken GBM norms and behaviours and reinforced them, whilst heightening the expectations and perceptions of other GBM. This impacts on conduct between GBM in forming and maintaining interpersonal relationships.

The interface of Grindr is in direct contrast to that of Tinder. Tinder, another dating app, presents one prospective partner at a time and the user has to 'swipe left' or 'swipe right' to indicate interest (Macleod & Mcarthur, 2018). This may provide the notion that Tinder is more suited to typical notions of dating, as the experience feels personal and, in some cases, more 'date' focused than hook-up focused (Mackee, 2016). Tinder users rely on social cues taken from limited, visual factors to determine the potential suitability of matches. Users are drawn to the ease of use of the Tinder interface (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). Tinder also requires its users to connect their Facebook profiles to the app. This affordance can be referred to as an 'anchor'—a further source of identification of the individual (Lutz & Ranzini, 2017). This 'convergeability'—or synergistic relationship between social media forms—allows for an ease of access for setting up a profile (Lutz & Ranzini, 2017). Whilst the interfaces of Tinder and Grindr differ, they both benefit from the accessibility and mobility of being a mobile application (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). Simply put, users can access possible intimate relationships at any location and with minimal thought. This is part of the benefit of dating apps; they require a small energy input to achieve a relationship that is

otherwise only found in complex and hard-to-navigate physical spaces (Lutz & Ranzini, 2017). Tinder and Grindr, both online dating apps, have significantly different affordances which provides for different dating function and practice.

Filters, as a technical affordance, have reinforced segregated dating preferences, which are now solidified within both online and physical dating practices. Filters are a function of dating apps which essentially personify the internal thoughts and rationalities that occur when choosing a potential intimate partner. All dating apps contain filtration features of some degree. These filters suggest to users that the 'ideal' partner can be found through the elimination of undesired partners (Couch & Liamputtong, 2008). On Tinder, filters can be used for location, age, and gender. On Grindr, filters are more complex, including variables such as age, height, weight, and body type (Grindr, 2018). Dating apps have created an ease of filtration for intimate partners that has influenced our online identity by creating discourses that may not necessarily be transcribed in a real-life context. The creation of a space for intimate relationships and the affordance of filters has taken real-world intimate partner preferences and solidified them into segregated measures through which exclusion can occur (Callander, Holt, & Newman, 2012). This has significant meaning for how individuals approach potential partners.

Online identity within apps is shaped not only by the mediation of the application, but also by the creation of an online profile. The user's self-presentation in this profile, the demographics of the user, their personal identifications, and their perception of the dating app platform serve to create this online identity (Cover, 2012). Judith Butler, in her book, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex,* presents her theory of performativity. This theory indicates that identity is shaped by how an individual performs—or presents—discourse in their life (Butler, 1993). According to this theory, performativity is the 'reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains' (Butler, 1993). On dating apps, users choose to promote specific aspects of their personality to create an attractive and desirable identity (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). This identity is then 'performed' through visual and written discourse in an effort to reinforce this online identity. Many factors affect this performance. Individuals with high levels of self-esteem have been shown to create more authentic self-presentation performance on dating apps (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). This positive self-esteem, however, can be strengthened by adherence to the cultural norms for appearance to which the individual subscribes; simultaneously, negative self-esteem may form from divergence from conventional beauty norms. Dating apps encode a specific appearance norm into their mediation. These appearance features, such as round cheeks, full lips, and a low waist-to-hip ratio, are tied to historical ideas of health, youth, and fertility, influenced by evolutionary advantages

(Perilloux, Cloud, & Buss, 2013) (Sugiyama, 2005). These features are then encoded into pornography, movies, and celebrity culture which in turn reinforces the beauty standard that is then transcribed onto dating apps (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). Dating app users do not necessarily 'lie' on their profiles. Rather, they are inclined to attempt to match beauty standards and, by doing so, present an identity that is desirable to other users in order to 'match' with potential partners (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). Dating apps, by showing users a large range of profiles conforming to societal norms of beauty, reinforce these ideals to the user, and impact the wider presentation and perceptions of beauty (Lutz & Ranzini, 2016). In this way, dating apps both draw from and reinforce societal beauty standards in their presentation of users, further reinforcing mainstream cultural norms of appearance and beauty.

Dating apps have become engrained within dating culture, which has had a profound influence on interpersonal relationships and authenticity and intimacy during social interaction. Dating app users become conditioned to maintain high standards of self-presentation and self-preservation, which acts to reinforce viable behaviours and norms for intimate relationships. This can be seen to homogenise societal norms and beauty standards, which has real life implications for how individuals approach potential partners, as well as for the human connections that follow. Dating apps also act to offer a social space for communities that seek places to meet romantic and sexual partners, although these apps do conform to and reinforce traditionally perceived social practices. Dating apps offer a highly visual, stimulating, and convenient way of dating that fits within a modern lifestyle; regardless of their uses or functions, they have become irreplaceable tools to forge intimate relationships in the 21st Century, for better or for worse.

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SUBVERSIONS OF THE CONVENTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Our perceptions of the world around us are conditioned, whether we are conscious of this or not. One could argue that it is impossible to escape the propaganda that infiltrates all societies, moulding our perspectives, our cultural beliefs, our political motives. This chapter questions our traditional beliefs and perceptions, forcing us to reconsider even our most basic of assumptions. Each of these authors deconstructs an established perspective, pulling it apart and stitching it together as something new.

Gemmell's essay explores the common idea that the first successful democracy originated from the Greeks; specifically, the famed state of Athens. Comparing Athens' fall with the success of other monarchies, Gemmell redefines the negative connotations of 'monarchy' and 'tyranny'. Despite the Greeks being typically associated with the birth of democracy, Gemmell argues that their most successful forms of government were, in fact, based in tyrannical rule. Our perspective of the Greeks has been shaped by this misconception—how will this change with Gemmell's argument that the Greeks should be renowned for tyranny and monarchy, rather than democracy?

Walton takes us forward several hundred years, into today's hyper-saturated consumerist world. This essay is a critical analysis of the Bonds Advert "Join the Queendom", through a post-feminist lens. Walton acknowledges previous female adverts as intending to constrain women to a male gaze and to patriarchal expectations, citing "Join the Queendom" as postfeminist in nature. However, as much as "Join the Queendom" showcases the autonomy of women, Walton forces us to question whether this advert is really as subversive as we think, or if it simply manipulates a political movement in the name of consumerism.

Pulling us towards Western political propaganda, Andrews encourages us to take a closer look at the Cuban revolutionary images circulated in the New York Times in 2008. Through critical theories of semiotics, the author investigates the idea of meaning and how meaning exists when the media has such power to shape our perspectives. How can we be in charge of our individual perspectives and responses, when everything is filtered through the political and cultural agendas of the media?

Edition 9 highlights the need for our perspectives to be challenged. It is only through constant confrontation of our comfortable reality, that we will move away from blind acceptance. Especially in our technological era, we are inundated with events, information, news at every corner. These essays emphasize the importance of looking beyond the information we are fed, and shaping our own perspectives.

Jennifer Cheuk

Ancient History 110

Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome

Harry Gemmell

The Failure of Greek Democracy

The ancient Greeks, or more specifically, the city-state of Athens, are renowned for the creation of democracy—the word itself comes from Ancient Greek, as do many political terms still in use today. The assertion that the most successful governments of the time were tyrannies and monarchies is, in fact, largely correct. This is evident in the failure of Athenian democracy and the successes of tyrannical and monarchical governments in the Hellenic world, as well as the fact that most democratic countries today adopt a representative model far removed from Athenian 'pure' democracy.

To consider the failure of Greek democracy, we first must examine modern democracy, and how it differs from that of the Athenians. Despite both stemming from the Greek word dēmokratía, meaning "rule by the people" (Balot, 2009, p. 59), the type of democracy seen in most democratic countries is rather different to the ancient model. For one, Athenian democracy prohibited all non-citizens from voting—only Athenian males could be full citizens, so foreigners, slaves, and women were completely excluded from the democratic process (Balot, 2009). While not everyone has the right to vote in democracies even today, the franchise is far broader than in ancient Athens. Continually, Athenian democracy followed the 'direct' model, meaning all citizens went to the assembly and voted on any and all legislation (Balot, 2009)—even important matters, such as going to war. Today, this is much different. Nearly all Western countries have *representative* systems, including New Zealand (Miller, 2015), the United States, and even modern Greece (Hellenic, 2008). This means that the people elect representatives to legislate on their behalf, rather than the people voting on laws themselves, although that is not to say measures are never put to the people via methods, such as referenda. Only Switzerland has an element of direct democracy (Schiller, 2011). If pure Athenian democracy was a roaring success, it is highly probable that it would be much more common today, and, for later-discussed reasons, Athenian democracy was not only lacking success, but could ultimately be considered a failure.

What ultimately led to the fall of Athenian democracy can be seen in her loss in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE), at the hands of Sparta. At the start of the war, Athens had a clear advantage. She had a huge fleet at her disposal and allies in the Delian League paying tribute (Kagan, 2013), while the only advantage the Spartans had was the prowess of her soldiers (Kagan, 2013). When the war began, Athens was led by Pericles, a democratic demagogue famed for his wealth and power. Pericles fostered democracy, and in his funeral oration to the war dead recorded by Thucydides, he praises democracy, claiming that Athens was "more an example to others than an imitation of them (other city states)", due to the superiority of the democratic system (Thucydides, 2009, p. 91). It is also worth noting that Pericles was famous for being able to convince the masses and mould democracy for his own purposes (Samons, 2004). Considering Athens' status, it might

seem fair to claim the superiority of democracy. Thucydides later praised Pericles' claim that the Athenians disregarding democracy led to disaster (Samons, 2004). This system did ultimately cost Athens victory in a war where they had nearly every meaningful advantage. So why did they lose?

When Pericles died in 429 BC, Athens lost her (arguably) most iconic statesman, and the city descended into mob rule without his hand and ability. As mentioned previously, all Athenian citizens could vote on any and all courses of action—this is what caused them to falter and eventually lose. Demagogues, such as Cleon, used anti-Spartan sentiment among the people to win power and wealth for himself. Under him, the people voted for measures, such as increasing tributes paid to Athens, and the mass exile of all men in places who rebelled against Athens. They even refused offers of peace on terms favourable to the Athenians (Samons, 2004). Furthermore, the masses voting to execute commanders upon their failure was not uncommon either. At one point, after voting to execute eight generals, they later came to regret that and turned against those who they thought had misled the people of Athens (Samons, 2004). All of this shows the chaotic nature of 'pure' Athenian democracy. It is, thus, little surprise that Athens lost the Peloponnesian War, despite her myriad of advantages.

By contrast, there have been a number of successful tyrannies and monarchies throughout ancient Greek history. 'Monarchy' comes from the Greek word 'monarkhia', meaning 'the rule of one'. One such monarch was Alexander the Great, the King of Macedonia between 336–323 BCE. After his father, Philip II, had unified most of Southern Greece under the League of Corinth (Martin & Blackwell, 2012), Alexander took his army eastwards and won a multitude of military victories. On the eve of his death in 323 BCE, he had created a massive empire stretching far beyond Greece (Martin & Blackwell, 2012). Though Alexander did not live long, his legacy continued for centuries; this can be seen in the Alexander Mosaic, which was created by the Romans around 100 BCE, over two centuries after his death (Lee, 1998). This is significant because it is a prime example of Alexander's legacy continuing to survive even in a different civilisation—it is clear from this artwork that the Romans at the time revered and looked up to Alexander's achievements (Martin & Blackwell, 2012). In summary, an example of a successful monarchy is that of Alexander the Great and his empire, and the Alexander mosaic is an example of this legacy continuing beyond his lifetime, and beyond Greece's borders.

There are other undemocratic rulers, as discussed in Book 6 of Polybius' *The Histories*. In this, he claims that kingship, aristocracy, and democracy are, in his view, misguided. Polybius describes democracy as a lawless form of government that produces mob rule (Polybius, 2012). Instead, Polybius argues, the best way forward is a combination of all

three, and praises the quasi-historical Spartan law-giver, Lycurgus, for establishing a combination based on this (Polybius, 202). Lycurgus is often credited with establishing the basic tenets of Spartan society by enacting measures such as the redistribution of land (Cartledge, 2001), and the introduction of iron as the only valid currency (Plutarch, 2014). In brief, Lycurgus is an example provided by Polybius as a successful non-democratic ruler—he avoided the extremes of all political systems and helped create Sparta as the militaristic city-state we know it as today.

We must also understand that the word 'tyrant' did not have the negative connotations as it does today. In the ancient Greek context, it simply means an unconstitutional ruler (Samons, 2004), and in fact, there could be a 'good' tyrant. One of them, Peisistratus, ruled in Athens. During his period of absolute rule, he was regarded as a champion of the lower classes. He provided assistance to the poor, expanded Athenian power and confronted the aristocrats (Samons, 2004). In this way, we can see that there were also successful tyrannies, as despite the city's democratic tradition, Pesistratus of Athens was a popular ruler among the people, and his policies laid the foundations for Athens to become a leading light in the Hellenic world.

To conclude, despite the Greeks being famous for their creation of democracy, their most successful governments were actually tyrannies and monarchies. We can see this in several ways; for one, the form of democracy used by most democracies today is a representative model, far removed from Athenian direct democracy. Furthermore, Athenian democracy itself ended in failure—it devolved into mob rule and cost Athens victory in a conflict where they were in pole position to win. There are also examples of successful monarchs and tyrants, such as Alexander the Great, Lycurgus of Sparta, and Peisistratus of Athens—all of these rulers ultimately proved to achieve greater success than Athens' democracy.

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Latin American Studies 210

Visual Cultures and Industries in Latin America

Katie Andrews


HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE
Granma
ÓRGANO OFICIAL DEL COMITÉ CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE CUBA
Mensaje del Comandante en Jefe

José Goitia's 2008 image in *The New York Times* article presents an overload of explicit and implicit meanings. These historical and visual meanings are frozen in a moment that transcends time and context, perpetuating tensions between Cuba and the United States (US). The photo depicts two Cuban women surrounded by revolutionary images reading an article in *Granma*, the official publication of the Cuban Communist Party, about Fidel Castro stepping down as president. The cultural, political, and historical contexts produce layers of meaning through associated ideology and icons. Agents involved in propagating the images and the impacting aspects of decolonisation, representation, and neocolonialism are also essential factors to consider. In order to understand these features and their impact upon the explicit and implicit meanings within the images themselves, we must deconstruct the image to focus on the background aspects. These include the context of revolutionary Cuba's visual industries and relationship with the US, the 'Guerrillero Heroico' image, and the 'Castro and Cienfuegos Entering Havana' image. We can then analyse the image as a whole to investigate the layers of meaning about the Cuban Revolution that have been made manifest within the photo.

The layers of images and meanings within Goitia's image can be understood through semiotics and the interconnecting context of US-Cuban relations. These are typically represented through the photographic style of revolutionary photographers, image icons, ideology, and agents influencing the production of images that work together to construct meaning. Semiotics is the critical analysis of signs and their interpretations. It can be used as a tool to deconstruct the image into explicit and implicit layers of meaning. The explicit meaning represents the denotative image or text, while the implicit meaning represents the evoked concept being signified (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018). The context and ideologies possessed when producing or interpreting an image will inform us of the meaning conveyed or understood (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018). We can understand ideology as a shared set of common values and social assumptions that inform the way we live our lives and our perspectives of normality (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018).

Cuba and the US have a history of political tensions, largely involving conflicting political ideologies and the neo-imperialist control of Cuba by US efforts to retain hegemonic power. Following the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the Castro Government promoted culture industries with ideologically aligned aesthetic values (Miller, 2008). The professional photographers of the revolution played an imperative role in establishing and driving the iconography and ideological values of the revolution through their content (Dopico, 2002). Image icons involve the symbolic or emotional concepts and meanings beyond the individual components of the image itself. Therefore, the background images in Goitia's photo chronicling the everyday life and faces of the revolutionary heroes serve to evoke

emotion and symbolise meanings beyond the context in which they were produced (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018; Miller, 2008). The role of the press in distributing these images and their symbolic meanings is highlighted through the unique style developed by the revolutionary photographers, documenting the 'faces of the revolution' through black-and-white documentary-style images perfect for the press (Bunyan, 2013). This emphasises the need to consider the agents at power in creating and propagating these images, and the emotion or response they aim to evoke in viewers. We can then understand that images are objective and merely an interpretation of reality, thereby representing meanings, not actualising them (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018). With all this in mind, we must consider that for Cubans and Americans looking at the same image, different implicit meanings may be evoked, emphasising the importance of semiotics and the other influencing factors at play with the production and interpretation of images involving the Cuban Revolution (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018).

The principle revolutionary image within Goitia's photo is a painted version of the 'Guerrillero Heroico' next to the words "hasta la victoria, siempre". Because of its iconic status, this image represents a plethora of historical and visual layers of meaning. Alberto Korda, who was Fidel Castro's personal photographer, captured this image. He was also the main photographer for *Revolución* newspaper, later renamed *Granma*. The famous portrait of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara was taken in 1960, a day after the explosion of *La Coubre* at a funeral ceremony for the dockworkers killed, for which Castro blamed the US. However, this image was not publicised until after Guevara's death, promptly becoming one of the most circulated images in history when an Italian publisher used it for a large ideological and PR campaign (Bunyan, 2013). Considering the globalised presence of 'Guerrillero Heroico', we must examine the many layers of meaning represented across contexts and time. Its explicit meaning is as described; however, the implicit meaning varies depending on the ideology and context of the viewer interpreting the image. For some Cubans, the implicit meaning immortalises the socialist future; a revolution through the young, charismatic, new Cuba that Guevara represents (Bunyan, 2013). This interpretation of the iconic 'Heroic Guerrilla' was essential to legitimise the revolution and create an unwavering support. Castro used this interpretation and subsequent support to ground the cause in national history, ideology, and the context of 'new Cubans' in the 'new Cuba' (Wright, 2001).

For Americans and persecuted Cubans, the connotations of the image may represent the negative side of the revolution. In contrast, for most of the contemporary world who have experienced this image out of context, it represents an international symbol of revolution and rebellion against the mainstream society. The overabundance of meaning associated to this single image somewhat removes it from its original communist context and

problematically empties the implicit meaning associated. This leads to an ironic overuse and exploitation of this image for capitalist purposes (Caspari, 2013). The format of this image itself highlights the overuse of the image, even within a Cuban context. However, it simultaneously points to its status as an icon because it is recognised for the same international symbol of revolution and rebellion, despite being presented in a different visual form (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018).
Considering the context of the article in which this image appears, it is possible that the eternal youth of the revolution is frozen in 'Guerrillero Heroico'. Its capitalist exploitation is used ironically by the publishers to assert the message that the revolution is not "hasta la victoria, siempre", but rather, a thing of the past.

