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Edition 11

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Editors' Note

Edition 11 of Interesting Journal is made up of 16 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 2019, Summer School 2020, or Semester One 2020. 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.

When first sitting down to write this, we thought the four sections of this edition all had a clear theme within them—that is, their link to the Covid-19 pandemic. Discussions on identity, our place in the world, and how we define ourselves as individuals and collectives all seem to relate back to the collective action we had to take as a response to Covid. Discussions on the medical system: Well, 2020 has been full of them! We're all armchair experts on different elements of the medical system by now, and how those elements affect different lives in different ways. Discussions on media and poetry: Even more perfect! For those of us fortunate enough to not have been considered essential workers during lockdown, we all had a bit more time to consume some media. But this isn't indicative of the pandemic—these pieces weren't all written as a response to life during Covid. This is bias creeping in: Covid is simply another lens to view things through now.

And well—it is difficult to reflect on 2020 and talk about something not related to the pandemic we are still currently facing on a global scale. One conversation we keep having (and hearing), however, is that Covid-19 did not create the inequalities and injustices we are seeing: It just made them easier to see. To have a pandemic shine a light on these inequalities is, of course, a privileged position: Those already living with the effects of societal inequality were well aware of it before the pandemic hit. Likewise, while inequalities were still felt deeply within Aotearoa, on a global scale we have had a privileged position of (so-far) weathering the storm well. And with privilege, comes a responsibility to pass-on and pay-forward that good fortune.

The pieces we have collated to form Edition 11 were written both in a time 'pre-Covid' and during—and we hope that as we read them now and in the future, with hopefully post-pandemic eyes, we do not forget the impact of inequality. As New Zealanders, we are constantly characterised by our geographic isolation, tucked away in our own little corner of the world. However, we must not discount the further isolation of the marginalised—especially as we boast of our Covid-related relative achievements.

Our understanding of our place in the world (not only as a nation, but as individuals) should not be kept within the limits of national borders, nor the boundaries of our comfort zones. If this year has taught us anything, it is that we should use our identities (and any privileges that accompany them) to empower the most vulnerable, and to dismantle hegemonic power. Moreover, we should have done this by now—but we stand on the shoulders of protesters, activists, thinkers, and fighters who have come before us, and inspire us to keep going. Many of us were not satisfied with the world before Covid, but we don't have to go back to that world. Let the discussions of this edition provide insight into different opinions, perspectives, and life experiences, and inspire you to keep these conversations alive.

Alika Wells and Paula Lee
Editors-in-Chief

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, Ashley Flavell, 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 10, as part of our peer review process.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL BODY AND SOCIAL WORLDS

If 2020 has taught us one thing, it is that our bodies and health can fundamentally change our world and the social, political, and economic realities underpinning it. Further, how we experience our bodies and mind is also shaped by the world we live in—they do not exist in isolation. This interaction is explored in various disciplines within the humanities, examples of which are presented here. The essays in this section explore very different topics through distinct perspectives, but they all demonstrate the necessity of critical evaluation of the role of science and medicine in society.

We begin with Mok's exploration of electroencephalography's potential as a deception detection test within the justice system. She presents the scientific and technical challenges in this endeavour, but perhaps more pressing are the legal and ethical challenges. Mok reminds us that scientific advances are not unambiguous or harmless in the real world and compels us to reckon with the ethical dilemmas they present.

Next, Renner presents a critique of the insanity defence as an alternative to guilty verdicts in the justice system. It is another excellent example of how psychiatry and law interact, and the difficulties this intersection creates. His essay provides a fascinating window into the challenges of balancing legal obligations and general public safety with the rights of defendants and their health.

Ogilvie describes how tenets from dialectical behavioural therapy converge with themes from self-help literature for Christian women. She highlights how both seek to regulate women's emotions in similar ways, despite originating from two distinct traditions. Ogilvie challenges seemingly benign practices and invites us to rethink whether they are actually helpful to the modern woman.

Finally, Francisco highlights how the very practice of science is political. He critiques current understandings of medicine and health that are constructed within a Western biomedical model, using LSD and Ritalin as examples. His essay provides a timely reminder that health and medicine are not constrained to physical bodies, but that our perceptions of them are shaped by particular social, political, and economic interests.

Mok, Renner, Ogilvie, and Francisco take very different approaches in interrogating the interaction between our physical bodies and the social, political, and economic forces that shape our world. They also recognise the shortcomings of existing understandings of health and science in distinct contexts. I hope that this selection of essays will provide useful, critical perspectives as we begin to rethink how we inhabit our bodies and our social world in the post-COVID-19 landscape.

Jinal Mehta

Psychology 305

Human Neuroscience

Tara Mok

The Scientific and Legal Challenges of Using Electroencephalography for Deception Detection

Introduction

Electroencephalography (EEG) has been proposed as a method to detect deception, through its use in a version of the Concealed Information Test (CIT) that utilises event-related potentials (ERPs) in the brain to detect concealed knowledge (Meijer, Verschuere, Gamer, Merckelbach, & Ben-Shakhar, 2016). Detection of concealed knowledge has particular relevance within the justice system and intelligence services. A sound scientific deception detection method could be used as a tool to provide court evidence of whether suspects have knowledge that only a guilty party would. EEG has been effective in laboratory settings for identifying subjects with guilty knowledge with only a small number of indeterminate cases; however, using the test in field settings presents confounds that must be eliminated, which may not be possible (Rosenfeld, Hu, Labkovsky, Meixner, & Winograd, 2013). The use of EEG for deception detection also requires further testing in the field to establish scientific credibility. Testing protocol must meet several legal criteria before it might be used in a field setting (Farah, Phelps, Hutchinson, & Wagner, 2014). Laws and societal values further guard privacy and provide a challenge as to detecting deception through brain-based evidence, particularly when evidence could be self-incriminatory (Farah et al., 2014). The scientific shortcomings of the method, the lack of relevant research conducted in experimental settings in the field, and the legal challenges of New Zealand law standards make implementation of this method in the justice system unfeasible.

Using EEG to Detect Deception

The CIT has been established as the most appropriate method of deception detection, with a 88% accuracy rate in laboratory experiments (Meijer et al., 2016). It operates on the assumption that information that is significant to the subject will elicit a larger response than information that is not significant to them. Responses may be physiological, neurological, or behavioural, but a particularly appropriate response for the CIT is an ERP known as P300—research suggests it is affected by stimulus novelty and significance (Meijer et al., 2016).

Donchin & Farwell (1991) pioneered the study of EEG use in lie detection. Their experiment is a seminal example of using the CIT with brain responses and laid a framework for subsequent research. Their test involves three types of stimuli: targets, irrelevants, and probes. Targets are presented in 17% of the trials; participants are told to press a certain lever in response to targets. Irrelevants are other stimuli presented in 66% of trials and have no significance to participants, who are instructed to press another lever for any stimuli that is not a target. Donchin & Farwell (1991) hypothesised that the targets would elicit a P300, while irrelevants would not, consistent with the oddball paradigm (which posits that participants who were attending to stimuli would produce a P300 if unexpected stimuli was detected). The appearance of targets would be unexpected for participants because of their low frequency in trials but also distinguishable from irrelevants through prior knowledge (Donchin & Farwell, 1991). Finally, probes are stimuli referencing secret knowledge that some participants have and are presented in 17% of trials. Donchin & Farwell (1991) hypothesised that for participants with secret knowledge, probes would elicit a similar ERP to that evoked in them by targets, while for participants without secret knowledge, probes would elicit an ERP similar to that evoked in them by irrelevants. This experiment is designed to blind participants to the true purpose of the test and provides a point of comparison as to how an individual's brain response appears in situations that would normally—according to the established literature—evoke certain brain responses (Donchin & Farwell, 1991). Brain responses to probes can be assessed accordingly.

Donchin and Farwell (1991) conducted two experiments using this test. The first experiment began with each participant undergoing training to complete one of two mock espionage scenarios. Next, they were instructed to memorise a number of items as targets, before completing the espionage scenario. The next day, they were administered the CIT for both espionage scenarios, one of which they were 'innocent' and another of which they were 'guilty'. The second experiment tested four subjects who had each committed a different crime. Experimenters expected that only probes involving information related to the individual's crime would elicit a P300, while information related to other crimes would not (Donchin & Farwell, 1991). In both experiments, the results were consistent with the hypotheses. An algorithm placed the threshold for ruling a subject guilty or innocent such that there were no false positives or negatives, but 12.5% of cases were judged indeterminate (Donchin & Farwell, 1991). Donchin and Farwell (1991) do not claim that, given their research, this test using EEG should be used to detect deception in field cases. They acknowledge the dissimilarities between the settings of their experiments and a test administered on someone as potential court evidence. The two cannot be equated as an experimental setting lacks real life consequences.

An EEG test that attempts to detect deception must also account for countermeasures, which have been described as "anything that an individual might do in an effort to defeat or distort a polygraph test" (Meixner & Rosenfeld, 2009, p. 119). In this particular test, countermeasures refer to anything an individual might do to increase P300 responses to irrelevant stimuli. To counteract the effect of countermeasures, Rosenfeld et al. (2008) designed the complex trial protocol (CTP), which was found to have an accuracy rate of 90% for detecting concealed autobiographical information and 80% for detecting concealed crime knowledge. In the first phase of the test, the participant is shown an irrelevant or a probe and is instructed beforehand to make a particular unique response depending on which stimulus is shown. This response produces a countermeasure (Rosenfeld et al., 2008). Next, the participant is given a target and non-target discrimination task, so this test still provides responses as points of comparison for the probes (Rosenfeld et al., 2008). However, it controls for countermeasures by purposely producing a countermeasure in the form of the differentiated response to both irrelevant stimuli and probes, so differences that occur between the two cannot be attributed to countermeasures, and subjects purposely not attending to probes will be detected. Reaction time is measured too, providing another way to detect possible attempts to deceive the test (Rosenfeld et al., 2008). The CTP thus guards against deception of a test for deception.

Scientific Challenges

As studies have shown, in an experimental context, EEG can accurately detect guilty subjects with a relatively high accuracy rate, but its success rate is not perfect (Donchin & Farwell, 1991; Rosenfeld et al., 2008). The usefulness of a practical application of these methods is further limited to a select number of cases due to certain confounding variables that undermine the assumptions underpinning the experimental design.

A primary scientific challenge of attempting to deduce the contents of a person's mind is the fallacy of the reverse inference. Meijer et al. (2016) explain the fallacy as the idea that while certain patterns of brain activation in deception tests are associated with deceptive responses, the presence of these brain activation patterns does not always indicate deception in the subject. Similarly, a lack of differential brain activation associated with deceptive responses does not indicate truthfulness in the subject. Further, tasks involved in responding to secret knowledge involve multiple cognitive processes, such as memory and decision-making, and no scientific methods exist currently to isolate a brain area specific to deception or identifying secret

knowledge (Meijer et al., 2016). It is unknown whether such a brain area even exists and what method can be used to isolate it (if it exists).

The CIT can also be confounded by memory limitations. The test relies on a guilty subject having encoded, and then remembering, the relevant secret knowledge that the probes indicate. The likelihood of a subject remembering information relevant to the crime will depend on the individual's memory, the amount of time that has passed since committing the crime, and the individual's level of perception of crime-relevant information. Studies have shown the fallibility and suggestibility of memory. Loftus & Palmer (1974) were able to manipulate eyewitness memories based on the wording of their questions. In this study, participants were shown a film of a traffic accident then were asked the following question with one of the key verbs: "About how fast were the cars going when they (smashed/collided/bumped/hit/contacted) each other?" (Loftus & Palmer, 1974, p. 586). Participants estimated that cars were travelling at a higher speed when 'smashed' was used in the question; these participants were also more likely to respond 'yes' to the question on whether they had seen broken glass when there was no broken glass in the film. This study is one example showing that memory is a highly subjective and constructive process. Individuals may forget details of a crime, or never notice and never encode certain details. They can even believe that details existed that never did. Practically, it is difficult to deduce which details the guilty suspect has encoded and which they have not.

Furthermore, even if an individual had originally encoded the information that the probes test, they would need to remember it for the test to work. An experiment using autonomic nervous system responses using the CIT found that when participants were given the CIT two weeks after committing a mock crime, they did not recall all crime related items nor did they all elicit differential responses to probes compared to irrelevants (Meijer et al., 2016). Suspects who are tested weeks or months after a crime occurred could thus be expected to have forgotten some details of a crime, confounding the test's results. Therefore, the memory constraints of the test make it inappropriate for practical usage in many criminal cases. Additionally, subjects who are familiar with knowledge associated with the crime—but have not committed it—will be read by the test as guilty. Studies have shown that leaked secret information can impact the CIT's results, creating false positives in subjects in response to crime-related information (Meijer et al. 2016; Rosenfeld et al., 2013).

Alternatively, certain stimuli presented may have personal significance to the subject and therefore elicit an ERP similar to that elicited by a target, as studies do show that personally significant information elicits a strong P300 (Rosenfeld, Hu, & Pederson, 2012). To eliminate this confound in a field setting, scientists would have to find a way to test for personal significance that does not allow for deceptive claims of certain stimuli having personal significance. Finally, observer effects could also confound findings as studies have found that prior knowledge about a suspect (such as knowledge of a confession) biases the interpretation of brain response data (Meijer et al., 2016). This limits the practical application of the test since the way to control for this would be to blind the interpreters of the test, which would require the case having several identified suspects.

Legal Challenges

The implementation of EEG for brain-based detection faces a number of challenges in the New Zealand court and interrogation system. Section 8 of the Evidence Act 2006 states that "the Judge must exclude evidence if its probative value is outweighed by the risk that the evidence

will … have an unfairly prejudicial effect on the proceeding." Some scholars argue that neuroscientific evidence in favour of guilty knowledge could unfairly prejudice a jury as scientific knowledge would tend to be estimated as more conclusive than it actually is by people not knowledgeable of its shortcomings (Shen et al., 2017). This effect has been dubbed the "seductive allure" hypothesis (Shen et al., 2017). Researchers and legal professionals have also discussed how some jurors are more likely to misinterpret scientific information or give it undue significance due to the "CSI effect," a phenomenon in which viewing crime shows affects jury decisions (Kim, Barak, & Shelton, 2009; Hayes-Smith & Levett, 2011).

However, a collection of around 30 studies found conflicting evidence on the persuasiveness of neuroscientific evidence (Shen et al., 2017). An experiment conducted by Shen et al. (2017) sought to test the persuasiveness of brain evidence in the context of other contextual evidence. They presented fictional accounts of accused defendants to subjects who had to judge whether the accused were guilty, while they manipulated the strength of the circumstantial evidence surrounding the accused (Shen et al., 2017). Brain-based evidence is described to participants as "suggest(ing) that" the accused is either "being honest" or "not being honest" (Shen et al., 2017, p. 349–352). Results found neuroscientific evidence had a significant effect on subjects's judgments of the accused compared to having no brain-based evidence, but this effect was smaller than the effect of the strength of the other evidence (Shen et al., 2017). As this effect was small, Shen et al. (2017) argue that it is not unduly convincing, but since an "unfairly prejudicial effect" is impossible to definitively quantify, this claim may be debated.

Shen et al. (2017) do not present the same circumstances for subjects as a jury would experience, so it could be argued that the results cannot be extrapolated to the court setting, and their study is limited by the wording regarding the brain evidence. The statement that 'evidence suggests honesty/dishonesty' neglects to explain the background or logic behind using brain-based evidence to detect concealed knowledge, and instead oversimplifies the information for participants (Shen et al., 2017). An alternative study using different wording could advance knowledge of how well brain-based evidence translates to a legal setting.

Some scientists have suggested that imperfect scientific evidence or methods might be preferable to none at all (Farah, Phelps, Hutchinson, & Wagner, 2014). They argue that discovery of non-scientific court evidence has potential for error so rather than scientific evidence polluting an otherwise infallible pool of evidence, scientific evidence provides an extra piece of somewhat questionable evidence (Farah et al., 2014).

Ethical Challenges

Farah et al. (2014) note that the responsibility of the law or government is to balance individual privacy with the safety of the group or society. Under New Zealand law, the Bill of Rights Act 1990 provides a framework for looking at the ethics of using brain-based evidence in a legal context. Section 21 of the Bill of Rights Act 1990 states that individuals have the right to be safe against "unreasonable search … of person, property, or correspondence or otherwise." If brain responses can be considered part of one's person or property, this would prohibit forced administering of an EEG test without sufficient evidence of pressing need (Farah et al., 2014).

Under section 25 of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act (1990), a person has "the right not to be compelled to be a witness or confess guilt." If brain-based evidence counts as one's testimony, accused suspects must give consent for such a process before it can be legally used. Consent can only be given if a person is fully informed on the implications of the process to

which they consent. For undergoing tests for concealed knowledge that might be used as court evidence, subjects must be informed on the realities of brain-based evidence being used in legal settings, such as the potential for inaccurate or ambiguous results in the test, a lack of controlled research on the uses of the test in field settings, and the potential for biased interpretation by a jury (Farah et al., 2014). Farah et al. (2014) also note the danger that suspects will be coerced into giving consent. Safeguards against coerced consent are of importance in ensuring that the use of the test meets legal standards as set out in the Bill of Rights Act 1990.

Conclusion

EEG presents a method that enables attempts to detect knowledge of particular information. It has been proposed for use in testing suspects for information known only to the accused, the results of which can be used as court evidence. This method, however, is confounded by memory constraints, observer effects, and lack of control for personal salience. The method further requires research into its accuracy in field settings and its effect on juries in order to determine whether it fulfils the legal requirements to be considered as evidence in court. Ethical usage, as guided by legal standards, requires suspects to give informed consent to be tested, and must guard against the risk of coercion. EEG deception detection has far to go before meeting the scientific and legal requirements needed for its implementation in legal and governmental situations.

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Criminology 301

Issues in Criminal Justice

Ethan Z. Renner BA

Defendants and Insanity: What Happens When Psychiatry and Law Intersect?

This essay will discuss the nature, contention, and use of the insanity defence as an alternative to guilty verdicts for those recognised as mentally ill in criminal cases. It will discuss this topic primarily within the context of New Zealand, with reference to the debate surrounding methamphetamine and insanity. It will assess the difficulties with defining insanity when law and psychiatry intersect in the court room. This will be achieved through discussing the fundamental differences between legal and psychiatric or psychological definitions of insanity, as well as relevant legal guidelines such as the M'Naghten rule. This discussion will be followed by one which focusses on the coercion of expert witnesses and 'sanism' (Perlin, 1992). Finally, the essay will conclude with discussion and consideration in regard to the way in which these key issues affect mentally ill defendants, and the consequences which arise when their influence results in outcomes inappropriate for the treatment of the offender.

A large driver behind the contention which surrounds the use of insanity as a defence in criminal cases is the fundamental differences between legal and psychiatric/psychological definitions of insanity, a clash that is evident in court rooms. Thus, it is useful to first briefly consider why the defence exists. According to Carroll, McSherry, Wood, and Yannoulidis (2008), the rationale behind the insanity defence is twofold: "to ensure the protection of the public, and to facilitate the rehabilitation of the offender" (p. 641). That is, that the defence aims to provide mentally ill offenders with a level of clinical assistance and treatment not offered by prison incarceration in the interest of protecting the public. It is noted, however, that its initial goal, providing public protection, is met via incapacitation within medical facilities. Thus, while providing benefits from a public safety perspective, it provides potential disadvantages from the perspective of offenders who are incarcerated until they are deemed to no longer be a risk, rather than for a set period of time (Carroll, McSherry, Wood, & Yannoulidis, 2008). This disadvantage is particularly obvious when one considers the historically problematic way patients have been treated within psychiatric detention facilities (Speed, 2017).

Regarding the intersection of definitions, it is useful to first outline the legal criteria surrounding the insanity defence In the New Zealand context. Under s23 (2) of the Crimes Act (1961):

> "(2) No person shall be convicted of an offence by reason of an act done or omitted by him or her when labouring under natural imbecility or disease of the mind to such an extent as to render him or her incapable—
> (a) of understanding the nature and quality of the act or omission; or
> (b) of knowing that the act or omission was morally wrong, having regard to the commonly accepted standards of right and wrong" (p. 27).

One may find the reason for why pleading a successful case of insanity results in acquittal via Walker's (1985) assertion that to be deemed insane holds no criminal justice consequences as their illness is considered punishment enough. The notion of a "disease of the mind" arises from the idea of a "defect of reason" (Wondemaghen, 2015, p. 77) and finds its origin in the M'Naghten rule. This was conceptualised during the 1843 M'Naghten case when the House of Lords determined that if an offender "did not know the nature and quality or wrongness of the conduct, he or she is legally insane and criminally irresponsible" (Wondemaghen, 2015, p. 77). According to Wondemaghen (2015), to be considered "a disease of the mind" (p. 77), a condition must first be subjected to three tests: a "Recurring/Continuing Danger Test", an "Internal/External Test", and a "Unsound/Mind Test" (p. 77). Each test examines a different area of the condition relevant to determining the cause of insanity. Additionally, the defence requires a "defect of reason" (Wondemaghen, 2015, p.77) due to an internal cause, meaning that it must originate from within the body. The construction of the definition, and the test

which determines it, is strict, favouring categorical answers and findings (Thom, Finlayson, & McKenna, 2011). As such, it stands to reason that the notion "disease of the mind" (Wondemaghen, 2015, p. 77) does not refer to medical diagnoses or mental disorders, and is, instead, a legal construct. In contrast to legal definitions, psychiatry favours a conceptualisation which accounts for the fluidity and ever-changing adjustments made to psychiatric/psychological knowledge and definitions. This allows room for psychiatrists and psychologists to consider the fluidity and broad range of causes in psychiatric/psychological assessment, affording them the ability to acknowledge that mental illness lies upon a spectrum rather within strict categories. Consequently, Wondemaghen (2015) favours Finbarr McCauley's suggestion that mental illness is a failure of reality testing, resulting in an inability to engage with reality. As such, it is the way in which the discipline-specific definitions contrast with one another that is a driving factor behind the difficulties expert witnesses face in court rooms, such as coercion and 'sanism' (Perlin, 1992).

In the process of determining whether or not defendants meet the criteria for the insanity defence, expert witnesses are expected to determine the primary cause of a defendant's insanity at the time of the offense and whether or not it was internal in nature. This is a difficult task to undertake, particularly in cases where illicit substances such as methamphetamine are involved; as Carroll et al. (2008) notes, it is virtually impossible for an expert witness to state with any certainty that the defendant's symptoms were drug induced. This difficulty is further exacerbated by the lapse in time that usually occurs between the time of the offense and the time of the expert witnesses' assessment, further complicating the process of reconstructing the defendant's past mental state and whether or not illicit substances, such as methamphetamine, were a contributing factor (Thom, Finlayson, & McKenna, 2011). Additionally, the legal approach seeks the identification of one primary cause; however, due to the nature of psychiatry, it is often the case that the clinical picture suggests that the mental state was the result of both drug use and a mental disorder (Thom, Finlayson, & McKenna, 2011). To counteract such issues, Wondemaghen (2015) suggests expert witnesses focus on the predominant cause of the defendant's mental state rather than attempt to piece together the precise trigger. As such, the clinical picture typical of these cases has been identified as one which operates across a continuum, as opposed to "clearly delineated categories" (Thom, Finlayson, & McKenna, 2011, p. 749), which one may categorise as strict definitions that adhere to binary structures of thinking. Consequently, the insanity test, previously described as favouring categorical answers, can lead to situations in which legal professionals may compel expert witnesses to simplify the complexity of their expert opinion (Thom, Finlayson, & McKenna, 2011).

The nature of this is problematic, as the compulsion to provide a simplified opinion in the legal interest of attaining categorical certainty may lead to the production of flawed and inaccurate evidence. The acceptance of such practice by legal and psychiatric/psychological professionals links to Michael Perlin's (1992) concept of 'sanism', which is defined as "largely invisible and largely socially acceptable" (p. 374) prejudice expressed towards those diagnosed with psychiatric disorders. Perlin (1992) argued that sanist attitudes and behaviours permeate the legal field. Thom et al. (2011) consider these a driving factor behind the legal tendency to coerce and selectively accept expert evidence to meet legal—as opposed to psychiatric/psychological—objectives. What makes the presence of such prejudice problematic is the way in which it places defendants diagnosed as (or considered to be) mentally ill at a social disadvantage in legal proceedings; this is particularly prevalent in cases in which controversial issues, such as the use of methamphetamine, are in play. This may manifest in judgements based on underlying prejudice, rather than factual evidence, or through the way in which courts may coerce expert witnesses towards specific conclusions which do

not reflect psychiatric/psychological standards. This is exemplified by Perlin's (2000) assertion that "insanity defence decision-making is often irrational… [and] demands punishment regardless of responsibility" (p. 237). In other words, insanity defence decision-making marginalises defendants through the way in which it focuses more so on the ends, rather than the means and their context, in a manner which neglects responsibility or fairness to defendants.

