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Editors' Note

Edition 7 of Interesting Journal is made up of 18 essays from the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts. These essays are independent academic works that have been written by undergraduate students during Semester Two 2017, Summer School 2018, or Semester One 2018. All works have been peer-reviewed by our editorial team, and reviewed by the University of Auckland staff member who taught or marked the course that produced each work and are experts in each respective field. Edition 7 takes the reader through a number of different but related topics: the first section is dedicated to investigating the complexities within politics and identity in an international context, and opens with an essay that highlights how we can consider New Zealand's colonial history within this international context. The second is dedicated to discussions that utilise the lenses of feminist theory, in a range of topics such as gender performance, the contemporary division of labour, and the criminal justice system. Our third section, "Examining Minutiae", showcases the need for specialist subjects and detail-orientated work within the arts; and the fourth section investigates the study of health and medicine from anthropological, sociological and historical perspectives. The final section rounds out the edition by bringing our perspective back to the topic of politics and identity, with works that focus on these ideas within the context of Aotearoa. Essays on Pākehā privilege, ongoing colonial oppression, and navigating the waters of biculturalism in New Zealand bring us home to conclude Edition 7.

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. 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 7, as part of our peer review process.

A FRACTURED LENS: EVALUATING GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Edition 7 begins by dissecting policies from around the world, each author focussing on key societal structural issues, how governments have responded, and alternative ways in which they may be approached. The topics may seem relatively disparate, but each maintains a strong focus on what often goes overlooked in sociological and political scholarship; the affected individuals themselves.

Jones takes a forthright approach to her analysis of the raids conducted against Māori communities in 2007, elaborating on how societal structures enact ignoble acts under thin veneers of ideological innocence (in this case, rooting out terrorists) in order to stamp out any threats to the dominant culture. She examines the ways in which Māori were criminalised through both government and media actions, and emphasises the extent to which these demonstrations of colonial control continue to endure.

Faunt takes us into Canada, and provides a raw account of violent crime among first Nation Peoples and the structural issues of a society swamped in the aftermath of colonisation. Not only does she examine the historical, economic, and political roots underlying these issues, Faunt evaluates current attempts to remedy the situation and illustrates the degree to which governments need to fundamentally alter their narrow and hierarchical approach to cultural issues.

Sweeney examines current political scholarship within the question of whether China has control over North Korea, and assesses the ways in which international relations can be examined to get the full picture. He advocates for more emphasis to be placed on the examination of ideological and non-material mechanisms of control and diplomacy and encourages us to take seemingly simple and one dimensional statements made by inflammatory individuals seriously, and pay attention to the nuances around us.

Chau expands on the concept of 'Terrorism' as a mechanism to exert control while disregarding core principles and human rights. While illustrating this process, however, she maintains a focus on the victims of these policies, and proposes various methods which can be used to counteract terrorism while adhering to the rule of law. Her adept logic allows for optimism and encourages us to strengthen and adhere to our values.

These conclusions let us consider the flaws in international politics and societal structures while encouraging us to generate alternative solutions, preventing us from disengaging, and spurring us on to change the world.

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Te Ao Hou: Contemporary Maori Issues

Penelope Jones

Operation Eight: Terrorism Suppression or Criminalisation of Dissent?

The raids conducted on 15 October 2007 around Aotearoa New Zealand under the auspices of the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 inflicted substantial pain and terror into the lives of many innocent people. The Act, intended to target terrorism, was instead misused to criminalise Māori dissent. The impact of the raids was heightened by the rhetoric of the 9/11 attacks and are part of a longer history of colonisation. The media immediately seized the opportunity to manipulate the narrative, causing red flags to be raised in the international community.

The raid primarily focused on the Rūatoki Valley of the Tūhoe people. The police were dressed in black, full riot gear, carrying machine guns and handguns. Following an investigation by the Solicitor General, no charges were brought under the Act. As Moana Jackson (2008) has observed, the raids “created a legacy of mistrust that will not be easily remedied” (p. 1).

Post-9/11

Following the attacks of 9/11 and the subsequent United States (US) ‘war on terrorism’ by the Bush administration, states facing popular insurgencies or national liberation movements rebranded their domestic opponents as ‘terrorists’ (Sluka, 2010). Even Aotearoa New Zealand searched for domestic political opponents to rebrand as ‘terrorists’, otherwise known as the terror raids or Operation Eight.

Aotearoa New Zealand’s response to the 9/11 attacks started with the enactment of the Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002. This direct response is centred around the Bush administration’s approach, as opposed to the needs of the country (Jackson, 2008). Police received increased resources for fighting terrorism, with a new position of Assistant Commissioner for Counter-Terrorism, a 12-person anti-terrorism Strategic Intelligence Unit, a Special Tactics Group specialising in terrorism, and police liaison officers in Washington and London to gather anti-terrorism ideas and intelligence (Hager, 2007). The new antiterrorism bureaucracy was closely tied to the thinking of the US and Britain.