The second prominent image is one of the most famous photos of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, demonstrating the photography style of the era and highlighting the neo-colonialist context of Goitia's image in *The New York Times*. This image was taken by Luis Korda, the business partner of Alberto Korda, and explicitly depicts Camilo Cienfuegos and Fidel Castro entering Havana victoriously together with the caravan of freedom on the January 8th, 1959. The image implicitly represents the moment Cuba officially became decolonised from the neo-imperialist grasp of the US, facilitated through the success of the revolution. Prior to this, Cuba had remained under US neo-colonial control, despite having gained independence from Spain. The US government and economic elite heavily backed the Batista dictatorship and asserted dominance over Cuba's economy and politics for their own gain, through economic control and Cuban overreliance on the US market (Wright, 2001). Anti-American sentiment among Cubans was manipulated by Castro to build support for his movement to eventually overthrow Batista, and, as a result, decolonise Cuba from all hegemonic domination both politically and economically through nationalisation (Wright, 2001). This image freezes in time the exact moment when Cuba was converted from an informal US colony to an independent nation. Through the success of the revolution and its ability to withstand US hostility, this is a moment that changed history for Latin America (Landau, 2006). Castro and Cienfuegos were iconised, which was facilitated through the media of the time. For many Cubans, they are heroes of a revolution that facilitated the decolonisation of the nation, bringing forth positive social changes. However, for the US, they stand for communism and threats to the US political and economic system (Landau, 2006). While Castro and Cienfuegos remain icons that symbolise the movement and liberation of Cuba to this day, strategic use of Goitia's photo containing this image in *The New York Times* emphasises that the moment captured is frozen in the past. *The New York Times* has a history of misunderstanding the reasons behind the Cuban Revolution, and of framing its icons in a negative light (Soderlund et. al, 1998). It is, therefore, likely that the inclusion of this photo was used to emphasise that the

revolutionary government is no longer as powerful, and that the opportunity for US private interests to move back into Cuba may soon be possible (Landau, 2006). Although an image may represent denotative subjects as icons, the media use and manipulation of these same subjects can infiltrate viewers' interpretations of an image, thereby creating multiple layers of meaning.

Focusing on the foreground of Goitia's image before considering the collection of visual images as a whole helps us to understand the contemporary layers of the image and how all the visual features within it are interrelated and strategically used in *The New York Times*. The most prominent part of Goitia's image are the two Cuban women reading the article about Fidel Castro stepping down as leader, due to illness in *Granma*. On the front page, the press features a typical documentary-style image from around 1957 of Castro and other revolutionaries raising their weapons victoriously in the air, which contradicts the less victorious nature of the headlining article (Oliver, 2019). The State is the main agent at work in influencing perceptions of the article, due to the censored nature of the communist press. The implicit connotations of *Granma* itself, thus, represent the repressive elements of the revolution that would have undoubtedly impacted the social contexts and ideologies of the women that are reading it (Landau, 2006). The two women represent contemporary civil society and their contextual ability to contest the visual images with which they are interacting. While some might identify this ability as limited, because of the controlled nature of the revolutionary press and the consequences for any contestation of the regime, we must identify the other implicit meanings present. The very fact that the two women are reading establishes the underlying representation of a successful revolution because it has brought literacy and education to Cubans (Landau, 2006). The assumed ages of the two women at the time of the creation of the image infers that they have lived through the majority of the Castro regime, which would have influenced their lived experience and ability to interpret visual cultures. It would be interesting to consider whether the women felt a strong alliance to the revolution, or whether this marked a turning point in their lives in which political change might establish freedom from the arguably oppressive regime. Considering Goitia's image was published in *The New York Times* during the post-Cold War era, it would appear that this turning point in the revolution piqued the US media interest by identifying an opportunity to once again intervene in Cuban affairs by asserting ideology and regaining hegemonic power. The period following the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the US embargo still paralysing the Cuban economy, led Cuba to become more open in its economic policies by expanding tourism and opening up the market to private property opportunities (Dopico, 2002). During this time, the US market was inundated with new images of Cuba, instead of the censored documentary-like revolutionary images featured within Goitia's photo. Therefore, this image is one of the many new images

contributing to a 'multiplied vision' of Cuba. It perpetuates the implicit connotations of Cuba's collapsing ideological defences and a return of neo-colonialism under the US hegemonic gaze (Dopico, 2002). The US state and economic elite manipulate Goitia's image to direct US ideology and sentiment toward civil society, who may have the power to interpret and respond to the message through their actions. This highlights the relationships of power involved in looking at visual media (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018). In combination with the *Granma* article being interpreted by the two women within the photo, the role of images in affirming ideologies for control, categorisation, and repression is significantly emphasised (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018). The collection of revolutionary visual features within Goitia's image highlight the fact that the sole contemporary aspects of the image are living in a vulnerable world frozen in time, susceptible to the underlying neocolonial motives of the US media.

After thorough analysis of the multiple visual features and their representations, contexts, and layers of meaning, it would appear that Goitia's image has been strategically selected by *The New York Times* to emphasise the idea that the revolutionary successes of decolonisation in Cuba are vulnerably frozen in history. Meanwhile, the contemporary aspects of the image subtly highlight the opportunity for the US to engage in neo-colonialist activities once again. This analysis accentuates the importance of being aware of how agents propagate visual media to influence viewer interpretations through driving ideological values, establishing icons, and different representations through explicit and implicit layers of meaning in images. Furthermore, it emphasises the role political, historical, and cultural contexts play in the different meanings evoked and interpreted from the same image. We must be aware of how propagators of images can create meaning to encourage certain responses, and how our lived experiences and contexts, in turn, influence our interpretation.

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Communication 104

Advertising and Society

Felix Walton

The Post-Feminist Paradise of Bonds' "Queendom"

The 2018 Bonds advertisement "*Join The Queendom—The Chick Flick*" is, as Rosalind Gill describes, post-feminist in its depiction of women. While there are many distinct interpretations of the term 'post-feminism' this essay is primarily concerned with Rosalind Gill's description of the concept. Gill (2007a) states that post-feminism is "best thought of as a sensibility that characterises (…) media products" (p. 4). This is in contrast to other understandings of post-feminism that treat the concept as a political stance, or a response to feminism itself. Instead, Gill states that post-feminism is defined by a series of themes that focus on an empowerment of sexuality and a shift from objectification to subjectification. Post-feminism, then, tends to focus on the sexual and bodily aspects of femininity and mostly ignores the social and political implications of feminism. This made post-feminism an attractive alternative for advertisers facing a backlash to objectification. By utilizing the more sexually preoccupied imagery of post-feminism, advertisers were able to develop "new advertising strategies that partly appropriated the cultural power of feminism, while often emptying it of its radical critique" (Gill, 2007b, p. 74). This holds true for the Bonds advertisement (ad).

The *"Join The Queendom"* Bonds ad makes use of post-feminist imagery to sell underwear. The desired effect of this ad is to present women as subjects rather than objects. It does this by having them showcase the underwear in a location free of the male gaze. Gill (2007a) explains that a key feature of post-feminism is the self-policing of beauty without male interference. However, she states that this can be harmful as "the objectifying male gaze is internalised to form a new disciplinary regime" (p. 10). The '*Queendom*' featured in the ad operates under the assumption that any and all bodily decisions are freely chosen. As Gill (2007a) notes: "[Post-feminist discourses] present women as autonomous agents no longer constrained by any inequalities or power imbalances whatsoever" (p. 12). This calls into question, then, why all the women depicted in the ad appear to be seeking the same standard of beauty. All the women are free of body hair except for one with unshaven, albeit carefully groomed, armpit hair. The subjecthood given to the women in the ad is done so only because they already fit existing beauty standards. Women who do not fit these standards are conspicuously absent. Gill (2007a) mentions that "older women, bigger women, women with wrinkles, etc are never accorded sexual subjecthood," instead the "figure of the unattractive woman who wants a sexual partner remains one of the most vilified in [media]" (p.11).

In 1976 sociologist Erving Goffman outlined the ways in which women were depicted in advertisements from that period. One of his main concepts, function ranking, describes the

way in which women were often depicted in passive roles while men had more active functions (Goffman, 1979, p. 32). *"Join The Queendom"* appears to be a response to this concept, as well as to his theory of the 'feminine touch' (p. 29). The women depicted in the ad are deliberately active. Within the first shots we see a woman squash a mosquito against her skin—an action that disregards traditional notions of both the feminine touch and function ranking. Seconds later another woman is carving through vegetation with a firm grip on a machete. These signs indicate a greater degree of control and independence than Goffman's examples. Goffman's original description of the concept criticized women's function ranking in comparison to men's—it should be noted that men are entirely absent from this ad. Anthony Joseph Paul Cortese (2008) draws attention to the fact that "when women are displayed in function-ranking positions, men are absent rather than less passive" (p. 44). Many ads that portray women in active roles omit men rather than give them lower function rankings. Cortese's criticisms of such ads hold true for *"Join The Queendom"* as well—to avoid upsetting the male market by giving men a passive role, the '*Queendom'* banishes men entirely. In doing this, Bonds avoids making a statement on gender hierarchy and maintains a harmless post-feminist 'aesthetic.'

In order to illustrate the strength and independence of the women in the ad, Bonds employs a variety of signifiers. The key signifiers are, in order: Binoculars, a machete, a map, a log, and a spider. The binoculars introduce the ad by activating associations with sight and looking. This is a deliberate reversal of the 'male gaze' concept found in other media and gives the woman holding them an active role in 'looking' as opposed to being 'looked at.' We can relate this to the shift from 'object' to 'subject' that Rosalind Gill identifies as a characteristic of post-feminism. Next, the ad quickly cuts to a machete which then cuts a nearby branch. The machete, much like the axe seen later, is a tool which the audience will recognize as having violent connotations in addition to its intended use. The symbolism is twofold, then—the machete wielder has a function-ranking position *and* is perceived as dominant or threatening. This one-two punch of authority is once again evocative of Gill's description of empowerment in post-feminism. Similarly, the map and log represent function ranking positions that reverse traditional male roles, such as navigation and wood-cutting. The map in particular calls on our knowledge of the stubborn husband's "I don't need a map" stereotype. In this way the woman's possession of the map is also indicative of her naturally sensible nature, as the stereotype suggests. Finally, the spider, and the woman's indifference to it, is a response to the common stereotype about women's fear of insects. The audience is asked to be impressed by her nonchalant attitude—which is, admittedly, a little impressive. All of these signifiers

deliberately respond to traditional understandings of femininity, and rely on knowledge of such understandings to be effectively read.

Bonds deliberately challenges traditional depictions of women in advertising with the *"Join The Queendom"* ad. Goffman's description of function ranking and the feminine touch is reversed through signifiers and imagery that portray empowerment. This empowerment is suggestive of feminism, but the execution is better described as post-feminist. This is because Bonds largely depoliticizes feminism and instead attaches femininity to the body. There is little to no commentary on feminist ideology in regard to politics or society. Sociologist Robert Goldman (1992) explains that "[such] feminism presents feminism as a style—a semiotic abstraction" (p. 135) rather than a meaningful representation. Goldman further explains that "its potentially alternative ideological force is channelled [*sic*] into the commodity form so that it threatens neither patriarchal nor capitalist hegemony" (p. 133). Feminism is presented as a product to be bought—disarmed of its political aim and sanitized to maintain the status-quo.

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KI TE KAHORE HE WHAKAKITENGA KA NGARO TE IWI.
(WITHOUT FORESIGHT OR VISION THE PEOPLE WILL BE LOST.)

This section contains essays with a focus on Aotearoa, offering insights on our past and present for our country moving forward. These essays correct common misunderstandings about our nation, and, in re-examining historical conceptions of significant events, re-framing responses to present-day issues, and revealing seldom-considered perspectives, these pieces also contribute to a vision of a more tolerant and inclusive New Zealand.

James comments on the role of art in perpetuating a common view of our nation's history. In particular, she explores Marcus King's *The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, and how its overuse in public spaces have led to an oversimplification of the historical narrative of the Treaty of Waitangi. She cautions her readers from being too easily-accepting of common historical narratives depicted through paintings. Instead, she encourages them to take heed of the context and motivations behind the creation of an artwork, treating it as mere *interpretation* of history rather than as *fact*.

Millington also acknowledges that misunderstandings surrounding the Treaty are pervasive. In response, she offers a practical solution—a teaching method to educate senior primary students about the Treaty, and the events surrounding its signing. She notes that an accurate and shared understanding of the Treaty—the basis of our nation—is crucial, if we are to move forward as a just democracy. Change begins with educating the young generation who can "break the cycle of the discriminatory narrative against Māori that has operated for so long in New Zealand".

While James and Millington focus on a common misunderstanding of Aotearoa's past, Tuteao aims to correct biases towards a phenomenon that is very much live and present: Gang activity. He argues that gangs are misrepresented in the media, often being "animalised" and "demonised". Not only does this amplify further deviance, but it also exacerbates the marginalisation of the most vulnerable populations in society. This "moral panic" diverts our attention away from finding actual solutions.

Holding on to New Zealand's ideals of freedom and autonomy, Yang touches on the very topical issue of euthanasia upon the introduction of David Seymour's End of Life Choice Bill. She critiques its current justification—to show compassion towards suffering patients. Instead, she vouches for legislation legalising euthanasia that is motivated by a respect for patient autonomy. This, she argues, is a more consistent step towards realising Aotearoa's values of individual rights and liberties.

As Aotearoa continues to be shaped by a quiltwork of identities, Funganitao advocates for a historically silenced, yet important, perspective in Aotearoa: That of Pasifika people. In examining Vai Niu, a "vision of Pacific mental health and wellbeing," she pushes for the inclusion of Pasifika-centred approaches in examining issues significantly impacting Pasifika peoples.

As you brush through these pieces, may your links to this land be strengthened, and your passion for a better Aotearoa be reinvigorated.

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.
(I will never be lost, for I am a seed sown in Rangiātea.)

Kyra (Ana Kathrin) Maquiso

History 327

Waitangi : Treaty to Tribunal

Emily James

Fact and Fiction in Marcus King's *The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*

Marcus King, *The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi,* 1938, oil on canvas, 121 x 180 cm, Alexander Turnbull Library. Source: Peter Alsop & Warren Feeney. (2015). *Marcus King: Painting New Zealand for the World*. Nelson: Potton & Burton. p. 205.

Paintings often play a critical visual role in supporting written, and even oral, historical sources. Marcus King's *The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* is no exception to this premise. King's *Signing* is the "mainstream image" of the Treaty of Waitangi for the vast majority of the New Zealand public (Alsop, December 6, 2015). This essay will examine the representations that the *Signing* made towards the history of the Treaty of Waitangi at the time King produced it in 1938. Its completion coincides with the centennial of the signing. However, this must be situated against the context of its commission for the New York World Trade Fair and King's artistic background as an employee of the New Zealand Tourism Department. This essay will also assess and critique its use in public spaces since its initial creation. The *Signing's* reproduction on book covers, websites, and in the media, often without citing King or the painting, demonstrates a tendency to assume that the work operates as fact. This essay will argue that viewers need to be cautious when dealing with an uncritical assessment of paintings as a historical source. While King's *Signing* does contribute to New Zealand's understanding of the history around the Treaty of Waitangi, it has been overused in public spaces to the detriment of social knowledge.

King's *Signing* belongs to the genre of historical paintings. King completed the painting in 1938 to depict the moment when Tāmati Wāka Nene signed the Treaty of Waitangi on the 6th of February 1840. Tāmati Wāka Nene is central to the composition and is depicted signing the document on a second, smaller table. Seated at the main table are James Busby, Captain William Hobson, and other British officials dressed in full uniform. The first

generation of British settlers encircles the scene. To the left, several Māori chiefs complete the circle of spectators. They sit and stand while discussing the events happening before them. Above them hangs a string of flags belonging to the British Empire, while the Union Jack is used to adorn both tables and as a backdrop behind the British officials to the far right. King has depicted the moment in high key, vibrant colours. The poster-like quality concerning the application of paint and the rendering of the figures is characteristic of King's style. In the historical context, this is a secondary source of the events in 1840. It is of the perspective of King, a hundred years after the event it purports to depict. Like other historical sources, King's *Signing* is subject to its own set of limitations, particularly by the painted medium.

The commission of King's *Signing* in 1938 coincided with the 1940 centennial, and it documented the shifting political climate of New Zealand in the 20th century (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). According to Peter Alsop and Warren Feeney, there was a changing attitude in the mid-1930s regarding the function of the Treaty in New Zealand (2015). Throughout the 1930s, Māori politicians advocated for the centrality of the Treaty in New Zealand's social and political framework. At the meeting for the dedication of the Waitangi National Reserve in February 1934, Āpirana Ngata emphasised the role of partnership to strengthen Māori and Pākehā identity and relationships (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). King was able to respond "perfectly" to these social and political changes through a painting which could elevate the status of the event to a grand historical moment (Alsop, 2015, December 6, 2015). However, the *Signing* should not be overestimated as a statement of a people coming together. It is important to note that the government did not officially recognise Waitangi Day as a public holiday until 1974. King's *Signing* reflects this as it remains firmly within European tradition (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). Alsop and Feeney suggest King modelled the composition of the *Signing* after Jacques-Louis David's *The Coronation of Napoleon* (2015).

Jacques-Louis David, *The Coronation of Napoleon,* 1807, oil on canvas, 6.21 x 9.79 m, Louvre Paris. Source: Malika Bouabdellah Dorbani. (Accessed Octover 14, 2018). The Consecration of the Emperor Napoleon and the Coronation of Empress Joséphine on December 2, 1804. *Louvre*. Retrieved from https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/consecration-emperor-napoleon-and-coronation-empress-josephine-december-2-1804

The *Signing* is a Pākehā image, by a Pākehā artist, for a Pākehā audience. Therefore, while the *Signing* was intended to "represent Māori and Pākehā relationships" at 1840, it is more acutely a response to the changing political landscape marked by 1940 (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 159). In this sense, King's *Signing* contributes to Treaty history by capturing the complexities of Treaty views and the way this has and will continue to change over time. It is a valuable historical source for capturing relationships in the 20th century. However, as it denotes King's Pākehā perspective it should not be presumed to cover all views on Treaty history.