As Perlin (1992) asserts, mentally ill defendants stand at a social disadvantage during legal proceedings due to the influence of sanism within the legal field. Such sanism is consequently extended to the role of the expert witness in cases where they have been subjected to coercion, at the hands of legal professionals, towards simplified conceptualisations regarding the defendant's state of mind at the time of the defence. As such, it stands to reason that this reality entails negative consequences for defendants and, ultimately, society itself. This is evident in the negative consequences of a criminal sentence utilise discussion of the negative consequences of a criminal sentence, which underscore the importance of the application of clinical drug treatment and psychiatric programs as a viable alternative. Studies have found that, within the New Zealand prison population, the use of methamphetamine is extraordinarily high, with 56% of prisoners in 2017 having used the drug at some point during their lifetime, 58% of which had used in the preceding 12 months (Bowman, 2017). Such rates are indicative of two things: first, according to Fabian (2007), methamphetamine can induce a psychotic reaction in response to chronic use "or even after only one dose" (p. 448), which may leave individuals with a vulnerability to future psychotic episodes, regardless of whether or not they use the drug again. Therefore, this evidence, in conjunction with Bowman's (2017) findings, implies that over half the prison population of New Zealand are potentially vulnerable to episodes of psychosis. Secondly, this implication is exacerbated by the fact that these individuals are housed within facilities notorious for issues such as their adverse effect on substance use, likelihood of recidivism, and poor access to psychiatric/psychological treatment (Patel, Harvey, & Forrester, 2018; Petersilia, 1992; Rowell, Wu, Hart, Haile, & El-Bassel, 2012).

In other words, at-risk individuals who are incarcerated within prison facilities are subjected to conditions which further promote criminality and damage personal wellbeing. Consequently, this gives rise to a cycle in which offenders enter into incarceration, endure conditions which exacerbate existing issues, and complete their sentence only to return to a society in which they are unable to reintegrate, leading them to reoffend and repeat the process – a cycle of exacerbation. In the case of mentally ill and substance-addicted offenders sentenced to incarceration, the problematic nature of such a cycle is particularly prevalent, as adequate treatment is vital to their ability to successfully reintegrate into society (Phillips, 2010). Therefore, it stands to reason that criminal cases in which the question of substance-induced insanity is involved, an acquittal due to insanity, and the subsequent treatment for both the defendant's substance abuse and mental health issues, is of utmost importance. It is in the interest of public safety and the defendant's health, a notion which reflects the rationale behind the insanity defence according to Carroll et al. (2008). Thus, the issues which forensic psychiatric/psychological expert witnesses face in their dealings with the legal discipline, such as coercion towards convenient conclusions and prejudice, are problematic in the sense that they enable the deterioration of the defendant's health while increasing the threat they ultimately pose to society. Therefore, it is within the best interest of all that defendants who raise the question and defence of insanity due to substance abuse are dealt with without prejudice by expert witnesses and legal professionals alike.

The insanity defence is immersed in contention which arises from a variety of factors, such as how one may define the term "insanity", the differences between legal and

psychiatric/psychological definitions, and the effect such debates and differences have on those who raise it as their defence. The essay has considered the writing and research of a variety of academics in order to explore and understand the dynamics of the intersection between legal and psychiatric/psychological definitions of insanity, the product of which has allowed for the identification of key issues and consequences. Finally, it is critical for these issues to be addressed by those who hold the authority to do so, to not only to fulfil their responsibility to offenders, but to fulfil their responsibility for the public as well.

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Theology 101

Bible and Popular Culture

Gabrielle Lelièvre Ogilvie

Dialectical Behavioural Therapy: Holding Women Captive With Biblical Ideals?

It is a well-accepted stereotype that women are emotional creatures. Over the years, many a treatment and drug have been developed to tame women's' "hysteria" or seemingly uncontrollable emotions. Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT) is a relatively new psychological approach developed to do just that (Dimeff & Linehan, 2001). Specifically, it was founded to treat Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD), for which women are primarily diagnosed (Psych Central, 2020). It is defined by symptoms of emotion dysregulation, fear of abandonment and lack of self-identity (Scott et al. 2013). As we will discover, modern Christian women's self-help literature has been using scripture to tackle these same symptoms, which they generalise as the plight of all women (Eldredge & Eldredge, 2010). To explore this further, we will dive into two scripture based Christian self-help texts: *Captivating: Unveiling the Mystery of a Woman's Soul* by John and Stasi Eldredge (2010) and *The Lies Women Believe and the Truth that Sets Them Free* by Nancy Demoss Wolgemuth (2018). Against these, we will compare present day DBT patient skills training material developed by the founder of the model, Marsha M. Linehan. On the surface, these two methodologies could not be more different. But upon closer inspection, both DBT and scripture-based women's self-help literature seek influence over women's' relationships with their emotions, others and their willingness to submit. Further, we will explore what both methods seemingly ignore and the ironies that result.

Central to this exploration, from a scriptural point of view, is the fall of Eve (Genesis 3). Although the fall is generally interpreted as Eve having tempted Adam to eat from the tree of knowledge, the self-help literature I examined seems to focus on a different sin: The fact that she did not consult Adam before agreeing with Satan to eat the forbidden fruit (Wolgemuth, 2018). The text claims that Eve taking control where she should not have and showing distrust in God is what led to the fall of man (Wolgemuth, 2018). Submit is what Eve should have done, says Wolgemuth (2018), while *Captivating* describes the outcome of Eve's choice as cursing today's women with a controlling nature, leading to desperation, neediness and loneliness (Eldredge & Eldredge, 2010). Women, the Eldredges (2010) implore, must learn to submit their well-being to others once again.

Meanwhile, DBT espouses similar ideals, despite being independent of modern Christian women's self-help literature. It claims that in order to overcome emotions, one must do what Eve couldn't: submit (Linehan, 2014). To ensure this, women in DBT are asked to both monitor and stifle any wilfulness that may arise. This is defined as insisting on being in control, attachment to "me, me, me" (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Worksheets 8, 8a, 10), attempting to fix every situation and refusing to accept the moment as it is. Willingness, on the other hand, is defined as radically accepting the moment; listening to one's "wise mind" (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Worksheets 8, 8a, 10) to overcome emotions (that may promote clinging to willfulness) is also encouraged.

Steady your emotions by keeping your mind on God says Wolgemuth (2018), citing Isaiah 26:3: "You will keep in perfect peace, those whose minds are steadfast, because they trust in you." (*Holy Bible: New International Version*). Similarly, if women struggle to submit, the DBT model encourages women to ask themselves, "…what's the threat?" (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Worksheets 8, 8a, 10). As if in response, Wolgemuth references Ephesians 5:25-29; Jesus loved and would have laid down his life for his bride and the church, meaning that as long as women submit as they would to Christ, they will remain safe (Wolgemuth, 2018). After all, Wolgemuth (2018) says, a woman's "submissive heart attitude" (p. 178) is what makes her beautiful, referencing 1 Peter 3:4-6: "Rather, it should be… the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight." (*Holy Bible: New International Version*). The Eldredges (2010) chime in with a reference to 1 Peter 3:3: beauty is a quiet and gentle spirit who trusts God's will, not a striving one.

As a practice in willingness, the DBT skills workbook dedicates two pages on how to "Half-Smile with Willing Hands", a pose that looks remarkably like that of Virgin Mary's in the image below (Linehan, 2014). Linehan goes on to ask women in DBT to "…adopt a serene facial expression… with hands unclenched, turn your hands outwards with palms up and fingers relaxed," (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Worksheets 8, 8a, 11).

Figure 1.

Blessed Virgin Mary in front of the Roman Catholic Diocese, Chanthaburi, Thailand.

Tanaporn Phothikhet © 123RF.com

Patients are asked to practice this every day, and to use a checklist to indicate exactly when they took on the pose that mirrors Mary's above, "…when I was irritated… with another person… when my feelings were hurt" (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Handout, 14, 14a). DBT skills training asks women not only to look like Mary, but to think like her: allow the world to be as it is, Linehan (2014) implores. Similarly, the Eldredges (2010) encourage us to do the same, regardless of whether it is unsafe – as they remind us, Mary did not lead a safe life. DBT skills training encourages women to "act with awareness that they are connected to the universe, including the stars above and even those you don't like" (Linehan, 2014, Distress Tolerance Worksheets 8, 8a, 10). In other words, be like Mary as she is pictured above, giving grace to the world no matter if danger lies directly under foot.

The intertwining stories explored above are so similar in nature, that it is fair to wonder how much scripture has influenced the development of the DBT model. Interestingly, its founder makes reference to incorporating Zen Buddhism, but not scripture-based traditions like Judaism or Christianity (Dimeff & Linehan, 2001). This could mean that unseen biblical influences over culture could be the reason for these similarities.

As discussed, DBT was developed to treat those diagnosed with BPD—primarily women—experiencing symptoms of emotion dysregulation, fear of abandonment and issues of self-identity (Scott et al. 2013). Meanwhile, Christian women's self-help literature aims to assist women in overcoming these same issues through scripture (Eldredge & Eldredge, 2010). One thing that is missing from both approaches is that although they focus heavily on control and submission as a way to heal symptoms, they fall short in recognising that women have been under patriarchal control for centuries. This patriarchal influence, through inequality, financial dependence, insecurity, and voicelessness, could very well have influenced the inflammation of the very symptoms both DBT and Christian women's self-help literature hope to heal. By ignoring this, both methods could very well be inadvertently re-traumatising women through treatment methods acting as oppression of a different kind. Question for a moment how encouraging women to quiet their inner wilfulness, submit to ideology, and refrain from expressing their emotions helps them to build a sense of identity strong enough to quiet overwhelming emotions? Both Dialectical Behavioural Therapy and Christian women's self-help are fraught with these ironies.

Finally, although born of opposing traditions of science and faith, both Dialectical Behavioural Therapy and Christian women's self-help share a great deal in common. As evidenced, there are overwhelming similarities between the two methods, leading us to question how much scripture has influenced the development of DBT. Both methodologies sometimes speak *for* women instead of encouraging them to speak for themselves. They also ignore and sometimes even participate in reproducing the patriarchal influences that have caused women the suffering both methods set out to heal. In conclusion, further work is needed to bring both DBT and Christian women's self-help into alignment with the needs of women today, instead of asking them to submit to the expectations of yesterday.

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Anthropology 366

Medicine, Power and Politics

Artur Francisco

Power, Prohibition and Undone Science: Towards a New Paradigm of Health in Western Societies

Introduction

Western society is rediscovering its interest in psychedelic drugs. This 'psychedelic renaissance' is largely due to the potential of drugs currently prohibited under Schedule I and/or 'class A' drugs as a treatment for mental health conditions like depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This means that substances with a rich history of medicinal use in several cultures—like psilocybin (the active component of magic mushrooms)—are seen as being the same as heroin and crack-cocaine and puts enormous obstacles for scientific research. In this paper, I will trace the politically-driven history of their prohibition and problematise this issue through the lens of a Science and Technology Studies theoretical framework. I argue that, given the initial evidence of their therapeutic potential to help millions of people, there is an urgent need for greater facilitation of research on psychedelics.

Psychedelics, politics and prohibition

Anthropology has been studying drugs and hallucinogens—also known as psychedelics—use since the nineteenth century, primarily in religious settings (Langlitz, 2013). While at the time, the discipline still saw other cultures as 'primitive', the beginning of the twentieth century brought crucial ideas of cultural relativism which allowed non-Western cultures to be seen as parallel to the West (Hunter, 2015). This laid down the foundations of anthropological studies into the importance of psychedelic plants (Hunter, 2015). Following this progression, we can identify two trends in scholarly approaches to the study of psychedelics, primarily differentiated by their discourse (Hunter, 2015). One can be defined by their usage of words like 'pathological', 'psychological', and 'prohibition', and is the result of objective observations of the effects and symptoms of these substances; the other uses definitions like 'recreational', 'psychedelic', and 'entheogenic', and emerged from the practitioners themselves as a reflective and experiential approach to research in response to the first (Hunter, 2015). In the late 1960s, just before Western prohibition, anthropologists began researching psychedelics among white and educated middle class citizens who felt alienated from mainstream society. This lead to the crucial cross-cultural insight that in 'traditional' societies, these substances are used in a ritualistic contexts that prevented the rebellious behaviour seen in Western youth (Langlitz, 2013). Parallelly, psychopharmacological research was also being carried out by European scientists who, based on biomedical models of health, started to administer mescaline to healthy subjects in order to model mental health disorders in the 1920s (Langlitz, 2013). This was soon followed by experimentation with lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), arguably the most important, famous and most extensively researched of these substances after its discovery in 1943 (Langlitz, 2013). From 1943 through to the 1950s, more than 750 scientific research papers were published on LSD alone (Langlitz, 2013); in the 1970s, there were more than 1000 papers published on the substance, six international conferences hosted and more than 40000 participants taking part in these studies in Europe and the USA (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). These experiments also became of interest to the CIA and the US Army who wanted to test these substances as 'truth serums' (Langlitz, 2013).

Psychedelics soon found their way into other parts of society, particularly among North American youth. During the 1960s, millions of young Americans became influenced by Timothy Leary, a university professor who advocated for a psychedelic-fuelled social revolution (Richards, 2015). This was taking place during a crucial time for biopharmacology; Americans had grown convinced that pharmaceutical science could cure anything, including mental disorders (Langlitz, 2013). Leary pushed this biological psychiatry further by declaring

that society at large needed pharmacotherapeutic intervention (Langlitz, 2013). The language he used was one of quasi-religious discourse where consciousness-expanding drugs where 'facilitators' to a process where people were to seek 'liberation from their cultural selves' and to free their 'divine bodies' from a 'robot society' (Leary, 1965, as cited in Langlitz, 2013, p. 40); Leary (1965, as cited in Langlitz, 2013) went as far as to proclaim "Your brain is God!" (p. 44). Others from this psychedelic movement also described their use of the "sacrament of LSD" (Langlitz, 2013, p. 43) as a contestation of religious values.

However, 1960s Christian America was not prepared to accept a drug as a mediator between them and the divine (Blainey, 2015; Langlitz, 2013). Additionally, the increasing consumption of hallucinogens by the white middle-class youth and the demonisation of psychedelics by the media drove the public see these substances as a threat to the social order (Blainey, 2015; Langlitz, 2013; Richards, 2015). This created an opportunity for former President Richard Nixon and his administration to take advantage of the situation for their own political goals (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). Primarily through manipulation of the media, they created a campaign of misinformation about the health risks associated with drugs, criminalised their use and systematically associated them with the anti-Vietnam-war and Civil Rights movements to have a socially legitimised reason to dismantle them (Baum, 2012, 2016; Rucker, 2015). This is the origin of the 'war on drugs', the main obstacle for psychedelic research (Baum, 2012, 2016; Rucker, 2015).

Simultaneously, two other factors added to the end of psychedelic research. First, psychedelics were discredited as legitimate models of mental illnesses with the introduction of the dopamine hypothesis as a new model of schizophrenia (Langlitz, 2013). Second, the thalidomide disaster of 1961 led to the US government passing the Kafauver-Harris amendments which gave the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) control over drug-related investigations (Langlitz, 2013). Following suit, the UK classified these substances as 'Schedule 1' drugs under the UK Misuse of Drugs Regulations and as Class A drugs under the UK Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). The Act follows the Schedule I category of the 1971 United Nations Convention on Psychotropic Substances which is a requirement for UN membership (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). This classification identifies these substances as having no medical application and a high potential for abuse (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). These legal obstacles, in conjunction with other social sanctions (such as funding restriction, stigmatisation, and shortening of career advancement for researchers) led to a slow break down of psychedelic research (Durkheim, 2013; Langlitz, 2013). Today, psychedelics remain more restricted than drugs like heroin and cocaine which are classified as Schedule 2 Class A in the UK, even though no research shows they are habit-forming or harmful and a growing body of evidence points to their potential as medical treatment (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). Only very few researchers managed to continue to work with these substances (Langlitz, 2013); we will discuss their work below.

Power, prohibition and undone science

The brief historico-anthropological analysis above provides a basis from where we can continue our process of "studying up" (Nader, 1972, p.284) the myriad of political and social relationships that led to such a "draconian position" (Rucker, 2015, p. 2) being taken against substances that resemble medicines more than illicit drugs. Crucial to this discussion is the understanding of the political and social process of knowledge-making that takes place in Western society and the role that science plays in it (Frickel et al., 2010). Science is a crucial part of the institutions that exert power in society since scientific institutions are involved in

social, political and economic forces which can be universal in their scope, producing a form of ultimate authority (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995; Martin, 1998). However, scientific research is increasingly complex and expensive, which means only elites are able to set the research agendas for public and private sources (Frickel et al., 2010). This means that knowledge production (science) tends to rest on the cultural assumptions and material interests of privileged groups who compete over limited resources that shape what science is and is not done (Frickel et al., 2010). Additionally, the knowledge-making process is composed of diverse agents, such as scientists, governments, and funders, who compete to further their own research agendas (Frickel et al. 2010). The result is the phenomenon of 'undone science'; that is, areas of research that have the potential to help society but are left ignored, unfunded and/or undone, due to unequal distributions of power expressed in relationships among private and public organisations and the procedures involved in science making (Frickel et al., 2010).

Political power is one of the main forces that creates this due to its enormous influence on the structure of the funding system that enables scientific research (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). Governments are the crucial mediating institution where different social actors influence, shape, interpret and use claims made by science (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). The balance of scientific knowledge generated among these different actors is ultimately a political product due to the majority of research being supported through government funding and distributed through politically negotiated agencies (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). Additionally, this process also shapes the balance of research conducted in different fields through the negotiations that scientists undergo with other successful groups through government (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). Moreover, the research that reflects the worldview, interests and assumptions of officials, businesses, interest groups and elitist segments of society ends up being carried onto scientific practice, meaning that interested groups and individuals play crucial roles in determining what science gets done and for what purposes (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995; Frickel et al., 2010). Put together, all these factors show that this relationship between science and government mediates the power relationships between state and society, thus facilitating the translation of particular group's interests into scientific knowledge. This is presented back to society as scientific fact ('truth') and becomes basis for technological advancement (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). As we can see, science and the actors that participate in its creation are crucial in defining a large part of a reality that is taken for granted by billions of people; in other words, science is political (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995).

Cozzens and Woodhouse (2011) discuss this with the example of how physicists' connections with the government were crucial for the US Congress to adopt the principle of government support for basic science research in the late 1940s. They say that the reason for the adoption of such principle was the political power that the physicists had incurred within the country with the development of the atomic bomb (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). This demonstrates how support for a particular area of scientific research can gain resources if it furthers the interests of a given elite with enough power to impose their will. In this case, the result was that scientists and their respective institutions won reciprocal resources that were not available to other groups (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995).

Similarly, social scientists played a critical role in the advancement of Nixon's war on drugs. In the late 1970s sociologists and anthropologists were having difficulties in finding meaningful employment in academic settings since they tended to favour areas of interest that further traditional research areas (Singer, 2011). Courses on the sociology and anthropology of drugs were not easily found in university curricula (Singer, 2011). This meant that most

researchers and scholars working on these topics had to find their own funding to continue their work; the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) could help them (NIDA, no date; Singer, 2011). Independent funding provided benefits that were becoming increasingly scarce in academia: researchers could hire assistants, equipment and attend conferences (Singer, 2011). However, NIDA was—as federal institutions do—obeying the orders given by the government; its research goals were to find out how much damage could be attributed to the use of drugs as per the directions received by Nixon's administration (Singer, 2011). Ethnographic studies were the perfect sources of information for the NIDA bureaucrats, even if ultimately they helped fuel the very criticism of the objectives and social impacts of their war on drugs (Singer, 2011).

Another major agent responsible for areas of undone science is big business (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). Corporations not only were key in approving the formation of the aforementioned principle of basic science research in the 1940s US, but also have directly or indirectly participated in policy discussions in the past years, with almost 70% of the members of the President's Science Advisory Committee having "strong ties to private industry" (Schwartz, 1975, as cited in Cozzens & Woodhouse 2011, p. 14). By the 1980s, private industry was taking an even more active role in funding and privatising scientific knowledge (Cozzens & Woodhouse, 1995). Interestingly, we do not have to move far from our discussion about drugs to see the power that big business is capable of exercising in society. Anthropological research has helped shed light on the political economy of pharmaceutical drug development, showing that research trials are funded by investment banks and pharmaceutical corporations who, in accordance to capitalist ideology, are motivated by maximising their profits and not by people's health (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017). These market-driven dynamics lead to researchers engineering the desired effects of drugs while downplaying its risks and focusing on drugs for chronic conditions which require that patients take drugs 'for life' (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017). In the globalising drug market, the transnational governmental policies and regulations that allow for such behaviour include things like intellectual property and trade agreements that are heavily influenced by the interests of international pharmaceutical corporations (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017).

The status and use of Ritalin in the West exemplify how pharmaceutical corporations benefit from a culturally and politically constructed positioning of drugs in society and use it to push for their own agendas. Methylphenidate (MPH), known as Ritalin, is a psychostimulant with psychotropic effects and pharmacological pathways similar to amphetamines and cocaine. It was initially developed to improve memory in the elderly but is now prescribed to treat Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), particularly for children with behavioural, emotional, and/or learning difficulties (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Svetlov, Kobeissy, & Gold, 2007). The psychostimulation of MPH is not completely understood but researchers argue that it is not as habit-forming as cocaine or amphetamines (Svetlov et al., 2007). Ritalin is thought to improve performance at school as it helps concentration, problem-solving and alertness (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Svetlov et al., 2007). It is also known as a 'universal enhancer' amongst adolescents and university students as these effects are thought to occur regardless of the presence of any clinical conditions (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Svetlov et al., 2007). However, despite extensive research, there seems to be no long-term academic improvement associated with Ritalin use (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999): it is estimated that only 60% of the children diagnosed with ADHD benefit from MPH, leaving 40% of those who meet criteria for ADHD without any improvement (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999). Finally, there are reports of non-prescription abuse which may exacerbate epilepsy-related seizures (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Svetlov et al., 2007). To summarise, even though MPH is a not-well-

understood psychostimulant chemically similar to cocaine with a recorded history of abuse and risks of increasing the symptoms of epilepsy, it is still prescribed to children to treat a condition science does not fully understand (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Svetlov et al., 2007). As we can start to see, the differentiation between drugs that are prohibited and accepted in a given society do not follow rational assessments about the health risks and benefits of each substance but are based on socio-political-economic factors like media hype, political manipulation, selective concerns and money all of which reflect a society's ideological and hegemonic underpinnings (Singer, 2011; Stoddart, 20017).

Indeed, Frickel et al. (2010) state that Marxist critique of the political economy was in itself an early investigation of undone science. Marx defines ideology as the process by which a society's driving ideas come to reflect the interests of the dominant classes in a top-down flow of power based on the historico-material aspects of life (Stoddart, 2007). This, in turn, defines social consciousness through the setting of boundaries for what ideas are important and/or acceptable, which legitimises the exploitation of the lower classes (Stoddart, 2007). The concept of hegemony expands on this idea by arguing that behind the articulated and explicit ideologies of societies lies a multidirectional, unarticulated and uncontested network of power (Stoddart, 2007). This is maintained by all members of a society who, unknowingly, participate in this exploitative system through adherence to social norms and common sense (Stoddart, 2007). For this reason, the dominant social groups must maintain a level of "ideological unity" (Stoddart, 2007, p. 201). The "culture industry" (Stoddart, 2007, p. 198) plays a crucial role in the maintenance of this elitist status quo; it is through media, films, and other culture-creating channels that ideological and hegemonic representations of the world are transmitted to the masses (Stoddart, 2007). Additionally, Foucault's notions of discourse and 'power-knowledge' further conceptualise the dimensions where power acts in society by showing us how we all drawn upon pre-existing systems of thought and knowledge claims to interact with others (Stoddart, 2007). This is because discourse is what dictates our modes of thought and we must use the correct forms of discourse in specific social situations and institutions, i.e., in academia, in medicine and, crucially, in politics and science (Stoddart, 2007). By adhering to these modes of discourse, we are epistemically unable to see through the unequal power relations in which we live (Stoddart, 2007). Put together, discourse and the social relations of power in society produce 'truth' (Stoddart, 2007).

These are the forces behind the creation and maintenance of a culture in which parents request that their children are put on drugs for them to compete with other children in a neoliberalist power field (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999). Meanwhile, the war on drugs pushes forward the fifty-year-old ideology of a particular political group whose only intention was to advance their own agenda, while allowing for big corporations to continue to make their shareholders richer and ensuring that the media advances their ideas of health and 'common sense'. The very categorisation of substances that have historically been used as medicines by other cultures as illicit drugs keep the masses from being able to articulate the epistemic power needed to challenge the hegemonic forces which have stolen genuine forms of therapy from millions who need it (Hunter, 2015). The 'information', 'truth', and policies that define drugs as illicit are politically and socially fuelled actions of a government, businesses and elites and cannot be taken to be true accounts of the health risks created by psychedelics (Singer, 2011).

Towards a new paradigm of health

Recently, a 'psychedelic renaissance' has taking place. Organisations like the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS), Heffter Research Institute, Johns Hopkins Center

for Psychedelic & Consciousness Research, and Psychedelic Research in Science and Medicine (PRISM) in Australia, lead the way in researching the potential of psychedelics for treating a variety of conditions (MAPS, no date; Center for Psychedelic & Consciousness Research, no date; Home - Heffter, no date; PRISM, 2015). These organisations are fighting to make psychedelic medicine a respected area of research in mainstream science by focusing on rigorous scientific methodology, that is, speaking the language of the ideology of biomedicine (Epstein, 1995; Langlitz, 2013). Simultaneously, they are creating their own power networks through the development of a respectable relationship with government institutions, and getting their research published in scientific journals and reported in the media without the sensationalistic affair of decades before (Langlitz, 2013; Richards, 2015).