Jeffrey Sluka (2010) rightly advocates that the entire New Zealand state completely adopted the ‘war on terrorism’. The state militarised policing, moving it towards counter-insurgency. One of the policies of the ‘war on terrorism’ launched by Bush was pre-emptive strikes. In line with this, the Urewera raids represent a kind of pre-emptive counterinsurgency strike, rather than police tactics (Sluka, 2010). Tūhoe was viewed as essentially pre or potentially insurgent, which is why counter-insurgency tactics were adopted. However, the pre-emptive counter-insurgency strikes was seriously flawed. Sluka (2010) highlights that although a few militants or terrorists could be caught, locals would be alienated and the “battle for their hearts and minds” lost (p. 47). Sluka is correct in that New Zealand’s legitimacy was undermined, and the resistance was actually reinforced. Instead of preventing or ending violence, the opposite was accomplished. Resentment was generated, which led to increased resistance and a greater likelihood of violence (Sluka, 2010). The raids increased the threat of violence or ‘terrorism’, which is

telling of the disturbing nature of the state's attitudes towards Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga (Sluka, 2010). However, it should be noted that Sluka's approach is not a one size fits all. In the Urewera raids, the alleged threat was non-existent. In situations where there are very real terrorists with capabilities to carry out threats and violence, it may be that pre-emptive counter-insurgency strikes are justified.

Colonisation

Operation Eight must be understood as part of a "longer history of exploitation and oppression of the indigenous community" (Devadas, 2008, p. 141). The colonisation of Māori is no stranger to the dispossession and terrorising innocent people. Māori have always been perceived as a threat when they have questioned their dispossession or when colonisers wanted to keep them in a position of weakness (Jackson, 2008).

Since the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, there has been a tense relationship between Māori and those exercising a policing function. Authorities had the responsibility of ensuring Māori resistance to Crown control could be contained or quashed. The law to be upheld was the law the colonisers brought with them to justify their usurpation of Māori authority and law. Colonisation and its effects continue to be realised. The legal and constitutional structures in place today were established by the colonisers, and they continue to determine everything, from politics to economics.

New Zealand's law is a product of colonisation and a tool of oppression against Māori. Colonisation has its roots in law as the law was used to legitimise the European 'discovery' of indigenous land (Jackson, 2008). Jackson's analogy of the Suppression of Rebellion Act of 1863 and the Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002 illustrates that Operation Eight was part of that colonising history. The Acts each address specific issues, but both share a common colonial purpose. The purpose of the Suppression of the Rebellion Act was to enable 'legal' suppression of Māori resistance to what ended up being the confiscation of thousands of acres of Māori land. The Terrorism Suppression Act deals with the potential threat of terrorism and the 'war on terror'. Both Acts were used to label Māori and essentially legalise racist colonial actions against Māori.

Despite the police's denial that Operation Eight was free of any racial element, the raids were implemented in a racist fashion. The police were correct in that different ethnicities had been raided, as Pakeha activists were also targeted. However, the police operations in Rūatoki, in comparison to other locations, is telling of the police's racism, and of the ongoing effects of colonial power (Jackson, 2008). Rūatoki was the only location where the entire community was locked down and barricaded by the police. It was the only place where people were forced out of their cars at gunpoint and photographed. Other locations did not see children, mothers and the elderly searched and held at gunpoint, sometimes for hours, with no potential for arrest. These cruel actions occurred exclusively in the area of the Tūhoe people.

Media

The media coverage of the terror raids “sought to produce a racialised moral panic around terrorism” (Devadas, 2008, p. 124). The coverage was highly influenced by the post-9/11 narrative, with stories of terrorism becoming a type of super news. This led to the media blatantly disregarding legal processes. Other damaging narratives emerged, with Māori being painted as the ‘other’ in ‘us vs them’.

Super News

Post-9/11, terrorism became the news that every media outlet wanted to report. Terrorism became, as Alison McCulloch (2008) coins it, super news. The word ‘terror’ was instilled with a dangerous power, and a media frenzy ensued. The depiction of the ‘war on terrorism’ being an epic struggle ensured that the post-9/11 conception of terrorism was a worthy front page story and New Zealand media followed suit (McCulloch, 2008). The power of terrorism news stories is illustrated in the foreign news coverage of the terror raids. Generally, Aotearoa New Zealand rarely makes it into the world news. However, this changed when Operation Eight was heavily internationally reported. New Zealand’s major presence in the foreign news was such a shock and so unprecedented, that there were even reports detailing the foreign reporting (McCulloch, 2008).