The *Signing* was specifically commissioned for the New York World Fair and King tailored it to the ideas associated with this event. The theme of the New York World Fair was a "world of tomorrow" (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 106). King's vision catered New Zealand specifically to this theme to produce an image which was a successful amalgamation of ideology and ambition, while distinguishing itself from other countries through employing indigenous culture (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). Alsop also notes there had been a concern that New Zealand was not keeping up on the world stage, and the burst of exhibitions abroad served to quell such fears (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). King's *Signing* functioned as a way to introduce "modernism in a visual environment by stealth" to the New Zealand image (Alsop, 2014). Leonard Bell suggests a correlation between cultural advancement and the production of historical paintings (1992). The centrality of the British presence in King's *Signing* conflates the idea of "progress and civilisation" with the presumption that

colonisation would bring New Zealand to the world of tomorrow (Bell, 1992, p. 147). King's *Signing* is a statement that the signing of the Treaty was the defining moment of New Zealand history, marking the beginning of a journey to nationhood. Mike Davison suggests that it is an idea which will engage people with art (Reeves, 2010). For King at the New York World Fair, it was about creating a feeling of "utopia" in the New Zealand experience (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 85). As such, King's *Signing* is perhaps first and foremost a commercial piece. This context needs to be appreciated when considering the *Signing's* role as a historical piece.

The *Signing* played a crucial role in shaping the 'New Zealand Brand' that was emerging in the 20th century. The production of King's *Signing* occurred against a general revival of interest in Māori as a subject matter for Pākehā artists, which was key to creating marketable images of a distinctive New Zealand (Main, 1976). King worked in the New Zealand Tourism Department for 26 years (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). The New York World Fair, in particular, functioned as an opportunity to exhibit New Zealand on the world stage (Feeney, December 6, 2015). This included drawing attention to the approaching centennial by incorporating blatant slogans, such as "come to the New Zealand centennial" (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 104). International viewership was "phenomenal" with approximately eight million going through the New Zealand exhibition between 1939 and 1940 (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 105). Bell suggests that advertisements by their very nature were "designed to sell" (1980, p. 125). King undertook "extensive research" to inform his historical paintings and persuade the viewer of their accuracy and thus the supposed "utopia" of New Zealand (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 153). Frederick Coventry noted in 1934 that the influence of 'commercial' art often improved 'fine' art (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 119). The effect of the international exposure continued until 1953, with the *Mirror* magazine stating that King's paintings "cause nostalgia among New Zealand visitors and envy among would-be tourists" (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, 147). This context is crucial, and reminds the viewer to be cautious when considering King's *Signing* as a historical piece. King played an important role in "rewriting" New Zealand's past for publicity purposes (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 86). For the rest of the 20th century, and also into the 21st century, King's *Signing* would be the "most viewed" Treaty image (Alsop, December 6, 2015). While King's *Signing* operated in public spaces from the time of its commission, its tourism roots would be overshadowed by its utility in promoting a particular historical narrative.

It is problematic that the public realm has adopted King's *Signing* as a statement of fact, rather than as a representation of history. Reproductions began as early as 1939 when the "Centenary Number" of *Freelance* magazine utilised the *Signing* without acknowledging King (Alsop & Feeney, 2015):

The 'Centenary Number' of *Freelance* in 1939 included a pull out that stated the work was to be a feature of the New York World Fair but failed to identify King as the artist.Source: Peter Alsop & Warren Feeney. (2015). *Marcus King: Painting New Zealand for the World*. Nelson: Potton & Burton. p. 160.

Since then, the *Signing* has appeared in academic publications, book covers, and government and private websites. These include a children's encyclopaedia from the 1960s, *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion* by Vincent O'Malley, Bruce Stirling and Wally Penetito, and even the set of the docudrama *What Really Happened—Waitangi* appears to be somewhat based on King's construction of events (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). It is interesting to consider the statement of a 1958 article which suggested that King is "seeking for truth" in his art, against the effect of reproductions in New Zealand public spaces (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 129). While some sources invoke the *Signing* without qualification, the majority do not address its limitations as a historical source. The overwhelming consensus among contemporary historians is that King's *Signing* is a distortion of Treaty facts. David Green asserts that it is undoubtedly a "romanticised reconstruction" of 1840 (Green, 2018). Claudia Orange similarly identifies that this "harmonious model" is not accurate, despite Alsop and Feeney's praise of King's research (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 161). Hobson intended that the official signing would commence on the 7th February 1840 (Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 2018). Rather than being an organised moment, as King's depiction of Hobson's uniform suggests, the signing on the 6th of February was essentially a "surprise" (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 161). It was rangatira who decided to sign the Treaty, and Orange notes that Hobson came ashore in just his civvies with barely time to grab his

hat (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). In this sense, the overwhelming use of King's *Signing* in public spaces has perhaps become detrimental to New Zealand's understanding of Treaty history. For many in the general public, the *Signing* is "essentially substitute" for fact (Alsop & Feeney, 2015, p. 161). In reality, King's *Signing* fails to address some of the nuances in Treaty history apparent as early as the initial day of signing itself.

The continued reproductions of King's *Signing* iconise a particular version of the Treaty narrative to the public. The painting emphasises the signing on the 6th of February and neglects later signings around the North Island. More than 40 chiefs signed at Waitangi on the 6th February 1840 (Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 2018). However, 200 copies of the Te Reo text were printed at Paihia on the 17th February and circulated throughout the North Island (Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 2018). More than 500 Māori, including at least 13 women, left their mark on Te Tiriti o Waitangi throughout 1840 and a further 39 signed the English text (Binney, O'Malley and Ward, 2018). Paintings come to reflect on "who we thought we were and who we think we are" (City Gallery Wellington, 2018). For many New Zealanders, King's *Signing* defines their perception of the Treaty signing (Alsop, December 6, 2015). The painted medium naturally limits King's *Signing* and restricts public perception to a snapshot of time and place. However, the way the *Signing* is reproduced often without attribution to King or even citing the reason for its particular use exacerbates its limitations, such as when Gareth Morgan employed it as a visual aid in his public policy discussions (Alsop & Feeney, 2015). For many, the *Signing* is used simply by virtue of it being an image of the Treaty, perhaps on the assumption, a general viewer would distinguish this from fact, such as in the *Listener's* "Our nation stands on two legs" article (Alsop & Feeney, 2015).

Treaty signing: It was scarcely possible "for the chiefs to comprehend the constitutional upheavals". Alexander Turnbull Library/NON-ATL-0173

But European demand for land was growing. Although Maori land-use rights, embedded in ancestral and spiritual connections, were carefully demarcated, in pushing his case for systematic colonisation Edward Gibbon Wakefield argued that Maori had "no notion of distinct boundaries". Although the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was meant to be a partnership between Maori and the British Crown, writes Binney, it was scarcely possible "for the chiefs to comprehend the constitutional upheavals that lay ahead ... They had not consented to their own political marginalisation – or, for that matter, to large-scale migration from Britain."

Screenshot of *Listener* article 'Our nation stands on two legs' which uses the 1952 version of *The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* without naming King as the artist. Source: Sally Blundell. (Accessed October 14, 2018). Our nation stands on two legs. *Listener*. Retrieved from https://www.noted.co.nz/archive/listener-nz-2015/our-nation-stands-on-two-legs/.

However, this prioritises King's version of history. It does not recognise the debates attached to the Treaty throughout 1840 or even account to those who did not to sign. The choice to use King's work is not problematic in itself, but the failure to address the limitations of it as a historical source, particularly that this is a highly choreographed version of 1840, is problematic. The continued and unjustified reproductions of King's *Signing* limit understandings of Treaty history and even inhibit the ability to expand knowledge in this area of New Zealand history.

The numerous reproductions of King's *Signing* across the public space are suggestive of a distinct self-concept of national identity. According to W. David McIntyre, King painted the *Signing* at a time when a sense of empire was still strong within the New Zealand psyche (2018). The prominence of the Union Jack pushes the relationship with Britain to the centre stage, while the flags in the background are a clear assertion of New Zealand's place within the British Empire (McIntyre, 2018). There is a connection between "images, ideology, and identity" (City Gallery Wellington, 2018). The idealisation of the *Signing* suggests that 1840 marked the harmonious coming together of two peoples. However, Michael King suggests that there were essentially two nations existing within New Zealand even in the 20th century, "insulated" from one another upon geographical, social and cultural lines (King, 2008, p. 195). Alsop asserts that King's *Signing* "undoubtedly shaped

New Zealand identity" (Alsop, December 6, 2015). However, it is perhaps more accurate to place King's *Signing* among "the stories we have told ourselves—and others—about who we are" (City Gallery Wellington, 2018). Robert Leonard prompts us to consider what is included and excluded in New Zealand's idea of national identity (City Gallery Wellington, 2018). This is particularly relevant when an image that is almost 80 years old is used as an emblem of the New Zealand identity. New Zealand ought to be cautious about utilising a constructed version of events to summarise its experience as a nation. Bell suggests that a painting can "continue to produce meanings and values beyond those which characterised them in their sites of production and initial use, and outside the control of the artist" (1992, p. 256). However, King's *Signing* supports a particular Pākehā preferred ideology of New Zealand identity. It is time to consider whether one image can genuinely capture a nation's experience and begin looking towards a range of artists and artwork to capture the complexity of New Zealand experience.

King was the first artist to truly capitalise on the Treaty as a distinct image for the New Zealand art and social market. The legacy of the *Signing* is still felt today with the popular perception of the Treaty being that everything that needs to be known about it is already known (Reeves, 2010). However, Kingi Taurua states that "the Treaty needs to be talked about again" (Reeves, 2010). This statement does not mean that art like King's ought to be disregarded in place of an entirely new wave of Treaty inspired art but extends to the nature of discussions about art already in existence. The exhibition *This is New Zealand* includes King's *Signing* against a range of other artists both past and contemporary. The plurality of art and artists in *This is New Zealand* is a more accurate measure of national identity in New Zealand. It creates a framework where works can rationalise one another and reinforce the breadth of each other's historiographical significance (City Gallery Wellington, 2018). Moana Jackson states that the reality of Treaty history is that there is a range of perceptions on what it is and what it means (Reeves, 2010). King's *Signing* is just one perception which captured the ethos of Pākehā society in the 1930's. "A self-conscious concern with national identity" operated in the art world before King's *Signing* and operates after it (Bell, 1992, p. 149). While for the past 80 years, King has crafted the public's visual perception of the Treaty, reproductions and the treatment of art in public spaces provide an opportunity to reinterpret New Zealand's understanding of Treaty history. Artists affect the way a nation looks at itself (Alsop, 2014). It is crucial to address the complexities in history through not only a range of methods in which the viewer interprets one artist but in a variety of artists altogether.

For almost the entire existence of King's *Signing,* the public realm has treated the painting as a statement of fact. Critiques from the fringes of social discussion, such as in historical

circles with Green and Orange, and more recently Alsop and Feeney, highlight the constraints and complexities of the context surrounding the *Signings* production. Nevertheless, the use of the *Signing* persists mostly without critique. The way public spaces have employed the work exacerbated the limitations of its medium and problematised its use. While King's *Signing* is a valuable source that adds to the understanding of changing Pākehā attitudes to the Treaty and the development of historical consciousness around the Treaty's centennial, it is also first and foremost a commercial piece. King's *Signing* is a romantic view of New Zealand's past. However, the public has forgotten this, instead pushing and distorting its 'historical' component to the forefront of its utility. King's *Signing* demonstrates that the way a public space interprets and displays a painting can affect the value of its contribution to historiography. In this sense, paintings are a historical record more for the changes in time and space around it than in the subject matter it depicts.

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Philosophy 210

Applied Ethics

Angela Yang

The Road *Death* Taken: Justifying Seymour's Euthanasia Bill

David Seymour's End of Life Choice Member's Bill proposes to legalise active voluntary euthanasia (AVE) in New Zealand. My position is that New Zealand should legalise AVE, but Seymour's Bill is not the way to go about this. In this paper I present two key points. First, I submit the view that, while Seymour's justification for legalising AVE is "compassion", the main justification should instead be a respect for autonomy (End of Life Choice Bill 269-2, Explanatory Note). Secondly, if the justification for AVE does change, I suggest that two aspects of the proposed legislation would be modified: One, advanced directives would be made available; and two, "grievous and irremediable medical condition" would remain in the eligibility criteria.

I will begin by explaining what the justification of compassion means, and why it is not as important as the respect for autonomy. Seymour's justification is not preserved in the Bill, as it lacks a clause outlining its purpose (whereas, other ethical acts, such as the Prostitution Reform Act 2003, tend to have one). Regardless, a clear grasp of the Bill's justification is still vital in understanding how the Bill was drafted. Compassion is generally used to describe feelings for a person, often pity or sympathy, from an outsider's perspective. For example, if I feel sorry for someone suffering from a terminal illness, I may express compassion by taking care of them to alleviate their hardship. However, the underlying motive for my action is self-serving—that is, my compassionate act serves to reduce *my* feelings of guilt and pity, to feel like a better person—rather than principally for the patient. Similarly, the current Bill, which is motivated by compassion, primarily serves and operates in the perspective of those who do not need AVE, rather than the patients who want AVE. As euthanasia has irreversible, permanent consequences, the Bill should operate from the perspective of the patient who undertakes AVE, enhancing *their* interests and autonomy. Only then will the Bill truly respect the patient's rights to choose in a period of their lives when they are afforded very little autonomy. I am not arguing, however, that compassion plays no role in the legalisation of AVE. Rather, I am arguing that however much of a role compassion plays, the respect for patient autonomy should be the Bill's most significant justification.

There are three persuasive reasons why respect for patient autonomy should be the main justification of AVE, rather than compassion for patients' suffering. Firstly, surveys have shown that those who request euthanasia do so not because of "unbearable suffering" (which the Bill interprets in a physical nature, rather than emotional or spiritual pain), but out of a fear of losing control and worsening quality of life (End of Life Choice Bill 269-2, s 4(e)). Most participants of a 2009 survey rated anticipated physical symptoms as a stronger factor for requesting euthanasia than current symptoms (Ganzini, Goy, & Dobscha, 2009). This illustrates my argument that an End of Life Choice Bill motivated by showing

compassion for patients who currently suffer mischaracterises the majority of AVE requesters—these are patients who would in fact exercise their right to die to *avoid* future suffering, rather than the inability to bear current suffering. Objectors might argue that just because the urge to avoid a loss of control is the most regarded reason for requesting euthanasia, does not mean it is a valid (or at least the most valid) reason. They may point out that disabled people live daily with little to no independence or control—should they be allowed AVE too? A reply would emphasise that the core motivation for AVE would not be the *lack of control* itself, but the *fear of* losing that control, along with the very likely possibility that the fear will be realised. In this way, AVE requesters are importantly distinguished from the disabled community (whose conditions generally do not deteriorate after being disabled), and so should be able to maximise their autonomy.

Secondly, the respect for autonomy is already prioritised in New Zealand. The right to refuse treatment and the right to "dignity and independence" is enshrined in the Health and Disability Commissioner Regulations 1996 (the Patient's Code), which are principles that AVE should follow (rr 3, 7(7)). Some would point out that the Patient's Code does not permit patients to request certain medical treatments that doctors deem unnecessary and detrimental to their wellbeing. This effectively allows doctors to have the final say. They would argue that this is an important protection that should not be taken away by allowing AVE upon the patient's request. A reply to this would fundamentally distinguish AVE from other medical treatments. The protection instilled from the Patient's Code assumes that the doctor knows what is best for the patient, or at least knows better than what the patient knows for themselves. This is not the case for euthanasia, where only the patient could know when the right time to die is, and therefore should be allowed to request for it.

Finally, I will defend respect for autonomy as the best justification by presenting a common counterargument. Objectors often argue that if respect for autonomy was truly the main justification for legalising AVE, then why should there be eligibility criteria in the legislation at all? Surely the autonomy of more people would be respected if *anyone* was allowed to request for euthanasia. My response would suggest that removing such criteria would be valid under the justification of *maximising* autonomy, but not under the justification of *respecting* autonomy. While *maximising* autonomy is increasing the ability to self-govern and make one's own decisions, *respecting* autonomy (especially in the medical sense) is enabling patients to make as many informed choices as possible from *options that are made available to them* (Entwistle, Carter, Cribb, & McCaffery, 2010). Just as people are only offered the option of kidney dialysis if they have a legitimate reason to access it, people should only be offered the option of euthanasia if they have a legitimate reason (or *eligibility*) to access it, such as a grievous and irremediable illness.

Two changes to the proposed Bill are likely to arise if the main justification for the Bill was modified to primarily uphold respect for patient autonomy. Firstly, advanced directives would likely be made available under the legislation. For example, the proposed (but ultimately withdrawn) euthanasia Bill by ex-Labour MP Maryan Street heavily featured advanced directives. An advanced directive is a document written by a competent patient to request for AVE in advance, allowing the patient to receive euthanasia once they become incompetent. In this way, advanced directives preserve a patient's autonomy beyond their time of competence, akin to a living will (where ordinary wills maintain one's autonomy after death). While a right to advanced directives is enshrined in the Health and Disability Commissioner Regulations 1996, it faces some objections. One is that it is very difficult to assess people's level of competence. Clause 3 of Seymour's Bill and defines "competence" as having the ability to understand the nature and consequences of requesting AVE. However, there is no set test that practitioners must follow to ascertain this, and interpretations of competence will likely vary from doctor to doctor. What if an advanced directive comes into effect prematurely, where a patient is incorrectly deemed incompetent and euthanised against their will? While this objection reasonably criticises the legislation for its uncertain 'test' for competence, it does not invalidate the *justification* of respecting patient autonomy. A second response would suggest that doctors will likely err on the side of competence when assessing patients for reasons, such as avoiding harsh legal ramifications, and maintaining a moral conscience.

Another objection to advanced directives states that acceptable forms of preserving autonomy should allow for people to reconsider their decision. Advanced directives, however, only preserve autonomy up until the time of incompetence, and thus do not adequately respect a person's autonomy. Two examples illustrate this objection: The power of attorney, and organ donation. The power of attorney is an acceptable way of preserving autonomy as the appointed attorney can make decisions for the person as circumstances change, and so allows the appointer to reconsider their decisions through substituted judgement. In comparison, no matter how comprehensively advanced directives are written, they merely allow the patient to anticipate the future in advance, which can never be the full picture. Choosing to be an organ donor after death is an acceptable means of respecting autonomy because the circumstances in which donation comes into effect are very limited, making it a more closed, certain choice rather than a choice based on indeterminable circumstances like "becoming incompetent" (as advanced directives are). Furthermore, although the organs are harvested while the person is still breathing, the person's brain is already dead (Organ Donation New Zealand, n.d.). Therefore, organ

donation is akin to a last will and testament, executed after the person becomes insentient (rather than after incompetence as in the case of advanced directives).