And what are these results? While diverse studies are showing the efficacy of psychedelics in the treatment of alcohol and tobacco addiction, it is in the treatment of mental illnesses that they seem to be most promising (Richards, 2015; Ross, 2012; Rucker, 2015). Research shows success in the treatment of advanced cancer-related anxiety, depression and pain, sometimes with only one dose (Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015; Ross et al., 2016). They are also successful in treating general anxiety and depression symptoms, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and cluster headaches, and may even help in treating people with sociopathic disorders (Carhart-Harris et al., 2018; Richards, 2015; Rucker, 2015). Finally, they may even help us boost our immune systems (Roberts, 1999).

However, while these are impressive results, we must take advantage of our unique anthropological methodology and examine these substances from a broader angle than that allowed by Western biomedical ideology. Reductionist biomedical models work from the underlying assumption that biochemical bodies are the same in all contexts and that pharmacological action is located solely in the ingested substance (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017). Drawing from ethnomedicinal methodologies which argue that each society has its own medical models, styles and culture, anthropology has been particularly well suited for challenging these assumptions and arguing that pharmacological effect is not such a straightforward process but rather a multidimensional phenomenon in which context is key (Barry, 2006; Hardon & Sanabria, 2017; Singer, 2011). This is particularly true when discussing the influence of setting within which the psychedelic therapeutic session takes place. It can be exemplified in the studies of trial designs using 3,4-methylenedioxy-methamphetamine (MDMA) and LSD (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017). In an LSD trial designed to help patients overcome alcohol addiction, the sessions took place in a comfortable living room with pictures, flowers and a high-quality sound system while the therapist directed the experience by helping people feel safe and comfortable and encouraging them to go deeper into themselves (Hardon & Sanabria, 2017).

Finally, anthropology allows us to look even further by examining Indigenous or non-Western ideas of health. For example, the Māori health model of Te Whare Tapa Whā was developed by Māori health workers in 1982 as a response to the biomedical reductionist worldview which, they stated, does not recognise what cannot be measured (Rochford, 2004). Instead, Māori use a holistic approach to health composed of four realms which relate to different dimensions of a person's life (Rochford, 2004). These are: taha tinana (physical), taha hinengaro (emotion), taha whānau (social), and taha wairua (spiritual; Rochford, 2004). This model is, essentially, a unified theory of health. Although Western society is based on a different cosmology and uses different language than Māori, this model may be somewhat translated into the corresponding Western concepts of: biomedicine (taha tinana); existential, anthropological or psychosocial (taha hinengaro); culturological or socio-economic (taha whānau); and spiritual, systemic or

humans' connections in the wider ecosystem (taha wairua; Rochford, 2004). We have already seen the potential for psychedelics to improve mental and physical health; by following the Te Whare Tapa Whā model, we can extend their potential to help us achieve more healthy social and spiritual lives (Clark, 1968; Forstmann & Sagioglou, 2017; Griffiths et al., 2018; Johnstad, 2018; MacLean, Johnson, & Griffiths, 2011; Majić, Schmidt, & Gallinat, 2015; Richards, 2015).

Conclusion

In the West, medicines are defined as substances that have the capacity to change the state of a living organism for the better (van der Geest, Whyte, & Hardon, 1996). The secret of their efficacy is their concreteness and the fact that they give us a tangible way to deal with our maladies (van der Geest et al., 1996). Medicines fit logically into the materialist biomedical ideology by making the disease concrete (van der Geest et al., 1996). However, as we have seen, the status of substances in a given society has less to do with their capacity to make life better than with the socio-politico-economic forces that rule that society. This is particularly easy to see when we compare how the West allows and promotes substances like Ritalin with other opioids, and made explicit when we take into account the dangers involved in the rampant consumption of alcohol and tobacco (Crutchley & Temlett, 1999; Singer, 2011; Svetlov et al., 2007). It is past time psychedelic research is facilitated by government bodies, so that people in Western societies can benefit from treatments and knowledges which the majority of non-Western cultures have known for a long time (Rucker, 2015). As Frickel et al. (2010) stated, until mainstream science faces a challenger, crucially important areas of research may remain as areas of undone science, ignored, undeveloped or hidden; since science is political, it is up to all of us to challenge it.

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ME, MYSELF, AND I: EXPLORATIONS OF IDENTITY

If the year 2020 has been defined by one thing, it is the exploration of identity. With the world looking immensely different this year, we have all been forced to confront new ways of living, loving and communicating. For many of us—as trite as it sounds—this transition will have triggered a renewed exploration of self. Who are we, when not defined in relation to others? What makes our lives meaningful? Perhaps most importantly: How do we define our place in the world? The theme of identity has long dominated both literature and culture, and the essays in this section both continue and respond to that tradition.

The section opens with Shadbolt's powerful analysis of Éilís Ní Dhuibhne's *The Dancers Dancing.* According to Shadbolt, Ní Dhuibhne subverts the idea of womanhood and Irishness as twin concepts united by their mutual narratives of oppression. The book presents female characters whose identities transcend these associations, "[staging] Irishness as non-linear and fluid". Shadbolt's essay explores the characters of Orla, Annie, and Elizabeth, situating them within Ireland's political context and identifying how their arcs challenge traditional expectations. A nuanced meditation on identity, this essay effortlessly interweaves ideas about history and language to unpack the complex relationship between womanhood and Irishness.

Notions of the oppressed woman also feature in the next piece: Outtrim's essay on *kawaii* culture in Japan. This essay critically analyses Kimiko Akita's assertions that *kawaii* aesthetics reduce women to sexual commodities and perpetuate a form of self-oppression. Outtrim takes a more balanced view of the matter, noting the ways in which *kawaii* aesthetics can infuse the identity of the Japanese woman with agency. *Kawaii* artefacts may be understood as a form of "visual protest"; a way of resisting hegemonic structures within patriarchal society. By examining a range of cultural practices including Goth-Loli and Maid Cafés, this essay presents an alternate view to Akita's, suggesting that *kawaii* aesthetics may well facilitate the expression of individual identity.

Chiang's essay explores identity on a more personal level. This piece explores the theme of love in Haruki Murakami's *South of the Border, West of the Sun*, examining the ways in which Hajime's romantic relationship(s) shape and influence his identity. The essay tracks the various effects that love can have on an individual. Initially, Hajime's love completes him, "[shaping] not only his identity, but also his world". However, Chiang's analysis also reveals the ruinous side of love: Hajime's desire for Shimamoto ultimately puts him on a path to "unconscious self-destruction". In Murakami's world—and, perhaps, in life—love is a force which both clarifies and complicates identity.

Finally, Skinner's essay considers the relationship between music and identity. This piece discusses the mixtape and the Spotify playlist, evaluating their similarities and differences as modes of communication. Both mediums, Skinner suggests, allow for the expression of selfhood. Identities are rarely static; they change across time. Playlists and mixtapes track these changes, capturing the essence of their creators' sentiments in a "time capsule" fashion. Integrating academic commentary with the author's own research, this essay covers vast ground, canvassing everything from historical mixtaping practices to contemporary TV.

The essays in this section span diverse places, eras and histories. They will take you from 1972 Dublin to post-war Japan; from "Hello Kitty" to *The Undateables.* We hope you enjoy these works, and that they take you somewhere beyond the confines of your own experience; that you get to inhabit—if only briefly, vicariously—the lives and realities of others.

Nithya Narayanan

English 217

Postcolonial Memory: Ireland

Ilena Shadbolt

Womanhood and Irishness in Eilís Ní Dhuibhne's *The Dancers Dancing*

"Womanhood and Irishness are metaphors for one another. There are resonances of humiliation, oppression, and silence in both of them and I think you can understand one by experiencing the other" (Eavan Boland, 1990, p. 84).

The meanings and relationships of "womanhood" and "Irishness" are simultaneously contested and well-established. There are copious models of the 'Irish woman': The 'comely maiden' that serves her husband and household, or Cathleen Ní Houlihan as bearer of strong Irish lads. Nuanced female representation has, historically, been more rare in Irish literature. Somewhere in between, the Irish and women are both appointed "the most oppressed people ever" (Kennedy, 2016, p. 36), complementing Boland's (1989) assertion that the terms are synonymous in their "humiliation, oppression and silence". However, in *The Dancers Dancing* (hereafter *TDD*), Ní Dhuibhne presents women who, if taken for national allegory, subvert these straightforward associations.

TDD offers a counternarrative for the portrayal of Irish girlhood. Irish girlhood is often complicated by illegibility within existing systems of signification that favour male conditions (McGovern, 2009). McGovern also argues that the bildungsroman tends to inscribe the male experience as universal, and is often defined by Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In *TDD*, Ní Dhuibhne deviates from this tradition with a female bildungsroman. At a linguistic level, girls are relegated to a vague miasma that inhibits visibility in Irish discourse. Ní Dhuibhne (2010) comments that "boys were boys or lads or fellas", whereas "girls were just young *ones*: they did not merit a generic name of their own" (p. 79). Unlike the variety of terms for male experience, "in older Ireland [girl] meant an unmarried female" (Bourke, 2004, p. 16), making 'girl' a sweeping signifier of a woman's position in relation to marriage. Just as "knowing too much is a burden Orla has been given to carry, because she is a girl" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 34), Irish girls mature precociously as they are conditioned to gender dichotomies from an early age (McGovern, 2009), effacing the distinction between girl and woman. Dougherty (2007) argues that female subjectivity pivots around reproductivity; a woman is understood as a child, a sexually available maiden, a wife, or a crone. The Irish constitution (*Bunreacht nah Éireann*) cements this reproductive focus, infamously interchanging "woman" and "wife". Article 41, subsection 1 states that "woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved", and subsection 2 that the State shall "ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home" (Irish Government, 1937). A lack of nuanced signifiers of female experience inflames the illegibility fostered by excessive representation of the male experience.

This illegibility is bolstered by allegorisations of Ireland as feminised and infantilised. Womanhood and Irishness were rendered narrowly analogous by nationalism during the Celtic Twilight. Yeats' (1902) Cathleen Ní Houlihan is an old woman who transforms into a beautiful youth once young men are prepared to die for her four "beautiful green fields" (p. 5), which represent the four Irish provinces. Cathleen vacillates between static states of crone and maiden, illustrating how organic modes of expressing the passage from girlhood to womanhood are often eclipsed. This combination of overrepresentation of androcentric narratives and under- (or at least, inaccurate) representation of gynocentric narratives enables Ní Dhuibhne to use Orla's transition between girlhood and womanhood to fashion a subversive national representation. Orla's status as a prepubescent teenager casts Irishness in a new light: One that is fluid and autonomously feminine. Ní Dhuibhne dresses Orla in the Irish flag at the opening of the novel, with her "fat bottom bulg[ing] inside her green corduroy trousers" and tangerine shoes with the "dimpled, slightly repulsive texture of orange peel" (p. 11). The repulsive

imagery makes a crude comparison to received cultural narratives of Irish womanhood, such as those exemplified by Cathleen. The metaphor of an ill-fitting girl embodying Irishness contests any neat comparison to womanhood. The liminal and confusing space of adolescence appropriately navigates the liminal and confusing overlaps of womanhood and Irishness.

Ní Dhuibhne positions Auntie Annie as a foil to Orla's expression of Irish womanhood. In some sense, Annie comes the closest in *TDD* to facilitating the national ideal. Like Cathleen, she is an "Old Woman" figure and the "custodian of Orla's ancestral [Gaeltacht] home" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 137). Killer Jack records her stories to preserve oral culture. In other words, Annie embodies 'authentic' Ireland. Yet, unlike Cathleen, who conveniently transforms into a maiden capable of reproducing Ireland's sons, Annie is confined to her post-reproductive, broken body. Her "face is crooked, her mouth is crooked, and she walks with a clumsy and awkward gait" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 138). Orla, as the new generation, procrastinates visiting Annie and is coldly ambivalent towards her collapsed figure in the barn. Annie is physically deaf but also deaf to the contemporary world, rebuffed by Orla as "out of kilter, not plumb with the world" and incongruent with her "time and place" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 139). This enacts a realism not present in Cathleen's narrative. McGovern (2009) suggests that, like Orla, Annie is another alternative to traditional national representations. Her crooked body is grounds for a "meditation on how damaging the tradition of personifying Ireland as female [such as through Cathleen] has been to Irish women" (p. 255). Annie represents an association between womanhood and Irishness that is more realistic than the relationship Cathleen represents. Unfortunately, no active healing work goes into Annie's relationship with Orla, signalling intergenerational discordance. Yet, healing is arguably found through Orla's allegorical possibilities, which question the role of the Catholic Church in perpetuating oppression against women such as Annie.

Through discovery of the *cillín*, Orla critiques the Catholic "culture of containment" (McGovern, 2009, p. 254) that catalysed the humiliation, oppression and silence of Irish women. The tendency of postcolonial discourse to usher identity issues under the umbrella of colonial trauma has obscured the role of the Church in female subjugation. Ní Dhuibhne intimates that a cultural sleight of hand has occurred. In Ireland's haste to reject Britain and embrace "everything that is exotic, different, warm, unreal and other…but not English" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 20), a more seductive domination by the Catholic Church was permitted. In the chapter "The burn scene five", Orla realises that the burn is a *cillín* (a burial site primarily used for stillborn and unbaptised infants) when she uncovers a "white stone" and intuitively "knows what it is": An infant skull (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 209). In the West, mass graves are usually associated with the Famine. This association reinforces colonialism as the major national issue. In *TDD*, by contrast, the *cillín* becomes associated with mass female infanticide arising from Catholic stigmatisation of unmarried mothers. In "The Workhouse", Orla "dreams" but "[does] not know" that an unmarried Nually Crilly used the site for infanticide (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 210). Relating the *cillín* to the Church rather than the Famine challenges the reader to conceptualise postcolonial Ireland in relation to Catholicism's subjugation of women, rewiring the connection of Irish womanhood with "humiliation" to reclamation.

Orla's discovery of menstrual blood—blood that ordains her as reproductively mature—is connected to the *cillín* by the repetition of "she knows what it is". If Orla "know[s] too much… because she is a girl" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 34), this knowledge 'burden' is reimagined to disrupt existing homogenous female representations that define subjectivity by reproductivity. McGovern (2009) argues that with the onset of her first period, Orla "stops growing sideways and commences growing up into Irish womanhood" (p. 261). Her chronology becomes

"normative" as she uses physical developments to mark time, getting "taller, thinner… [and having her] periods for one year" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 240). She is increasingly open to male attention from Alasdair and Micheál, and later mentions a husband and children. McGovern proposes that, notwithstanding her earlier subversive potential, Orla reinstitutes the ideal national paradigm. However, this reading is bathetic. Clearly, Orla cannot escape the pervasive effects of the culture of containment. Yet, such containment requires a complicity that Orla never wholly possesses. It is not inherently *wrong* to become a wife and mother. Pinioning this as an exemplar of Orla's subservience is reductive. Orla harbours a dissident sense of knowing that belies the 'ideal' infantilised Irish womanhood. The book is also quasi-autobiographical. The fact that the novel questions the Church stymies McGovern's insinuation that Orla sacrifices "sideways" potential for an allocated role. By connecting the *cillín* to female infanticide and extending this association to menstruation, Orla's character subverts dominant postcolonial narratives and attempts to heal the trauma of preceding generations of women such as Annie and Nualla. Orla defies the expectations of reproductive-aged girls that render them 'comely maidens' who must be saved by the young 'lads' of the bildungsroman.

Ní Dhuibhne creates further iterations of what it means to personify Ireland in Elizabeth. Elizabeth originates from the Isle of Wight but "loves Ireland with huge and oft-expressed passion…surpris[ing] everyone to learn that [she] is English" (Ní Dhuibhne, 2010, p. 146). In a globalising world where birthplaces and borders no longer denote belonging, Elizabeth is arguably just as Irish as anyone else. Orla may have lived there since birth, but she—at least, initially—resents Irish language and culture. Elizabeth may originally hail from the UK, but she has copious enthusiasm for a certain depiction of Ireland, creating a home and life for herself in the country. Her situation reflects Celtic Tiger reality, when Ireland experienced an influx of immigration. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether Elizabeth harbours a dangerous, false consciousness of a romanticised Ireland, or is an accurate expression of Arrowsmith's (2006) "inauthentic authenticity" (p. 242). Tubber was Elizabeth's first impression of Ireland when she went to look for Orla's father, and this seems to have lingered. It is possibly unkind to denigrate her for finding sanctuary in idealisation while she suffers economic hardship and oppression in Dublin. Yet, Elizabeth is not given a chance in *TDD* to critically reflect on why she romanticises Ireland, despite her lived experience being so dissonant from her imagined one. The West is objectively beautiful, but romanticisation without reflection can expose other oppressed minorities to insidious imaginings such as those inculcated by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). When an adult Orla returns to Tubber, she reflects on how such sentimentalising attitudes (manifested in the encroachment of green-boosterism tourism on the town) ossify the culture. Nonetheless, Elizabeth undeniably demonstrates an alternative nexus of womanhood and Irishness pertinent to the contemporary reader.

Boland may view womanhood and Irishness as resonant in exclusively negative terms. However, this does not do justice to an ethical memory (Wheelan, 2006) that respects victims of historical trauma while advocating for future reconciliation. In *TDD,* Ní Dhuibhne moves past these associations to paint portraits of a girl, woman and elderly woman that stage Irishness as non-linear and fluid. Since *TDD* consciously works against the concept of cultural purity, it is important to be cautious in viewing Orla, Annie or Elizabeth as purely allegorical. These women are representative but still localised. Rather than positing a monolithic "Irishness", they attest to plural Irish identities while illuminating commonalities that exist through their womanhood. Ultimately, instead of "humiliation, oppression and silence", Ní Dhuibhne signposts "reclamation, liberation and resonance" as the bonds between womanhood and Irishness.

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Japanese Popular Culture since 1945

Kaitlin Outtrim

Complicated Cuteness: An Analysis of Kimiko Akita's Critique on *Kawaii* Artefacts and the Agency of Young Japanese Women

Kawaii aesthetics dominate the cultural perception of young women in Japanese society. In her 2005 article, Kimiko Akita argues that the practice of *kawaii* aesthetics is a form of unconscious self-oppression of a young woman that reduces her to a sexualised commodity for male enjoyment. Although much of Akita's insight provides what proves to be a generally accurate portrayal of the objectifying, often belittling practice of *kawaii* culture and artefacts, there is little consideration of how the alternative forms of *kawaii* aesthetics provide young Japanese women with opportunities to find empowerment and agency within their patriarchal society. This essay will follow Akita's definition and criticisms of performative cuteness in Japan, supporting her significant points on the problematic male constructions of *kawaii* with reference to women as second-class citizens, the underbelly of *shōjo* anime and manga, and Maid Cafés of Akihabara. Conversely, suggestions are also offered regarding alternate views on how the popular cultural devices of Gothic Lolita fashion—and its growing representations in anime—create agency and power for young women.

In defining the concept of the Japanese *kawaii*, Akita (2005) directly translates it as "cuteness" (p. 44) in English, linking the term to a wide range of associated imagery including Hello Kitty, the colour pink, and sweet smells and tastes. Most importantly, she presents *kawaii* as the antithesis of masculinity. Akita connects *kawaii* aesthetics to the masculine-feminine dichotomy prevalent within Japan, which she describes as a highly gendered and patriarchal society where women are expected to be docile and submissive. *Kawaii* culture is therefore considered by Akita to be a tool wielded by the dominant masculine hegemony, in which compliance by Japanese women is forced. This essay will follow Akita's arguments by using this definition.

Japanese women who engage with *kawaii* cultural artefacts, Akita argues, provide themselves with a means of escapism from the high pressures of society's expectations of adulthood. Participating in *kawaii* behaviours delays the process of young women joining adult society, and instead allows for revelling in the sweet, nostalgic memories of simple childhood. However, this behaviour can have problematic implications. When explaining practices of *kawaii* culture, Akita points out certain behaviours she observed in young women of university age, such as speaking in the third person, excessive smiling and giggling, and dressing in childish, little-girl fashions. These are clear examples of intentional infantilisation: Striking, almost bizarre behaviours displayed by otherwise "supposedly mature" women in their early twenties (Akita, 2005). However, Akita acknowledges there is a genuine basis for such practices. Patriarchal powers pressure young women in Japan to marry young, leave the workforce and their education behind to rear children, and become housewives. Behaving in a childlike manner allows a young woman to at least temporarily delay seemingly inevitable real-world responsibilities. It would seem that using *kawaii* aesthetics in this manner might empower women by allowing them to reject expectations of their role in society—yet Akita argues otherwise. She explains that *kawaii* behaviours act as a masquerade, concealing the free-thinking woman underneath a mask that limits society's view of her to that of a second-class citizen. In Akita's view, the young women who act in accordance with *kawaii* aesthetics exhibit qualities synonymous with stupidity, immaturity and inferiority, especially when compared to men who do not display these behaviours. The aesthetics enforce a masculine-feminine dichotomy where men hold the hegemonic power. It is at this point that embracing *kawaii* behaviours as a form of comfort becomes problematic for young women. In her examination of the double-standards Japanese women face in embracing femininity and sexuality, Luck (2017) discusses how the women following *kawaii* aesthetics reach a point where they are no longer doing so willingly. The "mask" that Akita describes acts not as escapism but instead as a way to maintain the status quo, and as reinforcement of the patriarchal view that women

should behave in soft and cutesy manners. Therefore, as women act on *kawaii* behaviours as a result of pressures created by a male-dominated society, Akita is reasonable in her judgement that the aesthetics are a product of patriarchy. Luck's discussion further reinforces claims of the resulting limitations on young women in Japanese society.

Akita additionally suggests that *kawaii* culture and artefacts promote the "hidden" sexual commodification of women, as men typically construct the objects and behaviours of the aesthetic for the pleasure of the male gaze (p. 49). Examples of this practice are perhaps most notably displayed in the popular cultural concept of *shōjo*. This is a Japanese term used to describe a female character somewhere between adolescence and adulthood, sweetly innocent and *kawaii* in nature and appearance (Monden, 2015). The character trope is prominent in anime and manga. Although it was used initially in stories aimed at an audience of young girls, it has been harnessed by adult male *otaku* fandoms since the 1980s to fulfil grossly paedophilic desires (Sugawa-Shimada, 2013). Luck (2017) writes of the prevalence of *shōjo* male sexual fantasy: Manga with erotic storylines of "childlike women" feature in nearly every convenience store. Sugawa-Shimada (2013) also notes this sexual pervasiveness becoming so common that the term *loli-con* (short for "Lolita-complex", referencing the controversial Vladimir Nabokov novel) was popularised. The term is used to describe the inappropriate attraction of older male *otaku* to hypersexualised youthful girl characters in anime. The presence of such dangerously paedophilic media is ingrained so deeply in Japanese society that it has become normalised (Luck, 2017). Commodifying women as pornographic *kawaii* symbols for male gratification seems unextraordinary in the broader context of dominant patriarchal hegemony. Hence, as Akita notes, it goes seemingly unnoticed and is a "hidden" social issue.

A related concept to the *otaku* male-led sexual commodification of *kawaii* women is found in the phenomenon of Maid Cafés. Typically located in Akihabara, Japan's popular culture centre for anime and manga (Galbraith, 2018), these cafés attract men of all ages to be doted on by young female servers dressed in French maid-style costumes. Within these establishments, a man is greeted at the entrance as a "master" returning home to his adoring servants, who adopt different names and backstories. A standard across cafés is the supposed age of the maids, who are "eternally" seventeen years old (Galbraith, 2018, p. 34), implying the appeal of a *kawaii* underage girl just like in *shōjo* anime and manga. The maids sing, dance and pose for polaroids decorated in cute doodles—further examples of embedded *kawaii* aesthetics created for male entertainment (Galbraith, 2011). Similarly, the men frequenting these cafés do not see their servers as human beings, but rather as physical extensions of imaginary characters—constructed works of fiction akin to *shōjo* figures that produce feelings of *moe*, a term describing a strong emotional response to fictional characters (Galbraith, 2011). The women working in these cafés are stripped of their humanity and reduced to pure objects by their customers, commoditised and admired only for their ability to act out *kawaii* behaviours and their production of fantasy. This aligns with Akita's belief that cute aesthetics dehumanise women.

However, some factors complicate Akita's view of the sexuality of *kawaii* and its connection to Maid Cafés. Unlike the perverse depictions of *shōjo*—which are pure object and creations of male imagination—the constructed maid characters are real people with agency who have actively chosen to engage with this fantasy world. As ethnographic studies have discovered, the young women working as maids enjoy the ability to dress up and perform *kawaii* behaviours, and often share the same interests in anime and manga as their male patrons (Galbraith, 2011). Cafés enforce rules against touching the maids and have a low tolerance for harassment from customers; there are few reports of maids feeling uncomfortable as a result of unwanted sexual

attention (Galbraith, 2011). Consequently, it becomes difficult to apply Akita's argument to all aspects of Japanese male-created media. In spite of the clear evidence of *kawaii* aesthetics being used to objectify young women (especially in the form of *shōjo* anime and manga), it is not possible to apply Akita's beliefs to practices where women find enjoyment and choose to engage in the practice, as shown in the example of Maid Cafés. Akita's argument is further complicated by the existence of Butler Cafés, which operate in exactly the same manner as their Maid counterparts, but with male servers for a predominately "female otaku" audience (Nakamura, 2006, para. 3). However, these spaces do not appear to possess the same paedophilic or sexually charged natures.