Disregard for Legal Processes

Terrorism is a guaranteed news story, making it a dangerous news story. This has led to credulous and sensationalised reporting, dubious sourcing, and an increased willingness to conduct trial by media (McCulloch, 2008). Stories about the terror raids included the following headlines: ‘Napalm Blast’, ‘Guerillas in the Mist Test Terror Laws’ and ‘Arrest in City as Part of Terror Sweep’ (McCulloch, 2008). The power of the terrorist narrative bypassed standard practice, with The Dominion Post, The Press and The Waikato Times choosing to publish excerpts from police evidence gathered during their investigation, despite the risk of jeopardising the rights of those accused to a fair trial. TV3 and the Fairfax group of newspapers also leaked evidence specifically suppressed by the courts. The media willingly violated the right of the defendants to have suppressed any matter yet to be proved or disproved in court that has the potential to influence their trial’s outcome (Jackson, 2008).

Jackson (2008) raises the interesting theme that the media’s defence of a ‘public right to know’ is only conveniently raised when Māori are the subject of their investigations. While it was not only the media which disregarded the legal process, the media happily publicised the police’s disregard. During the first press conference announcing Operation Eight, the police declared that napalm had been found or used in Tuhoe ‘terrorist camps’. The police completely disregarded that the existence or non-existence of napalm,

and of the 'terrorist camps', was a matter for the courts to decide. Many media reports unquestioningly parroted the police's misuse of the label 'terrorist' (Jackson 2008). Further, after the Solicitor General dismissed the terrorism charges, The Dominion Post and the Christchurch Press still chose to print leaked documents, accompanied with the headline of 'terrorist files'. Their gross regard for the truth and sole desire to sell stories is blatant.

Us vs Them

The media coverage created an 'us vs them' mentality. This narrative primarily emerged post-9/11, largely playing on the fears of the American people. These fears were directed at the 'other' in the form of the Muslim and Arab communities. Despite Islamic terrorism not being a factor in Operation Eight, McCulloch (2008) holds that Māori have been cast as a kind of Arab 'other'. McCulloch (2008) details a survey of New Zealand newspaper headlines on the first day's coverage of the raids, which shows that of the 27 headlines resulting from a search of the keywords 'terror' or 'terrorism' or 'terrorist', nine included references to a group or identifiable race. Eight of those nine were identifiably Māori references (McCulloch 2008). This study illustrates that Māori were clearly identified as the 'other' group. The 'us vs them' narrative also featured in visuals. An image survey of The Dominion Post and The New Zealand Herald on the first and second days of coverage revealed that the preferred images were threatening-looking armed police officers in black, with covered faces, portraying 'us' (McCulloch 2008). Māori appeared in all photographs of protestors and supporters of the suspects in their court appearances, portraying 'them' (McCulloch, 2008). Nearly all the coverage presented images of Tame Iti and focused on 'Māori sovereignty activists' or 'Māori separatists' as the main people accused of being terrorists (Sluka, 2010). The decision to have Iti as the terrorist figure effectively racialises the image of terror, and links indigenous activism for sovereignty with terrorism (Sluka, 2010).

Since the raids, the profile of Māori in respect of the raids has increased. Māori as an identifiable group have featured in respect to their anger over their treatment during the raids, media coverage of the Hikoi in November 2007, and speeches by the Māori Party Co-Leader, Tariana Turia (15 November 2007). Part of the reason why the narrative of 'us vs them' and 'good vs evil' so quickly resonated with Māori was that a foundation already existed. Māori are the 'other' and are firmly linked to 'terrorist'-related events.

Labelling of Māori as 'terrorists'

The label 'terrorist' is accompanied by negative connotations. Labelling Māori as 'terrorists' was an attempt to justify the use of unprecedented force and manipulation of public perception so that the fear of terror would become the rationale for Operation Eight (Jackson, 2008). This stigma ensured Māori could not escape the ethical and political implications that follow the term 'terrorist' (Sluka, 2010). Sluka (2010) highlights

that one of the major flaws in 'antiterrorism' propaganda is the confusion or failure to distinguish between insurgency and guerrilla warfare on the one hand, and terrorism on the other. The label 'terrorism' represents a powerful form of negative labelling, implying a political judgment about the legitimacy of actors and their actions. Sluka's example (2010) that if insurgency is equated with 'terrorism', then the patriots who fought the American War of Independence would be defined as 'terrorists' and not 'freedom fighters' or 'patriots', highlights the subjectivity of the label.

The media coverage of the terror raids has not aided the public's understanding of terrorism. Instead, it has provided misinformation and sensationalised stories. It is impossible to know what would have happened if the authorities had never invoked the word 'terrorism', and if the media had not acted the way it did. However, it is possible that a different response could have resulted.

Tūhoe

While racism played its part, another reason for Operation Eight was because it was directed at Tūhoe. Some members of Tūhoe consider themselves to be a separate nation. They reason that the tribe never signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and therefore never ceded sovereignty to the British Crown. Tūhoe activists, such as Tame Iti and Te Kaha demand confiscated land to be returned, and for Tūhoe to be recognised as a separate country (Sluka, 2010). The Aotearoa New Zealand authorities have a history of fearing Māori harbouring thoughts of 'rebellion' (Innes, 2008). The state apparently views Tūhoe as the most threatening, rebellious and potentially violent community, resulting in Operation Eight.