To this, I will offer two possible replies. Firstly, under Street's Bill, the advanced directive has a five-year expiry period and can be amended or cancelled any time before then (Draft for Consultation: End of Life Choice Bill, cl 15(1)). This time limit and flexibility is a safeguard against a person's mind changing after a long period of time, especially as important decisions are likely to be thoroughly considered and do not usually change (although, a further objection may be that no time limit will sufficiently guarantee this). Secondly, to reply to the examples specifically, the power of attorney does not adequately reflect the person's autonomy as the attorney is forced to either make decisions in the current best interests of the person, or respect what (they think) the person would have wanted. This example is, thus, more in line with the justification of compassion, as the person's decisions are approached from an external perspective. Additionally, organ donation is not so dissimilar to advanced directives in that the person's wishes are respected at a time when they are unable to reassess, whether the reason is death or incompetence. Thus, advanced directives are an effective means of expressing a person's autonomous wishes because they are unmediated by a third party (which risks interpretative error).

The second possible legislative change arising from the new justification is on the ability to access AVE for those with "grievous and irremediable medical conditions", such as motor neurone disease (End of Life Choice Bill 269-2, s 4(c)(ii)). In his Sponsor's Report on the End of Life Choice Bill 2018, Seymour proposed to remove "grievous and irremediable medical conditions" from the eligibility criteria. This means that euthanasia would only be accessible to those with an illness that is likely terminal within six months. This a move away from respecting people's autonomy to decide in requesting AVE for themselves—after all, there is generally no difference in the mental competence of, for example, a patient with terminal cancer, and a patient with cerebral palsy. Thus, the justification for respecting patient autonomy would likely provide patients without terminal illnesses access to AVE.

There are, however, two objections to this. The first is that, by allowing grievous and irremediable medical conditions, the legislation would allow more morally impermissible reasons for requesting euthanasia, eventually leading to non-voluntary (or even involuntary) euthanasia. For instance, Belgium has since amended its AVE legislation to allow for certain children to request for AVE. My reply to this objection is threefold: Firstly, the empirical evidence is tenuous at best (for example, Oregon has not amended their legislation since the introduction of this criteria in 1997) (End of Life Choice Bill 269-2, Commentary). Secondly, assuming there would be a slippery legislative slope, there is no

reason to believe that the criteria would not continue to expand, even if the End of Life Choice Bill only permitted AVE for the terminally ill. Thirdly, even if the eligibility criteria did expand over time, would this be so bad? New Zealand is a democracy, and any amendments to the Bill after its enactment would be carried out through due process, reflecting the changing attitudes of society. Just as 'buggery' was once considered an abominable crime (and has since been decriminalised and accepted by most), so might the eligibility provisions in the law of euthanasia expand overtime. An obvious objection to this reply is that the parliamentary process is flawed, and may not represent the views of the majority, but that is an argument too substantial to address here.

The second objection is that, over time, the practical interpretation of the definitions in the Act by individual doctors and other authority will likely broaden, lowering the standard of eligibility despite what the legislation states. This slippery slope can easily lead to normalised abuse of the law, effectively legalising practices that Parliament did not intend, which are not justified by the respect for autonomy. However, there is no evidence that this occurs in any state that allows for AVE. Even supposing that this will happen, I argue that new laws are not the root cause of policy relaxations. Rather, new laws and changing practices stem from changing societal attitudes and ideals. For example, the prosecution rate for cannabis use has recently decreased without the implementation of new laws, reflecting the increasing acceptability of recreational cannabis (NZ Drug Foundation Staff, 2016). Arguably, this relaxation to the euthanasia policy is already occurring in New Zealand. Euthanasia-related assisted suicides, a crime punishable with imprisonment up to 14 years in section 179 of the Crimes Act 1961, has not had any convictions issued beyond 15 months (New Zealand Police Association, 2004). Thus, whether the starting eligibility criteria of the Bill is broad or narrow, discretion will always exist in the practical world.

Euthanasia has always been a contentious topic, demonstrated by the euphemistic titles of Seymour's "End of Life Choice" Bill that attempt to sidestep the loaded connotations of the term. I believe that legalisation of AVE with any primary justification other than respect for autonomy may be more harmful than no legalisation at all. The justification affects not only the content of the Bill, but also the way Seymour explains the Bill to the public. Consequently, this influences the public perception of the Bill as a whole. Seymour's proposed amendments are more likely to be enacted against the respect for autonomy, which will further shun the needs of requesters of AVE. For the Bill to truly embrace itself as a "Choice," the respect for autonomy of patients must be held at utmost priority.

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Pacific Studies 313

Pacific Wellbeing : Empowering Dimensions

Kalo Lepa Talia Anne Talei Louise Funganitao

The recognition of holistic, Pasifika-centred frameworks to Pasifika issues ensures that these issuesiz are acknowledged and appropriately investigated, rather than simply blanketed under Western frameworks that provide little more than 'band-aid' solutions. While these solutions are often enacted to combat negative Pasifika wellbeing and disempowerment, they tend to focus on surface-level issues, failing to address the underlying causes. By putting forth a more accurate depiction of Pasifika experiences, approaches that are centred around Pasifika values, like Vai Niu, are better equipped at understanding and dealing with root causes of issues significantly impacting Pasifika peoples, such as poor mental health. Described as a "vision of Pacific mental health and wellbeing" (Government inquiry into mental health and addiction, n.d., 3.5 Vai Niu, para 1), Vai Niu pursues the wellbeing of Pasifika peoples by incorporating aspects that are Pasifika-originated and centred in its understanding of mental health—such as the relationships that Pasifika peoples have with language, environment, cultural values, spirituality, and communal relationships. These aspects are interconnected and, while not exclusive, they are very telling of Pasifika peoples' experiences and perspectives on mental wellbeing. Vai Niu is a Pasifika-appropriate stepping stone towards the inclusion of Pasifika-centred approaches to understanding and tackling issues affecting Pasifika people in Aotearoa.

Vai Niu acknowledges the diverse realities of Pasifika peoples, such as a hybrid identity (an amalgamation of both western and Pacific influences, traditions, worldviews, and knowledge) which could impact their mental wellbeing in the contemporary setting (Government inquiry into mental health and addiction, n.d., 3.5 Vai Niu, para 3.5.1). Tajfel and Turner's (1979) definition of social identity is an "individual's knowledge that he[*sic*] belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him[*sic*] of this group membership" (p. 292). Taumoefolau (2013) discusses the role of language in one's social identity, how one's participation in language plays a key role in deriving worldviews and belonging to social groups, as "those who do understand enough of the vocabulary and structure of their language" would be "able to internalize(*sic*) important cultural concepts and values" (p. 115). Conversely, feeling excluded from a language would put one in a state *of in-betweenness* (p. 115). Thus, a bilingual person—defined by Benton (1972) as someone with "a working knowledge of two different languages" (p. 4)—could participate in two different cultural spaces, empowering them to negotiate between both cultures. However, the extent to which they can participate might be limited as a result. The impact this has on their mental wellbeing and empowerment will depend on how they are able to handle this feeling of *in-betweenness* (Taumoefolau, 2013, p.115). As a Tongan-born and New Zealand-raised

individual, I have experienced this over the course of my life: Not knowing enough Tongan words or practices to fully participate in family things, but at the same time not being 'white enough' to be fully immersed in Western society. Lynch (1996) emphasises the recurring issue of the significance of indigenous languages not being upheld. In a Western society, with English being the dominant language, there was no real use for Tongan except for at home. But, when you are being educated in English, with Western methodologies and no mention of Pacific pedagogies, this impacts how much of your indigenous language that you retain. Si'ilata (2014), citing McComish, May, & Franken, writes, "…if the learner's first language is not valued and encouraged…[b]ilinguals will not learn to use both languages extensively and are unlikely to have high proficiency in both languages" (p. 24–25). The extent to which language affects Pacific wellbeing and empowerment can be examined with regards to these hybrid identities. The negotiation that the individual faces will determine those factors, how they themselves navigate that feeling of *in-betweenness*. Vai Niu upholds the relationships Pasifika peoples have with language, and the role it plays in their experiences—which provides a space to look at mental health and wellbeing as a result of those specific Pasifika experiences.

The hybridity of Pasifika identity encompasses not only the cultural aspect, but also its spiritual aspect. Salesa (2014) looks at the duality of ancestral spirituality and Christianity, asserting that we are at the forefront of accessing and mobilising two different systems of belief. The embedding of Christianity within Pasifika cultures may easily go unnoticed by Pacific peoples themselves because it is now embedded within many of their values and practices. For example, at Pacific occasions or events, there is almost always a prayer to bless food before partaking. A further example might be the dedication of Tonga to God by King Tupou I, as seen in the Tongan constitution. Now it has become the motto or ethos for Tongan sports teams and is on the national seal, '*Ko e 'Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofia*', which translates to '*God and Tonga are my inheritance'*. The balance of both religion and involvement with other branches of spirituality (traditional healing, myths and legends, etc.) provides those taking part in it with meaning and purpose. Coupled with the concept of *in-betweenness* (Taumoefolau, 2013, p. 115), Pasifika youth, in particular, are able to navigate between the Western and the Pacific cultures. Connection to both to a certain degree is important; the balancing of the duality of ancestral spirituality and Christianity not only helps in regard to navigating one's identity, but also with further discerning what one's purpose is. A better understanding of those dualities supports a more confident view of one's identity and where they move forward. Being able to balance ancestral spirituality and Christianity again allows for Pacific individuals to uphold

their cultural practices and values, whilst living in a contemporary world. It has the potential to positively impact wellbeing and empowerment on this balance, because there is no loss of either aspect. Vai Niu mentions the relationship Pasifika peoples have with *Atua*, which covers both Christianity and ancestry. It is important that Vai Niu does not subscribe to a single Pacific nation's ideal. It should recognise that there are nuances from nation to nation. The takeaway is that spiritual duality Pan-Pasifika has a significant effect on mental health and wellbeing. It is not merely a trivial concept and so, must be accounted for in practice.

The holistic nature of spirituality captures the communal aspect of Pasifika culture and directly correlates with wellbeing by acting as a protective factor. Ihara, Halaevalu, and Ofahengaue (2011) looked at spirituality with regard to the effect it had on wellness among a group of Tongan and Samoan Elders. They assert that a balance of different relationships makes up wellness, which "encompasses the bio-psycho-social-spiritual dimensions on the individual, family, and community levels, and reflects the Pacific holistic view of health as a complete state of spiritual, social, mental, and physical balance" (Ihara, Halaevalu & Ofahengaue, 2011, p. 408). It encompasses multiple levels of connectivity—connectivity with other human beings, as well as with parts of culture. Factors are not mutually exclusive from one another. Interconnectivity is always present. Incorporated in Le Va's (2014) "Preventing Suicide for Pasifika—top 5 tactics" as a mechanism to help prevent a mental health issue that has detrimentally impacted the Pasifika community, this shows that even governmental bodies recognise the importance of spirituality. The tagline for the tactic states this, "Spirituality is a personal journey of transformation, hope and courage" (p. 19). With high suicide rates among Pasifika youth, the recognition of a Pasifika aspect to deal with suicide ensures that appropriate cultural recognition is placed at the fore. This approach provides a space by which these Pasifika youth are captured, and culturally relevant measures are in place and ready to be applied. Culturally appropriate measures are more likely to deal with the root causes, and therefore, act as prevention, and, hopefully, eradication of, symptoms—rather than just a band-aid. In this area, spirituality as a protective factor plays a significant role and in promoting positive wellbeing and empowerment. Despite the different experiences Pasifika peoples have intergenerationally, negotiating Pacific culture with a Western-dominated society, spirituality can be counted on as a protective factor. This is asserted in Vai Niu with the provision for relationships and acknowledgement of *Atua* (Government inquiry into mental health and addiction, n.d., 3.5 Vai Niu, para 3.5.1). Vai Niu also states the need for further development of mental health and wellbeing services and initiatives that will provide

appropriate services for the rising youth population. But the breakdown is developed further by looking at the specifics of spirituality intergenerationally, here.

The effects of climate change have caused a shift in landscape and an unwilling Pacific migration from affected Pacific nations (Campbell, 2014). Regarding New Zealand, there is a growing number of Pacific people who have already migrated here because climate change has made their homes uninhabitable. This brings to light the lack of accountability that the international community (who wield the most significant power) have, that they are unwilling to robustly commit to positive change. At present, New Zealand fails to offer protection to Pacific peoples from climate change in terms of reducing emissions, funding adaptation measures and providing accommodation to Pacific peoples whose homes are now (or will be) uninhabitable. For example, Kiribati is one of the most detrimentally affected Pacific islands, due to being low lying, resulting in susceptibility to flooding, saltwater intrusion and coastal erosion. The Pacific has been leading the charge in the fight against climate change because they have to—they have already been significantly affected. The Pacific peoples affected are not looking to relocate, rather they are looking for quality resources to implement mitigation solutions. Rejecting the 'helpless victim' narrative with which international media and organisations have branded them, they are spreading the message that they are fighting. They want to retain their ancestral homes not just for the current generations, but also for the future generations to come. Preservation of the natural environment has been relegated to an almost non-issue by the international community. Recently, President Donald Trump announced that the U.S. will abandon the Paris Climate Deal at the earliest possible date. This withdrawal means a significant loss of funding towards adaptation under the Green Climate Fund (GFC), when funding given to Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in the Pacific for adaptation was already considerably limited (Ratuva, 2017). Forced migration, or the possibility of, is an upheaval of not just a physical home, but also one's link to that home. Loss of connection, potentially permanently, will, of course, negatively affect wellbeing. But the resistance of the Pacific peoples shows that they are willing to back themselves—they do not need recognition from the international community to empower themselves on this. There are two branches of Vai Niu that incorporate the significance of climate change: The relationships of Pasifika peoples and land, as well as the fostering of future Pacific momentum (Government inquiry into mental health and addiction, n.d., 3.5 Vai Niu, section 3.5.4). The latter acknowledges the need to provide for Pacific climate migrants who are coming to New Zealand because of the detrimental effects of climate change, such that they have been forced to leave home. Climate

change, therefore, significantly affects their mental health and wellbeing because they are forced to leave behind a long-established relationship with their home, dating back generations. They have to leave everything they know and love, not by choice, but by circumstances out of their control.

The usurping of land from indigenous groups by colonisers has a long-proven history of detrimental effects to the wellbeing and empowerment of Pacific peoples. Looking specifically at Hawai'i to show the long-lasting effects that colonisation has on the indigenous population, Kay-Trask (2008) criticises and identifies American colonisation of the indigenous Hawaiian peoples and their lands as the downfall of their peoples. Specifically, she delves into the appropriation and selling of Hawaiian culture and lands for the purposes of capitalism, in the form of tourism. Kay-Trask (2008) says this,

> "…the trampling of our sacred *heiau* (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization(*sic*) of everything Hawaiian has damaged our people psychologically, reducing their ability to control their lands and waters, their daily lives and the expression and integrity of their culture" (p. 23).

The disregard by the colonising society of the meaning that places and spaces carry for the indigenous peoples is highlighted here. Control over their land base has depleted to such an extent that Hawaiians were "reduced to 20 percent of the resident population in our own land" (Kay-Trask, 2008, p. 25). They have become minorities in their own homeland and become subject to western power and ideals that relegates their cultural traditions and values as something that is bought and sold for the purposes of tourism. The effects of these colonial attitudes are to such an extent that it informs racism, be that casual, overt, internalised or institutionalised. The study by Kaholokula et al. (2017) states this, "Our study adds Native Hawaiians to the list of U.S. racial and ethnic minorities…who experience a high level of racism and whose health status is adversely affected by it" (p. 8). The forceful takeover of not just land, but of the indigenous culture and then commercialising of it negatively impacts the wellbeing of indigenous Hawaiians. They are stripped of the rights and positions that they once held and are now being forced to participate in a society that sells their culture, using ancestral lands as their bases. As a result, the indigenous community, such as those like Haunani Kay-Trask, are trying to take back their lands and stop the commercialisation of their traditions and culture. This is yet another example of the Pacific community empowering themselves so as to bolster

positive change for their community—to reinstate their sovereignty and assert their overarching indigeneity over the imposed western society. Vai Niu acknowledges that there is a special relationship that Pasifika peoples have with tangata whenua, Māori. Māori are the indigenous people of this country, and as such, they have certain rights and freedoms of their homeland. Pasifika peoples must remember the relationship with Māori in New Zealand and that they have a role to play in supporting tangata whenua. This is so as to not only empower the mental health and wellbeing of their Oceanic relatives, but also to keep the relationship that they themselves have with land alive. They are to be guardians and protectors of the natural environments, wherever they may be. Colonisation in such a form should be at the forefront of their minds always and to do what they can to support the indigenous peoples.

The law has been identified as a tool of oppression by critical race theorists (Bell, 1995), but there has been progress in mitigating this by incorporating Pacific cultural values within the New Zealand legal system—which falls under one of the Vai Niu branches (Government inquiry into mental health and addiction, n.d., 3.5 Vai Niu, para 3.5.2). This is within the judicial branch, specifically. The introduction of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 was revolutionary for Pasifika and Maori families because it incorporated whanau and notions of aiga. Broad enough so as to cover the scope of different cultural perspectives within different racial groups, this can be found in Part 1 section 4 of the 1989 act. The traditional legal approach to Pasifika youth caught up in the legal system has been largely retributive. The judicial system itself is adversarial, the young person is culpable for the wrong—so the state deals with the individual, and not with the family. The introduction of the 1989 act changed this. Presently, there are mechanisms in place so as to be as culturally appropriate as possible and exhaustive of cultural approaches. The Pasifika Youth Court, for example, involves a briefing between the judge and the elders on the progress of the individual in question. Every case starts and ends with a prayer and the elder involved will always be of the same cultural background as the individual involved. They will talk to the individual, as well as their family, and offer as much guidance as they can. Developments, such as these, are a step in the right direction, recognising that impositions of western society are not always capable of dealing with issues that need to be culturally relevant. Ioane & Lambie (2016) discusses statistics, such as Pacific youth offenders being "the third largest group of youth offenders in Aotearoa, representing 6–9% of all youth apprehensions over the period 1996–2005 (Soboleva, Kazakova, & Chong, 2006)" (p. 23). The study also looked into factors that contribute to youth offending, "…living in areas of very high socio-economic deprivation…more than half of the

Pacific youth offenders (61.0%) in this study had either been exposed to, or experienced, family violence in their homes." (p. 25). Though there is still a long way to go, the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 and the development of Pasifika Youth Courts ensure that future Pacific-appropriate avenues are set up and used. They look to engage with the underlying factors of why Pacific peoples are represented negatively in the statistics and within the legal system—looking at tackling the root causes. This upholds Pacific cultures and values, puts them at the forefront, promoting empowerment and wellbeing as a result.