A significant oversight in Akita's analysis of *kawaii* aesthetics is the failure to acknowledge transformative forms of the original, male-constructed ideals of cuteness in Japan, and the opportunities they afford for female empowerment. The definition of the term *kawaii* itself expands beyond the explanation Akita provides which, in turn, extends the possibilities for young Japanese women to utilise its practices for their own advantage. Akita's simple equation of *kawaii* with the English word "cuteness" is believed by scholars to be too limiting in its scope. In more recent dissections, the term has come to include surprisingly negative connotations, such as "ugly" and "grotesque" (Ito, 2018). It is the harnessing of this new implication that is enabling young women to find empowerment and agency within *kawaii* aesthetics. This harnessing is located in the fashions and practices of Goth-Loli. Goth-Loli is a subtype of the hyper-cute, hyper-feminine stylings of Lolita which, despite the similarity in name, deliberately distances itself from the previously mentioned "Lolita-complex" phenomenon (Winge, 2008). Young women who wear Goth-Loli styles mix the sweet with the morbid and build upon quintessential Lolita fashions (such as Victorian little-girl dresses, lace and ornate bonnets) to include death-related accessories and the colour black. In her studies of Goth-Loli, Winge (2008) believes the individuality of the styling provides young women with the agency to construct and affirm their own identities. The fashion goes against the hegemonic ideals of what makes women *kawaii*, and allows for the communication of visual protest, self-expression, and individualism not usually permitted in the broader Japanese context.

Within her discussion, Akita also asserts that engagement with *kawaii* artefacts is purely driven by a woman's willingness to objectify herself in order to fit the societal norm of femininity, as crafted by men. Such a belief is disproven within studies of Lolita fashions. The clothing styles are so far beyond the male-constructed ideals of desirable femininity that Akita's notion seems absurd. Moreover, the wearers themselves insist that garnering male attention is not the point of the practice. Instead, there is emphasis on feelings of belonging to a female community and building friendships with other Lolita wearers (Mackie, 2009). Furthermore, artefacts of Lolita culture such as the *Gothic and Lolita Bible* magazine are crafted by fellow community members, and not by men with intentions to objectify wearers (Winge, 2008). Therefore, the hyper-cute fashions and practices of Lolita unite young women. Meanwhile, subtypes such as Goth-Loli allow wearers to explore the alternative meanings of *kawaii* and build a sense of agency outside the traditional expectations of how young women should present themselves and behave in Japanese society. As a result of the popularity of Goth-Loli among young women, there is evidence of a spillover effect in other popular Japanese cultural mediums. Sugawa-Shimada (2013) writes of the growth of *guro-kawaii* ('grotesque *kawaii*') female *shōjo* characters in popular anime, which she believes represent both positive and negative qualities, similar to Goth-Loli. In her view, these characters represent a shift in how femininity is expressed in Japanese media, and encourage young women in their journey of finding strength within *kawaii* aesthetics. *Guro-kawaii* characters in popular anime series such as *Hell Girl* and *Death Note* symbolise a woman's choice to embrace hyper-cuteness over sexualised

objectification. At the same time, grotesqueness entails a "positive power" over one's image not usually found within male-construed ideals of cuteness.

This essay has explained Kimiko Akita's definition of *kawaii* culture, and analysed her viewpoints on how its practices sexually objectify young women as commodifiable products within Japan's patriarchal society. Akita's arguments on *kawaii* behaviours as masquerade and escapism are seemingly supported by the prevalence in young women wishing to delay their transition into adulthood. Secondly, there is a measure of support for Akita's belief that such behaviours affirm a woman's position as a second-class citizen in Japanese society. The notion of sexual commodification—driven by patriarchal culture—is exemplified by the often-paedophilic nature of *shōjo* media created for and by older male *otaku* audiences, as well as by the phenomenon of Maid Cafés. However, there are opposing views regarding the agency of the young women involved in the cafés, diluting Akita's arguments slightly. Finally, potential flaws in Akita's analysis include her limited interpretation of what *kawaii* actually means to those who engage in its practices. This is especially true with regards to the young women involved in the simultaneously cute and grotesque fashions of Goth-Loli, Goth Loli's provision of empowerment, and the resulting cultural spillover of changing ideals into popular anime series.

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The Modern Novel

Jia Yin Chiang

Love: South of the Border, West of the Sun

Roland Barthes writes on the lover's condition: "it is the other who leaves, it is I who remain" (Barthes, 1978, p. 13). Haruki Murakami picks up on this thread of longing in *South of the Border, West of the Sun*, mapping out the ways in which a love for the elusive 'Other' can manifest and shape the world(s) of the lover. This essay will explore the various forms that love takes in the novel, first in terms of identity, and the effect of love on its completion. It will then delve into the nostalgic space created by the absence of love, before finally charting the lover's descent into the other world of death in pursuit of his beloved. The essay will conclude that an escape from the self to join the 'other' is both futile and fatal. As our protagonist Hajime observes: "No matter where I go, I still end up me. What's missing never changes" (Murakami, 2003, p. 182). What can change, however, is the reality that love opens up for us—the worlds we inhabit, and in which we find ourselves.

Firstly, love manifests as a constitutive force of identity. Although the novel fits easily into the romance convention (as it centres on the romantic relationship between Hajime and Shimamoto), it is arguably closer to a bildungsroman: A journey of self-discovery through the hero's romantic relationships (Strecher, 1998; Yeung, 2013). Hajime, as the protagonist-narrator, is focused on analysing his emotional responses and criticising his own behaviour (Yeung, 2013). He chastises himself, for example, for hurting his girlfriend Izumi, and is repulsed by his own capacity to "do evil" (Murakami, 2003, pp. 41–42). Moreover, his plain and comprehensive introduction at the start of the novel supports his location at its narrative centre—we are told his birthday, his name, who his parents are, where he lives, and that he is an only child—before the text problematises this identity as one that is incomplete. Indeed, the wholeness of Hajime's identity depends on Shimamoto, with whom he falls in love. Their very names suggest that they are halves of a whole. Hajime is only ever identified by his first name in the text and Shimamoto only by her last; both names, moreover, have similar meanings. 'Hajime' means "beginning" (Murakami, 2003, p. 1), and 'Shimamoto' has connotations of "beginning, former time, origin" and "island" (Culture Tour, n.d.).

Furthermore, as only children, Hajime and Shimamoto each stand in as the "missing something" the other needs to be a "complete human being" in the world of the narrative (Murakami, 2003, p. 4). The first chapter constructs Hajime's identity entirely in relation to Shimamoto's, informed by what she is and what she is not. His reliance on her is evident in the fact that descriptions of her precede his at points of difference. For example, he tells us that Shimamoto is kind to everyone and respected, but that he is not; that she is large because she is as tall as him; and that her defensive wall is built higher than his. At the same time, the two identify with each other in their shared love of books, music, cats and, importantly, jazz music. Hajime's love for the genre "grew" from Shimamoto's like a "whirlpool" emerging out of another (Murakami, 2003, p. 9), a metaphor echoed towards the end of the novel when Hajime recognises that his reality is dependent on an alternate one: The reality that Shimamoto represents. Thus, Hajime's love for Shimamoto shapes not only his identity, but also his world. Their childhood relationship creates an unconscious "intimate world" (Murakami, 2003, p. 15) within Hajime's conscious "real world" (p. 14). Once they part ways, Shimamoto moves from the latter to the former (Murakami, 2003, pp. 15–16) where she commands "a special place" (p. 16), elevated above Hajime's 'real' life. In her absence, therefore, Shimamoto becomes Hajime's Lacanian 'Other' against whom he constitutes and understands himself (Strecher, 1999)—the "lack" that defines him (Murakami, 2003, p. 182). She becomes the "absolutely vital" *something* (Murakami, 2003, p. 16) lurking within the impenetrable "black box" (Strecher, 1999, p. 271) of his unconscious that he will quest, as the hero of the narrative, to possess. With Shimamoto no longer in his conscious life, Hajime is rendered incomplete once more at the end of the chapter, where he conceptualises his identity as something "fragmented"

that he will endeavour to make whole (Murakami, 2003, p. 16). The trajectory of love in this romance is thus driven by Hajime's search for the missing core of his identity.

Secondly, therefore, Hajime's pursuit of love can be diagnosed as a kind of "homesickness" (Bennet and Royle, 2016, p. 246). By falling in love with Shimamoto, Hajime gains a sense of belonging; of warmth that he finds "just below the surface" of her "cool" exterior and in their briefly held hands (Murakami, 2003, pp. 5, 14); and of familiarity, born out of their identification with each other which culminates in a desire to become one (Bennet and Royle, 2016). Naturally, then, the perceived separation from his constitutive 'Other' produces a longing within Hajime that persists throughout the rest of his life. Hajime's love is coloured blue—the colour he closely associates with Shimamoto because she is always wearing it—and thus the colour of nostalgia, symbolised by the Nat King Cole 'South of the Border' jazz record they both love. The lyrics, repeated a few times in the novel, are telling: "Pretend you're happy when you're blue / It isn't very hard to do" (Murakami, 2003, p. 11). Like a "tower that [has] lost its base" (Murakami, 2003, p. 21), Hajime is plagued by this 'blueness' or nostalgia, and advances through life facing backwards, forever trying to reconstruct the sense of belonging he found in his childhood connection with Shimamoto (Augé, 2016).

Notably, Hajime's "homesickness" leads him into a romantic relationship with Izumi. He is attracted to the "straightforward" (Murakami, 2003, p. 19), "natural" (p. 27) and therefore easily attainable "warmth" that she exudes (p. 19). Precisely because of its availability, however, the relationship is one that he finds ultimately unfulfilling. This notion is consistent with the Lacanian conception of desire: The 'Other' is desired precisely because it is inaccessible and unattainable (Strecher, 1999). Compared to the depth and "large[ness]" of Shimamoto in Hajime's memories (Murakami, 2003, p. 6), Izumi is always small, a function of her name ("mountain spring" [p. 19], a characteristically shallow body of water). With her "tiny ears" (Murakami, 2003, pp. 20, 27), Izumi cannot understand the music that Hajime likes, and with her tiny shoes, she cannot keep up with his pace. Shimamoto, on the other hand, sets the pace on her and Hajime's walks home from school, and once even takes the lead.

Moreover, Hajime's yearning for the "nostalgic image" (Strecher, 1999, p. 283) of Shimamoto blurs the lines between the worlds of his unconscious past and conscious present, culminating in the creation of a liminal space in the form of Hajime's jazz bar. As both a thing of the past (known for playing old jazz music) and a thing of Hajime's present adult life (being the result of his marriage with Yukiko), the jazz bar, fittingly named "Robin's Nest" (Murakami, 2003, p. 73), functions as a meeting point between two worlds. The imagery of blue robin eggs resonates with both the 'blueness' that Shimamoto embodies, and the idea of new beginnings in Hajime's consistent attempts to reinvent himself. The nostalgic bar, then, seems to conjure Shimamoto up from Hajime's memory. A 'vision' in blue, Shimamoto acknowledges her less-than-real quality herself, recognising that she may appear to be a "mysterious lady of the night" (Murakami, 2003, p. 79). Indeed, after their meeting, Hajime seems to recognise Shimamoto's illusory nature on an instinctual level, and contemplates his unstable reality.

The narrative further supports the idea that Shimamoto is a figment of Hajime's imagination by curing Shimamoto's clubbed foot as an adult to emphasise that she is but an 'image' of the 'real' (Strecher, 1999). Thus, Hajime's homesick love for Shimamoto results in a failure to orient himself temporally, and he "[loses] his bearings" (Murakami, 2003, p. 156). The novel's title captures this dilemma. In a directional axis, the horizontal arrow typically points East and the vertical North. In Hajime's narrative, however, the arrows are reversed so that Hajime travels backwards (West) and downwards (South). Notably, the horizontal and vertical axes

intersect at one point, and then never again. This illustrates the temporary and impermanent nature of Hajime and Shimamoto's relationship, which we can observe in Chapter 9. In Ishikawa, water appears in different states; the river flows, patches of snow remain, and Shimamoto contemplates seawater evaporating into clouds and falling as rain. Significantly, Hajime melts snow in his mouth and lets the water flow into Shimamoto's. Like the rain that always accompanies Shimamoto's presence, the novel emphasises that their love is not meant to last as it is out of time and out of place. Arguably, their paths only crossed once when they were children, and although Shimamoto reappears in Hajime's present, the wrist watch and bracelets she wears on her arms like expensive handcuffs shackle her to a reality that Hajime knows nothing about, precisely because, in his reality, it does not exist.

Lastly, Hajime's love also manifests as death. If, in Murakami's protagonist-narrated works, side characters are merely a function of the protagonist's psyche, then Hajime's relationships with women—all of whom are closely associated with death—point to his own desire for death. In Freudian terms, Hajime seems to have a "death wish" (Yeung, 2013, pp. 286–287, 292). The narrative describes his sexual attraction to Izumi's cousin in terms of an inexplicable "magnetism" and an "absolute.… *something*" (Murakami, 2003, p. 37), and he finds the same "irrationally strong … magnetism" in Yukiko (p. 59). Izumi's cousin later dies, and Hajime finds out that Yukiko has previously attempted suicide. Izumi, too, comes to resemble the dead in the latter half of the novel; Hajime describes her as having a "silent and dead" face (Murakami, 2003, p. 178), and children are afraid of her. What Hajime is attracted to, then, is death, wholly embodied in the ghostliest character of all: Shimamoto. Death lurks as the main purpose behind the trip to Ishikawa, where Shimamoto and Hajime share their first kiss, as Shimamoto wants to scatter the ashes of her deceased baby. On the way to the airport, Shimamoto almost dies herself; her breathing becomes an "unearthly sound", her eyes turn "cold and dark as death" (Murakami, 2003, p. 105) and she is "stiff and white as a sheet" (p. 160) before Hajime returns her to "the land of the living" by kissing her (p. 106).

In the Hakone cottage, as the two make love, Hajime predicts that the "other world" of death "wanted [him]" (Murakami, 2003, p. 162) as he stares into Shimamoto's eyes, referring to the fact that she had planned to kill him in Hakone. Much like the forest landscape of Ishikawa where the two kiss for the first time, Hakone is an "other world" distanced from civilisation and the world of the living (Strecher, 2014, p. 73). Indeed, Shimamoto alludes to this by implying that "West of the Sun" lies the 'other world' of death (Murakami, 2003, p. 155). Shimamoto is Hajime's 'absolute Other' with whom there is no "middle ground" (Murakami, 2003, p. 157)—his death wish (Yeung, 2013). Their love can result only in Hajime's self-destruction. The red imagery of blood and the hot stove when the two consummate their love, and the red colour of Shimamoto's coat when Hajime follows her as if "possessed" (Murakami, 2003, p. 53), hint that the 'warmer' and thus more accessible she becomes, the closer he is drawn into her world; that is, towards death.

However, Hajime ultimately overcomes the temptation of death by virtue of his human relationships with his wife and children (Yeung, 2013). Hajime's desire for death can be attributed, on an emotional level, to the self-hatred born from the moment he realised he had been cruel towards Izumi. On a wider level, it can be linked to his Zenkyoto disillusionment with the late capitalist society of post-war 1980s Japan, with its alienating nature, corrupt establishments, and rampant consumerism. It makes sense, therefore, that "[reaching] out" (Strecher, 1999, p. 267) to another inhabitant of his 'conscious' world—his wife Yukiko, with whom he finally establishes emotional connection—is what pulls him back from the 'other world'. Although the lure of unconscious self-destruction remains within Hajime in the

darkness, sea and falling rain of the final scene, the light touch of the hand on his back—arguably Yukiko's—carries the hope of a new identity founded not on a love of the unknown or the impossible, but on a shared and historical real (Strecher, 1999).

Love manifests in the novel as a defining force of identity that completes what is perceived as incomplete; as a longing to belong to somewhere and someone that no longer exists; and finally as death, when the lover gives up his world for the 'Other'. The moral of Murakami's story is, perhaps, that while love is necessarily a return to our origins and a process of rediscovery, we must take responsibility for our histories as they can never just be 'rewritten'. Hajime is enlightened by the end that it is impossible to "escape [himself]" (Murakami, 2003, p. 182). He will try "to weave dreams for others" (p. 186) and find meaning in his modern world through acts of selfless creation, instead of "self-centred" isolation (p. 5). Thus, through love, Hajime becomes more than Shimamoto—for a new beginning to have any real meaning, one cannot remain an island.

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Media 331

Recorded Music and Media Format

Isabella Skinner

"From the Edge of the Deep Green Sea": Communication by Means of the Mixtape and Spotify Playlist

A Note from the Editor: Please note the names 'Olivia' and 'Romana' are pseudonyms, which have been used to protect the sources' identities. The author of this piece has obtained permission to use information from interviews with these individuals in this publication.

Communication is a large component of the music people listen to, share and discuss with others in their social circle. Mediums used in order to do these activities include the mixtape and streaming platforms. My research intends to decipher how the affordances of each medium contribute to its overall level of communication between music listeners, whilst pointing out the noticeable similarities and differences. These are understood through television programmes and films, scholarly writings on each medium, and real-life experiences of using either the mixtape or Spotify playlist to express identity to others. The conclusions made in this paper will be informed by the discussions and interpretations made by scholars including Rob Drew, Anya Nylund Hagen, Paul Stock, and various contributors to Thurston Moore's text. In order to better understand Spotify users' intentions when curating playlists on their profiles, I asked users how they construct their identity based on the titles, visuals, descriptions and track list of each playlist as a process of 'mixtaping'. The findings showed some similarities between the mediums, but also clear differences with regards to the physical vs digital formats, and their main forms of usage.

Spotify playlists and mixtapes share some distinct similarities and differences in terms of their communicative affordances. They can both be used as forms of long-distance communication; like a personal posted letter, they can be perceived as a keepsake or memento by the recipient. Drew (2016) states, of mixtapes, that "mixers and receivers have reason to share them at some distance" (p. 151). A personal example is the mixtape my mum made as a teenager, comprising all the songs of her favourite artists at the time, which she then gifted to me before I left home. The physical copy, embellished with her handwriting on the cover, is a keepsake for me and reminds me of her taste in music, much of which I myself have acquired. The giving of cassette tapes has been a reciprocal act in my family. A few years ago, I gave some old tapes that I had purchased to my younger sister to introduce her to my personal taste in music, and to enforce a stronger sibling bond. She has grown up in a generation where the majority of music available has been digital. She was born around the advent of both Spotify (introduced in 2008) and YouTube, and has not had the same experience as I have with physical mediums. Some notable differences between the two mediums are whether they are physical or digital, the labour involved, and the instantaneity of using a particular medium. With Spotify playlists, the curation and sharing of music is achieved digitally via the interface. On the other hand, the mixtape is created manually, with each step in the process requiring a physical item to be handled. The labour of creating a mixtape is far more complex than that of creating an online playlist. Of course, there is still a great deal of thought which goes into selecting the songs, but the press of a button is all it takes to select a song or create a new one.

The labour of creating one's own playlist greatly depends on the user themselves, and whether they are willing to wait for the process of the mixtape to conclude. Spotify, with its increased sense of instantaneity, is an effective tool for instant selection and sharing with others. No longer does the receiver have to wait for the mixtape to be given to them, either through the mail or the post (although this wait may create suspense and excitement between the two parties). When I am in a different place to my family, sharing playlists is very time efficient. I can send music to my sister for her to listen to on her account. Recently, she disclosed that she searches through my playlists and chooses songs for her own playlist; this process is enjoyable and reminds her of me.

It has long been known that the mixtape can be an expression of love and affection for someone else: The mixer of the tape arduously finds, organises and gifts the mixtape to their loved one. Despite Spotify users creating playlists for themselves, it was interesting to see that the majority of their playlists were still public, meaning anyone looking at their accounts could see them.

Spotify does have a 'private' feature so specific playlists can be hidden from view. With the mixtape, however, there is no going back. Once given to the receiver the tape is out in the open, and there is no possible way to ask for it back. Although neither of the people questioned about their Spotify accounts said they used the platform as a way of expressing their love towards someone, one of the interviewees did recount the story of a friend who found a mysterious clue in a collaborative playlist. In this case a couple made a collaborative playlist together, as a way of symbolising their relationship, by way of carefully chosen songs. Long distance was a factor leading to their break-up. However, a short time later, the male partner added a number of songs to the collaborative playlist. The female partner found that, although the songs themselves did not have much significance, the first letters of the song titles spelt out the phrase "I Think I Still Love You" in an acrostic-style poem. Creators of playlists represent the notion of the "new poet" (Viegener, 2004, p. 35). They collect and remix the feelings connected to the songs of the playlist. Mixtape mixers also have the ability to put together their tape in the fashion of poetic language. Viegener believes mixtapes are a collection of quotations; the poem (the mixtape) is comprised of lines pulled from other poems (the tracklist itself).

Both mixtapes and user-created playlists have a 'time capsule' element, allowing users to look back fondly on a certain playlist from a particular point in time. Anders (2004) says people will not "make the same mixtape at 26 that [they] did at 14 or will make at 48" (p. 63), which links to the idea of mixtapes and playlists being created by the creator for themselves. Both are communicative tools which remind the creator of where and who they were at a particularly notable time in their lives. Speaking to creators on Spotify, I learned that they produce their own playlists as an expression of themselves to look back on in the future. Compilation albums are often produced as a way of amalgamating a select number of songs which best express the sound of one artist or genre. Both Spotify users and mixtape creators make their own compilations of their favourite artist or genre. Olivia created a playlist on her account dedicated to New Zealand music, entitled "Homegrown Organic Jam"'.

A relative, on the other hand, said she would create her own mixtapes with songs recorded from various albums of one artist. This tape would then accompany her on her travels to and from school each day on her cassette player, to make the commute more enjoyable. O'Rourke (2004) claims that with the recording of the mixtape, the mixer debates the attributes of each track before compiling it. Bennett (2008) also describes the tape as "remaining a testament to youth, a reminder of the love … involved in sharing music" (p. 16). The cut and paste aesthetic (McCaughan, 2004) is an idea related to the mixtape where the creator attaches photographs or visuals which have a certain significance to their youth. These visuals correlate with the mood of the tracklist, or function as an added touch to let the receiver know who made it. This activity is also possible on Spotify; users can select their own image for each playlist. Romana described how she chooses the images either from her own selection of photographs, or ones she has found online. She selects the image which best fits with the choices of music she has placed in the playlist. She also mentioned that she adds the image once most of the tracklist has been chosen. The creator of a mixtape will record the songs onto the tape before adorning the cover with embellishments (Moore, 2004, p. 12). For both mixtapes and user-created playlists, this finishing touch acts as the final step in the process of creation.

A noticeable difference between the mixtape and Spotify playlists found during research was the communicative aspect. Users of Spotify spoke about how they created playlists as a mode of communication for themselves. These users created the playlists with the intention of being able to look back on them and recall certain feelings or times from when they were created. Each playlist was a small part of the user's identity as they grew up. Hence, their Spotify accounts acted as a personal 'time capsule'. The users did not express any desire to make a playlist for someone else; they preferred to make playlists for themselves. This suggests that Spotify does not create the same level of communication as the mixtape, even though some users may indeed use the platform

as a form of communication with others. Although Moore writes about the mixtape specifically, some of the points he makes about this medium are similar to the responses received from Spotify users. The people who were asked about their playlists for my research said their purpose in curating the playlists was for their own listening enjoyment; the playlists were not made to be shown to anyone else. Griffin (2004) writes that in some cases, his mixtapes were "made for no other consumption than [his own]" (p. 18). It is likely Griffin is suggesting that some mixtapes are kept as a token of identity for the maker, rather than being sent away or given to another person. Some mixtapes were so integral to a person's identity that the creator wanted to keep the original for themselves, fearing it might never be seen again. Griffin also suggests that in some instances, the person making the tape did it with "constructing their own private radio station" (p. 18) in mind.

Both mixtapes and Spotify playlists have words attached to them, whether this is the title of the tape or playlist, extra notes (in the case of the tape), or a playlist caption. Then, of course, there is the tracklist. Looking over these elements is like "reading an old diary entry", as Wareham (2004, p. 29) puts it. Wareham is talking about the mixtape; however, this idea can also be applied to the Spotify playlist, as was revealed when people spoke about how they curate their playlists. The time capsule feature on Spotify includes noteworthy tunes, but the users who were questioned said that their own non-Spotify generated playlists were like time capsules anyway, since they were made at a specific time. On my Spotify homepage, the tagline under the Discover Weekly playlist reads: "Your weekly mixtape of fresh music". The mixtape possesses a certain longevity; the receiver will have the physical medium there as a "symbol of romance or friendship" (Bennett, 2008, p. 16). The same can be said of Spotify; songs are added to the playlist instantaneously if there is a change within a relationship or the listener's own feelings.