Concern from the United Nations

Foreign news coverage was not the only international attention that Aotearoa New Zealand received for the terror raids. On Christmas Eve 2007, the United Nations notified the New Zealand government of their concern. A letter from the Special Rapporteur on Counter Terrorism, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of the fundamental freedoms and human rights of indigenous peoples, and the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Human Rights Defenders was sent to the New Zealand government.

The letter contained questions related to the allegations that recent police operations had involved unnecessary disturbance of the Rūatoki Māori community. The government was asked to provide an explanation to the allegations that a school bus had been searched by armed police officers. Claims were made that the police operations had targeted the entire Māori community. The government was urged to take steps to ensure the rights and freedoms of all people were respected, and also to ensure officials who were guilty of violations of international human rights were held accountable.

Jackson was spot on when he said the letter was an international embarrassment for the New Zealand government (Keenan, 2008). Significantly, the letter was initiated by the United Nations. Although Tūhoe families had sent a complaint to the United Nations, the Special Rapporteurs' letter predated that complaint. The Special Rapporteurs were so disturbed by the terror raids they felt compelled to convey the seriousness of their concerns. The letter put New Zealand in the global spotlight and negatively impacted New Zealand's international reputation.

Hopefully, such an operation will never target innocent peoples again, and we can only hope that Aotearoa New Zealand will move beyond colonisation. The gross misuse of the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 inflicted much pain and hurt that will take decades to heal. Although the consequences of the raids were intensified by the likes of the post-9/11 narrative and the media, it is important to recognise that nau te whatu Māori (from the Māori perspective), this is nothing new and is just the latest episode of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Mana Taketake / Indigenous Sovereignty and Public Policy

Jazmine Tims Faunt

On Another Level: Indigenous Women in Canada

Globally, Indigenous women and girls are disproportionately victims of violent crime.

As a child, I witnessed such violence at the Calgary Stampede's Indian Village. A woman with a bruised eye and a man sat outside a tipi screaming at each other. While I was too young to fully comprehend the situation, or understand the deep ramifications of this scene, I now recognise the existence of clear systemic dimensions relating to the issue which must be addressed. Specifically, the remnants of colonization which have significantly influenced the way in which violent crime has become engrained in Indigenous communities. Such altercations occur with great regularity and, while a distinction must be made between stranger and non-stranger violence because Indigenous women are almost three times more likely than non-Indigenous women to be killed by strangers, this essay will largely focus on known perpetrators (Saramo, 2016). Other systemic dimensions include the responsiveness of health and social service providers, and the economic viability of victims in terms of access to resources. Due to the close-knit communal dynamics of First Nations' society, the effects of violent crime are not limited to the victim. Although recent policy responses have had some success, they have largely failed to address the structural factors of the issue. Current responses attempt to resolve the issue with cultural solutions which do not fully consider indigenous knowledge. However, the structural issues ultimately require structural solutions informed by indigenous knowledge (Coster & McIntosh, 2017).

Systemic dimensions of violent crime against Indigenous women and girls are largely informed by Canada's colonial history. As a settler state, Indigenous peoples of Canada have been subject to a long train of human rights violations stemming from patriarchal Eurocentric norms in what Brave Heart describes as "historical trauma" (2003, p. 7). The Indian Act, which encapsulated colonists' views, historically served to discriminate against First Nations and is still in operation with amendments. The Act defined an "Indian" and their rights. Instead of being able to self-identify, the government of Canada determined status by imposing Eurocentric ideals where males are dominant (Saramo, 2016; Shepard, O'Neill, & Guenette, 2006). The Act discriminated against women and created the residential school system which has long-lasting effects on Indigenous peoples.

A woman's status was determined through her husband or closest male relative and it could be lost by marrying someone who was "non-status" (Green, 2001). Loss of status meant loss of "Indian" rights, which included reserve residency (Green, 2001). Therefore, culture and identity were negatively impacted. This perpetuated the male-dominant framework which viewed women as inferior because they could not be "Indian" in their own right. To some extent, status is now determined by individual bands, however, they too perpetuate discrimination and choose to exclude women based on 'tradition' (Shepard et al., 2006; Green, 2001). Over 500 years of colonisation has suffused patriarchal European practices with Indigenous tradition, now enforced by male-dominated band councils (Gone, 2013; Shepard et al., 2006; Green, 2001). This

subhuman view provides justification for violence against women and girls because, as easy prey, they are means for expressing male-domination. Over generations, this has minimised Indigenous women's role in their community to being in line with the archaic patriarchal belief that women should be subservient to men and disobedience becomes answerable by violence (Gone, 2013; Shepard et al., 2006; Green, 2001).