These aspects of Pacific cultures are not just found in isolation, the examples provided assert their relevance in the contemporary world and the significant bearing on the ways that the populations interact within a Western-dominated world. Vai Niu, as a Pacific centred framework, builds on this and provides a platform for wellbeing in which Pacific values are taken into account. This ensures the inclusion of a culturally appropriate lens, methodologies and findings. Pacific wellbeing and empowerment, though it may be in a western society across certain diaspora, is still intertwined with Pacific ideologies and values so those must be accounted for in order for Pacific development to flourish in a contemporary world.

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Criminology 205

Crime, Media and Society

Te Karuoterangi Tuteao

Hoodlums and Hacks: The (Mis)Representation of Youth Gangs in the New Zealand Media

Gang members have long been the 'boogeymen' that haunt the nightmares of mainstream New Zealanders, the confronting and visceral personifications of an underworld most cannot even begin to understand. Names like the Mongrel Mob and Black Power still strike fear and loathing in the hearts of 'upstanding' citizens, and the organisations are labelled as criminal abominations and threats to the safety and civility of the 'average Joe'. In recent years, however, it has been American-style street gangs, composed largely of young Pasifika and Māori men, that have fulfilled the role of 'folk devil' to the masses. The narrative of an exponential increase in store robberies (particularly dairies and liquor stores), fuelled by the media, has begun to take hold of the public mind, and the fear of a descent into gun-driven, 'American' street wars now strikes the heart of mainstream New Zealand. Are these concerns rational? Why is it so easy to adopt the 'us vs. them' paradigm when it comes to gangs? As someone who has come from a gang-affiliated family and friend group, this topic is one close to my heart. This essay will examine the role of the media in framing gang-related news in Aotearoa, and assess the worth of the moral panic framework in examining these issues. It will cover specifically how the media portrays gangs and gang issues, how academic research might contradict these portrayals, as well as the consequences of potential media misrepresentation of the topic.

'Mimicking' Menaces: Media Manipulation

The portrayal of gangs in New Zealand media has long been sensational, with normal civilians gaping in fearful awe at the seemingly barbarous lives of the nation's most disenfranchised underclass. Youth gang coverage has been a little different. Similar to the media response to the rise of African migrant gangs in Australia (Majavu, 2018), news outlets in New Zealand have made it their mission to warn their viewership of the 'growing menace' presented by youth street gangs. The majority of these articles use no credible academic research, instead of relying on anecdotal evidence and intensely emotive, visual language to portray a scene of which the writers, it is fairly obvious, have no real understanding. Articles often make 'cringe-worthy' attempts to mimic the urban patois used by the youth populations from which the gangs arise, further exacerbating the 'othering' (as in Said's [2008] discourse) of the groups from normal society. In the same way as the classic New Zealand crimewatch show *Police Ten 7*, media reporting tends to animalise gang groups, often sharing videos of huge brawls and gratuitous violence in public arenas. Other articles are less superficial and attempt to get to the root of why gang membership has risen and why violence occurs, generally framing the issue as a failure of parents to instil traditional societal norms in their children, rather than a failure of government policy, policing tactics or societal inequalities. Holistically, media framing of

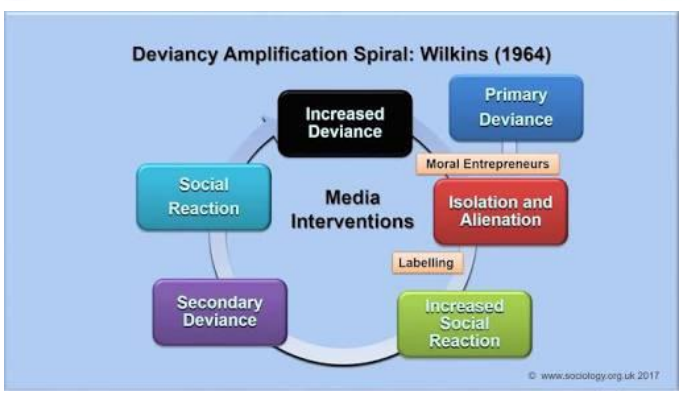
youth gangs often portrays unstructured groups of young brown males, less disciplined and with a weaker leadership than New Zealand's traditional gangs, making them more prone to random violence and reckless criminal behaviours. This is said to make them more dangerous to the public. Ironically, while stressing the danger that these groups pose, journalists often also deride them as 'mimics' and 'wannabes', implying that they are not 'true' arms of the American organisations they claim to represent.

The Real Scoop: Academic Analysis

Academic research findings on the issue of youth gangs differ greatly from the media portrayal. Generally, youth gang membership is found to be no more of a national problem in recent years than it has been for the past century (Gilbert, 2010; Roguski, 2008; Tauri & Roguski, 2012). The way the media has decided to frame certain recent events accounts for a significant amount of the attention drawn to the issue, rather than any credible increase in the threat youth gangs pose. To illustrate this, Tauri and Roguski (2012) found that, in the Counties Manukau area, "despite enormous media attention and claims to the contrary, the research was unable to demonstrate the existence of an extensive youth gang problem" (p. 2). In fact, researchers found that media misrepresentation actually served to increase gang publicity, which led to established organisations gaining more recruits and new groups starting up (Roguski, 2008; Tauri & Roguski, 2012). The phenomenon of media misrepresentation of gang issues is not unique to New Zealand either. Zatz (1987) released a paper analysing media and police misrepresentation of Chicano 'gangs' in Phoenix. She suggested that "*the social imagery of Chicano youth 'gangs', rather than their actual behaviour, lay at the root of the gang 'problem' in Phoenix* " (p. 130). Furthermore, she found that three primary factors had converged in the creation of the problem: (1) Police funding motivations; (2) coloured gang stereotypes; and (3) the pre-existing 'other' status of Chicanos. Together, these images reinforced the public's existing prejudices, which allowed police and the media to manufacture a problem from which they would benefit. While Chicanos and New Zealand youth gangs come from two completely different cultures and populations, parallels can be drawn between the demonisation of both groups. This suggests that the projection of an issue by media and police in New Zealand is, at least in part, the result of the convergence of pre-existing gang and racial stereotypes, as well as the pre-existing notion by mainstream societies that poor, Polynesian (Māori and Pacific Island) youth are the 'other', which we find reflected in minorities across the planet (Said, 2008).

Consequences of Media Manipulation Through the Moral Panic Framework

The consequences of media manipulation can be analysed through the moral panic framework. The thesis, first put forward by Cohen (1980), denotes the process of media manipulation of issues which are seen as breaking the moral boundaries of a given society. Five key features define the reactionary panic: (1) Normal events are presented as abnormal and radical by media and/or politicians and police; (2) the deviance amplification spiral (Wilkins, 1964; shown below), where the very reaction to initial deviance leads to increased deviance, kicks in; (3) societies' moral mores are clarified through consensus, and concern is raised in their breaching; (4) they occur generally during times of social upheaval; and (5) young people are targeted. Additionally, the moral panic framework asserts that they usually involve a disproportionate reaction, a reinforcing of societal orthodoxies, and a volatile dying down of attention when the panic is over. It is obvious, then, that the hysteric reaction to youth gangs in New Zealand can be analysed under the moral panic thesis framework, the consequences of which can be seen in reality. Gilbert (2010) saw this first-hand, during his time studying a police youth gang task force in Auckland. He claims that the task force captain "told him (…) that he quickly became aware that suppression alone could not solve the issue but that the tough police crackdown was set in motion because 'we needed to do something' to appease the public in the wake of the media flurry." So strong was the panic and punitive reaction created by the media surrounding youth gangs that police had little option but to act 'tough on crime' even when they realised that this was not the best course of action to address the situation. Moral panics also amplify deviance itself. In terms of youth gangs, their demonisation in the media leads to members being even further disenfranchised from mainstream society, resulting in them confiding back in their deviant groups, which in turn leads to more demonisation, and so on. Individuals reach a point where they are so removed from normality and mainstream society, they could not stop being deviant even if they wanted to. Mark Cropp, who had his face tattooed while already alienated and isolated in prison, is a good example of this.



The primary consequence of moral panic is that it exacerbates the very issues it claims to be so morally wrong, and, in demonising minorities and further 'othering' vulnerable populations, diverts attention from actual solutions. It offers an opportunity for politicians, police and the media to manipulate the public for the purpose of profit, power and funding (Zatz, 1987; Lucas, 1998; Poynton et al., 2001; Tauri & Roguski, 2012; McCreanor et al., 2014; Majavu, 2018).

Evaluation of Moral Panic Thesis

The moral panic thesis allows us to uncover and analyse the gang situation with a relatively robust framework that has many accurate applications in the field. That being said, the thesis is far from perfectly sound and multiple academics have critiqued its definitions of morality and deviancy, as well as its framework as a whole. Issues with the conceptualisation of morality in the framework surround the acceptance of morality unproblematically. Jewkes (2011) asserts that morality is a concept that must be critiqued and that the catch-all nature of the moral panic framework fails to separate justifiable moral panics from those that only serve to demonise minorities. Additionally, many moral panics do not actually have morally-questionable aspects, and are simply examples of manipulation of social reaction, rather than impediments upon any orthodoxic boundaries a society might have. Deviancy has also been critiqued by other academics, namely Hay (1995). Hay put forward the notion that often 'folk devil' is an ambiguous term. Not all targets of moral panic are unfairly targeted, and often deviants who become the target of panic can be from populations which society is largely accommodating to. Other theorists (Thibodeaux, 2014; Joosse, 2017) suggest there are issues with the objectivity/immeasurability of concepts like harm and disproportional reaction, as well as the notion that all panics must involve a reinforcing of societal orthodoxies.

In the case of the reaction to the 'rise' of youth gangs in New Zealand, the moral panic thesis does well in helping analyse and explain the situation. Perhaps owing to the simplicity of the issue, it manages to avoid most of the critiques levelled at the framework. There is one notable exception to this. McRobbie & Thornton (1995) argue that media manipulation of the moral panic they create has changed. This was noticeable during research on the topic of youth gangs. While media still work to manufacture false alarm and outrage, once this is sufficiently done and the panic is underway, news organisations now work to capitalise on the buzz, 'spam-posting' articles from both sides of the issue (condemning and defending) to provoke reaction. This can be observed in the reaction to gang-led support of New Zealand's Muslim community following the Christchurch attacks. While simultaneously demonising and 'othering' gangs for disturbances, for the

refusal to hand over weapons and for fighting, mass media also released hundreds of articles supporting gang actions, such as a haka in support of the Islamic community, and purporting the great unity it showed. The traditional moral panic thesis could not account for such phenomena and should be amended to show the media as more than just a one-dimensional actor in the equation.

Concluding Remarks

Although the moral panic thesis is problematic, it is convincing enough to aid in analysing and understanding cases, such as the New Zealand youth gang issue. New Zealand's youth gang issue is characterised by the vast difference between media reporting and credible academic research findings, resulting in policing tactics which revolve more around the desire of punitively-driven panicked masses, rather than legitimate social betterment. Framing of the situation by media outlets for popular appeal has led to deviance amplification, further distancing already disenfranchised youth from society and increasing their likelihood of deviating more. However, while it maintains its relevance and use, in using the moral panic thesis to consider the youth gang issue in New Zealand, we should take into account its many criticisms, particularly the media change from one-dimensional demonisation, to playing both sides.

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Education 360

Treaty Politics in Education

Lauren Millington

How to Teach the Treaty?: A Treaty of Waitangi Education Plan for Senior Students at Arahoe Primary School

The Treaty of Waitangi is the document which formalised the partnership between indigenous Māori and the British Crown in New Zealand. Although the Treaty is a critical part of New Zealand's history, it is not taught to a high standard in the education system and is not well understood by the general population (Barclay, 2006; Green 2017, p. 259; Sheehan 2012, p. 108). To overcome this gap in our nation's democracy, I will discuss how I would educate a group in my community about the Treaty of Waitangi.

I have chosen to make an education plan for a hypothetical Year 5/6 class at Arahoe School. Arahoe School is a co-ed public primary school in West Auckland. The students in the class are between 8–11 years old, but range in ability from children with high learning needs, to gifted students operating at the level of a 15-year-old. The senior syndicate at Arahoe School does not exist in a conventional classroom. Instead the senior classes are situated in an Innovative Learning Environment (ILE), a two-story shared space. The students have access to, and share work, on devices, such as tablets and Chrome Books using Google Drive.

I chose a hypothetical class as the subject of my plan because I have connections to Arahoe School. My mother has worked in the senior syndicate as a teacher's aide with a small group of students and does a significant amount of design and communications work for the school. I have met a few of the staff who work there, and hear my mother's work stories every day. I have also done some illustration work for the school through her design business.

Arahoe School is a decile 5 school (Ministry of Education, 2015). Deciles (a grade out of 10) are calculated by the Ministry on the basis of the income, occupation level, household crowding, education level and social welfare benefits in the families of the students (Ministry of Education, 2018). Arahoe School's community is ranked at the middle of New Zealand wealth. However, the decile was last calculated in 2015, so these data may be out of date.

The students at Arahoe School come from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds, and many are immigrants or come from immigrant families. The largest ethnic group at Arahoe School is New Zealand European (Arahoe School 2017, p. 9). Māori students make up 10% of students, slightly outnumbered by Pasifika students at 11%. The second largest ethnic group at the school is Indian at 20% and the percentage of Chinese students sits at 10%. Interestingly, the third largest ethnic group is 'other', at 13%. According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), 45.5% of people living in the Whau Local Board, in which Arahoe School sits, were born overseas.

In a wider context, Arahoe School is in the New Lynn electorate. In the 2017 election, Labour won both votes in New Lynn (New Zealand Parliament, 2017). While the MP vote was a secure win, National was a close runner-up for the party vote. Smaller parties, such as Act, the Pākehā Party, and the Green Party, did not receive many votes. This suggests that the students at Arahoe School tend to come from centre-right or centre-left politically inclined families. Although they are not yet old enough to vote, the political views of their parents and families are likely to have an impact on the way these children think.

Year 5 and 6 children are slightly too young to have developed their own unique beliefs, so their ideas will implicitly have come from their home. It is useful to distinguish the students into two groups. Firstly, there will be students who come from families who have general household knowledge of the Treaty. Of these families, many will not know the historical facts about the Treaty (Sheehan, 2012). Popular conceptions of the Treaty are based upon the idea of inclusion, and that all people should be treated equally (Barclay 2006). Paradoxically, this apparently benign view has led to the 'standard story', and incorrect interpretations that disseminate the idea of race-based discrimination. Māori are viewed by some Pākehā as 'not being treated equally', that is, as benefitting from race-based policies. In fact, Māori have been systematically discriminated against since the Treaty was signed (Orange, 1987). These ideas about unfair 'Māori advantage' may filter into the minds of young children and cause them to be biased too, if they are not educated about the Treaty. Teachers will also have to be aware that Māori students may or may not have prior knowledge of the Treaty, and that they may have a unique perspective about the Treaty (Jones & Jenkins, 2008)

Secondly, there will be students from New Zealand, as well as immigrant families who may not have home knowledge of the Treaty. Although they may not be taught about the Treaty by their family, they may also receive the same messages as above through the media (Barclay, 2006). For both groups of students, it is vital that they have a quality understanding of the Treaty to realise their role as New Zealand citizens. The young generation can break the cycle of discriminatory narrative against Māori that has operated for so long in New Zealand. The key to breaking that cycle is to have a well-educated population that can engage in critical discussion. It is fundamental to our democracy that citizens understand the basis upon which our nation was created. As Barclay (2006) argues, democracy needs a shared platform and understanding. We will not progress with Treaty relations in this country unless we have a shared basis of understanding. Significantly it is also important for our citizens to know the history of this country's indigenous peoples as a matter of decent respect: We, those peoples who came after Māori, can only prosper on this land because of what was taken from Māori.

All New Zealanders should have a competent understanding of the events before, of, and after the Treaty. The post-Treaty events are complex, better suited to the high school curriculum. It is more age-appropriate to teach 8–11 year-olds about pre-Treaty relations in New Zealand, providing them with a strong foundation for further compulsory studies about the Treaty itself and consequential issues. At this age, the students have prior knowledge about Māori world views from earlier in primary school (Arahoe School, 2018A; Arahoe School 2018B), and are immersed in the western worldview in public spaces (Barclay 2006, p. 228; Dam 2017, p. 136). The overall objective of the education plan is to end the cycle of discrimination in the New Zealand public.

There are three key arguments about pre-Treaty relations for students to learn. The first is that different groups had different understandings of the growing relationships between Māori and Pākehā. Students need to learn about this because different understandings underpin conflicts between Māori and Pākehā throughout history and still today (Barclay, 2006). It will be important for the students to compare western worldviews and community structures with Māori iwi, hapū, and whanau (Hanly 2015).

The second is that Māori around the different geographical areas of New Zealand had different experiences with Pākehā. This is important for students to understand because the standard story simplifies Māori into a homogenous group. Consequently, the public lacks an understanding of Māori iwi (tribes), cultures, and Waitangi Tribunal settlements, which feeds into negative and oversimplified perceptions amongst non-Māori about the Treaty. It is important to learn about the geographic distribution of iwi and how they interacted before foreign contact: For example, how the name 'Māori' only came in relation to Pākehā, and how settlers, whalers, and sealers from Britain and elsewhere visited and interacted with different tribes (Hanly, 2015).

The final key argument is that Māori were active agents in pursuing a relationship with the Crown. This is important for students to learn to combat mainstream conceptions of western superiority and Māori subordination, and to understand why the consequences of the Treaty were so devastating for Māori. Significant events that could be used to illustrate this argument are the actions of the several Māori leaders who petitioned and travelled to meet the King and other European leaders from 1805 onwards, the 1835 Declaration of Independence, and Māori devotion to literacy (Jones & Jenkins, 2011A; Jones & Jenkins, 2011B). These three key arguments will help the students when they continue to study more complex consequences of the Treaty later in their schooling.

For teachers, the first three volumes of Hanly's (2015) Curriculum Program Resource cover all the information necessary. For further reading, teachers could read the work of historians Orange (2004), Sinclair (2000), or Belich (2007). The online encyclopaedia Te

Ara (2018) could be used by both students and teachers. There are many sources of information that would be useful for teaching the three key arguments above.

My proposed method of educating the class is to replace the existing topic studies curriculum. The new curriculum would be based upon North American educator Esther Wojcicki's method of blended learning, and the content could be spread out over one or two terms. Ideally, ideas about tikanga and relationality between Māori, Pākehā, and other New Zealanders would be integrated into other aspects of the curriculum throughout the year as well.