Within my music collection were some cassette tapes, including some that were compilations of an artist or year of release. When I moved to a different city, the tapes were given to my family as a way of reminding them of my personality and favourite music. Drew (2016) shares a similar perspective on this, saying that "one gives away what is in reality a part of one's own nature and substance" (p. 148) when giving a mixtape to someone. Koether (2004) also describes mixtapes as being equivalent to any letters or gifts one would normally endow upon a friend. Mixtapes are objects used to communicate with and keep in touch with others by the "imaging … and [communication of] thoughts and feelings" (p. 50) resulting from the construction of the object. In Olivia's case, a penpal from the Netherlands introduced her to his Spotify account through their online exchanges. She follows his Spotify as a way of understanding more about him, while also discovering songs from Dutch artists and other music from overseas. Spotify can thus be seen in an educational context. European music varies greatly from New Zealand music and is in different languages, too, meaning Olivia learns more about other cultures and languages. A look at another friend's playlist revealed a French playlist with only French language songs in it, and an image with uniquely French items such as a magazine cover. Both mixtapes and Spotify playlists allow personal musical tastes to be shared, thus revealing one part of a person to others.

Even contemporary shows follow the curation of a mixtape. It is interesting to see the ways people in modern times have used the mixtape as a form of communication, even as physical mediums start to get replaced by digital streaming platforms. On the UK show *The Undateables*, one episode featured an art student named Daniel, who has autism and Asperger's. His difficulty in communicating with others means he often turns to his love for music as a way of expressing his feelings towards a person, as well as a way for the other person to understand him. One scene in the episode shows Daniel creating a mixtape in his bedroom for his 'blind date'; it depicts him copying each vinyl onto a blank tape. He is excited to be doing this as he knows his date is a music lover like him, and that they share common interests in genres. He says: "Wouldn't it be romantic and nice and meaningful actually to make her a mixtape for the date?" (FizzyGamer CZ, 2019, 0:27:04). Like many curators of mixtapes, Daniel sees mixtaping as an 'art'. He thinks a lot of

thought and effort must go into the process. However, he feels the gift giving aspect is risky when he has not met his date yet, worrying the move may come across as too intense.

The presentation of mixtapes in the media, especially from the era in which they were most common, gives an important perspective on the entire process of mixtaping, from conception to finished product. Unlike Spotify accounts, where it is up to the user's discretion who else sees the playlist, mixtaping has often had a set of 'rules' attached to the process. The film *High Fidelity*, released in 2000, features one scene where John Cusack's character breaks the fourth wall in the act of constructing his own mixtape, and explains the rules to making a successful mixtape of favourite tunes. Cusack says "the making of a good compilation tape is a very subtle art" (Frears, 2000, 01:56:45)—a sentiment which Daniel from *The Undateables* would likely agree with. The poetry theme is very prevalent in the concept of mixtaping; Cusack reinforces the idea that the mixer is using someone else's poetry to express how they feel. As with any art form, the process begins with something which stands out to the mixer.

In the case of mixtaping, it is important to choose a track which grabs the listener's attention immediately, and then proceeds to be a cohesive mix of songs flowing from one to the next. The Spotify creators interviewed did not describe the process of generating their playlists as a 'work of art', which can be contrasted with the sentiments of both Cusack and Daniel. However, this is not to say that all mixtape creators interviewed wanted to give the mixtapes to others as an expression of themselves and their relationships. The mixtaping process was also done for the entertainment and enjoyment factor. A relative—whose peak usage of the cassette tape occurred in 1987–1989—said their reason for using it was to compile all their favourite tunes onto one tape. The radio, particularly the Top 40 countdown, produced the content required for the user's own personal radio station on their commute to school. In some cases, a friend within their social circle would buy the original tape and then pass it on to others, so they could copy it onto blank tapes. For most people, this was done to create their own personalised mixtapes; however, the activity was still part of a broader social exercise in listening to and possessing similar tastes in music. These mixtaping rituals fostered a "sense of community and ongoing interest between albums" (Anderton, Dubber & James, 2013, p. 179), but in a more modern sense, the Spotify playlist also encourages creators to add newly released tracks on a regular basis. These uses of each medium can be linked to their time period, especially with regards to the accessibility and efficiency of sharing music with others.

The communicative aspects of the mixtape and Spotify playlist vary because of the time in which they were at their most popular. Spotify playlists can be accessed anywhere, at any time, and by anyone. They not only speak for the creator but also to the large number of listeners who can come across and enjoy what the playlist has to offer. The mixtape, on the other hand, requires more time to get right due to the specialist equipment that needs to be utilised in order to record songs onto the tape. Personal touches are a key feature of both mediums. Users and creators use imagery and captioning, as well as song titles, to make a statement. The final product can be either for themselves—to look back on in the future—or to express their identity to others within their social circle. Both mediums are effective tools for communicating across large distances, keeping people in touch with one another via shared musical interests, poetry and visuals.

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MEDIA ANALYSIS: EXPLORING MODES OF COMMUNICATION

A liberal arts education emphasises the development of transferable skills. Arguably, one of the most versatile and practical skills that the Faculty of Arts fosters is the ability to analyse media from a critical perspective. The essays in this section treat a diverse range of mediums—from paintings to films to souvenirs—and examine how media producers and consumers alike convey, create, and discover meaning in these different modes. The essays further demonstrate the inextricable bidirectional link between this making of meaning in media and the societal context in which these works were conceived. Critical analysis of works from such a variation of mediums gives us a greater appreciation for the multitude of avenues available to us as humans to share our joys, fears, and hopes, and the extraordinary communicative power of the arts to afford us a glimpse into other worlds of experience.

Macdonald examines how the depiction of witches in artwork from the Renaissance period provides a window of understanding into the attitudes that led to the 'witch-craze' of the sixteenth century. These attitudes include fears of women's sexuality and anxieties around fertility and birth. She also discusses the role that art played in establishing a visual code for witches. Her essay is an example of the potential that art has to change societal beliefs and perceptions of reality, through making the intangible visually concrete.

Webb Sagarin's analysis of *The Talented Mr. Ripley* explores the struggles around conceiving identity in the Cold War era. Through the myriad of self-invented identities of the protagonist in this novel, Webb Sagarin discerns the pressures, birthed from a society fearing the unknown and anticipating catastrophe, to appear normal and live the American Dream. She demonstrates the power of fiction to explore the effects of world events on the individual psyche. While Mr. Ripley does not exist and the literal nature of his self-invention may be extreme, his story serves as a powerful metaphor for the very real layers of deception in society and within people's personal identities during this time period.

Li investigates the role of museums and souvenirs in contemporary society. She provides a case study of The Palace Museum (TPM) in China, which serves as an example of how to balance the purpose of a museum, which is to educate and preserve heritage, with the consumer demand for entertainment and unique souvenirs. TPM has successfully achieved this delicate balance, enabling it to generate greater public interest in heritage. This essay shows that analysing a functional and material medium like souvenirs can illuminate abstract concepts, such as consumer attitudes and values, and these concepts are invaluable for informing effective action.

Mitra takes us on a journey through history in her essay on Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita.* She tells stories of some of the best and worst leaders of early Rome and the impact of various leadership qualities on the end of Roman kingship. Uniting the classical and modern, she approaches the historical text as a study into Roman perspectives of successful leadership that remain relevant for us today to identify effective leaders and critically assess people in positions of power.

Parker discusses the genre of film noir as the synthesis of European cynicism and classical Hollywood thematic and aesthetic conventions. She weaves through Hollywood norms and shows how film noir turns them on their head. Her essay illustrates the interplay between different communicative modes and alternate perspectives. American post-war sensibilities met European philosophy, and both these perspectives merged with Hollywood cinema and German expressionism. Their marriage created something new: film noir, a genre that went on to change the history of film and still has a profound influence today. While film noir is distinct from its influences, analysis is like a prism through which we may split and observe noir's component parts. Thus, media analysis makes new meaning and illuminates old perspectives.

This section demonstrates that analysing media, whether in the form of novels, film, history, art, or objects, opens our eyes to different ways of existing and being across time and space. As media creators, we have many forms in which to creatively communicate our thoughts, feelings, and experiences. As consumers, we have the knowledge and tools to evaluate media, unearthing new perspectives, which could inform our future actions: We get to decide their significance to us. It is my hope that through this reciprocal sharing and analysing of experience, we may grow in empathy and insight.

Tara Mok

Art History 325

Imaging the Renaissance

Madi Macdonald

As Merry E. Wiesner states, "Anthropologists and historians have demonstrated that nearly all pre-modern societies believe in witchcraft and make some attempts to control witches" (Weisner, 2000, p. 265). Witchcraft was a widespread phenomenon in Europe, especially during the Renaissance period, which saw episodes of mass witch-hunts. It is clear to see that there can be no *one* explanation of the phenomenon, with scholars identifying a variety of possible contributing factors. Some of the main themes identified are sex, fear, change, and fertility. Each of these different themes can be seen in the works of Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Albrecht Altdorfer, with each artist instrumental in developing the visual language of witchcraft during the Renaissance period.

Firstly, although seemingly ridiculous to a modern-day audience, the belief in witchcraft should be understood as an integral part of the cultural framework of early modern Europe. Being a "peculiarly malleable" (Briggs, 2002, p. 230) concept, witchcraft was available to be used in both positive and negative contexts. Positive blessings by witches could be seen as protection against harvest failures or infant mortality, while simultaneously these blessings could be invoked as curses in the explanation of things going awry in the village, with everyday hardships being very real fears in Renaissance feast and famine sensibility. This brought with it a culture of scapegoating and inevitably led to fear of individuals believed to hold these powers, ultimately creating a period of occasional and variable panics across Europe in the sixteenth century, also known as the 'witch craze'.

Figure 1. Dürer, A. 1497. *The Four Witches* [engraving 19 x 13.1cm]. Edinburgh, Scotland: National Galleries of Scotland.

Working earlier, at the end of the fifteenth century, Albrecht Dürer is commonly accepted as one of the most influential artists in creating the visual language of witchcraft. Dürer's engraving in Figure 1, *The Four Witches,* depicts four women standing nude in a circle. Themes

of witchcraft are not immediately apparent in this image, and yet signs of demonology can be found through further inspection of details such as the bones and skull around the women's feet and the devil-like figure peering out from the doorway to the left of the image. What is immediately striking about this image, however, is the nakedness of the figures. Linda C. Hults (2005) states that the intended audience for this image would have been educated males, evident by the fact that it is an engraving—a medium with closer technical skill to a drawing and something of a collector's item in comparison to woodcuts from this time. Hults (2005) goes on to argue that to a learned Renaissance male audience, the nakedness of these women would alert them to the reference of the central figure as a Venus. This was appropriate when women at this time were being defined in terms of their carnality, depicted as insatiable in texts such as the *Malleus Maleficarum*, first published in 1487 (Hults, 2005). What is different in Dürer's depiction is that the Venus-like figure has her back turned to the viewer, making her sexuality inaccessible in comparison to more common Venus depictions, such as Botticelli's *Primavera*. The three surrounding figures (seen to have classical influence from the Three Graces) are turned to look at her instead of out at the viewer, introducing an element of voyeurism into the work.

What this image then signifies, as Hults (2005) argues, is fears of female sexuality and female space. Early modern cultural belief understood emotions to be directly linked to the body through the four humours, an idea that the body was governed by a balance of four basic fluids. This fed a distinctive set of fantasies about women, in which women were believed to be more emotional and prone to carnal lust. It was also believed that it was dangerous for men to engage in too much sexual activity, as "in ejaculation, the male sinks to the level of the female, unable to regulate his bodily fluids" (Hults, 2005, p. 102). Thus, women were not thought to be agents of their own sexuality, but instead their nakedness expressed their capacity to arouse male desire and the dangers that this imposed. Hults (2005) argues that Dürer's depiction of four naked women in his engraving thereby reduces all women to their sexuality, and implies that "any woman, by virtue of her sexuality, might be 'infected' with witchcraft" (p. 71). Furthermore, by closing the group of figures off from the viewer, Dürer is reflecting "what men thought to be ambiguous, secretive, and, most importantly, *shared* about women's activities and knowledge, particularly in the realm of sex" (Hults, 2005, p. 65). This demonstrates that a large part of witchcraft fears at this time can be described as fears of the unknown, with male anxieties about spaces to which they had no access. What can also clearly be seen is that "very early in the history of witchcraft images, Dürer exploited the ambivalence of female nakedness" (Hults, 2005, p. 71).

Figure 2. Dürer, A. c. 1500. *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat* [engraving 7.2 x 11.7cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Dürer further develops these ideas in his *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat* in Figure 2. In this engraving, Dürer depicts an older female nude with sagging breasts and wrinkled skin. Her mouth is open, and her hair flies out wildly—both recognised symbols against decorum, conveying lust. The witch's hair alludes to themes of inversion, with her hair flying in the opposite direction to how it logically should during her backwards ride on the goat. This draws attention to the backwards ride itself, a charivari ritual which Charles Zika (2007) states would have immediately established allusions of sexual inversion to sixteenth-century viewers. This charivari was a commonly known humiliation ritual, comprising of riding backwards on an animal through the streets, used in the late Middle Ages to punish those who had confused gender roles or "threatened the sexual balance and order of the community" (Zika, 2007, p. 28). Other inversions, such as the broomstick (normally understood as a symbol of domesticity) and the putti seen to be helping the old woman (instead of being nurtured), further crystallise the theme of inversion as central to this image, with Dürer even inverting his monogram in the centre bottom.

Dürer's image of the older witch also plays into Renaissance beliefs of sexual appetites increasing in post-menopausal women, thus making them even more threatening to male power than the four younger women depicted in his earlier work. This is especially relevant when taking into consideration common fears surrounding sexual activity that did not result in procreation, obviously impossible in post-menopausal women (Hults, 2005). Wiesner (2000) identifies that part of the reason the image of the older female witch became the stereotype at

this time is that older women were often seen to be estranged from society, especially when widowed. This ties into fears of the unregulated woman independent of man; however, it also demonstrates fears of outsiders, triggered by society facing a time of incredible religious, political, and cultural upheaval in the context of the Reformation.

Figure 3. Baldung Grien, H. 1510. *Witches' Sabbath* [chiaroscuro woodcut 38.9 x 27cm]. New York, USA: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As James Snyder states, "The world of witchcraft and alchemy had its most vivid representation in the art of Hans Baldung Grien" (Snyder, 1985, p. 362). This is most clearly demonstrated in Baldung's chiaroscuro woodcut *Witches' Sabbath* in Figure 3. It depicts a group of three witches seated around a cauldron, while a fourth rides backwards on a goat flying through the background, following on from Dürer's established convention (Zika, 2007). The setting of the forest, along with the activities of these women, their flying hair, and the "uncontrollable forces that escape from the cauldron as though from Pandora's box" (Zika, 2007, p. 12), all instil a sense of magic and mystery into the image. The women's naked bodies are pushed into the front of the picture plane as they seem to be engaged in rituals of food preparation. Zika (2007) states that although food preparation was a traditional role for females, the cultural meaning of food as nourishment has been inverted in this image through the inclusion of bones, instead alluding to ideas of necromancy. Zika (2007) also states that in this one image, Baldung has demonstrated the two dominant visual codes for representations of witchcraft that would prevail into the sixteenth century (and beyond)—images of groups of witches around a cauldron and women riding animals or domestic implements through the sky. Furthermore, the use of the cauldron was also instrumental in identifying witchcraft as a female

activity through the links to female food preparation. The contemporary use of the German word for 'cauldron' (*Hafen* or *Häfelin)* to mean 'vagina' created another association between cauldrons and female activity (Zika, 2007, p. 76). As Robin Briggs states, "The one thing everyone 'knows' about witches is that they were women" (Briggs, 2002, p. 224). Despite it now being recognised that an estimated 25% of those accused of witchcraft were in fact male, witchcraft was (and still is) recognised as a largely female dominated activity (Briggs, 2002).

Figure 4. Altdorfer, A. 1506. *Witches' Sabbath* [drawing 18 x 12.4 cm]. Paris, France: Musée de Louvre.

Fears of female activity are further explored when looking at the subject of the witches's sabbath. Seen as a parody of the Catholic Mass, women would dance naked and offer sacraments to the devil, and these rituals posed a threat to religious authority. These ideas can also be seen in Albrecht Altdorfer's earlier *Witches' Sabbath* in Figure 4. In this drawing, witches are depicted in a forest setting, readying themselves to fly by smearing ointment on their brooms and genitals, whilst some are already in flight on goats across the sky. All this activity is happening in contrast to the sleepy unsuspecting town in the distance, identifying the sabbath not only as anti-Mass but as the very antithesis of civilisation (Hults, 2005). In this drawing, Altdorfer utilises black ink pen and white gouache highlights on brick-red paper to highlight the frantic activity of these figures. Similarly, through the then-new technique of chiaroscuro woodcut, in which one block is cut and inked in black and white and then a second is prepared with broader highlights to be pressed over the first, Baldung was also able to incorporate elements of highlight into his work, creating an illuminated night-time scene for his sabbath.

Figure 5. Baldung Grien, H. 1523. *The Weather Witches* [oil on panel 62.2 x 45.9cm]. Frankfurt, Germany: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.

Attention to atmosphere can also be seen in Baldung's *The Weather Witches* in Figure 5, one of the few known paintings of this phenomenon. As is common in his other works, the picture plane is dominated by nude female figures, but it is the wild yellow stormy background that is first striking in this painting. This painting relates to ideas of witches having control over the weather, especially in relation to storms and hail, which were highly destructive to harvests during this time. The youthfulness of the nude figures, with their highlighted and modelled soft bodies, contrasts with the withered older women seen in other images, although the goat reference and the wild flying hair makes it impossible to misinterpret these figures. The vial that the seated figure holds is sealed with an apple—a recognised symbol for the original sin of Eve. Thus, Baldung is perpetuating that it was female sexuality that lead to the fall of humankind, with Hults (2005) going as far as to say that the figures of Eve and Venus as lustful female archetypes were simply interchangeable in Baldung's moral universe.

What Charles W. Talbot draws attention to in this painting is the presence of the child. Talbot argues that the presence of children in witch imagery reinforces "both the maternal connotations of the nude women and the suggestion that the behaviour of the women, like that of the children, springs from instinct rather than from reason" (Talbot, 1981, p. 33). This concept of instinct as opposed to reason is important when considering the polarity of binary classifications that dominated understandings of society in this period, with particular reference to gender. The common belief was that if man represented all that is good and reasonable, then women must represent all that is evil and inferior (Briggs, 2002). As Briggs argues, these beliefs resulted in an "unfortunate mixture of fear and aggressions towards women, whose

passions were seen as a grave threat to husbands and society alike" (Briggs, 2002, p. 248). Furthermore, part of women's inability to control their nature was linked to them being dominated by their wombs.

As Lyndal Roper states, "Like the weather and the harvest, human fertility was precarious, the transmission of the line uncertain" (Roper, 2004, p. 131). Images of witchcraft can therefore also be seen to relate to the intense anxieties surrounding fertility and childbirth in early modern Europe. Childbirth was seen as a solely female space, especially in the first six weeks in which women engaged in a lying-in period, continuously visited by neighbouring women. With half of children born dying before the age of one, feelings of superstition and terror surrounding this initial period of motherhood were heightened: "This was why the idea of the envious death-dealing witch, attacking mothers, children and babies, could gain such a powerful hold on people's imaginations" (Roper, 2004, p. 131). If mother and baby thrived, this was believed to be due to blessings and the healing knowledge of surrounding women, and, similarly, failure to thrive led to women connected to the care of the child being accused of witchcraft. Roper also states that this theme subsequently led to an apparent obsessive focus of German artists with the changing figure of the female body. Since, on average, the early modern European married woman was pregnant every other year, women's bodies were constantly changing. Roper calls this an "obsessive focus on breasts and stomachs," seemingly reducing women to "their position in the reproductive hierarchy" (Roper, 2004, p. 150), as a woman's body was depicted differently depending on what phase of the life cycle she was in. Small breasts and tight stomachs represented those women yet to experience pregnancy, whilst wider hips signified those in their child-bearing years and sagging breasts indicated the women whose fertile years had passed—a visual language clearly demonstrated in these images of witchcraft (Roper, 2004).

In complete contrast, Margaret A. Sullivan argues that it is a mistake to view Dürer and Baldung's images as reflections of the witch craze, and they are instead reflections of the artists's own interests in humanism and self-fashioning through the visual potential of written material (Sullivan, 2000). Whilst it is true that these images pre-date the witch trials, and it is clear that elements of humanist inspiration can be seen through the works, it cannot be ignored that these images reflect how important the figure of the witch was in popular culture during this period. Cases that made their way to court during the trials were only the tip of the iceberg in a much larger problem of hidden fear and tension (Briggs, 2002). Fears around witches were not new in Renaissance culture, and although a range of humanist ideals also had cultural influence, the major themes were fears of women's sexuality and theories of power in a society faced with great change. We cannot put theories of modern gender relations on the past, and, of course, we are approaching these images in a retrospective manner, with knowledge of the persecutions, but it is only in looking at all of the available evidence that a comprehensible explanation of the witch phenomenon can be attempted. As Hults (2005) concludes, images of witchcraft from this period "made it possible to visualise a deadly stereotype, regardless of whether artists themselves fully believed in it" (pp. 81–82).

In conclusion, there is no one factor or simple answer that can explain the witchcraft phenomenon during the Renaissance period. Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Albrecht Altdorfer's images may pre-date the witch craze, but they can help a modern-day audience understand the sensibilities surrounding a period in which such an event could have existed. These images provide evidence of common myths and understandings of what a witch might have looked like or how she may have behaved, which emerged from fantasies, anxieties, and demands of early modern attitudes. As Roper (2004) concludes, fantasies do not spring

from nowhere. They grow as products of imagination in the interplay of reality and experience, latching on to material buried in the unconscious and forming the "potent brew from which stories about witches were made" (Roper, 2004, p. 158). In this way, it can be seen that images portraying the themes of sex, fear, change, and fertility are instrumental in understanding the witch phenomenon.

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English 356

The Modern Novel

Zoe Webb Sagarin

The Talented Mr Ripley: A Self-Invented Man

Patricia Highsmith's novel *The Talented Mr Ripley* reflects America in the 1950s where normality was the driving force of social behaviour. It was the age of the nuclear arms race: Knowledge was power, and the greatest threat was the unknown. While nations fought and lied to out-arm other nations, people worked equally hard in the private sphere to hide their own secrets. Anything that made one different from their neighbours—be it politics, religion, or sexuality—would bring trouble because no one knew who to trust. Society evolved from so many layers of deception that it was impossible and absurd to seek one ultimate truth. Tom Ripley, Highsmith's anti-hero, is a talented inventor who presents identities—most notably that of his friend and murder victim Dickie Greenleaf—that are imitated, made-up, or stolen. To many of the characters, Ripley appears to be a typical American man of the time, but readers get a first-person perspective into some of the deeper layers that create his false identity. Highsmith's novel, *The Talented Mr Ripley*, explores the necessity and danger of self-invention in the Cold War era.

The Talented Mr Ripley portrays the 1950s as a time where self-invention was a universal necessity. Readers are introduced to the important role of self-invention in Tom's life from early in the novel, even before Tom murders and impersonates Dickie Greenleaf. Tom manipulates people with his inventiveness to create the perfect disguise of an ordinary 'Organization Man' (Whyte, 2002). Chapter 10 reads, "Tom had used to pretend he was going to an analyst because everyone else was going to an analyst" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 189). This repetitive sentence structure reflects Tom's preoccupation with mirroring the actions of others. Ironically, the reason people go to an analyst at all is often to resolve feelings or behaviours that could be considered abnormal. The desire to fit in is so powerful that Tom will pretend to have something wrong with him so long as that is also how everyone else feels. Tom would "spin wildly funny stories to amuse people" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 189). Through laughter, people struggle to see deceit as clearly. The words 'wild' and 'spin' hint at the tension and instability that surrounds the social world. There is a degree of chaos in this comedy, as if Tom's inventions are a charade which could collapse at any moment. He would tell the same story "until Vic … told him for Christ's sake to shut up" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 190). The tension lies in Tom testing the limits of his inventions until something—or someone—snaps. Tom acted "as if he had an audience made up of the entire world … to make a mistake would be catastrophic" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 320). The word 'catastrophic' began to take on a new meaning in the new age of nuclear warfare. The nuclear arms race, happening on a global scale, repeated itself minutely within the personal lives of every citizen. While countries portrayed a false image of nuclear power, citizens invented within themselves a false image of normality. Self-invention was essential because the fear of the unimaginable—the 'catastrophic'—lay just below the surface of every conscience. Tom, throughout the novel, like every citizen and like many nations, is just an actor trying not to be caught.