Violence has become engrained in Indigenous communities where generations have been subjected to the Canadian Government's now-abolished residential school system. It removed Indigenous children from their homes and culture and placed them in boarding schools to become civilised according to patriarchal Western norms (Gone, 2013; Shepard et al., 2006). Practicing their culture was forbidden and they were often subjected to psychological, physical and sexual abuse. Exposure to abuse as a child increases likelihood of perpetration and victimisation later in life (Brownridge et al., 2016). Therefore, this "historical trauma" has become an intergenerational issue (Marsh, Coholic, Cote-Meek, & Najavits, 2015; Brave Heart, 2003). It began a vicious cycle of abuse where Indigenous children were disconnected from their culture and subjected to violence, resulting in internalised anger which was often expressed in forms of violence towards family members (Brownridge et al., 2016; Marsh et al., 2015; Gone, 2013; Shepard, 2006). Women and girls are recipients of such violence because they are viewed as inferior and a tool for exercising dominance, especially when Indigenous peoples were not recognized as holding much power. This cycle is preserved as each generation is subjected to the anger and hostility of the previous generation. Parenting role models and a familial bond have been replaced with the harsh disciplinary behaviour learned from the violent residential schooling system (Marsh et al., 2015; Shepard et al., 2006; Brave Heart, 2003). Over time, this violence becomes normalised as the colonial patriarchal view of women's inferiority, adopted by communities, fuels a pattern of abuse where Indigenous women and girls become disproportionately victims of violent crime.

Colonial history informs discrimination which affects all aspects of society. Notably, the responsiveness of health and social service providers to Indigenous women and children is far from impressive (The Lancet, 2016). Dylan, Regehr and Alaggia (2008) note that Aboriginal peoples have not been treated equally in the justice system because of institutional racism. As a result, many Indigenous women are distrustful of responders, especially police, who are focused on criminalisation rather than protection (The Lancet, 2016; Dylan et al., 2008). According to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2003), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police of remote communities do not always respond to domestic violence callouts. This is because of the belief that charges will be withdrawn and response is futile. Instances of police response are often viewed as unprofessional with racist victim-blaming by the very people entrusted to protect these women from harm (Saramo, 2016; Dylan et al., 2008). Poor response and failure to secure safety for victims results in feelings of hopelessness and re-victimisation as the woman may be subjected to further violence (The Lancet, 2016; Dylan et al., 2008).

Similarly, health service providers have ample opportunity to help break the cycle of abuse and ensure safety of Indigenous women and girls yet many fail to do so (The Lancet, 2016; Browne & Fiske, 2001). Many women have faced dismissal of health concerns and have been turned away because of their Indigenous identity. Furthermore, federally-operated health services, generally, fail to effectively respond with an Indigenous worldview as they are founded in a paternalistic colonial framework (Browne & Fiske, 2001). However, it is important to note that not all experiences were negative and the positive responses are often marked by some understanding of Indigenous knowledge (Dylan et al., 2008; Browne & Fiske, 2001). Shelters provide immediate refuge from violence but are underfunded, under-resourced and have limited space. Indigenous women risk their lives and safety of their children to escape violence and, to be faced with disbelief and racism by the very people who are charged with maintaining peace and safety, is demeaning and against the very mandate they espouse. Where women in a violent relationship are turned away from these health and social services, the only option for many is to return to the abuser.

Economic viability of Indigenous women trying to escape abuse is another systemic dimension of the issue. Economic resources determine the ability of women to survive outside abusive relationships through access to social services and resources. It is likely that she was financially dependent on the income of her former partner, making independence a difficult step for many (Brownridge et al, 2016). Moreover, Indigenous women, on average, face lower employment prospects and earn well below the national average income, evidencing a clear lack of access to sufficient pay and necessary resources (Dylan et al, 2008; Shepard et al, 2006). This is a result of structural racism and gender discrimination, a remnant of colonial policy, resulting in low socioeconomic status (Hamdullahpur, Jacobs, & Gill, 2017; Gone, 2013). Low socioeconomic status is associated with a greater risk of experiencing violence because a lack of access to support services and reliance on welfare negatively affects other social determinants of health, thereby making Indigenous women susceptible to a pattern of violence and dependent on the paternalistic state (Hamdullahpur et al. 2017; Brownridge et al., 2016; Shepard et al., 2006). Economic viability is also influenced by social networks provided by the community which may not exist outside of her band. If a woman were to move elsewhere within the community to ensure communal support, she may gain economic viability but have an increased risk of a former partner inflicting violence post-separation (Hamdullahpur et al., 2017). Clearly, this is a systemic dimension which has not yet garnered appropriate policy response.

Policy responses to the issue of Indigenous women and girls as victims of violent crime are subject to the political whims of Canadian society. A change in government spells a shift in policy and the way issues are framed. This is evidenced by the 2015 shift from a Conservative Party government to Liberal Party government. Recent examples of unsuccessful policies are a result of former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's failure to understand or adequately address the issue. He issued a formal apology to former

students of Indian residential schools in 2008 on behalf of the Canadian government and agreed to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada to investigate the effects of residential schooling. However, the conservative governmental policies were characterised by undermining Indigenous rights and a reduction in funding for initiatives advocating on behalf of Canada's missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls such as Sisters in Spirit (Saramo, 2016). Similarly, responses to the 'stolen sisters' issue were framed as being individual acts of crime rather than addressing the systemic dimensions (Saramo, 2016; Harper, 2006). Ultimately, this served to prevent acknowledgment that violence against Indigenous women and girls had become normalised which, in turn, reinforced colonial views.