Wojcicki has been building a journalism programme for her students which has revolutionised student learning since 1984. As a result, she has been labelled "undoubtedly the most influential educator in this century" (Cheteni, 2018; "Esther Bio", 2018). Her approach, Moonshots, uses the method of blended learning, where classroom time is split between teachers' lectures and student-led projects. In Wojcicki's journalism class, students work to create publications which are distributed to the wider community, supported by advertising revenue. The students manage the whole project, from deadlines, creating the content, to the final design, and publishing. Because the project is based in the real world, students are highly self-motivated to be successful (Wojcicki, 2016; Wojcicki & Izumi, 2015).

The programme intends for students to achieve the four C's: Creativity, critical thinking, communication, and collaboration. These skills are valuable to the workforce, the future, and resilient personalities (Wojcicki & Izumi 2015, p. 29). While the Moonshots programme was created for high school students, I plan for a simpler version more suited for younger children but maintaining the same skill outcomes. Instead of self-publishing a magazine or newspaper, the students will create and maintain a blog. This is better than printed media because blogs can host more than static visual content, for example, videos.

The week would begin with the teacher sharing some aspect of the Treaty history. The students would then break into groups (friend, ability, self-directed, or teacher-directed) and could choose a task from a teacher-generated list or create their own task, with differentiated goals guided by the teacher (Riley 2011A, p. 276). With every task the students would produce content for the blog and upload it when finished. Students' families could follow the blog, giving the students motivation to produce quality work. Because they can pick their tasks, the students have freedom to explore their own talents and will not suffer from the dreaded 'Treaty fatigue' (Boyle, 2014). I believe all students can be gifted and talented, if they are given the opportunity. For example, a student who otherwise struggles with writing may be able to communicate complex ideas through

drawings. They may see themselves as a failure under traditional assessments, but feel proud and excel through the differentiated task.

The Moonshots approach allows all students to develop their unique set of talents while learning useful skills and important key ideas about pre-Treaty relations. Possible activities could include: Making a short film depicting contact between a Māori tribe and Pākehā, with students acting, writing, directing, and creating costumes; students writing letters as if they were pre-Treaty pen-pals; writing and performing a song or dance to express how groups would have felt after certain events; learning to code a video game where other students can play as characters collecting the necessary elements to create a Treaty. The options are endless.

I believe that this pedagogy will fit well with the existing infrastructure at Arahoe School. The senior syndicate's building is the perfect environment for small groups to break off and work on their own projects, and students have access to devices to work on. This method could be expanded to the entire senior syndicate using the School-Wide Enrichment (SWE) model for gifted education. The SWE model combines differentiation and the enrichment triad, reorganising the school to have hubs of learning which students move to according to their enrichment needs (Riley 2011B, p. 316).

The education plan I have proposed addresses the unique characteristics of the chosen group. I have identified three key arguments and information that is relevant to them, and explained a method of teaching that would fit their needs. The plan would give the students a solid foundation to continue Treaty studies with critical thinking and real-life skills. The plan is flexible and could be adapted to fit many classrooms around New Zealand if it was successful. More importantly, this plan offers an opportunity to overcome the discrimination issues that have arisen regarding the Treaty at an early age and to help New Zealand progress towards a future which successfully addresses past Treaty issues for Maori and prevents new issues from arising.

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FROM SHAKESPEARE TO THE SHIRE: LITERATURE AND LITERARY ANALYSIS

The French literary theorist Roland Barthes once famously commented that "literature is the question minus the answer" (1972, p. 202). One of the great pleasures of literature is its mutability—the fact that each reader, when faced with a text, brings something unique to their interpretation of it. The essays and creative writing in this section evidence that idea particularly well.

Smith delivers a powerful feminist reading of William Wallace's poem *The Hand that Rocks the Cradle, Rules the World*. Gender, Smith argues, is not so dichotomous as Wallace would have it. In a modern context, women are no longer restricted to "cradle-rocking", and men need not feel emasculated for enjoying domestic pursuits. This is a fresh reading of a rather problematic poem, and highlights how far we have come since the nineteenth-century characterisation of women as "harbingers of terror".

Cheuk critically examines J.L. Austin's assertion that theatre and literature cannot contain meaningful speech acts. To prove the flaws in Austin's statement, Cheuk pulls apart two radically different texts: Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Her essay, which fuses linguistic theory and literary analysis, serves as an excellent reminder that studies in the arts are frequently interdisciplinary.

Holloway's essay on *The Lord of the Rings* applies a theoretical lens to a much-loved series. Holloway argues that Tolkien rejects the traditional 'happily ever after', instead favouring a more anti-climactic ending. She examines ideas as diverse as the books' appendices, their narrative shifts, and the similarities they bear to classical poetry. This essay, which skilfully orients its reader in Tolkien's world, will appeal to fans and the uninitiated alike.

This year, we are delighted to be publishing two outstanding pieces of creative writing. Hetherington's *The Front Porch* is a tenderly written meditation on family bonds and the nature of memory. In this short story, an adult son grapples with his father's dementia. Through a series of beautifully constructed flashbacks Hetherington gives us insight into a father-son relationship, and into how that relationship both morphs and remains the same over time. Tender yet violent, brooding yet joyous, *The Front Porch* is a study in contrasts. This is a story that will stay with you long after you turn the final page.

In *Potato Germ and Gold*, a collection of poems dedicated to her grandfather, McKay examines the nature of love, loss, ancestry and family. She invokes striking imagery to guide us through her experiences. These poems capture the vividness of memory but also, paradoxically, its fallibility. McKay imagines memories of her grandfather "leaving on a river boat"; "browning like/feijoas in an ice cream/container". This is poetry at its most powerful: A tribute not just to family, but to language itself.

The value of the humanities—and literature in particular—is frequently questioned. We hope that this section is, in some way, an answer to that. Texts have an endless capacity

to soothe, to teach, to challenge, and to transform. All of our authors have produced fiction—or written about it—in ways that reflect this. Whether it is your love for Frodo or your passion for Shakespeare, we are confident you will find something in this section to move or inspire you.

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Nithya Narayanan

English 256

Tolkien and his Worlds

Lily Holloway

Happily Ever After: Life after The Ring

A lot of expectation rides on the ending of *The Lord of the Rings*. A traditional approach might have the hobbits returning entirely victorious to the comforts of home they once knew, and a swift renewal of the status quo. Convention would have the 'happily ever after' ending bundled alongside the success of the mission, the return of King Aragorn, and the two marriages. Instead, Tolkien presents the reader with an anti-climactic ending in the form of *The Scouring of the Shire* and *The Grey Havens,* during which the status quo is changed irreversibly. Tolkien's diversion from the more traditional narrative serves to place emphasis on certain themes, explore the concept and role of closure in building secondary belief, and build a sense of extended history and legend.

Undoubtedly, the throwing of the ring into Mount Doom signifies the climax of Frodo's journey. This point in the narrative, however, only occurs approximately halfway through the final instalment of *The Lord of the Rings*. It is significant that the remainder of the book does not concern itself merely with the tying up of loose ends. While there are celebrations, songs sung, and two marriages—all of which signify the end of their journey—the hobbits themselves have not, like the others, achieved *nostos* (homecoming). There have been several moments foreshadowing a complication in the return to the Shire, such as Sam's vision in Galadriel's mirror and Shire pipe-weed being found at Isengard. The leaving of the hobbits' mentor, Gandalf, signifies that their oncoming struggle must be faced alone, and he states: "You must settle [The Shire's] affairs yourselves; it is what you have been trained for".

Conventional 'happy ever after' endings usually occur chronologically soon after the 'big bad' has been confronted; when the witch has melted, and the giant has been slain. The hobbits, however, find that their Shire home has not remained static while they have been completing their task of destroying the ring. The reason for this complication of the traditional ending, Waito (2010) states, is to complete another underlying narrative which he labels 'The Shire Quest'. The hobbits have learnt and grown enough to address already present problems within the Shire. The takeover of Lotho and Sharkey merely extends the pre-existing paradigm to the extreme. For example, there was already Shire unease over "queer" or new folk, which is effectively extended through the Lotho regime ban on newcomers. The Lotho regime also reveals the sheer level of hobbit complacency (as Merry states, the hobbits have been "comfortable so long they don't know what to do"). In this way, the theme of "inertia and complacency" (Dickerson & Evans, 2006), which is found in the hesitation of the Ents and Théoden, reaches its ultimate conclusion when the comfortable hobbits have to fight for change. The simpler 'happily ever after' would therefore be inappropriate if wanting to illustrate how nobody has the privilege to sit back and do nothing in the face of evil. Merry's cry of "Awake ! Awake ! Fear, Fire, Foes ! Awake !" is a moment of awakening catharsis for the hobbits as they, too, must fight for what is precious. Tolkien

returns our view to the Shire to illustrate what could have been lost, and what was very nearly lost, ultimately illustrating how "[the] epic/romance plot exists in order to safeguard the lives of those living the novel plot" (Brims, 2012). By returning the hobbits to their place of origin and having them save it from destruction, Tolkien is able to juxtapose the hobbits of the fellowship with the hobbits that remained behind, highlighting their growth into community leaders.

The placing of *The Rousing of the Shire* at the end of the plot of *The Lord of the Rings*—where, in other texts, one might find the narrative climax—places an emphasis on the ideas explored through the aftermath. When the hobbits first glimpse the Shire, Sam is "beside himself": Trees have been burnt, buildings torn down, and new industrial structures erected in their place. Within Tolkien's carefully constructed world, the environmental impact on the Shire is a powerful image. Tolkien qualifies the resolution that could have been the return to the Shire status quo but then finds "every hidden cost in the victory" (Sandner, 2004), revealing that nothing is untouched by war. Through the rebuilding of the Shire, Sam's importance is further accentuated. He carefully replants the Shire and, with the help of his gift from Galadriel, gives the Shire a future of pastoral abundance. These final chapters place importance on the simple, pastoral, and environmental as worth fighting Sauron over. Sauron's intense and monumental desire for domination and power fails to triumph over Frodo and Sam's sense of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) over their idyllic home, and their innate belief that evil cannot be allowed to win.

The concept of 'happily ever after' usually pertains to the protagonist, but this is not the case for Frodo, whose ending is bittersweet. This common fairy-tale ending is satisfying because the characters seem to get what they deserve. There is not, however, a convenient way for the ring-bearer to become a hero whilst retaining innocence and humanity completely. His sacrifice, a burden he took on of his own volition, is something he must endure alone. It is important, therefore, that the ending encapsulate how Frodo's story has been affected by the ring, even after its destruction. Frodo's journey to the Grey Havens is a key way in which Tolkien does not comply with the idea of 'happily ever after'. Tolkien ensures that the conventional happy ending is not taken for granted; the long process of restoration, and the fact that Frodo is never able to fully reintegrate, show that healing is not instantaneous and may not occur at all. The Shire has been saved, but Frodo is unable to remain there. Even Sam—who gets married, has children, and becomes mayor—eventually has to say goodbye to the Shire, and follows Frodo to the Grey Havens.

Tolkien defined the sudden turn for the better as 'eucatastrophe'—the highest function of a fairy-tale (Tolkien, 1964). While *The Lord of the Rings* is not simply a fairy-tale, the

eucatastrophe of the ring falling into Mount Doom—even after Frodo succumbs to its power—is an essential part of why the climax is so satisfying. *The Scouring of the Shire* and *The Grey Havens* do not have the sudden finality of the eucatastrophe often found in traditional fairy-tale. *The Lord of the Rings* ends with what is arguably a subversion of reader expectation—"not with a celebration of heroic deeds, but quietly, with a return to the mundane world" (Lakowski, 2002). Tolkien himself stated that "without the simple and ordinary the noble and heroic is meaningless", and it is through the final chapters that the events of the series are put into perspective. In reality, life continues on long after the monster has been defeated and the songs have been sung. As Sam states, "I shan't call it an end, till we've cleared up the mess"—only the mess is never truly cleaned up. Atterbury (2012) describes this narrative shift as a 'coda', the tail of a piece of music that usually changes in tempo. This 'coda' of cleaning up contrasts sharply with the intense action leading up to throwing the ring into Mount Doom. It allows the reader to decompress and explore aspects of the setting and characters that they do not have the 'time' to assess in tenser moments.

It is essential that Tolkien not give the reader a 'happily ever after' if he is to sustain the secondary belief he has created. Absolute closure does not exist in the primary world (the reader's world), and as such should be "always elusive and never absolute" within the secondary world (Bowman, 2006). Tolkien enhances the realism of the ending of *The Lord of the Rings* by never giving absolute closure, or a 'happily ever after'. It seems natural and inevitable that the Shire is affected by Sauron and the war over the ring. It also seems natural that, even after the ring is destroyed, darkness and evil doings are still perpetuated by the ruffians, Wormtongue and Sharkey/Saruman. Evildoers and evildoings do not cease to exist once the ring is destroyed. When asked by Sam whether adventures have an ending, Frodo answers, "I suppose not. Someone else always has to carry on the story". Fantasy may contain phenomena not experienced in the primary world, but the world built needs to be realistic in and of itself. Tolkien's worldbuilding is too thorough to not give us some indication of the continued effects of the narrative on the characters, and the world that they inhabit. Frodo not escaping unscathed also seems inevitable and natural, especially considering that Smeagol becomes so perverted through using the ring. The foundations for a 'happily ever after' are never established as a possibility and thus it would be ludicrous, unbelievable and wholly unsatisfying to deliver one.

The Lord of the Rings continues to be "denied strong closure" by the appendices at the end of the book (Bowman, 2006). The appendices, as a narrative feature, serve to continue the narrative as if the events of the book, once read, become historical. This effectively denies closure in perpetuity as it changes to an entirely different literary mode, giving its fantasy an

almost legendary or mythical feel. The book itself is mentioned within the narrative when Frodo passes his unfinished story (given to him initially by Bilbo) to Sam to finish. Thus, the story has multiple authors in addition to a continued history in the style of historical appendices, complete with maps and lineage trees. Tolkien intended *The Lord of the Rings* to be, in kind, a pre-history of England. History, by definition, never achieves closure as it is continually being created, responding to itself and being rewritten. It is, in this way, entirely appropriate for the narrative to deny the reader a fairy-tale ending. Tolkien's work is believable because he creates backstory at a level one would expect in a historical recount. This would lose its impact if the narrative were to end abruptly post-Mount Doom celebrations.

The Lord of the Rings could be compared with oral classical poetry, in the way that narratives such as the Odyssey and the Iliad are both explorations and expressions of language while being significant parts of historical identity. While these stories—like *The Lord of the Rings*—have monsters and obstacles that need to be overcome as well as heroic eucatastrophe, they too are unsuited to fairy-tale closure. This is because they are not merely significant in the events they contain, but look both forwards and backwards to the history of an entire world. In addition to this, many epic poems have the same preoccupation with *nostos* or home-coming, where the final spotlight is not given to the slaughter of any monster but to the restoration of the heroes' home. In particular, *The Scouring of the Shire* seems very reminiscent of Odysseus' return to Ithica, when he has to scourge the land of the suitors that have made camp there. Similarly, the hobbits arrive to find that "ruffians" have set themselves up as enforcers in the Shire. They have been taking advantage of both the Shire and its people and must be driven out by the heroes before they can truly achieve *nostos*. Perhaps Tolkien would rather subscribe to the classical heroic journey—in which the return home is another heroic task—than have a *nostos* achieved through the convention of a 'happily ever after'.

In conclusion, it is entirely necessary that Tolkien does not give *The Lord of the Rings* a 'happily ever after'. Through complicating and essentially extending the end of the text past what might better resemble a fairy-tale ending, Tolkien begins and ends the text with an examination of the Shire. The effect of this is that importance is given to the common folk, and how their lives are changed by the text's events as a whole. This gives a rounding-effect to Tolkien's worldbuilding that is both realistic and necessary to sustain secondary belief. The amount and type of closure given by a text is often genre-specific and, in this way, Tolkien's work is an invocation of the legendary and historical. While the characters do not achieve a conventional happy ending, this makes for a far more impactful and meaningful journey.

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Gender Studies 101

Gender : Global and Local

Ngaire Smith

Cradle-Rocking with a Feminist Outlook: An Argument for a Feminist Modernisation of William Wallace's *The Hand that Rocks the Cradle, Rules the World*

Woman, how divine your mission,
Here upon our natal sod;
Keep – oh, keep the young heart open
Always to the breath of God!
All true trophies of the ages
Are from mother-love impearled,
For the hand that rocks the cradle
Is the hand that rules the world.

-Third Stanza, William Wallace 1819–1881

Upon first reading William Wallace's *The Hand that Rocks the Cradle, Rules the World*, I wondered if it were the nineteenth-century equivalent of white-male-saviour feminism. This deeply religious poem seems like praise of women's work with a bitter aftertaste of control and resentment. There is an assumption that cradle-rocking is only made valuable when linked with masculine ideals of rulership. This completely disregards a feminine view of power, involving collective success through consensual domination and submission. It may have been that Wallace's words were a comfort: Both men and women forced into gendered roles may have found that their gender-bending hearts could be sated without breaking social codes of conduct. However, under a modern, progressive lens, such a balm ought not to be needed. A feminist review will leave this poem both significantly altered in sentiment, and with far fewer words.

Wallace's words are steeped in a kind of religiosity that was culturally relevant to the nineteenth-century Western way. Whether or not he was aware of it, he has slapped femininity with the oldest backhanded compliment in the (good) book. "Women, how divine your mission" may have been meant as a well-intentioned reminder of the wonders of guiding the next generation, but in the same breath, it also lays upon women the onus of all the world's ills. Eve—the first biblical bad-girl, the devourer of forbidden knowledge, helpless against the advances of Satan's long and wriggling snake—doomed humanity to suffer when she ate from the tree of knowledge (Sollée, 2017). Womankind, as Wallace would latently have it, has_been following Eve's legacy ever since. This backhanded blaming can go so far as saying that even women's lower hierarchical status—and potentially the entire patriarchal system of oppression—exists because mothers have taught it to their children; women are of lower value because they want it that way. After all, "the hand that rocks the cradle, is the hand the rules the world"—or

not. Blaming women for their own suffering is biblically old, and hints of it still linger in common language today. 'The curse' being used as slang for menstruation again signals our bad-girl, Eve; females suffer menstrual cramping as penance for original sin (Sollée, 2017). Though ridiculous and patently a-scientific, these seemingly innocuous sentiments do still cause harm in the undercurrent of social thought. So, too, it is with Wallace's words: Women as weak, women as less-than, women as joy-killers, women as harbingers of terror, women as burden. "All true trophies of the ages" may be thought of less as "mother-love", and more as the success and failure of the specific individuals involved.