The Talented Mr Ripley invites readers into the dangers of a world of inventions where no one really knows anyone. Tom recognizes that this is "true for the people he had known in the past and for those he would know in the future…. he would know time and time again that he would never know them" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 208). The word 'know' is repeated in this passage so many times that it begins to lose all meaning, inviting readers into the world of the unknown. This repetition prompts doubt about what can be known at all, emphasizing the absurdity of seeking knowledge in a world littered with inventions. There may be no truth to be found at all given that Tom does not even recognize himself. Looking into Dickie's eyes, Tom sees "nothing more ... than he would have seen if he had looked at the hard, bloodless surface of a mirror" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 208). Survival in the Cold War depended on countries re-inventing the truth to deceive their enemies; on a more personal level, with the prevalence of spies, it was impossible to know who the enemy even was. With all of these obstacles between the connection of two human "souls" it is impossible for "love" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 208) to form. In Dickie's "meaningless" eyes, where Tom looks for "love" and truth, he finds "nothing" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 208). This passage could summarize the entire novel, absurdism, and the dichotomy between truth and deceit that consumed the lives

of the people of the 1950s. Here we see Highsmith's famous tactic of replacing moments of love with moments of murder. This is the turning point in the novel where Tom realizes that he will never know Dickie, and so, shortly after, he decides to become Dickie. Readers only get to see Dickie through Tom's impersonations and Tom's unreliable narration of a man who, he admits, is mysterious to him. *The Talented Mr Ripley* builds layers upon layers of doubt within the reader's understanding of the characters to reflect the complexity of human connection in the era of the Cold War and the Golden Age of Capitalism.

Tom embodies the American Dream of becoming someone better than you were born to be. Once Tom has spent time being Dickie, "he hate[s] … going back to himself" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 447). The identity he steals and reinvents becomes an addiction. As Dickie, Tom feels that there is "nothing in his past to blemish his character. He [is] … Dickie**"** (Highsmith, 1955, p. 300). While most Americans have things in their past or present to hide from, Tom—running from his aunt's maltreatment, possibly a gay sexuality, and, ultimately, the fact that he is a murderer—takes self-invention to a higher level. Rather than just re-inventing the socially frowned upon aspects of his character, Tom reinvents himself as an entirely new person: Dickie. The American Dream offers Americans the chance to reinvent themselves, to become self-made, and to rise above the circumstances they were born into. *The Talented Mr Ripley* demonstrates the power of self-invention to erase the most extreme of histories, allowing Tom, at times, to "absolutely forget that he had murdered" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 594). The spatial barriers in the novel between land, where Tom spends most of his time as Dickie, and sea, where Tom murders Dickie, contextualize Tom's created identities. The sea, as a separate spatial entity filled with depth and mystery, is also where Tom's secret victim lies, and his new identity evolves. This separation of identities within the spatial terrain of the novel represents, as Peter Messent (2013) puts it, the "liminality" (pp. 68–72) between Tom's understanding of himself as a murderer and an everyday man. Tom's hatred of water could be read as a fear of the monstrous capacities within himself, as the water later becomes the birthplace of his murderous identity (Highsmith, 1955, p. 47). Tom's parents drowned in the Boston Harbour, so, in a twisted way, he fulfills the American Dream and becomes more than just an orphan by killing Dickie and claiming his identity on the sea. The novel, by inviting readers into the mind of a killer, demonstrates the power of reinventing identities, but it also highlights the paranoia and isolation of a self-made man.

The Talented Mr Ripley reveals the consequences of reinventing one's identity. For Tom, the consequence is that he is always alone and running from his past. As Dickie, Tom becomes more charismatic and entertaining than he ever was as himself. He says that it is "strange to feel so alone, and yet so much a part of things, as he had felt at the party. He felt it again, standing on the outskirts of the crowd" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 299). Moments in the novel where Tom best embodies his invention of Dickie coincide with descriptions of strangeness and isolation. The repeated adverb 'so' emphasizes the contrast between Tom's simultaneous inclusion and isolation. No matter how many connections he forms as Dickie, they will never be genuine. He will always be an outsider looking in from the "outskirts" onto a life that is not really his. Self-invention may make him appear to be "a part of things" but, in fact, the deception and hiding drives him further from true connection. When he realizes that he does not know Dickie at all, "he [feels] surrounded by strangeness, by hostility" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 209). Here again we see the description of the 'strange'. Like whispers or gossip, the sibilance in this sentence draws attention to Tom's insecurity about how people perceive him. We see that the danger of self-invention is not necessarily being caught but the fear of being caught. Even after Tom has manipulated the situation enough to prevent any person from ever suspecting him of Dickie's murder and after Mr. Greenleaf writes all of Dickie's assets over to Tom, Tom wonders "if the radioman were receiving at this very minute a message to arrest Tom Ripley" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 547). This paranoia is the problem with self-invention. The transitory spatial atmosphere of the boat journey and unknowableness of the deep sea reflect the potential threats that exist all around and can be read

as metaphorical representations of the unknown. Tom travels over the mysterious sea towards another destination unknown to him. As he dreads his own arrest, he considers "[hurling] himself over the ship's gunwale—which for him would be the supreme act of courage as well as escape" (Highsmith, 1955, p. 547). Here, Tom again characterizes the 1950s as a time where one must invent solutions to non-existent problems. He is willing to sacrifice himself into the sea rather than surrender to the consequence of the actions of his true self. It is the underlying fear of greater catastrophe that drives all action towards irrationality. Just as in the nuclear arms race, the fear of the unknown proves more dangerous to Tom than any true threat.

The Talented Mr Ripley warns readers that the danger of self-invention, like the danger of the Cold War, is the absurdity of knowledge and the threat of the unknown. No one ever knows anything or anyone for certain. In this age of invention, readers are brought to question how far invention will go and at what cost. Highsmith invites readers into the mind of a talented inventor who hides many secrets. Tom presents one understanding of identity in a society which revolves around false portrayals of normality. Tom's identity becomes 'known' to readers through unreliable narration, the creation of false personas, and the imitation of others. Even as readers, we can never be certain who the 'real' Tom Ripley is. Deception and unknowability are Highsmith's tools for reflecting the world of the 1950s—a world of uncertainty and mistrust. Most importantly, *The Talented Mr Ripley* draws readers into the tension of Tom's precariously manipulated world that—like the world of the Cold War—could implode at any moment.

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Anthropology 252

Global Heritage Management

Ke-Xin Li

Did You Get Me Anything? How Heritage Souvenirs Enhance the Relationship Between Museum and Consumer

Souvenirs are products that tourists buy to remind themselves of their travel experience (Lexico, n.d.). In recent heritage discussions, the relationship between souvenirs and heritage sites has been greatly explored, with particular focus around the gap between authentic representation and consumer demand (Chen & Cai, 2012; Kent, 2010). This essay aims to review existing discussions of heritage souvenirs and discuss the relationship between heritage and souvenirs in the museum setting with a focus on The Palace Museum (TPM) in China. It will examine the role of museums in contemporary society, the role of souvenirs, and authenticity. Finally, it will explore how TPM acted as a control mechanism to incorporate heritage to enhance the desirability of souvenirs, and how TPM utilised souvenirs as a tool to generate public interest in heritage.

To understand the relationship between heritage and souvenirs within the museum setting, it is crucial to discuss the role of museums within society. In their earliest days, museums were often regarded as collectors, researchers, and preservers of the past, bridging history and present (Kent, 2010). Under this belief, museum education was exclusive, targeting the handful of educated and elite (Arinze, 1999). Museum souvenirs were conservatively replicas of artefacts or books, designed to remind visitors of the knowledge provided by the museum. Arinze (1999) suggests that the expected role of museums has significantly changed in response to increasing openness and social encouragement of collective problem-solving. As a result of market-oriented ideology, emerging technology, and a shift towards experience economy, visitors seek designed experiences from museums and opportunities to make personal connections with both historical and contemporary culture (Gilmore & Pine, 1998; Kent, 2010). The key to increasing visitor engagement is to make education entertaining, meaning the role of museums has expanded from academic-focused education to visitor-centric entertainment. To fulfil this new role, many museums have adopted an interaction-based strategy with their events and souvenirs (Kent, 2010).

The creation of souvenirs is mainly demand-driven. Studies show that souvenir purchase behaviour is driven by multiple motivators (Anderson, Brown, & Littrell, 1993; Asplet & Cooper, 2000; Ma, 2005). Cai and Li (2008) suggested that souvenirs may serve as a reminder of the tourism experience, as a medium to build a social relationship, and as a vehicle to enhance self-identity. Firstly, tourists purchase souvenirs to remind them of their visit, and in the museum setting, they often seek souvenirs as a reminder of the knowledge they learned (Kent, 2010). Secondly, souvenirs are often purchased as a gift for others. According to the reciprocity theory as it concerns gifting, a gift carries the spirit of the giver, and the giver expects a positive response to their generosity (Notar, 2006). Thus, tourists often select souvenirs that are representative of their social status. Finally, souvenirs act as an enhancer to self-identity. Tourists are more likely to select souvenirs that reflect their tastes and interests. For example, tourists who enjoy art are more likely to purchase a hand-painted postcard and tourists who enjoy music are more likely to purchase a musical instrument. Overall, tourists seek to connect souvenirs to their mundane lives.

In a museum setting, from management's perspective, souvenirs are not only financially beneficial, but also serve as tools for cultural knowledge dispersal and strengthening cultural identity (Kent, 2010). Asplet and Cooper (2000) outlined two opposing arguments, within the field of heritage, regarding development; while many argue that heritage is underexploited as a tourism resource, others state that heritage has been over-exploited, and tourism has an adverse effect on local values. This debate suggests the importance of museums undertaking work in ensuring the accuracy of values delivered through souvenirs.

On the positive side, Mo (2015) argued that the museum shop is a destination for many visitors; it is the last exhibition gallery and provides a more personal experience involving the five senses, helping to create deeper engagement with heritage. Strong evidence suggests souvenirs bring several benefits to museums, creating an informal learning opportunity that connects the museum and the home. Museums can filtrate through the lives of visitors through physical objects that continually remind them of their visits, creating more fulfilling museum experiences.

As souvenirs play an important role for both consumers and the museum, it is crucial to undertake careful design to ensure meeting the interests of both parties. In order for souvenirs to generate the maximum financial and educational value, souvenirs have to be representative of the museum, deliver accurate messages, and fulfil the consumer's need to represent themselves and be reminded of their visit.

The evaluation of representativeness can be discussed under the terminology of authenticity. Although both the museum and tourists seek authentic souvenirs, the understanding of authenticity is varied. Museums approach authenticity from a scholarly angle, agreeing with the fundamental definition of authenticity as ‘genuine’ and ‘reflective of its origin’ (Cai & Chen, 2012). However, for tourists, authenticity is often subjectively constructed (Bian, Elliott, Liu, & Yannopoulou, 2015). This view argues that consumers's pre-existing knowledge affects their perception, which influences their interpretation of what is real and fake. Anderson, Brown, and Littrell (1993) suggest that consumers's evaluation of authenticity considers uniqueness and workmanship, aesthetics and use, and historical integrity and genuineness. In contrast, historical integrity and genuineness is the sole evaluation criterion used by museums regarding authenticity. Uniqueness is sometimes the essential evaluation criterion of souvenirs for consumers, who often state that uniqueness equals representativeness, and thus equals authenticity (Notar, 2006). Compared to objective representativeness and authenticity, consumers often demand products that are distinctly different from what they have in their own culture. Furthermore, the branding narrative is another important contributor to consumers's subjective notion of authenticity; especially for Chinese consumers, craftsmanship adds the most value to a souvenir design, while mass-produced products are often considered to be unauthentic (Li & Cai, 2008). TPM, as a cultural symbol and a heritage site, has successfully fulfilled these needs with its souvenir designs and marketing strategies.

Located in the capital Beijing, TPM is an important cultural symbol for both the Chinese and international tourists. In the past few years, TPM's fame has risen rapidly as a result of its souvenir designs that deeply engage with its own heritage and create consumer trends (Zhi, 2018). TPM has been praised for perfectly balancing the museum’s duty as an educator and consumers's demand for entertainment, thus generating public interest in heritage. To ensure the authenticity of souvenirs, TPM took an originator control approach towards souvenir design, which is argued to be the most fundamental step in ensuring authentic design (Asplet & Cooper, 2000). The originator control approach involves TPM running its own design department, which is supported by other departments such as research and engagement. Furthermore, every souvenir design incorporates at least one element from an artefact piece. Every design piece is then confirmed with historians to ensure the elements extracted from artefacts are used appropriately (Zhi, 2018). For consumers, heritage elements that are extracted from TPM's architecture and artefact collections are considered as unique and original to TPM. Such uniqueness greatly stimulates demand.

Furthermore, narratives based on historical and heritage knowledge are built for each souvenir piece and communicated through humorous styling. This strategy has two effects. Firstly, it acts as an effective channel of education, dispersing cultural and historical knowledge, which supports the function of museums. Secondly, Hang (2004) suggests that souvenirs are often viewed as carriers of culture; thus, the more culturally relevant elements that are incorporated into souvenirs, the more attractive the souvenir is for consumers. Narratives articulated by TPM focus on the cultural value behind the souvenirs's designs, creating a notion of uniqueness and stimulating purchase intentions (Lin, 2016). Additionally, TPM's souvenir designs are primarily functional, focusing on mundane items that can be used, such as stationery, jewellery, make-up, and fashion items. The demand for functional items is often higher than for replicas of artefacts. Functional items are simple tools that can be carried around, and, therefore, are more able to be used for self-identity demonstration, allowing the users to showcase their tastes and interests. Therefore, it can be concluded that TPM's success is a result of its deep understanding of its market, which enables it to fulfil consumers's real needs for uniqueness, craftmanship, and narrative, and build a reputation through originator control of its designs.

This essay has presented multiple views from the field of heritage and souvenirs. Through this research, the conclusion can be drawn that the relationship between heritage and souvenirs is a two-way beneficial relationship. While heritage contributes uniqueness to souvenirs, enhancing their desirability, souvenirs in turn provide a connection between heritage and tourists, aiding the approachability of heritage, which stimulates public interest in heritage. The museum plays a crucial role in ensuring the design of souvenirs is authentic and desirable for consumers, and, more importantly, respectful of heritage. This essay concludes with the example of TPM successfully utilising souvenir design to generate public interest in heritage while ensuring authentic representation. Further research could seek to generate discussion of methods to increase public awareness of heritage issues. This essay argues that an effective way to generate interest is to convert the educational element of heritage into interactive, entertaining, and approachable elements, as demonstrated by TPM.

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Classics 314

Special Topic: Leadership in Greece and Rome

Anuja Mitra

To Emulate and to Avoid: Leadership Lessons in Book One of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*

Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* remains one of the most significant accounts of the founding and development of ancient Rome. In his preface, Livy outlines the exemplary emphasis of his work, which is the belief that the figures of the past can serve as illustrations of "what to emulate [and] what to avoid" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, p. 4). Examining his narrative of the end of Roman kingship through this lens affords us insight into the idea that worthiness as a leader depends on one's ability to serve the community, possession of restraint and moderacy, and association with justice. This essay concludes that, taking into account Livy's authorial intent and possible bias, the end of Book One of *Ab Urbe Condita* is a valuable source for providing insight into Roman perspectives of positive and negative leadership.

Arguably the fundamental quality Livy suggests a good leader must possess is the willingness to build and serve their community. Rather than declare a single leader the founder of Rome, Book One identifies numerous early kings as founders, or *conditores,* who all made vital contributions to the still-developing state (Miles, 1998). These contributions include introducing key institutions, expanding Rome geographically, and generally increasing the city's prestige. Tarquinius Priscus (hereafter referred to as Tarquin) does this by enlarging the city and building grand structures such as the Circus Maximus (Glinister, 2006). However, Servius Tullius is credited with the most important developments. His "great project" is the census, which divided society according to wealth and determined one's "duties to the state"; thus, Servius benefited the community by articulating the relationship between citizen and state and establishing the "classes and centuries" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.42).[1] Livy links Servius's work to the system existing in his present day, exhibiting how Servius left an enduring mark on Rome through his wisdom in organising the city's people socially and militarily. These developments were effective for Rome in the short and long term, and during peacetime and war; Servius overall gave Rome strength, by "promoting her ascendancy" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.45) through foreign relations, and stability, by using diplomacy instead of aggression. In contrast, Tarquinius Superbus is the archetypal tyrannical leader, who does not bear the community's best interests in mind. Many of his actions resemble those of previous kings, but with a self-serving twist: He too communicates with foreign peoples, yet not to increase Rome's prestige but to win allies whom he can use against the Romans (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.49). He also has ambitious construction plans, but attempts to deconsecrate temples and turns plebeians into "drudges and quarry slaves" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.59). The first kings were chosen by the people with senatorial ratification, and it is telling that they were willing to accept a foreigner like Tarquin or enthusiastically acclaim a man of humble origins like Servius. Through the more positive portrayals of these leaders compared to Tarquinius, Livy stresses how ability—and inclination—to serve the community is the defining quality of a good leader.

Regarding the personal values of a leader, Livy's account praises caution and moderacy and strongly condemns their opposites. A leader's conduct sets a powerful social example, and Livy tends to distil historical events into "episodes embodying moral values" (Luce, 1998, p. 231) for his readers. Since he makes a point of bemoaning the deteriorating morality of his time, it is particularly interesting to observe the exemplars in Livy's narrative of admirable and less admirable moral behaviour. Servius is characterised by his moderacy and incomparably "mild and restrained" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.48) reign. His efforts to secure prestige for Rome

[1]All in-text citations of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* reference both book number and paragraph number, such that Book One, paragraph 42 of the text is referenced like so: (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.42).

through diplomacy attest to this, but most striking is the fact that his total absence of greed for power made him "a republican before the Republic" (Penella, 2004, p. 633), prepared to abdicate so that his people could enjoy greater liberty (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.48). Tarquinius Superbus, on the other hand, epitomises the "excess and self-indulgence" (Martin, 2015, p. 266) that Livy complains has afflicted Rome; although this was foreshadowed by Servius's politically calculating predecessor Tarquin. Penella (2004) argues that the last kings symbolise different types of ambition, or *ambitio*, from the "neutral" ambition expected in politics exercised by Servius to "*ambitio* in service of outright political degeneracy" (p. 634). Tarquinius's cognomen 'Superbus', meaning 'proud', is an accurate enough descriptor of his arrogance. Yet the text offers further proof of his lust for power, from his violent usurpation of the throne to the staging of trials to amass more wealth (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.47–49). The moral conduct of Tarquinius's son Sextus is equally important to explore. Sextus may well have assumed power after Tarquinius had Rome not exiled the family, and his activity in Gabii can be read as a rehearsal for the reign he might have had. His rape of Lucretia is the antithesis of the self-control required of a leader, and the significance attached to it—as the event which sparked the foundation of the Republic—makes Lucretia a symbol for Rome itself. Rome is referred to with feminine pronouns, and Sextus's physical and psychological torment of Lucretia mirrors Tarquinius's oppression of the Roman people (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.58; 1.60). Countering the greed and rashness of the ruling family is Brutus, a man who shows veneration for his motherland where Sextus, in his mistreatment of Lucretia, did not (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.56). While Brutus lives without possessions less out of choice and more out of the need to survive, this further sets him apart from the almost exaggerated avarice of Tarquinius and Sextus (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.56).

Along with greed, the "deceit and treachery" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.53) of the final king of Rome functions to further emphasise the exemplary morals of previous kings—Servius in particular. Penella (2004), in referring to Tarquinius's excessive *ambitio*, overlooks the significance of the treacherous Tullia, whose "frenzied ambition" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.47) encourages her husband's evil acts against her own father. Exploring Livy's narrative technique, the prominence of Tanaquil, Tullia, and Lucretia in this part of the book draw attention to the fascinating use of women to trace the decline in moral leadership during the regal period, "suggest[ing] that Livy has in mind more than just a single tyrannical individual who tarnishes the name of rex" (Fox, 2014, p. 294). While Tarquinius is himself wicked, he is "goaded" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.47) by Tullia to seize kingship, potentially sending a warning to readers about women with political agency (Stevenson, 2011). The depiction of the powerful Tullia as an "evil" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.46–48) aggressor toward Rome suggests this, as she defiles the body of Servius—the king, and thus a metaphorical representation of the city itself. Though Tanaquil is a woman with power who is not painted as negatively, her "contribution is decidedly questionable" (Stevenson, 2011, p. 184) and may also ultimately have been damaging to Rome, albeit unwittingly. Lucretia, meanwhile, is an unambiguous victim symbolising the damage *done* to Rome. Notably, she is also a conventionally 'good' Roman woman, linked to the domestic sphere and defined by her loyalty and chastity (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.57). Lucretia highlights the deceit and treachery of others, especially Sextus, who takes advantage of being "graciously welcomed" into her home to make a cruel "conquest of [her] honour" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.58). A parallel may be drawn with Tarquinius's deceitful conquest of Gabii through a "wholly un-Roman stratagem" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.53). This act

of subterfuge, in which he manipulates the people of Gabii into welcoming his son within their walls in good faith, is an insidious conquest-from-within that Livy presents as dishonourable. Again, Brutus is an important contrast: While his pretence of being a "dullard" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.56) is itself a kind of deceit, Livy uses it positively to reflect his intelligence and discretion. Brutus has the honour and nature of a "great-hearted" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.56) leader, symbolised by the golden staff concealed in a common exterior. Overall, the end of Book One stresses that leaders should possess the personal and moral qualities to uplift the spirit of their people, like Brutus with his "charismatic leadership" (Miles, 1998, p. 202), and not crush it, like Tarquinius Superbus and his immediate family. They should lead by virtuous example instead of poisoning society with their vices.

Lastly, Livy's account of the end of monarchy demonstrates that a good leader is one strongly associated with justice. The first kings featured earlier in Book One, especially Romulus and Numa, cemented the link between leadership and justice through their portrayal as lawgivers (Fox, 2015, p. 294). Dispensing justice was also confirmed as a formal duty of a king by Tanaquil (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.41). Servius's census and fixing of classes and centuries reflect his talent for organisation and implementing order during his "just and legitimate rule" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.48). He conforms to principles of proportionality and fairness, shown, for instance, through how expenses were paid by the wealthy, who were then appropriately compensated (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.43). As scholars have observed, Servius is similar to Tarquinius Superbus in his ascension to the throne without election by the people. Yet his "half illegal" power is "legitimate through the beneficent exercise of it" (Martin, 2015, p. 267), and his sense of justice is surely a key component of this beneficent exercise. Livy's narrative betrays a pattern wherein flatteringly depicted leaders are shown to institute order and justice, while attempted and actual usurpers of power abuse systems of justice. The plot by the sons of Ancus reflects their disregard for justice in a literal sense, since their aim is Tarquin's murder, but also more symbolically. By having the shepherds kill him when he is acting as a mediator between his subjects, they take advantage of Tarquin's kingly dedication to maintaining peace (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.40). Tarquinius Superbus completes Livy's picture of an oppressive leader's mockery of justice: He makes a "charade" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.49) of the court process by putting people on trial for capital charges with himself as judge, orchestrates a conspiracy against Turnus, and suggests that Sextus rids Gabii of its leaders through false charges and secret executions (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.51; 1.54). The perversion of justice is exaggerated through how brute force becomes the basis for a leader's legitimacy instead of public consent, epitomised through the image of Tarquinius bursting into the forum with armed guards (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.47). This is a theme that may well have had particular resonance for Roman readers who had seen civil war and mob violence erupting within the city's walls (Vasaly, 2002). The king's role is an uneasy one for Tarquinius, as his rule rests not on the people's affection but fear and intimidation. The example of Tarquinius emphasises the instability of power acquired through violence and serves as a warning to Livy's readers who aspire to be leaders themselves (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.49). As Book One culminates with Brutus liberating the people from the unjust reign of Tarquinius, it is clear that an effective leader must respect and serve the aims of justice.

After examining these aspects of leadership presented by Livy, the question arises: How much might Livy's account convey ideas of leadership held by broader Roman society? Scholars rightly

note an "aristocratic Republican bias" (Konstan, 1986, p. 206) in Livy's account. This is evidenced throughout by how the common people are likened to "the lower or appetitive functions of the soul," making them prone to "the characteristic vice of greed or acquisitiveness" (Konstan, 1986, p. 213). When Sextus begins killing the leaders of Gabii and distributing their property, for example, civilians are so pleased with being enriched that they do not feel the outrage, allowing them to pass into Rome's hands "without a fight" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.54). This posits the masses as helpless without a good leader capable of guiding them and easily misled by a corrupt one. Livy's aristocratic slant can also be detected in how corrupt leadership is marked by the targeting of the wealthy, office-holding class. Tarquinius eliminated monied men because he desired their wealth and perceived them as political threats, and he shrunk the senate to "diminish [its] prestige" (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.49). Brutus is a perfect example of the aristocratic victim: He is nobly born, but deprived of his right to attain distinction due to the current king's villainy. Considering all of this, it is arguable that the liberty clamoured for at the end of Book One was really for those of higher status, in whose interests it was to found a republican system where they would have the opportunity to distinguish themselves politically and militarily. However, Livy does present how positive leaders such as Servius serve the public at large, while Tarquinius means ill for the whole community, including the less wealthy (seen by how he puts the plebeians to work) (Livy, c. 27–9 B.C.E./1998, para. 1.59). Thus, whether leaders are praised or condemned in Livy does not solely depend on their treatment of the political classes. This suggests that we *can* ascertain a wider 'Roman' view of leadership from Livy, even if his work cannot be evaluated without considering its aristocratic positioning.