In contrast, in 2016, the Government of Canada called for a national inquiry into violence against Indigenous women (The Lancet, 2016). The Liberal Party of Canada have promised to adopt the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 recommendations (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2017). Policies adopted include Acknowledging the Past in order to Move Forward: A Resolution to Officially Reject the 1969 White Paper and a Resolution for Action for the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (2014). These policies acknowledge past mistakes in the form of discriminatory effects of colonization and government inaction, while stressing the importance of nation-to-nation relationships in creating strategies to address all aspects of the issue (Liberal Party of Canada, 2014). Notably, these have a greater outlook of success than Harper's policies because they were created in conjunction with Indigenous peoples and acknowledge the systemic dimensions of the issue. Investigations into the missing Indigenous women and girls have since found that many cases were unreported (Saramo, 2016).

Although many of the Liberal Party policies are a step in the right direction, they still fail to take a proactive approach in addressing the systemic dimensions of the issue. Having recently returned to the Calgary Stampede's Indian Village, not much has changed in reality. Although it was a more informative experience, the comments from Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples maintained negative views of Indigenous women. The overall issue remains that Indigenous peoples have not been able to deal with the issue within their own framework and are in a position where the current Western framework assumes a paternalistic role which traps them into dependency on the state. This epitomizes the degree to which systemic dimensions have altered cultural dimensions to the extent where governmental policy needs to dramatically shift to address the issues.

Canada's Indigenous women and girls, as disproportionate victims of violent crime, face systemic barriers which remain in operation from a colonial past. The intersection of gender discrimination and racism is perpetuated by historical trauma, responsiveness of health and social service providers, and economic factors. These contribute to a pattern of violence which spans generations of Indigenous peoples. Policy responses have had limited success as they reflect the government and society of the day. It is important to

note that there are no straightforward solutions, and this is only a brief analysis of the issue's major systemic dimensions and policy responses. A comprehensive inquiry by the government in partnership with individual bands, although costly, is a necessary requirement in addressing all aspects of the issue in a manner which develops proactive policies to minimise instances of violent crime against Indigenous women and girls.

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China and the World

Luke Sweeney

Does China have control over North Korea?

The relationship between China and North Korea has presented a unique challenge for scholarship in recent decades. The literature in this area centres around a core concern – whether the Chinese state can exercise sufficient control over its neighbour to mitigate its hostility in the international sphere. The question has become urgent in light of North Korea's increasing nuclear capability and the potentially severe ramifications to global peace. This essay will evaluate the scope of the debate on the topic through a review of the leading scholarship. While Dick Nanto and Mark Manyin (2011) maintain the traditional view that China does retain control over North Korea, You Ji (2001) argues the opposing proposition – that the state in fact has very little control. Marc Lanteigne (2016) and James Reilly (2014) sit somewhere in the middle, acknowledging the validity of arguments on both sides. This essay will submit that the debate has been fundamentally skewed towards notions of material and geo-political control, to the detriment of ideational and non-material influences. Therefore, while Chinese control over North Korea may be waning in a realist sense, further exploration is needed before the question can be definitively answered.

What is 'control'?

Before discussing the core concern of whether China can exercise sufficient control over North Korea, it is important to firstly clarify what is meant by 'control'. The literature as a whole seems to focus on three main forms – diplomatic, cultural, and economic. However, the weight given to these facets differs between the texts. James Reilly's "China's Economic Engagement in North Korea" (2014), as the title of his work may suggest, leans heavily towards the latter of the three – almost exclusively looking at features of economic control. Reilly outlines a series of commercial measures which "reflect a relatively coherent and sustained effort by central leaders and bureaucratic agencies to encourage Chinese firms to 'go out' into North Korea" (p. 920). These include funding new infrastructure projects (such as the Yalu River bridge), training DPRK experts, and establishing joint economic development zones. Reilly's analysis is fairly one-dimensional for our purposes – while his exploration of non-coercive power should be commended, he completely overlooks coercive measures, and only briefly touches on facets of cultural and diplomatic influence. Marc Lanteigne (2016) moves a step closer, looking in depth at examples of diplomacy like the Six-Party talks, but like Reilly, he seems to mostly neglect features of cultural control. Nanto and Manyin (2011), alongside You Ji (2001), provide broad coverage of the three forms in their works – although Ji gives much more weight to cultural factors than his counterparts.