It seems baseless that "the hand that rocks the cradle" must also "rule the world." Can one not be done without the other? Childrearing need not be linked with rulership to be considered worthy and successful. The masculinisation of success was—and is—rife in Western culture. Submission is too often linked with death of autonomy, and masculine thought would have it that to not rule is to submit (Hartstock, 1992). The problem with this sentiment is twofold: Firstly, it suggests that submission is only done in totality—that to submit in one way is to give over all freedom of choice. Secondly, it suggests that anything other than world domination is failure at masculinity, and therefore, a failure at life. However, submission does not entail the entire rejection of autonomy and—in slight digression from Wallace's topic—the BDSM community will gladly attest to this fact. The kink community is the perfect example of power exchanges: Sexual connections involving domination, and even perceived force, involve power relations which are the result of freely given consent (Hartstock, 1992). To give sustained consent, all participants must have and retain autonomy throughout the entire interaction. This holds for non-sexual interactions, too. Team-work, of which a society is a significant example, requires compromise, and the exchange of control and submission, to complete any task. So long as consent is given, those taking on the submissive role remain fully autonomous. Without some submission society would be a flailing mess, with each person boldly shouting instructions to no one in particular. In our culture, hegemonic masculinity—to which domination is heavily linked—occupies the position of norm. Everything else is measured against it, and so we are left with this lingering sentiment (Young, 2011). As the previous example shows, there is an imperfect fit between hegemonic culture and actual life (Hartstock, 1992). If it were possible for even a majority to achieve this sort of perceived hegemonic success, society would crumble, or at least look very different to what we currently experience.

If domination is masculine, the social binary would place submission as feminine. Submission as failure appears to frame femininity as failure, too, and we see this play out hugely as women take a more active role in public spheres. It is not strictly the female body, but the codifying of it into specific appearances, that culturally dictates what it is to be feminine (Smith, 2015). This allows women to style themselves in more masculine codes of dress and manner as they try to assimilate into male dominated spheres. However, the integration of women into public spheres ought not imply assimilation into the game of eternal failure, in a race towards hegemonic masculinity (Young 2011). This "laddette" behaviour is equality at its most shallow; it suggests that women adopt only the most anti-social and pointless of masculine behaviours as a sign of empowerment (Smith, 2015). Power as masculine, destructive, and selfish seems impossible to reconcile with femininity; thus, there can be an overwhelming belief that women do not need power (Miller, 1992). It is entirely understandable to not want to be aligned with what power is currently understood to be. Perhaps, then, a redefinition is in order. Power is simply the capacity to produce change (Miller, 1992). When thought of in this way, it is possible to imagine a feminised version. Unlike the traditional masculine power, this feminine version need not limit the power of others (Miller, 1992). With a feminine view, success could be realised as more balanced; success as a give and take between domination and submission; success that empowers not only the self, but the whole community. For some, it might be better said that the hand that rocks the cradle has a hand in ruling the world.

Though some women do not identify with masculine concepts of power, some do, and their experience of womanhood is equally valid. So too it is for men who identify with femininity. Perhaps for these people, Wallace's words were neither congratulatory nor accusatory, but a balm for their discontent. Yes, modern women are now more able to embody a masculine sense of self—but when Wallace penned his works, this was far less the case. Regardless of accessibility, however, the gendered behavioural differences between men and women are socially constructed. If a portion of today's women are successful at participating in highly-competitive, now slightly female-dominated fields, it is likely that this perceived gender difference was always fallacious (Fine, 2017). Women forced into the role of wife and mother out of sheer lack of alternatives could well have found a certain sense of comfort in the idea that, at least in some small way, it was they who ruled the world. Of course, this is hardly compensation for living in a world that grants so little autonomy, and women's ability to rule should not be contingent upon cradle-rocking. Domination at the expense of others is masculine, but that does not exclude women from participating. There is a huge mistake made when persistence of the status quo—in this case, gendered behavioural norms—is confused with a fixed scientific

law (Fine, 2017). Women have masculine traits. It is normal for women to have masculine desires, and to limit their role to classically feminine activities like child-rearing is futile. Similarly, men may have been soothed by Wallace's assertion that to rock a cradle had masculine power—it may have allowed them to rear their children without feeling emasculated. Fortunately, people of all genders now have access to wider realms of social movement; the hand the rules the world need not rock the cradle, and the hand that rocks the cradle need not feel shamed for enjoying it.

Wallace's words feel like a weak attempt at praising women. He thanks women for "all true trophies of the ages", implying that all true tragedies are also at their hand. The poem is steeped, too, in misogyny; there is an assertion that for something to be a worthy endeavour, there must be some resultant domination. This form of power is masculinised, and is a kind of success that is plainly unattainable to most people. Rulership and domination, then, cannot be the only valued form of power. Success with a feminine lens need not be at the expense of others. Collective achievement through power exchanges by freely given consent ought to be of equal value as individual success. In modern society, there is more freedom to gender-blend and step outside the feminine and masculine roles regardless of assigned sex. Thus, no matter who one is seen to be, the rocking of cradles and the ruling of worlds need not be sexed activities. At worst, Wallace's words are anti-feminine. At best, they were a comfort which ought not to be relevant to the progressive modern world. Given all this, the dissection of misogyny and religiosity in Wallace's poem leaves only a simple refrain: The hand that rocks the cradle chose to do so.

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Linguistics 320

Topics in Pragmatics

Jennifer Cheuk

Speech Acts and Literature: A Linguistic Analysis of *Richard III* and *Alice in Wonderland*

In order to fully understand the behaviour of performatives and speech acts, we must consider how they are utilized in the literary sphere. In *How to do Things with Words*, J. L. Austin (1962) does not consider the implications his speech act theory has for literature, rather asserting that: "…a performative utterance will (…) be in a peculiar way hollow or void if said by an actor on the stage, or if introduced in a poem, or spoken in soliloquy" (p. 22). I am going to tackle Austin's statement that the theatrical and literary sphere cannot be grounds for meaningful speech acts. This essay will be divided into two sections. First, I will explore the theories relevant to my discussion. Second, I will be using these theories in conjunction with my analysis of two literary texts: Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and William Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

I will be debunking the nullification of speech acts by considering them in their own literary reality. Through an analysis of Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, I will show that performatives and speech acts exist in their own literary landscape. Through a speech act analysis of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, I will demonstrate how literature uses a pragmatic skeleton to evoke emotion. The world of *Alice* is full of speech acts that give rise to their own Felicity Conditions and actions. This can be likened to the variety of speech acts and performatives cross-culturally. How can we nullify the speech acts and performatives of literature, when we can justify our own real-world speech act conventions? These are equally nonsensical. As Leila S. May (2017) states: "[T]he performative utterances employed by (…) characters in the Alice book (…) suggests the relativity of our own social structure (…) [suggesting] the arbitrariness and vulnerability of the foundations of our social world…" (p. 69). I will be analysing the ways in which speech acts are used in literature, and how they may enhance speech act performativity. The theories mentioned here will be clarified in the following section.

Relevant Theories

Austin explores the idea that some utterances are not easily categorized into truth-evaluable statements. These utterances do more than just state the action: They perform the action. Some of Austin's examples are:

> "I do"—as uttered in the course of the marriage ceremony.
>
> "I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth"—as uttered when smashing a bottle against the stem.
>
> "I give and bequeath my watch to my brother"—as occurring in a will (Austin, 1962, p. 5).

The examples demonstrate that some utterances do not describe the action being performed, but rather situate themselves as a part of the action. The uttering of these sentences are crucial to the performing of some act. "The point of uttering such sentences is not just to say things, but also to actively do things" (Huang, 2014, p. 120). To perform each of the exampled actions correctly, there must be the uttering of some pre-approved sentence. A marriage ceremony would not be complete without the bride and groom uttering "I do". As Austin (1962) says, "I am not reporting on a marriage: I am indulging in it" (p. 6). Austin calls these utterances "performatives", denoted from the root 'performance'. These performatives are distinguished from their truth-evaluable counterparts "constatives". To briefly summarise the concepts: Performatives perform acts, while constatives assert or state. Contrast "I now pronounce you man and wife" with "I have three daughters". The first sentence is a crucial ingredient in the performing of marriage. Without this utterance, the act will be incomplete. To emphasize the performative aspect of these utterances, imagine a scenario whereby the appointed minister or priest at your own marriage fails to say these words. The marriage up until this point is legitimate, but without the final performative in place, the procedure is suddenly incomplete. However, it cannot be evaluated as true or false. If the priest does not utter the final performative, does that make the entire ceremony false? This concerns ideas of Felicity Conditions (explored later). Conversely, the second sentence does not actively contribute in the performance of some act. As a constative utterance, it is employed to assert something that is truth-evaluable about a real-world situation or state of affairs. It is easy to assess the truth conditions of a constative as it relates directly to facts drawn from the external world, rather than performing an abstract action. If a speaker states "I have three daughters", when in fact they do not, this assertion is immediately false.

Performatives must have particular characteristics and abide by certain conditions in order to be 'correct'. Austin finds a pattern of conditions that must be met for the performative to be "happy" or successful. He found that certain scenarios would lead to a performative being unhappy. Thus, arises Austin's (1962) Felicity Conditions on Performatives:

> A (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect.
> (ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure.
>
> B The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely.
>
> C (i) The persons must have the requisite thoughts, feelings, intentions, as specified.

(ii) If consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do so (p. 14–15).

Felicity Conditions help determine under what circumstances a performative will be successful. These are the conditions that must be satisfied for a speech act to be meaningful in the real world. Strawson (1964) argues that Austin's Felicity Conditions are too heavily concerned with "ritualized or institutionalized acts" (p. 290–302). For the purpose of this essay, as I am analysing the performatives and conventions in literature and comparing them to our own arbitrary real-world conventions, I will do so from the perspective of Austin's Felicity Conditions. I am more concerned with the conventions behind performatives, fictional or real.

The final concept relevant to my essay will be that of the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. As Huang (2014) states, "[t]he initial distinction made by Austin between performatives and constatives was (…) rejected (…) in favour of a general theory of speech acts" (p. 126). Throughout Austin's (1962) search to find a clear distinction between constatives and performatives, it was discovered that constatives were not as starkly dichotomous with performatives as initially thought. He found that "commonly the same sentence is used on different occasions of utterance in both ways, performative and constative" (p. 67). In lecture 11, we realize that constative utterances still have performative traits: It is discovered that "'statements' too are liable to infelicity" (p. 137).

> Princess Diana died in a fatal car crash in Paris with Dodi Al Fayed, but I don't believe it. (Huang, 2014, p. 126)

This constative utterance violates Felicity Condition C. If a speaker chooses to utter a truth-evaluable constative, they bind themselves to the truth-conditions of that statement. The example performs the Condition C act of belief: The speaker utters a fact but then contradicts it by not having the requisite sense of belief. The example Austin uses is: Through stating "the cat is on the mat" (p. 145), we implicate a requisite mindset that must be maintained for the constative to be successful. If we state this without believing the cat is on the mat, it does not equate falseness, but rather a similar unhappiness to performatives. As Austin says, "(t)his is parallel to the sense—is the same sense—as that in which "I promise to be there" implies that I intend to be there" (p. 135). As Austin discovers, the 'statement' utterances do not differ from performatives as much as previously expected: To state can be to performatively argue, inform, testify. These constatives still perform an act that changes the external world. This leads to the concept of the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary forces. We reject the idea that

performatives are a special case of speech acts. Rather, we allow for blanket terms to encompass both performatives and constatives:

1) The locutionary act is the basic act of speaking.
2) The illocutionary act is the intention or purpose a speaker has in mind by making the utterance. It can also refer to what the speaker wishes to accomplish. Every utterance has an illocutionary force. The illocutionary act "is considered to be an expression of a speaker's intention and the addressee's recognition of it".
3) The perlocutionary act/effect is the effect on the addressee/s by the speaker's utterance. While the illocutionary act is generally planned by the speaker, the perlocutionary act is out of the speaker's control and is not always intended (Huang, 2014, p. 126).

Alice in Wonderland

Much of the debate about whether a speech act stands in a literary environment arises from the distance between the speaker and the addressee. How does the speech act still stand with such removal between character and reader? Figure 1 is a simple model I have constructed to depict the distance between author and reader. The speech act input has to be filtered through characters to reach the reader output.

Input filter output

AUTHOR → [character → character] → READER

Figure 1. A basic model to show the distance between author and reader.

Many linguists may feel a speaker absence rids the utterance of its speech act quality and nullifies it. However, Petrey (1990) states that "Austin's invention was not speaker-act theory but speech-act theory (…) what matters isn't who produces the words where but what the words do how: Not individuals but conventions" (p. 79). Petrey focuses on the way an utterance can still be an institutionalized act within the context of the literature. Although there is a fictional barrier between character and reader, the characters are still impacted by certain performatives in the literary context.

Within the fictional reality of Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, the most feared utterance is a performative: The Red Queen's "Off with your head!" (Carroll, 1966). Austin speculates that a speech act uttered in a literary context will be meaningless or empty. However, this is untrue in the reality of the novel. The "off with your head!" utterance explicitly leads to a performed act. Furthermore, the performative clearly has certain Felicity Conditions that must be adhered to in order for a successful speech act. The performative does not directly impact our own reality, but it undeniably impacts the reality in *Alice*. When analysing literature from a linguistic perspective, we must consider the reality within the text as part of its own functioning, culturally-specific society. To those who may oppose this idea: All speech acts are constructed societally, they all have an element of nonsensicality. A speech is not nullified just because it does not produce a meaningful effect in our society. As discussed in Huang's (2014) book, "In some Muslim cultures, under the appropriate circumstances, the uttering of a sentence (…) three times consecutively by a husband to his wife (…) will ipso facto constitute divorce" (p. 126). To a married couple in a Western society, performing this speech act will be meaningless and nonsensical. However, under the "appropriate conditions" (p. 126), it will be a rational speech act. It is the same with literary speech acts. Instead of perceiving them as part of some falsified society, we must realize that the speech acts in literature still perform certain things. The speech acts in *Alice* are not nullified in the reality of the book, as certain performatives lead to certain conventional consequences.

"Off with your head" can be satisfactorily analysed under Austin's Felicity Conditions:

> A (i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect.

The uttering of "off with your head" by someone in a position of power (either at the status of the appointed Red Queen or higher), will result in a conventionally allowed procedure of beheading.

> (ii) The circumstances and persons must be appropriate, as specified in the procedure.

The person must be of an appropriate position of power. If uttered by someone not in this position of power, the procedure would not take effect. The importance of power and authority in this procedure effects the utterance greatly, as demonstrated at the end of the novel when Alice surpasses the Queen's level of authority and the guards no longer take orders from the Queen.

> B The procedure must be executed (i) correctly and (ii) completely.

If the Red Queen uttered "OFF!" instead of the full utterance, the procedure would not take place. Again, this shows the importance of the utterance being executed in full for the real-world consequences to take place.

C (i) The persons must have the requisite thoughts, feelings, intentions, as specified.

(ii) If consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do so.

The ability to apply Felicity Conditions to this utterance can be further confirmed when a misfire occurs in the novel. When the utterance is directed at the Cheshire Cat (who has appeared here as a disembodied head), an argument ensues about whether the performative "off with your head!" still applies when the person in question does not have a body to behead: "[Y]ou couldn't cut off a head unless there was a body to cut it off from" (p. 104). This demonstrates that the speech acts in *Alice* are functioning according to Austin's speech act theory, and are liable to misfires and abuses.

I have explored the way in which performatives can still produce meaningful effects within their own, constructed literary realm. This can be paralleled with our real-world performatives. Performatives can shift between meaningful and nonsensical with each cultural and societal context. Because speech acts are based on institutional procedures and constructed conventions, one can argue that no speech act is really "empty", because it may produce a meaningful act in some cultural context of which we are unaware.

Furthermore, literature is constructed solely of words. Therefore, every utterance in a theatrical, poetic, or literary space is part of an act of construction. This gives constatives a more prominent speech act force: Every truth-conditional sentence that merely describes, and does not actively perform, still performs the literary act of construction. Every string of words is a worldbuilding act that enhances the audience/reader's perlocutionary response to the stimulus text. *Alice* is nothing more than a series of utterances and sentences strung together to create a literary reality. Speech acts are not nullified but enhanced in a literary sphere. Petrey (1990) comments that "a theatrical spectator's experience begins and ends with observation of words doing things" (p. 86). Miller (2002) explores the idea that because literature is an "imaginary realm" (p. 38), the performativity of the writing is crucial. The ability to immerse oneself in the virtual reality of the text is a larger performative action in itself: "[Literature] requires a tacit decision to commit all one's powers to bringing the work into existence (…) the reader must [implicitly] utter, in response to the work's invocation another performative act: "I promise to believe in you" (p. 38). This is an interesting concept, as it seems to also pinpoint the reason behind 'failed' literature. Just as Austin concerns himself with infelicities, we will briefly explore the concept of 'bad literature'. It seems that an inability to believe in the fictional world of a

text arises from a misfire of the procedure. Engaging in literature is a procedure that can be analysed under certain Felicity Conditions. We do not engage with literature fully unless we perform the required commitment: The performative commitment "to [bring] the work into existence as an imaginary space" (Miller, p. 38). This is what negates Austin's theory that literary speech acts are nullified. Engaging with the literature (picking up a book, attending a performance) requires a certain implicit performative that, when not adhered to, leads to a 'failure' or 'failed literature'. I previously stated that under the "appropriate conditions" a literary speech act is valid. Not only is it valid in the virtual reality of the literature—it is also valid because we adhere to the appropriate conditions of the literary procedure. Because we commit to the performative "I promise to believe in you", we are promising to perceive the speech acts as valid in their own plane of existence. *Alice* may be full of nonsensical performatives, but for the duration of the literature we are committing to the validity of the speech acts within this piece of literature. They are not nullified, because we are engaging in a procedure just as conventional as marriage.