Though Livy believed his readers would not be as engaged by his treatment of early Rome as his discussion of more recent history, his narrative of the end of Roman kingship is fascinating for its preoccupation with leadership. Livy depicts Rome in the relatively early stages of its life as a city, when its people are still forming who they are as a community and who they want to lead them. He stresses the simple yet fundamental notion that a leader must serve and benefit their community, while illustrating the destructive impact of a leader who acts adverse to the interests of their people. Through the figures of Rome's last kings and its first consul, Livy expands on the qualities a leader should and should not have: moderacy instead of excess, honour as opposed to deceit, and restraint rather than rash violence. Finally, the text emphasises the necessity of a leader's connection to justice through Rome toppling its monarchy precisely because of its injustice. It is fair to say that these ideas of positive service to the community, restraint, and justice are values associated with good leadership today. Thus, Livy presents a commentary on leadership that is arguably just as relevant to our modern world.

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Media 202

Hollywood and its Others

Talia Parker

The New Americana: Film Noir as a Hybrid Genre

Hollywood films are commonly associated with escapism. Film noir, however, is a fascinating departure. This post-war genre merged American cinematic and social ideals with European cynicism. Here, cynicism means nuanced and pessimistic artistic explorations of humanity and society. Robert Siodmak's noir masterpiece *The Killers* is a classic example. This essay examines how European cynicism influenced Hollywood themes of masculine agency, successful heterosexual romance, and happy endings, and the Hollywood aesthetic norms associated with voiceover, framing, lighting, and setting. For the purposes of this essay, the debated label 'film noir' will refer to the American style of filmmaking used primarily from the early 1940s to the late 1950s.

Classical Hollywood films typically presented themes of the idealised 'American Dream' through male agency, happy endings, and successful heterosexual romance. They represent a fundamentally optimistic take on life. Film noir utilises classical Hollywood cinematic conventions such as continuity editing (meaning editing designed to be invisible to the viewer and create realistic scenes) and the star system (where film stars were attached to certain studios and used heavily in marketing, evidenced by the presence of stars Burt Lancaster and Ava Gardner in *The Killers*) to create commercially viable films. However, film noir's treatment of these Hollywood themes and aesthetics is influenced by European cynicism. Europeans have typically viewed American optimism as superficial and disingenuous. Theorist Umberto Eco called American culture "a present without depth" (lacking historical context and potency), as well as a "simulation of reality" (Kroes, Rydell, & Bosscher, 1993, pp. 241–242). European films tend to deal with cynical themes of the futility of man's actions, lost love, and tragic resolutions. For example, German expressionist cinema aimed to establish cinema as an art form and therefore treated themes with greater depth and included more innovative aesthetics than Hollywood films (Roberts, 2008).

The masculine agency that is a central theme of classical Hollywood cinema is cynically distorted in film noir. Film noir's iconic protagonist is a hard-boiled detective searching for truth in a morally depraved world. Conard (2006) argues that this character was inspired by a European creation, Sherlock Holmes. Holmes embodies the archetypal hero who enacts agency over his circumstances: He controls the narrative, has superhuman skill, and the revelations he discovers ultimately bring about significant change. The Hollywood version of this hero is usually able to gain material wealth, social status, and/or romantic love, ending the narrative in a better place than he began it.

Reardon is our seeker hero (meaning a protagonist whose main narrative goal is to search for the truth) in *The Killers*, but he is no Sherlock Holmes (Hellinger & Siodmak, 1946). He is an insurance investigator, not a detective, which symbolises the lack of order in noir society (as traditional authority systems are no longer in charge). As an investigator, Reardon's aim is to prevent his company from having to pay the insurance by finding a fraudulent claim. He fails at this, where Hollywood heroes almost uniformly succeed in their endeavours. Reardon and his sidekick are very average white men. Their lack of special abilities or skills is not typical of the Hollywood hero, who would normally be somehow exceptional or desirable.

Reardon and his sidekick are also different from other Hollywood heroes because they are powerless to make meaningful change or effect their desires. Unlike the Holmes seeker hero, Reardon essentially accomplishes and gains nothing. As Vincent Brook (2009) writes, "Reardon is a particularly ineffectual detective, clearly out of his element in the noir world. He doesn't even know how to handle a gun" (p. 113). This illustrates the film noir themes of "the futility of individual action … [and] the meaninglessness of life" (Belton, 2013, p. 226).

Reardon cannot make meaningful changes to his life (by gaining romantic love, stopping the insurance claim, or bringing the villainous Colfax to justice) or the world at large, because the film views the world as a fundamentally broken place, where only violence effects change through death: Since Reardon cannot handle a gun, he is ineffectual. This is distinct from Hollywood thematic resolutions that emphasise human agency (Belton, 2013).

Noir borrows these themes of futility and failing at one's objectives from European films (Belton, 2013). For example, in the 1921 German expressionist film *Destiny*, the grieving lover fails to prove that love can conquer death (Lang, 1921). In the 1935 French psychological drama film *Pension Mimosas,* the main character is forced into a life of gambling after her son commits suicide (Feyder, 1935). However, film noir's American roots demand that there is a solving of the crime, where the audience gets to find out 'the answer'. The need to restore social order came from the Hays Code (the set of standards of morality to which Hollywood held itself in this period), which demanded that criminals always suffer punishment so that the audience sees "that evil is wrong and good is right" (Jacobs, 2019, p. 5). Therefore, the use of less effectual heroes presents a compromise between Hollywood commercial filmmaking and European artistry. The crime still gets solved, and the offenders punished, but not by a protagonist bringing about meaningful change (in *The Killers,* Colfax is killed by a fellow criminal, rather than the hero).

Siodmak's seeker hero shows a European take on the Hollywood theme of the 'happy ending'. While Reardon eventually solves the case and the *femme fatale* Kitty is presumably arrested, Colfax dies without ever standing trial. Burt Lancaster's character has still been murdered. Colfax's cronies are dead. Whilst that might be a kind of poetic justice, it is not the satisfying ending viewers are used to getting, where the villain goes to jail and the hero gets the girl. Moral and social order is restored, but only for now. Reardon's boss tells him to come back to work on Monday, showing the audience that nothing momentous has occurred—Reardon might do it all again tomorrow. The fact that Reardon is attracted to Kitty but has no chance of having a successful relationship with her goes against Hollywood's theme of successful romance leading to a happy ending. The *femme fatale* figure (possibly noir's most famous trait) is unavailable for successful romance because she is morally corrupt. She represents the European thematic perversion of the Hollywood heroine and illustrates how something that seems beautiful can be rotten underneath its façade.

The European lack of ability to create change or achieve success is also reflected in the aesthetics of film noir, such as voiceover narration. While other Hollywood films used voiceover narration to help the audience identify with the main character, film noir uses it to alienate the audience from the protagonist. Film noir makes extensive use of flashback (as in *The Killers*), so the narration illustrates that the protagonist can only recount or uncover the story, not change it. In *The Killers*, Reardon's boss narrates the scene of Colfax's robbery through the dispassionate reading of a news article. This represents how the protagonists are unable to stop injustice and crime: They did not even know about the robbery when it was happening. These uses of voiceover narration recognise and even criticise the "inability [of the protagonists] to shape the events of their lives" (Hollinger, 1996, pp. 243–244).

The angles of film noir create a more subjective film experience than is typical of classical Hollywood. *The Killers* uses some camera angles slightly below eye level (such as when the two killers arrive at the diner, and the lower half of the frame is obscured by the bar). This gives the audience the impression that they are not seeing everything. The European origins of this are clear; unlike in classical Hollywood, German expressionist films, such as *The Cabinet*

of Dr Caligari, use subjective narrative perspectives to reflect the inner lives of the characters, such as Dutch tilt angles to reflect a character's distorted psyche (Wiene, 1920). Film noir borrows this distorted aesthetic to reflect how the characters are living in a world of hidden secrets and sinister undertones. In *The Killers*, we see the betrayal of the Swede happen through a high-angle shot and obscured by the farmhouse, which indicates that there is something about the situation that we are not seeing.

Visual distortion to reflect subjective experience departs from Hollywood norms, which favour the "stable, knowable and psychologically coherent" (Belton, 2013, p. 24) through the use of direct, straight angles and strict obedience of continuity principles. While some angles in *The Killer*s are different from this norm, they are not immediately noticeable. The angle is not so wildly strange that the audience is jarred: We are more subconsciously affected by the sense that something is off-balance. This both obeys Hollywood norms and adds European subtlety. By making us feel slightly out of the loop, Hollywood uses European and American aesthetics to reflect the cynical noir belief that the world has a dark, hidden underbelly, whilst retaining visual realism.

The influences of German expressionism on film noir are reflected in the use of chiaroscuro and generally low-key lighting to express a "preoccupation with the character's psychological condition" (Roberts, 2008, p. 107) and allow subjective reality to take over the mise-en-scène. Chiaroscuro lighting reflects the dark, shadowy corners of the depraved noir society. Light is frequently somehow filtered or obstructed (in *The Killers*, the light in the Swede's cell creates shadows of the bars on the wall, reflecting his entrapment in the criminal underworld). This reflects how the characters cannot see the truth: It is obscured by the darkness of society (the scene where Reardon explains the events in Colfax's house is more brightly lit because the truth has been revealed).

Chiaroscuro was not commonly used in classical Hollywood, which much preferred three-point high key lighting to "ensure proper exposure" (Belton, 2013, pp. 52–53). There tended not to be shadowy corners that the audience could not see into, aesthetically or thematically. The use of chiaroscuro lighting in noir shows the blending of the German expressionist subjectivity with Hollywood objectivity. The presentation of the mise-en-scène (which lighting is, in this case, as film noir lighting usually has a visible onscreen source) is subtly manipulated by the character's circumstance in *The Killers*, reflecting their crime-ridden and immoral noir world, as is customary in expressionist European cinema. However, the noir world is not physically strange, in accordance with Hollywood realism. Lighting tells the audience that this world is distorted, but the sets and costumes obey realism. The overall visual perspective is broader than the individual, obeying the Hollywood status quo of realist, objective perspective, which produces logical mise-en-scène, but also adopting some hints of the subjectivity of European films.

In addition to framing, lighting, and voiceover, the aesthetics of film noir settings reflect European influences. Film noir treats the urban environment as a cold, unforgiving place. The sets typically feature many concrete buildings and roads, shot in darkness and/or rain. The opening shot of *The Killers* features a dark urban street of concrete and drab buildings, while ominous music plays. Early noir films like *The Killers* were "anchored … in the forbidding urban environment" (Ballinger & Graydon, 2007, p. 229). The impression of the city as a dangerous place is not unique to film noir. European filmmakers (most notably F.W. Murnau) had dealt with it previously.

However, European filmmakers typically dealt with the city in the expressionist style, which was imbued with "a common sense of optimism … tinged by a morbid anticipation of disaster" (Roberts, 2008, p. 14), meaning that the city presented both a land of opportunity and the possibility of corruption and danger. This is linked to the traditional moral dichotomy of the city as a place of sin in contrast to the 'pure' countryside. The American experience of the wars and the Great Depression merged with this European creation; in film noir, the disaster has already happened. Society has revealed its true colours and there is nothing to be optimistic about. This newfound sense of societal collapse can be connected to the early twentieth-century experiences of film noir pioneers.

Siodmak and his contemporaries who "arrived in flight" (Brook, 2009, p. 8) from Nazi persecution were much more prolific in creating noir films than Europeans who emigrated voluntarily, which reflects how their disillusionment and trauma affected the cynicism of film noir. Their experience merged with American techniques because they were now working with American studios and for American audiences. We can infer a distrust from Siodmak of traditional authority systems through the fact that Reardon is not a police officer. It is possible that Siodmak's experience with state-sanctioned hatred would have made him feel that the police could not be trusted to produce justice. The Swede says that the police would not be able to do any good for the situation. In this case, 'good' could be seen to have a double meaning—that the police will not be effective at their jobs, and that they will not pursue moral good. The way the Swede quietly accepts his death represents Hollywood's masculine protagonist being tainted by European cynicism.

Robert Siodmak's *The Killers* illustrates how European cinematic traits merged with classical Hollywood to create film noir. The film's urban setting, universe of morally corrupt and compromised male protagonists, shadowy aesthetics, overall thematic assertion that the world is a dark and unforgiving place, insistence upon restoration of moral order, and use of Hollywood staples, such as stars and continuity editing, exemplify the hybridity of noir. The experiences of the early twentieth century (such as the Great Depression, the bombing of Pearl Harbour, and the beginning of the Cold War) had made Americans receptive to European themes and aesthetics. Their optimism was not erased, but it was cracked. Film noir presented an alternative to mainstream Hollywood that was potentially more reflective of the American experience in the post-war era.

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Poetry is transformation. Poetry creates and recreates. Poetry gives meaning; when times change and we must look beyond the walls that have shaped and contained us, poetry breaks them down. The English essays in this chapter draw from their poetic sources to confront, discuss, and embody new ways of looking at the world, and thus new ways to exist within it.

Chang's essay compares and analyses the poems "Two Pedestrians With One Thought" and "No Ordinary Sun", written by New Zealand poets Allen Curnow and Hone Tuwhare respectively. She leans into 'that end of the world feeling' captured by the poetry, investigating the unnerving experience of having the fundamental boundaries that govern our existence stripped away by unprecedented nuclear disaster. Chang examines the dissolving lines between the natural and the unnatural in Tuwhare's poem, and between language and objects in Curnow's, before turning to contemplate the limits of language under such dire conditions. Her essay invites the reader to consider whether words can hold meaning at the brink of known existence—does it all unravel with a bang, without so much as a whimper, or is there still poetry for the end of the world?

Stepping into the realm of the metaphysical, webb's essay traverses the boundary between 'Body' and 'Soul' in her analysis of four poems by Emily Dickinson: "The overtakelessness of those", "I am afraid to own a Body", "The Brain is wider than the Sky", and "I felt a Funeral, in my Brain". She demonstrates for readers how Dickinson complicates the dualistic body-soul structure propagated by the Church, running counter to religious conventions to collapse the wall standing between internal and external existence. Only then, webb concludes, can we achieve true 'being in the world'. She notes that this interpretation is vital for the poet, who must translate sense into language, for what is poetry if not embodiment? What is "Being" if not "an Ear"?

Finally, Ibold's essay walks readers through her transformative (and transformational) journey of reimagining Gertrude Stein's poem "Nothing Elegant" as a handmade dress. Ibold details the modernist influences that inspired her project, citing works of the 1920s zeitgeist by F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ezra Pound, among others, as crucial contributors to her creative vision. Her essay balances a practical application of critical analysis with anecdotes of resourcefulness and late-night breakthroughs, drawing the literary out into the literal in true poetic fashion. Ultimately, her work serves as a reminder to readers that there is poetry and, therefore, *beauty* to be found in the "charm", "elegance", and "earnest"-ness of the everyday.

We hope the essays in this chapter inspire an appreciation for poetry in all its multitudes, whether because it gives us a window into the unknown that comes after the end, a new syllable for sound, or the complex charms of things borrowed made anew.

Jia Yin Chiang

English 221

New Zealand Literature

Jacca Chang

Two Pedestrians With One Thought
By Allen Curnow

Things are things carried
away by the wind like this
big empty carton which
bumps as it skids as it
arse-over-kites over
anything else that's loose
dust, for instance, while
all the little angels
ascend up ascend up
things are things emptied
on the tip of the wind
arsey-versey vortically
big print for instance
APPLE JUICE nothing in the
world ever catches its
carton again where the
wind went 
loose as the dust or the
water or the road or the
blood in your heels while
all the little angels
ascend up on high
all the little

God!
That was close, that bus
bloody nearly bowled the
both of them the dog with his
hindleg hiked and
APPLE JUICE bumped off the
wind's big boot
angels
ascend up
hang on there
as long as you can
you and your dog before the
wind skins the water off the
road and the road off the
face of the earth
on high

which end up?
Arse end up
full beam by daylight
this funeral goes grinning, a
lively clip, a tail wind, the
grave waiting
hang on to your hands
anything can happen
once where the wind went
fingers you feel to be
nailed so securely
can come loose too
hold on to your ears and
run dog run while
simply, silverly
they walk in the wind that is
rippling their trousers
Hiroshima Harry and the
dandy Dean
dust free dusted while
all the little angels
ascend up ascend up
with
Plato in the middle
holding out his diddle in the
way souls piddle from a
very great height and
dead against the wind,
dead against the wind.

No Ordinary Sun
By Hone Tuwhare

Tree let your arms fall:
raise them not sharply in supplication
to the bright enhaloed cloud.
Let your arms lack toughness and
resilience for this is no mere axe
to blunt nor fire to smother.

Your sap shall not rise again
to the moons pull.
No more incline a deferential head
to the wind's talk, or stir
to the tickle of coursing rain.

Your former shagginess shall not be
wreathed with the delightful flight
of birds nor shield
nor cool the ardour of unheeding
lovers from the monstrous sun.

Tree let your naked arms fall
nor extend vain entreaties to the radiant ball.
This is no gallant monsoon's flash,
no dashing trade wind's blast.
The fading green of your magic
emanations shall not make pure again
these polluted skies . . . for this
is no ordinary sun.

O tree
in the shadowless mountains
the white plains and
the drab sea floor
your end at last is written.

In moments of profound, unprecedented change, the entire world can feel permanently and irreversibly altered. Invisible boundaries that once appeared rigid and immutable can melt away, leaving behind a world that is unrecognisable from the familiar, ordinary world of the past. Allen Curnow and Hone Tuwhare explore this unique 'end of the world' feeling that accompanies traumatic change or loss in their respective poems "Two Pedestrians with One Thought" and "No Ordinary Sun", where they express their fears of a looming nuclear threat. Both poets explore the ways that traditional boundaries—physical and metaphorical—can collapse, dismantling our perception and thus entire experience of the world. They also consider the role that language occupies in these moments of seemingly indescribable change or loss when the world feels irreparably torn apart.

In both poems, the horror of a nuclear detonation extends beyond immediate material devastation to the complete disintegration of the fundamental boundaries that ordinarily define and order the world. For Tuwhare, this is the boundary between the natural and unnatural, while for Curnow, it is the boundary between language and objects. The absence of these defining boundaries transforms the world into a disorientating, unrecognisable landscape characterised by chaos and emptiness. This is demonstrated in both poems by the way in which the nuclear bomb takes the form of a natural phenomenon. Tuwhare consistently uses sun imagery to depict the bomb, likening it to a "bright enhaloed cloud" and "radiant ball" (Tuwhare, 1964, p. 23). However, the bomb's intrinsic destructiveness only emphasises its inherent opposition to, and perversion of, the natural order. Tuwhare thus transforms our world's ordinary source of light and life into the poem's principal harbinger of death and destruction, as the typically positive descriptions of the sun's radiance and light become frightening and deadly. This is further emphasised by Tuwhare's description of the bomb as a "monstrous sun" (Tuwhare, 1964, p. 23). The word "monstrous" implies not only the bomb's immense size and impact, but also its fundamental wrongness as a wicked hybrid of the natural and human worlds (Tuwhare, 1964, p. 23).

While Tuwhare emphasises the bomb's deathly radiance by using the sun as a metaphor, Curnow envisions the bomb as a lethal wind, focusing on the bomb's unpredictability and capacity to transform even ordinary objects into loose, often dangerous debris. Curnow's poem is characterised by the constant movement of objects, most notably, a juice carton. He describes how, in the wind, the carton "bumps as it skids as it / arse-over-kites over" (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). The discordant repetition of "as it" within that line (Curnow, 1997, p. 165), in combination with the active verbs implying clumsiness and disorientation, emphasise the wind's chaotic, haphazard movement. Curnow seemingly suggests that, like the wind, a nuclear bomb causes all things to lose their shape and meaning, blowing apart everything in its path until all that remains is loose dust. This is shown when Curnow listlessly compares the looseness of dust in the wind to the "water or the road or the / blood in your heels" (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). In the wind, everything becomes as loose as dust, even words; the words "APPLE JUICE", for example, flip "on the tip of the wind / arsey-versey vortically" (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). By severing the physical juice carton from its print, Curnow suggests that even the fundamental distinction between material objects and words disintegrates—words lose their meaning and become unmoored from the objects which they represent. Thus, Curnow demonstrates how words themselves become flimsy and fragile in the wake of an unprecedented, devastating event like a nuclear detonation.

By contrast, in Tuwhare's poem, the fundamental boundary between the natural and unnatural (human) world breaks down. Unlike other human or natural threats—such as fires or storms—this new nuclear threat, by virtue of its merging of the natural and unnatural, does not allow

rebirth or growth. The world becomes stripped bare of colour and life, as Tuwhare's speaker describes the remaining "shadowless mountains / the white plains / and the drab sea floor" (Tuwhare, 1967, p. 23). Ultimately, both Curnow and Tuwhare reflect on how the disintegration of ordinary boundaries completely uproots our sense of reality by either removing the boundaries that define language and objects or altering our landscape to the extent that it becomes unrecognisable and untraversable.

Both Curnow and Tuwhare's poems also consider the extent to which language can offer catharsis and provide certainty through closure. Curnow's poem challenges the value of language as a form of catharsis, specifically in moments of extraordinary change when words feel hopelessly inadequate as a means of aptly expressing reality. He opens his poem with a futile effort to define the word "things": "things are things carried … things are things emptied" (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). The inherently unspecific nature of the word "things" renders this effort both fruitless and absurd (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). The poet's failure to articulate a satisfying definition for the word "things" foreshadows the tension that gradually emerges within the poem, between the poet's desire to use language as a form of expression, and language's failure to adequately fulfil that desire (Curnow, 1997, p. 165). By contrast, Tuwhare's poem argues for language's declarative and imperative power. Strong negations and imperative statements permeate the poem as Tuwhare's speaker pleads with the tree to accept its inevitable destruction by the sun and "let [its] arms fall" (Tuwhare, 1964, p. 23). Tuwhare grants the speaker with exclusive agency and control over the poem's progression as it steadily builds towards the tree's inevitable end. By comparison, Curnow's poem develops in fragments, punctuated sporadically with the recurring line of a war song chorus: "*all the little angels / ascend up ascend up*" (Curnow, 1997, p. 165–166). The steady upward movement of these angels and the predictable cadence of this line starkly contrast the speaker's more haphazard pace and the erratic movement of objects like the juice carton in the wind. Unlike Tuwhare's speaker, Curnow's possesses little control over the poem's progression; the jarring abruptness of the song's chorus is akin to the involuntary resurgence of a traumatic memory, triggered by the speaker's fear of a looming nuclear threat.

The inability of Curnow's speaker to suppress this memory erases the possibility of having any organised structure to the poem and diminishes their capacity to coherently process and express their experience. The poem ultimately ends in a moment of stillness and silence, with the repetition of the line: "dead against the wind" (Curnow, 1997, p. 166). This final line simultaneously suggests that the material objects in the poem are staunchly opposed to the wind's movement, and that words are dying against—or with—the wind. The speaker is ultimately unable to successfully reconcile their reality with language. For Curnow, therefore, the 'end of the world' is marked by the incapacity of language to exist as a viable form of expression; the world ends when it becomes undefinable. Tuwhare affirms language's definitive and declarative power, as 'the end of the world' emerges simultaneously with language's end, when the tree's end is "at last … written" (Tuwhare, 1964, p. 23). By contrast, Curnow's poem rejects that language *is*, or requires, definition. Although language ordinarily connects us to the world around us by allowing us to articulate, process, and thus, control our reality, Curnow suggests that there are perhaps some experiences that escape language. Ultimately, Curnow and Tuwhare's divergent perspectives highlight both the power and limits of language as a mode of expression and catharsis.

In presenting their visions of a world ruptured by the devastation of a nuclear bomb, both Allen Curnow and Hone Tuwhare provide portraits of the unique and specific feeling that characterises the 'end of the world'. Their poems underscore the way in which the loss of

fundamental boundaries can render the world around us unrecognisable, thereby transforming our perception and experience of it. They also consider the broader role of language as either the final arbiter of the world's end, or a dissatisfactory, inadequate mode of expression in the wake of traumatic change and loss.

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English 219

Nineteenth-Century Literature

toyah webb

In her poetry, Emily Dickinson complicates the conventional Christian dualism of the body and the soul to instead emphasise the relationship between the 'inner world' of the Self (mental subjectivity) and the body. Dickinson's metaphysical concerns centre on the distinction between the body and the soul, yet quickly turn to a contemplation of the relationship between the external world and the inner world of the Self. This essay will address four poems which trace the trajectory of these philosophical concerns, as well as their implications for the poet. If the body is truly separate from the inner world of the soul (as the church claims), how can the senses encountered by the body—the phenomena of the external world—be apprehended by the Self and translated into poetry? Dickinson's poems reveal the necessity of entangling sense with embodiment, so that the poet may unlearn the barriers that prevent the Self from truly being in the world.