These characterisations of control are unified in a common problem; they mostly look at the concept narrowly – in favour of material and geo-political examples. The literature is more sophisticated in the fleeting instances it examines non-material and ideational factors – such as soft power, cultural attraction, and spaces of shared intersubjective meaning. You Ji (2001) briefly does this where he describes overtures of Chinese chauvinism that continue to inform the PRC-DPRK relationship – a "psychological hierarchy" exacerbated by the passage of Mao Zedong (p. 388-390). Likewise, Reilly's (2014) focus on Chinese soft power projection in the form of enterprise is apt, despite mostly adhering to realist geo-political norms. Indeed, he acknowledges that the crux of the 'principal-agent' framework is "specifying the conditions under which central

government is likely [to act]" (p. 916). Despite the general oversimplification of the concept, this essay will now turn to consider arguments for and against the proposition of Chinese control. It will continue to illuminate gaps in the literature and comment where further exploration would be welcomed.

Arguments supporting China having control over North Korea

One side of the literature argues that the only real solution to North Korean aggression is for China to 'rein in' its rogue neighbour state. This is the essence of Dick Nanto and Mark Manyin's (2011) piece, which examines the relationship between the two countries to suggest policy solutions for the United States. Nanto and Manyin claim that "the PRC is North Korea's closest ally... and arguably the country most able to wield influence in Pyongyang" (p. 94). They list examples such as halting the DPRK nuclear weapons programs, enforcing economic sanctions, and making sure even the "basic needs of the North Korean people" are met (p. 94-95). As aforementioned, the strength of Nanto and Manyin's piece is in its breadth. It accounts not only for facets of economic and diplomatic control, but further explores cultural factors like shared political ideology – which, as they argue, has been "enough to assure cordial relations [between the two governments] for decades (p. 99). Indeed, Lanteigne (2016) in several instances endorses this view, noting that "China is still viewed at the only state with enough diplomatic leverage against Pyongyang to convince it to abandon its nuclear programme" (p. 169). Lanteigne's piece is most striking where he discusses the protocols of language used by the PRC – specifically the word "hanran" (meaning 'flagrant') to criticise North Korea after a nuclear test in 2006 (p. 168). He notes that such a word is "normally used by Beijing when an adversary commits an objectionable act" (p. 168). This is a clear example of an ideational or non-material form of control in action; Lanteigne seems to suggest that word choice is a shared intersubjective state of meaning – a milieu for understanding where the psychological boundaries lie between the two nations.

However, the points of finer analysis in these works are the exception – not the norm. Nanto and Manyin's (2011) piece lacks depth by rigidly analysing the PRC-DPRK relationship through a realist Westphalian lens – merely looking at how the two states interact in a material sense. This may be attributable to the provenance of the article – produced for an audience in the United States to help inform domestic foreign policy. Nanto and Manyin themselves admit that "growing tensions... have created a complex and murky picture for U.S policymakers who have sought to convince Beijing... to be more cooperative with Washington" (p. 99). They also note a commonly held view that China is actually being 'duplicitous' and 'insincere' about North Korea – retaining control but strategically "electing not to use it in order to ... undermine the U.S position in Asia" (p. 98). This is supposedly why China regularly sides with North Korea in diplomatic talks, and "appears casually tolerant of [the country's] erratic and unpredictable behaviour" (p. 98). It should be noted that Nanto and Manyin do not actively endorse this view, but nevertheless their decision to include it in their analysis as a reputable perspective is troubling. The work is thoroughly more convincing where it relies on verifiable statistical evidence to support its claims, rather than mistrustful conjecture. In summary, the literature on this side omits important elements while including potentially dubious lines of argumentation.

Arguments against China having control over North Korea

On the other side of the literature, You Ji (2001) makes a convincing argument that the PRC-DPRK relationship is a fragile one, and that Chinese control has been substantially weakened over time. Unlike Nanto and Manyin (2011), Ji does account for non-material factors in his analysis of the three forms of control, and attempts at least in part to work outside of the realist Westphalian framework that has dominated discussion in this area. Reilly (2014) also partially achieves this through the ‘principal-agent’ framework – while his analysis centres on the role of government, he tacitly concludes that Chinese businesses rather than the state have the most leverage over North Korean economic development: “Chinese leaders must be able to influence the actions of their enterprises” (p. 933). Ji begins by recognising the “common view” espoused by scholars like Nanto and Manyin, but claims that “beneath the surface of the alliance relations the two countries share very few common interests” – be it historical ties, ideological stance, political and economic programs, or diplomatic interactions (p. 388). He illustrates this by moving beyond the ‘macro’ – instead focusing his attention on leaders’ individual personalities and idiosyncrasies. Ji claims that Mao’s refusal to support Kim Il-sung’s succession plan “is still heavily felt today,” and that the subsequent leader Deng Xiaoping was forced to accept him “by necessity” rather than want (p. 389). Furthermore, Kim Jong-il “never forgot nor forgave” Beijing’s opposition to his accession – forging an unamicable view of the country he not only grew up in, but moreover “used to love” (p. 389). This, the author says, speaks volumes about the future trajectory of the PRC-DPRK relationship; according to him it is one of mistrust that must eventually “explode” (p. 391). The leaders have been forced to find a subtle (and non-material) way to prevent a “free fall of bilateral relations” – after a decade long learning process, they tacitly consent to the other’s social, political and economic policies in the international spotlight (p. 391).