Richard III

Ohmann's metaphor "in a play, the action rides on a train of illocutions" is greatly relevant here. *Richard III* uses illocutionary forces to maintain intensity throughout the play. Much of the audience engagement and excitement actually arises from a basic skeleton of linguistic techniques, rather than literary techniques. Richard opens the play through a soliloquy directed at the audience, outlining the intention and purpose of his actions. While the audience is aware of the illocutionary force behind Richard's utterances, other characters are left unaware. We know that Richard intends to murder and manipulate his way to the throne. This is one level of sustaining literary intensity—the fact that audiences/readers are made exclusively privy to a character's illocutionary acts. Another level of intensity is created through the (real life) fact that we cannot predict the perlocutionary reactions on the stage. This is similar to how communication is produced in reality, but the interest of the theatre comes from the fact we can gain a third-party insight into our own language. As Bollobas (1980) states, when analysing Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*: "Gatsby and Buchanan (…) never [cease] to perform illocutionary acts, thus never lowering the intensity of the dialogues…" (p. 41). Therefore, the suspense of theatre is not necessarily from literary features, but from the fact that it is "composed of a series of speech acts" (p. 40). The highly concentrated range of illocutionary and perlocutionary acts is what constructs theatre. Macrocosmically, one can even say the text is an example of authorial illocution, and that our reader response is part of the perlocution. A text can be seen as one speech act, driven by the intention or illocutionary force of the author.

Action cannot happen in *Richard III* unless stated. This is, on a basic level, exemplified through the use of stage directions. Constatives serve as the stage directions that provoke action in the stage-world. In *Richard III*, there are directions such as "[The bearers set down the coffin]" (Shakespeare; Holland, 2002, p. 13) and "[Richard slips the ring on her finger]" (p. 21). These constatives change the state of the on-stage action, prompting a certain act from the characters. The stage directions are the most important performative in theatre as they create action: Stage directions enable the action within the performance. Since we are considering the literary plain as its own individual reality, the stage directions are, indeed, performing an act that changes the state of the literary reality. Although the stage directions are not uttered, they are still part of a significant performative action. As Petrey (1990) says, "a performative [can still] (…) retain its exemplary value without a speaker (…) we can get married by proxy (…) make a promise in memo" (p. 79).

The idea that action cannot happen unless stated is further exemplified in Richard's expository soliloquy. Richard must utter the speech act "I am determined to prove a villain" (p. 13) before he can act as a villain. The situation in 1:2 is not fully constructed until Anne states "(r)est you, whiles I lament King Henry's corpse" (p. 6). Until this is stated, the audience does not have a reality to place Anne in; nor is her situation fully in act. Because literature relies so heavily on words, significant importance is placed on speech acts. Each scene centres itself in the speech acts uttered by characters. This supports my argument that speech acts in literature act as a worldbuilding device.

Conclusion

Through my exploration of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Richard III,* I hope to have demonstrated that speech acts are far from nullified in a literary context. In *Alice*, speech acts exist in their own literary plane, functioning within Austin's Felicity Conditions and impacting on the virtual world of the literature. *Richard III*'s theatrical landscape is actually a concentrated bundle of illocutionary forces, bound together by worldbuilding constatives. Performatives work to energise a text, bringing it to life onstage or on the page. Without them, the literature would simply be a bunch of arbitrary words.

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English 344

Writing Creative Prose

Joshua Hetherington

The Front Porch

On the day that David and his sister Katherine returned to Thames to transfer their father from the hospital into the rest home, David drove himself and Katherine back to Auckland in his sister's car. It was May and the ashen autumn sky was bleak and low, and there was a bitter wind. When they drove past the Miranda Hot Springs sign, about forty-five minutes into their journey home, the dark clouds they'd seen hanging in the distance broke and it poured with rain. The powerful wipers on Katherine's SUV thumped and they spoke over the beat for the first time in a very long time about when they were children. They spoke of their childhood summers staying at the family beach house on the Thames Coast, and they talked about their mother and father.

David said he felt that their parents had allowed themselves to be hamstrung in their relationship by things they couldn't help, even though he'd seen them trying at times, but Katherine didn't have much to say about that. They spoke, but only obliquely, about the fights their parents used to have, sometimes in front of them. Despite this, David said he remembered much of his childhood with fondness, and when Katherine told him matter-of-factly that she didn't have any happy memories from her childhood, he was stunned.

Two months before, their father Desmond had spent the night on the front porch of the beach house, bent up on the couch. He'd locked himself out. The key wasn't where it should have been. It should have been in the lock but it wasn't and it wasn't under the cushion on the white wicker chair where it was sometimes kept, either.

– Christ knows where it got to, his father had said.

It was a large covered porch, more like an open living room, and his father had always loved it out there. David could remember, from when he was a boy, his father sitting on the wooden ledge that divided the porch from outside. There, above the old wooden steps that ran up to the landing where the small wooden gate still opened onto the porch, his father would sit. David remembered him tall and bent like a heron, dangling his legs and gazing out to sea with a can of beer and a cigarette that he'd ash into the hibiscus tree and stub out in a paua shell.

Peter Stuyvesant milds, he smoked. David remembered this because he'd bought them for his father occasionally, ridden his bike up the road to the dairy back in Auckland, with enough for an ice block, too. Two or three dollars the cigarettes had cost then. And David had loved to buy them, also, from the vending machine at the Mon Desir Hotel in Takapuna when his family went there for lunch. The hotel was nestled in a grove of pohutukawa trees, with guest bungalows strewn around the hotel swimming pool and across the wide lawn that sloped down to Takapuna Beach. David had loved swimming in the pool and roaming the grounds with

Katherine, down to the beach and across the threshold marked by the scoria wall, down the steps to the sand. If the weather was good they would sit at an outside table but if his father ran out of cigarettes, David would hunt in the gloomy interior of the hotel with Katherine for the cigarette machine, squatting like a Dalek in the foyer. The packet would drop down into the chrome tray with a soft 'thunk', six cents change sealed somehow inside the cellophane. David would sniff the packet and could still remember the sour, muted smell of dry tobacco through the plastic and the soft weight of the hard pack in his hand.

He hated his father drinking now but sometimes he liked to think of him, from when he was a boy, his dad sitting out on the porch with a cigarette and a can of Lion Brown. He used to sit gazing out to sea and sometimes David would sit with him. He'd climb up onto the low wooden ledge and sit next to his father on his left, dangling his legs from the higher part of the wall, and his father would swap his cigarette to his right hand and put his left arm around him. His father would offer him a slug of the bitter beer from the can, so sharp and cold that it stung David as he swallowed and made his eyes water.

The black hills rose over his father's shoulder towards the darkening peninsula north. They'd both look west at the sunset beyond the ponga on the edge of the lawn, watching the black island cut outs on the horizon silhouetted against the burnt orange sky. In the deep blue of the quiet dusk they would listen to the soft sea peeling beyond the dark coast road. It wasn't boring sitting out there with his dad, and even though he could hear the TV on inside he never felt like he was missing out on anything. He'd loved the taste of the bitter beer on his tongue and on the roof of his mouth, and the smell of cigarette smoke as his father drew a deep drag and closed his mouth, breathing the smoke back out without even seeming to notice. He loved his father and he'd felt a part of something true and grown up as he'd sat there under his father's warm arm.

The front porch mostly scared his father now. Lots of things did. David knew that because his father had said so. Not about the porch, but about other things, like the TV when he couldn't figure out how to change the channel, or a phone number he couldn't read, or the front door when he couldn't find the key. He'd lived alone there for years now, nearly twenty, and he'd lived there as a child, too. But David thought that sometimes being alone reminded his father of things he'd rather not remember. When he had left David's mother, Rose, and come down here, he hadn't really even called it breaking up. It was like how he'd deal with a burnt pot—by putting it outside to cool and then just leaving it to rust.

When Desmond had had his first stroke twelve years ago, he'd stopped the smoking for good. But not the drinking. And out there on the porch, over the road

from the beach—sandy after a storm from the north, rocky after a blow from the south—David knew his father still felt alright out there with a couple of VBs.

Even so, he knew it wasn't the same anymore for his father with his driver's licence gone. His sight had been badly damaged by the glaucoma he'd told David about on the phone. David had taken in the word 'glaucoma', but not really what it meant. Not until he'd gone down to take his father to the specialist the year before. Then he'd understood, and he was relieved at the news that the damage had been halted by the operations his father had had. But it was still a shock to comprehend the seriousness of it and he wished he'd taken his father more seriously earlier, on the phone.

When his father's TV had packed up he'd phoned David. That had made Desmond scared, too—the broken TV. Katherine and her husband, Ben, had sorted that out for him, just as they'd sorted out his hearing aid a couple of years before. She'd asked David if he wanted to contribute to the hearing aid, and he had, but he'd hated having to ask his wife Caroline if they could, especially after the incident with his father when they'd all stayed at the beach house with him one Christmas.

After the arrival of the new TV David missed a call from the Thames police, but listened to a voice message later on from an officer who'd responded to a call from Desmond. His father had been distressed that the new TV wasn't working – that he couldn't find Sky News or the sports channel, probably. He'd sounded so distressed that the officer had gone over to make sure there was nothing else the matter. He'd helped Desmond sort out the TV and had stuck around for a yarn, but he'd been worried about Desmond's state of mind and contacted David to let him know.

– You can't just call the cops every time the TV goes on the blink, David said.

– Yeah, I know, said his father. But I was confused. I was a bit scared.

His father didn't know where he was half the time, he said, but he wasn't really joking. He left a message on David's phone after Easter saying something about the four-day holiday not being much of a holiday for him at all. He called David again a couple of days later, after realising that he'd been out an hour all week because he'd forgotten to put his watch back for the end of daylight savings.

– You think someone could have mentioned daylight savings, he said.

David knew his father used to really look forward to Easter. The children and grandchildren would come and stay, and he'd wander around the front lawn with them hunting for the eggs. His father always loved to show his granddaughters, Ellen and Becca and Liza, the mushroom circles that would pop up in autumn. In those moments David loved it, too. It felt like home again, like when he and

Katherine were kids staying there on holiday. But David hadn't brought his family down to visit for years. Hardly ever, and not to stay the night if they did. Not since the summer his father got so drunk that he became his old self once more, tearing everything down, then doubling down and saying things he could never take back: knowing this even as he said them—saying them knowing this.

– What shall I do? His father asked David the next morning.

– There's nothing you can do, David said.

***

Once, when David was a boy, his father had fought with his mother and she'd locked him out of the house in Auckland. It was summer and they were drunk, or his father was, but it was daylight savings so it wasn't yet dark.

– Open the fucking door! His father had yelled. David had watched as his father picked up the wrought iron frame of the butterfly chair on the concrete patio and swung it through the ranch slider pane as his mother screamed. That had always stayed with David, the way it shattered, so beautiful and slow and strange.

***

When David's grandmother died, Desmond used the money he got from the sale of his mother's flat in Auckland to do the beach house up. David's brother-in-law Ben was an architect and he had come up with a design for the renovations. David was out of work at the time and his father paid him to come down each week and help the builder with pulling up the tongue-in-groove floor boards, countersinking the old iron nails, stripping doors, sharing in the transformation, and drinking with his old man.

For a while the electricity was turned off and at dusk, in the opened-out heart of the house, with the old brick chimney exposed, the dull kauri boards soaking up the dim evening light, and ghosts hovering in the gloom, his father held court, ashing on the floor with a VB in his other hand. He talked about the family coming down and staying whenever they wanted to, and about the new lease of life they were finally giving the house, and about the legacy it would be for the whole family.

After that they'd driven, David driving his father up the coast to the pub where, in the summers, he'd waited outside as a boy with Katherine in the back seat of the Mazda while their father drank with friends. That night David and his father ordered a pub dinner, drinking tap beer with it, ordering more rounds afterwards

and smoking his father's cigarettes. Then David drove them both home, back around the coast, three sheets.

* * *

Once, before his father's stroke, David had visited the beach house with Caroline and the girls and some friends, and they'd all stayed and celebrated New Year's Eve and played cricket on the front lawn like they used to. His father had welcomed everyone and celebrated with them, and despite David's warnings, they'd all encouraged Desmond to drink with them. And during the game of cricket the ball had been struck hard in the dusk light at his father, and his father had tried to catch the ball with his free hand, his right hand, but he'd fallen backwards and his head had bounced hard on the hard summer lawn, and David and his wife both saw his head bounce hard. And in the morning there was blood on his father's pillow, but David couldn't remember how he knew this.

Before this Desmond had gone to Alcoholics Anonymous, and one night with a cigarette on the front porch he had told David that he was an alcoholic and that he was determined not to have another drink, and that he wanted to try and make it up with David's mother. And David was grateful for the news that his father had stopped drinking and had started going to AA meetings, and he told him that he was and he put his arm around his father, and they both looked out into the dark and listened to the sea lapping, David with a beer and his father without.

* * *

In Thames hospital—where the ambulance had taken his father after the turn he'd taken in the neighbours' front garden—the doctor went back into their father's room with David and Katherine to help them explain to Desmond what he thought was wrong. His father sat and stared at each of them in turn and David noticed his father's ankles showing below his hospital gown. His ankles looked translucent above the short orange hospital socks he wore. The doctor said that he thought it was very likely that Desmond was suffering from dementia associated with his stroke and possibly with other smaller strokes he had suffered over the years. But it wasn't until after the doctor left the room, when the children tried again to help their father understand, that things seemed to sink in a bit more.

– Jesus, his father said.

He was unshaven, his stubble darker against his untrimmed grey hair. He had left his glasses behind at the beach house and he was wearing black, horn-rimmed glasses the hospital had arranged for him. They were like the frames David

had seen him wearing in black and white photos from the sixties. In the photographs David had always thought his father had looked great, like Buddy Holly. But here in the brand new, ground-floor hospital room, looking out onto the pretty rose garden and up into the dark hills looming behind the small town, he looked small and lost like Mr Magoo.

He looked like that again a week later, when David returned to visit on a Thursday afternoon. He was sitting alone in his hospital room and when David said 'Hi, Dad', his father peered up at him for a long time without recognising him and David had to remind his father who he was.

On the night David and Katherine got back to Auckland after taking their father to the rest home in Thames, David lay awake in bed. He thought of what Katherine had said about not having any happy childhood memories and he searched his own memories for moments in which he was sure she must have been happy, too. He thought of decorating the Christmas tree down at the beach house with his family, and of the big, hollow pohutukawa tree at the other end of the beach that he and his sister used to climb together and sit in as they read their books above the bay. He thought of the bush tracks the family had walked and the rivers they had swum in. He thought of the cricket games they had played, of the rocks they had hopped and of the mussels they had picked and steamed. And he thought of another pohutukawa, a huge tree they had called the Magic Faraway Tree, that they had climbed and played in over the years, until one night it had collapsed with a crack like a thunderclap onto the old bach it rested on, only two doors down from the beach house.

David thought of the way his father's old, blue woollen jumper had smelt—of smoke, but spicy, too, like his dad—as his father had gathered him up and squeezed him and squeezed Katherine (who always hated being squeezed). And he thought of the fights his parents had had, of the drunkenness and the bitterness and of the swearing and crying. And then he remembered how it had felt, the jolt of fear in his stomach when the yelling had started, as he waited with Katherine in her room for the raging to stop.

David remembered how his father used to love the All Blacks and how he had hated Muldoon, and he remembered how bitter his father had felt about the 1981 Spring Bok tour. On Saturday afternoons his father would disappear for walks while the games were on, missing the abandonment of the Waikato match and the flour bombing of Eden Park on the TV while David watched the carnage in awe.

And David remembered, a few years later, his father chasing anti-homosexual law reformers off the property, telling them to 'Just fuck off!'

-– They fucked off all right. Fucked right off, his father had said.

Then David remembered one night, many years ago as a teenager, when his father had answered a phone call from the hospital. David was in the living room at home in Auckland with his family. His sister was there, and his mother and grandmother—Rose's mother, Lizzy. They were waiting for news about her husband, Bernard, who had suffered a heart attack. David could hear his father speaking on the phone in the hallway to someone at the hospital, and David remembered his grandmother waiting there with them all just before his father came back into the living room. She was waiting there in hope, despite the sound of his father's voice on the phone in the hallway, her face open and young with hope in the face of the news her son-in-law now had to bring her.

– I'm so sorry, Lizzy, his father had said, so softly and with such deep compassion, as he held her in his arms and made himself as solid as he could for her as the living room crumbled to dust.

And David thought about the empty beach house now, and of his father's empty bedroom. And he thought of the waves padding softly on the beach and echoing on the empty front porch. And he thought of his father alone in a strange bed, in a strange room, quiet without the sound of the sea outside, and he wept until he was out of tears altogether.

English 252

Creative Writing : Introduction

Sarai McKay

Potato Germ and Gold
A Collection for Grandpa

Potato germ and gold

grubby hands
black fingernails
chalky palms

lift the lid
calloused crust
potato germ
and gold

digging out the flesh
with grubby hands

closing the lid
and smacks from our mother

horses trample our toes
and carry us to
crayfish labour
a cheaper form of currency

grubby girls
black boys
chalky kingdoms
bleeding

military

mothers and fathers

temples
and Hong Kong
on the tongue

a prophet for a son

and
one single
daughter

potato germ rising
on the flakey window sill

stored in a glass
peanut butter jar

Gold

Baptism prayer

Uhia mai te whenua

ki āku mokopuna,

kia whakaora ai

E te Atua

kia mahea ai te huarahi i mua i āku tuhanga

kei hea te awa o tāku iriri?

Our Father who art in heaven

we gather here today on sacred ground

the place where my boyhood lies

living in the cracks between the dirt

chilled by the spirits

of those that we left behind

kei hea te anawhata?

suddenly I am no longer boy

and all that remains is the chimney

smoke rising

a signal to heaven

that I have returned

to claim my birth right

the land

my ahi kā

kei hea tōku māma?

last I left her

bent in the dirt

greeting it

with bloody hands

offering life to it

kua mate te katoa

ka tangi taku wairua

as I wander through my papa kāinga

as a stranger

nā ngā parawhenua

kei hea te awa o tāku iriri?

he whaikōrero, an excerpt

Broken Maori

ka tangi te titi

ka tangi te kaka

ka tangi hoki

ko au

tihei mauri ora.

ki tō mātou

matua

i te rangi

nāna nei ngā mea

katoa.

ki ngā hunga mate

haere

haere

haere

atu ra.

Joyce,

our Matriarch
we would not be here
without you.

the pōwhiri

tells the story

of our journey

back to

Heavenly Father.

Mothers

thank you for the work you do,

You are sacred

and important.

Fathers, husbands

you are nothing,

without the

women

in your lives.

sovereignty

has been taken.

we are the masters

of our own destiny.

singing

take a look at

yourself

and you may

see others

differently.

I am running out of poems

I am running out of poems,
and I am running out of memories

He has always been a military man
only home for the holidays

Now my memories
of him
are leaving on a river boat
on the Waikato

In a cop car on the

highway between Opotiki
and Whakatane

In the downstairs room of my parents' house

In a blue ute

At a whanaunga's house

That I have never met

On a motorbike

with no rego

In a shipping container

Browning like

feijoas in an ice cream container

Flattening sarsaparilla

Fragmenting hard boiled lollies

on the tongue

A disappointed

Peter pan

return to home.