First, it is necessary to understand the context in which Emily Dickinson was writing. She was born in Amherst, Massachusetts in 1830, during the religious revivalism that was sweeping across the United States (1790–1840), which saw a shift within the Protestant church from the dominant Calvinism of the day to a more "liberal" Arminianism (Gilpin, 2014, p. 5). This change in Protestant thinking emphasised free-will, or the ability of people to individually atone for their sins, rather than the Calvinist idea that salvation is predetermined under the "unconditional sovereignty" of God (Arminius, 1853. p. 316). Arminianism also stated that atonement was intended for all, so that human beings were no longer viewed as inherently sinful, but instead, through faith, as equally entitled to the salvation of their soul. It is highly probable that this religious background (and its many debates) influenced Emily Dickinson's poetry. Indeed, a religious influence is visible in many of her poems, notably those which centralise the dualism between the mortal body and the 'immortal' soul. In Christian eschatology, the soul is an immaterial and immortal 'essence', ontologically separate from the body. When the body dies, the soul will be judged by God. This traditional image of a ghostly soul, prising itself from the bodily husk and floating skyward, is reflected in Dickinson's poem "The overtakelessness of those" (Johnson, 2012. p. 690). In this poem, the dualism of the body and the soul is made explicit when the soul "takes her fair aerial gait / Beyond the hope of touch", or past the boundary of the body (Johnson, 2012. p. 690). It is this corporeal edge that keeps the soul from the "overtakelessness" of eternity—an 'everything' that "cannot be got round"—so that the "flesh" becomes the barrier between mortality and immortality (Johnson, 2012, p. 690). Death is the only way to transcend the body and reach beyond the mortal plane. The phrase "Not at Home" in the fifth line enforces the notion that the body is no more than a container which the soul enters and leaves, with the physical effects of death imagined as a mere parting note (Johnson, 2012, p. 690). The soul is also given agency in the poem, both through physical movement and the gendered pronoun ("*her* fair aerial gait…"), while "the flesh" remains inanimate and genderless (Johnson, 2012, p. 690). Furthermore, the single dash in the sixth line necessitates a pause, dramatically inscribing the soul's leap into the air as she severs herself from the motionless, mortal body. These poetic effects are layered upon each other to represent an animate and subjective soul, and parallel the dominant religious beliefs of Dickinson's socio-geographic context: Eternal life is more desirable than "the majesties of Earth" (Johnson, 2012, p. 690).

However, Dickinson also complicates this duality by adding a third element: An 'I'. This 'I' is self-reflexive, and most importantly, situated outside both the body and the soul. In the poem "I am afraid to own a Body" (Johnson, 2012, p. 493), the languaged 'I' inserts itself in the first line as the subject, while "Body" and "Soul" are its objects ("I am afraid to own a Body— / I am afraid to own a Soul—" [Johnson, 2012, p. 493]). The logic of duality is consequently ruptured, for if the 'I' can refer to the possession of a body or soul, the 'I' represents a

subjectivity at a remove from either. This subjectivity is a Self. With the appearance of a feeling, fearing, and conscious Self, the body-soul duality is called into question and made uncertain. This uncertainty is further reflected by the capitalization of both 'Body' and 'Soul', which draws them into the abstract. The poem also ruptures their understood duality through what is absent and what is present at a grammatical level. In the first stanza, the indefinite article ("a") is placed before "Body" and "Soul", whereas the more concrete possessive pronoun ('my') is absent (Johnson, 2012, p. 493). As a generalising rather than deictic pronoun, "a" creates a referential gap between the "I" and the objects it governs. The body-soul duality does not become a tripartite structure of self-body-soul ('*my* body and soul'). Instead the body and the soul are left to float as separate entities. As Charlotte Kupsh points out, the language of ownership in the poem ("to own", "Property", "Heir") also signals "physical commodities that can be purchased, passed on, and inherited", which contradicts both the mortality of the body and the singularity of the soul: A body cannot be inherited, and a soul cannot (at least, according to the Church) be passed on to anyone (Kupsh, 2018, p. 53). Nevertheless, the poem also makes it clear that "Possession" is "not optional", despite the Self's fear of owning a body or soul (Johnson, 2012, p. 493). The 'I' knows that it cannot exist alone: The Self needs a body. By looking at two more of Dickinson's poems, a new dichotomy comes to the fore. This dichotomy emphasises the relationship between the body and the 'inner world'—the realm of the Self, Thought, Consciousness, and Mind—and their mutual dependence upon one another. The conventional hierarchy established by Christian dualism is eliminated, and the Self is brought into the Now of the present. The body is no longer a sinful vessel for the immortal soul, but a necessary part of 'being-in' and 'being-with' the world. Through embodiment, the inner world of the Self is connected with the external world. The body senses and experiences phenomena, which the mind processes and responds to.

Dickinson thus highlights the symbiosis between the 'inner world' and the body. Without the body, the Self would not be able to situate itself in the world, and without the Self, the body would be a husk of nerve endings and sensory input with no way to make sense of sense. This unity between the internal and external worlds is underscored in the poem "The Brain is wider than the Sky", which demonstrates how the experience of the body is held in the mind as perception—what the eye sees, the mind *knows* (Johnson, 2012, p. 632). For example, when the "Sky" (the external) is "put side by side" with the "Brain" (the internal), the brain contains it with ease (Johnson, 2012, p. 632). In the second stanza, the verb "absorb" also signals the filtering of external experience into the mind, just as water is taken into a "Sponge" or held in a "Bucket" (Johnson, 2012, p. 632). Yet the poem reaches the peak of its dramatic arc in the final stanza: "The Brain is just the weight of God— / For—Heft them—Pound for Pound— / And they will differ—if they do— / As Syllable from Sound —" (Johnson, 2012, p. 632). Here, Dickinson circles back to the sphere of religion, suggesting that the inner world is the same weight as God. This relationship is contemplated through a simile, marked by the "[a]s" at the beginning of the final line, which invites the reader to ask the question: What *is* the difference between syllable and sound? 'Syllable' is the name given to one of the smallest units of sound in language (and so contains sound within itself), while 'sound' is the "vibration that travels through the air or another medium and can be heard when they reach the ear" (Lexico, n.d.). In other words, syllables are constructed from raw sound, and processed internally. (Note that the three-syllable word 'syllable' also performs its meaning, distinct from the single-sound word 'sound'.) The simile thus engages with the space between the internal and external worlds, and the difference between raw sense material and the creation of patterns and sequences. God, it seems, is a matter of technicality. However, with the same complicated simile, the poem reveals that a unity between the Self and the Body is crucial for poetry. Poetry requires sense experience to be transformed into language, and the translation of sound into syllable, into line,

into stanza (Scalapino, 2010). For the poet, poetry is embodiment, and "Being" is "but an Ear" (Hughes, 1969, p. 6).

Embodiment, as 'being-in' the body, is a tool for navigating and understanding the world. It allows the poet to connect with the world around them, to hear the "voices of inanimate things", and to conceptualise the Self as another object in a community of objects (Hardy, 1987, p. 174). Through embodiment, the poet may unlearn their own boundaries, leading them into dimensions larger than the strictly 'human'. The inner world of the Self is thus able to extend beyond its own edges, achieving an 'overtakelessness' that is not contingent on the transcendence of an immortal soul, but on the permeability of the body. In Dickinson's poem, "I felt a Funeral, in my Brain", "Sense" (sound) is described as "breaking through" into the Brain, with the repetitive insistence of a march ("And mourners to and fro / Kept treading—treading—" [Hughes, 1969, p. 6]). These rhythms of the external world continue to manifest in rising volume, represented by the impact of footsteps, the beating of a "Drum", and the tolling of a "Bell" (Hughes, 1969, p. 6). The toll of the "Bell"—as the loudest sound—ushers in the climax of poem, cancelling out all other sensory input, so that to the poet, "Being" seems "but an Ear" (Hughes, 1969, p. 6). The Self is overwhelmed by sound, which rushes down the ear canal to reverberate in the cochlea, physically rupturing the boundary between the external and internal worlds. Yet a boundary naturally connects two parts, so when it disintegrates, the internal is also projected into the external. This extracorporeal movement is demonstrated in the fifth stanza: "And then a Plank in Reason, broke / And I dropped down, and down— / And hit a World, at every plunge / And Finished knowing—then" (Hughes, 1969, p. 6). Here, the "Plank in Reason" symbolises the integral knowledge of what comprises Self and non-self, a wooden barrier that allows the Self to distinguish its own edges. However, when the poet's boundaries are dissolved, they plunge out of a knowledge of these edges, and drop down into the infiniteness of unknowing. This conclusion of 'knowing' is the true poetic act. The poem ends with a dash, which breaks off the final line, signalling that sound can no longer be rendered into syllable, because the Brain (the Self) can no longer be separated from the external world. Yet again, poetic form performs its meaning.

These four poems thus demonstrate a shift from convention as Emily Dickinson reimagines metaphysical relationships. Counter to the traditional body-soul duality, the inner world and the body are placed on the same level, revealing how they are dependent on each other for true 'being in the world'. Their symbiotic relationship collapses the Self into the external world, breaking down the very boundaries of Self and other. It is at this dynamic intersection that Dickinson's metaphysical concerns intertwine with the poetic, as she describes how the poet translates the sensations experienced by the body into poetry (embodiment begets language, the ear enables presence). However, in order to hear, the poet must first move beyond the conventional knowledge structures that separate the body from the Self and the Self from the world—unknowing becomes a form of knowing.

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English 216

Modernist Transformations

Hayley Claire Ibold

The Fabric of Form and Function: A Modernist Response to Gertrude Stein's "Nothing Elegant"

> *"A charm a single charm is doubtful. If the red is rose and there is a gate surrounding it, if inside is let in and there places change then certainly something is upright. It is earnest."*
>
> (Stein, 1914, p. 13)

Gertrude Stein's "Nothing Elegant" is complex, layered, and frustratingly difficult to unpack—the precise reasons I was drawn to the poem when I first read it. I wanted to challenge myself, as a student of Early Modern literature, to grapple with a complex modernist text and transform it into a medium capable of expressing that challenge and frustration. The rhythm and cadence of the poem inspired me to find a medium that was physically and visually fluid. The medium needed to be visually striking, tactile, yet able to be manipulated by the person experiencing it, as Stein uses the words in her work to manipulate reality while remaining concrete in her imagery. I wanted Stein's poetry to be the central "earnest" element of my transformation, but also wanted to demonstrate the style of the time, convey the sense of 'modernism', and show how "places change" when perspective is played with (Stein, 1914, p. 13). This is how I turned Gertrude Stein's "Nothing Elegant" into a handmade dress.

I was drawn immediately to the three concrete descriptors that Stein uses in the poem— "elegant", "charm", and "earnest" (1914, p. 13)—and used them to guide my transformation. I wrote the words on notecards and taped them to my desk so I could glance at them throughout my creative process. Upon my first reread of the poem, I was struck again by the outward simplicity that belied the complexity of content. A visual object that seems to hold a "single charm" at a quick glance (Stein, 1914, p. 13), but that takes time to complete and appreciate, became the crucial interpretation of the poem that led me to sewing a dress. I wanted my medium to entirely reflect the style of the time: eclectic and stylised, focused on ornamentation, and challenging to social expectations. Stein uses short phrases and a questioning tone to create a glimpse into the way modernist literature, art, and culture challenged the "upright" (Stein, 1914, p. 13). Therefore, the dress I created needed to be challenging at times to make, evocative of art, and deceptively simple—the key features that connected my physical transformation to Stein's words.

The creative process of choosing the materials was heavily inspired by my other reading, particularly that of Ezra Pound, and by the practices that shaped much of modernist creativity. Looking beyond words, I was influenced by Pound's suggestion that "images should be complex … to create a sense of liberation" (Pound, 1918, p. 99). Furthermore, I wanted to avoid wasting any materials and being "superfluous" instead of "revealing" (Pound, 1918, p. 98). I decided to source my materials only from things with a past "charm" (Stein, 1914, p. 13): second-hand clothing, fabric offcuts, antiques, and materials leftover from my old dance costumes. The amalgamating of the personal object, the connection to the arts, and objects that had already given use to others, is a concept that I believe Stein and Pound would have appreciated (Domestico and Lewis, 2019).

In sourcing the fabric, I wanted to employ senses other than sight—to break away from the "gate surrounding" my creativity (Stein, 1914, p. 13). Using touch, I located a sleek, slightly worn silk-charmeuse in a vivid green shade. Having referenced old sewing patterns and images of dresses from the 1920s, I decided that this fabric was the correct texture and colour for the skirt of the dress. I wanted colour imagery to be a central part of the transformation as Stein uses it so frequently in her poetry, yet I did not want to interpret the "red rose" in the poem so literally (Stein, 1914, p. 13). Instead, I chose a deep green to subtly connect the dress, and the poem, with nature. Green is associated not only with growth and newness, but also with *re*newal, restoration, and longing. Another immediate association is with the green light in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, a novel that heavily influenced my choice of dress style and first drew me to the idea of modernism when I read it in high school. Having chosen my fabric, I needed a textural contrast that would convey the changing style and fragmented structure of the poem in a visual way (Dilworth, 2008). In lectures, we listened to a recording of Professor Michele Leggott's guide dog, Olive, drinking water. Olive provided a demonstration of poetic rhythm, serving as a source of

inspiration for our class in a way that Stein's poodle did for her. We discussed the idea of sensory responses to rhythm as demonstrated by the noise of Olive lapping at the water bowl, and the Vorticist idea that "Art is periodic [aural and visual] escapes" from the mundane (Lewis, 1914, p. 148). This upheld the 'manifesto' I created for myself in transforming the poem: I would incorporate "charm", memory, practicality, and therefore "earnest"-ness into my transformation (Stein, 1914, p. 13). I sought out beads and sequins at my local second-hand stores and hand sewed them onto an old dance costume. I then cut the bottom off a black chiffon shift dress as it had the correct fit and fabric for the top of the dress. Combining the feel and look of the fabric with the textural and aural element of the beads became reminiscent of the fragmented texture of Stein's poem.

With the two halves of the dress sourced, I was torn as to whether I should attempt to sew everything neatly together and produce a 'finished' garment, or if I should draw attention the retrofitted and fragmented nature of my project. I decided that the whole point of transforming this poem into something visual was so that the creative process would be visible to everyone: The physical method of *how* I derived the dress from the poem needed to be immediately apparent and explorable. Therefore, I used around 100 safety pins to connect the dress to the skirt. The top was simple as I pinned and adjusted the straps to fit, but the skirt needed to be voluminous yet also drape well. Just as with reading the poem, it took me multiple attempts of pinning, cutting, and sewing to decide how I wanted the skirt to look. Eventually, I decided to draw from the fragmented quality of the poem and literally fragment the skirt: I cut the fabric into 30 individual rectangles and pinned each one to the hem of the top, creating a flowing, movable skirt that embodied the structure of the textual work. I also allowed the slightest hint of the pins to be visible as the wearer walks, placing that constructive process at the foreground of the transformation. Unfortunately, I ran into a problem with the top not looking right after I had attached the skirt. It sat much too low-cut to accurately be a modernist era dress, so in a moment of late-night desperation, I simply put the dress on backwards. Unbelievably, this solved my problem instantly, as I had the higher back become the new neckline. This process of discovering a new way of using or viewing an object underpins much of Stein's *Tender Buttons* and aligns with the modernist artistic practices of impressionism and cubism (Breton, 1924). In retrospect, it was frustrating—but ultimately enlightening—to experience this rather transformative moment of last-minute panic.

With the main transformation complete, the final aspect of my project was to create a whole-body visual transformation of the poem into an outfit. I wanted to show the importance of perspective and imagination, as these are what allowed me to tackle Stein's complex texts and ultimately feel that I understood the modernist poetry. I had three cornerstones throughout my project: "charm", "elegance", and "earnest"-ness (Stein, 1914, p. 13). In reimagining the poem, I wanted to create a final image that was evocative of the fashion and cultural ethos of the time. My grandmother loaned me her art deco watch and some antique jewellery she had collected. I found a felt cloche at a jumble sale as I was walking home from lectures. I also salvaged a velvet scarf from a scrap bin; it is embossed with images of roses and has subtle elements of red, which I thought nodded to the concrete imagery that Stein uses in her poetry.

Despite encountering difficulties, I found this project to be transformative in how I approach modernist literature and art. Rather than being confusing and dense, modernist poetry challenges the individual to uncover the "charm", "elegance", and "earnest"-ness in each work (Stein, 1914, p. 13). This is what I hoped to convey in my transformation, with each of these words making an appearance in tiny writing along the hem of the dress. As the wearer walks, the text can be subtly seen if one looks closely and carefully enough at the art, and at the poem.

In conclusion, by creating a tactile transformation, I hoped to convey that by understanding the charm of simplicity, and the genuine, earnest nature of objects, a new appreciation of the everyday can be achieved. The combination of sensory elements in response to a piece of literature underpins modernist works from Pound to Picasso, emphasising the importance of taking time to reflect, realign, and reimagine the world.

Image Gallery and Credits

Inspirations

Below are some of the images that inspired, directed or guided my transformation. I include small captions to demonstrate what each image represented in my transformation. Also included is a mention of the people who helped me with this project, and a brief description of what they did.

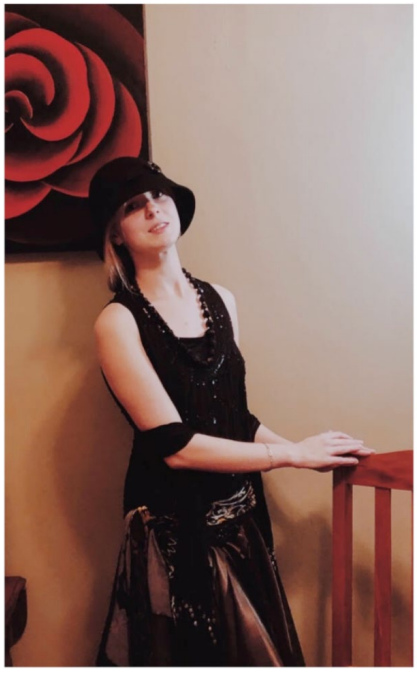
This image demonstrates the overall 'look' of the dress that I was inspired by. The folds and draping are visible in the skirt, as are the stylised and ornamented designs.
Taken from https://www.decadesofstyle.com/collections/1920s-sewing-patterns.

Furthermore, I consulted this vintage fabric and textile website to inform my design regarding the top of the dress: https://www.vintagetextile.com/gallery_1920s.htm.

Credits

In terms assistance, my grandmother and mother loaned me their time and their possessions to help me create this transformation. The jewellery is from my grandmother, and my mother kindly sourced more safety pins, fabric, and thread when I inevitably ran out. Furthermore, her encouragement of my pursuit in the performing arts made the premise for this transformation possible. All credit due to them is through a labour of love, and I deeply appreciate their support.

The finished outfit



The finished dress.

My grandmother's watch, antique earrings, and some other accessories.

Sequins and safety pins.

The black felt cloche, antique jewellery, the velvet scarf, and other items that inspired the design.

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WORKSPACES

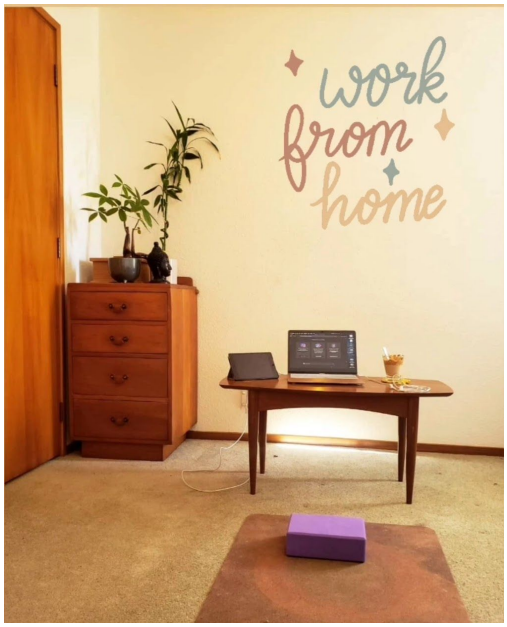
I think it's fair to say that lockdown this year made us very aware of where we do our mahi, and how that environment affects us. For some, that work/life balance may become even harder when it all happens in the same space; for others, this balance may become a lot easier, without losing hours of the day to a commute. As a student, I loved the freedom of being able to work anywhere—libraries, cafes, empty lecture halls, my part-time job, the bus—and took this freedom into my working life, as a remote worker... Growing up with one internalised, capitalist ideal of what a 'real job' would look like (a commute, an office, structure I didn't get to control), every workday at my dining table or from my bed felt like a small rebellion against the system. Proof to myself that I don't have to catch a train, work in an office, or wear uncomfortable clothing to earn a living and be considered 'valuable'.

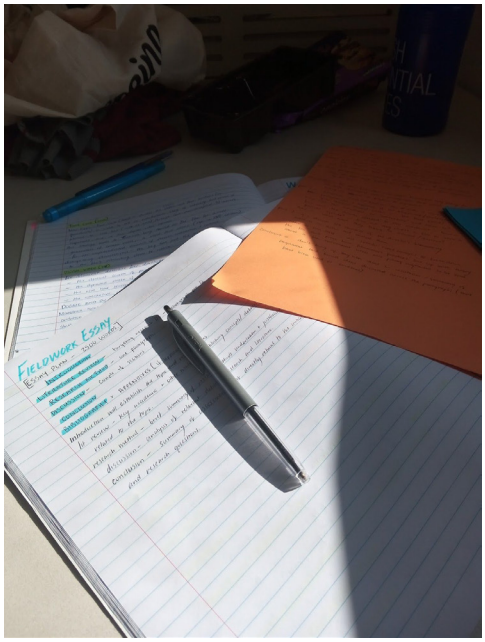
Lockdown created a lot of disruption in many work lives, including a shift in what people considered their workspace, and what people's jobs became. Discussions of unpaid and unnoticed labour, life childcare and housework, were back in the public space; but at the same time, it felt like we often forgot the many people who simply can't work from home. The builders, the performers, the delivery workers, the suppliers and drivers, the medical staff—some who were considered essential, some who weren't. And yet again, a capitalist idea of who and who isn't of 'value' came into play again.

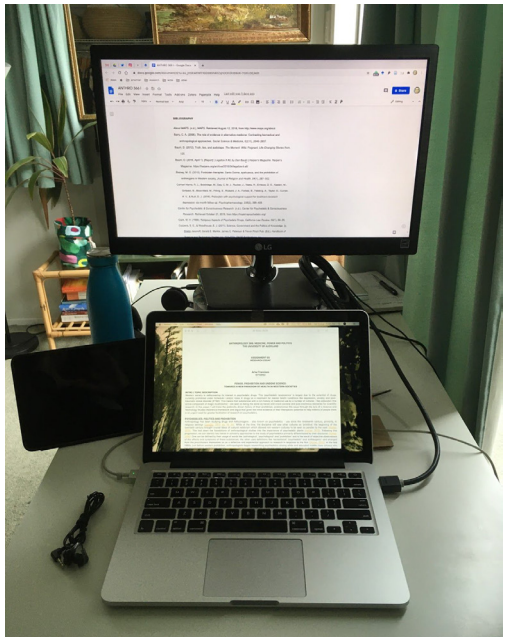
As most people who already worked from home pre-Covid can attest, working in lockdown is not the same. Whether that mahi is listening to lectures and writing assignments, or a remote job like mine, the ability to 'do it anywhere' isn't the same when there is nowhere to go. At *Interesting Journal*, we often just deal with the end products—the assignments after they have been produced and assessed; but these works are never written in a vacuum. People's lives are mixed into the works we publish—their troubles, their successes—and there is nothing like the disruption of a global pandemic to remind us of that.

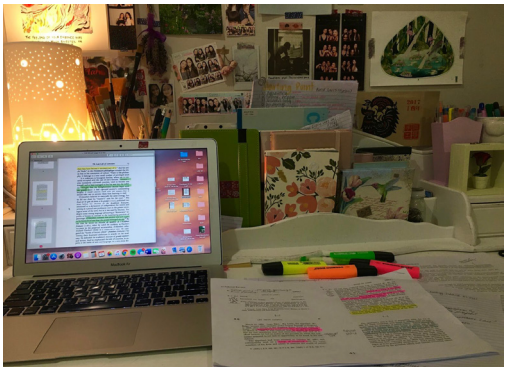
This year, we asked each author to send us a picture of the workspace they had during the lockdown, and where a lot of these works were written. For some, nothing may have changed, for others, they could be in different parts of the country or working under very different circumstances. With their permission, we've included these pictures in the journal as a little window into the life of who wrote each piece, and the unusual circumstances we all found ourselves in. We wanted to see what our authors saw during lockdown, where the work was produced, and remind ourselves (and our readers) that value is everywhere. It is looking after your little sister while you listen to lectures, it is researching on the bus to your supermarket job, it is being stuck in your hall of residence without your family, it is trying to work when your six housemates are working from home as well—it is as much in the words we published in this journal as it is in every submission we received and everyone who found a way to exist through Covid.

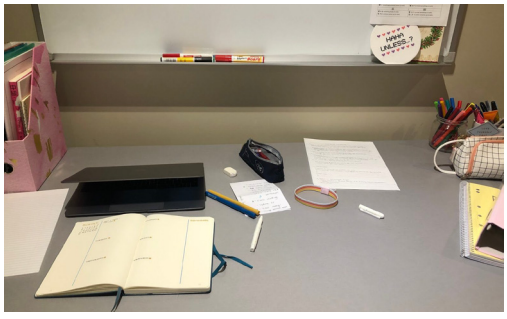
Alika Wells


work
from
home


Fieldwork Essay








STILL
TIRED


SERPENT