Despite its interesting analysis of non-material factors, Ji’s (2001) reading must be viewed in light of when it was published – over 15 years ago. In 2017, we have the benefit of hindsight in assessing the validity of his claims. There are points that no longer seem to be accurate, such as Ji’s characterisation of North Korea as a “collapsing regime” (p. 391), the notion that DPRK’s diplomatic standing “has never been better” (p. 393), and that their missile program is of little “practical combat value” (p. 395). Indeed, this analysis is erroneous in light of Lanteigne’s (2016) observation that North Korea has definitively “crossed the nuclear threshold” (p. 168). Furthermore, the country’s diplomatic standing has declined significantly due to repeated missile tests, international incidents such as the Sony hacking scandal, and inflammatory exchanges with U.S President Donald Trump. However, these modern developments would seem to uphold Ji’s claim that China’s strategy of “maintain[ing] the status quo” is failing (p. 394). Despite its reliance on a dated evidentiary foundation, the work does have value to a contemporary audience. Furthermore, the piece is effective because it is not explicitly designed to aid U.S. policymaking (Nanto and Manyin, 2011), but rather to be of general scholarly interest to an international audience.

Conclusion

The current literature pertaining to Chinese control over North Korea is flawed. While it sporadically has moments of sophistication, the field is deeply skewed towards notions of material and geo-political control. Overall, the scholarship seems to take the position that Chinese influence is waning, but further exploration of the topic is undoubtedly required before this conclusion can be considered reliable. In particular, I would welcome deeper investigation into non-material and ideational factors informing the China-North Korea relationship – elements that may be difficult to document and measure, but nevertheless are pivotal to understanding the issue going forward. In a period where global peace may be in jeopardy, comprehensive and thorough analysis will ensure better decision making from all parties involved. At the risk of sounding hyperbolic, it may even be the difference between life and death.

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Law and Identity

Winnie Chau

Fighting Fire with Fire: Using the terrorist identity to justify subverting the rule of law

The attacks on September 11, 2001 completely changed the way the world thinks of terrorism. Knowing there are complex international terrorist networks and fearing a sudden attack of 9/11's magnitude happening in their country, states are now willing to deploy extraordinary preventive measures. This often takes the form of extralegal action that is highly objectionable and contrary to the rule of law, though not expressly prohibited. To minimise erosion of public confidence in the rule of law, these extralegal initiatives are directed at non-citizens who fit the terrorist identity. This terrorist identity is premised on Othering and has been constructed by Western liberal states to justify suspending the rule of law in waging a global "war on terror". However, while it is the state's duty to protect its citizens from unlawful terrorist threats, national security need not come at the cost of subverting the rule of law. Rather, acting consistently with rule of law principles may lead to more fruitful counter-terrorism investigations, and greater success in preventing future attacks.

This essay will first explore how the post 9/11 terrorist identity has constructed an enemy Other who does not need to be treated consistently with the rule of law. Following this will be an exploration of fundamental rule of law principles and their importance in maintaining the legitimacy of the law. Finally, there will be a discussion on how key pillars of the rule of law are subverted through several counter-terrorism initiatives in Western liberal states, and how an approach consistent with the rule of law may be more effective.

Constructing the Terrorist Identity

Terrorism as an abstract noun is frightening. It is seemingly impossible to fight against and could be lurking anywhere as an insidious threat. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the United States government needed to provide the world with answers: who was behind this bold, destructive act of terrorism? Surely, the state could not point to an invisible, unknown figure named "terrorism". Rather, this abstract noun was personified in the form of a human terrorist, which was easier to comprehend and to fight (Engle, 2007). Thus, the terrorist identity born from the carnage of 9/11 provided a target on which national security departments could focus their counter-terrorism strategies. Today, this constructed terrorist identity still predominantly takes the form of a Muslim man of Middle Eastern origin, much like the supposed mastermind of the September 11 attacks, Osama bin Laden. It is an amalgamation of the deep-seated stereotype of Arabs and Muslims being violent and fanatical (Bahdi, 2003), combined with the creation of a friend-or-stranger binary that places immediate suspicion on those who are unfamiliar (Bell, 2006). By highlighting that terrorism is a threat to the nation and not just individuals, terrorists are portrayed as enemies of the state rather than just criminals (McCann, 2015).

With the terrorist established as a barbaric Other, the Western liberal state is comparatively defined as a virtuous, righteous defender of democracy (Engle, 2007). This antithesis is critical in legitimating the various unlawful actions deployed by counter-terrorism agencies; because the terrorist is an enemy Other who seeks to threaten Western society, it is morally defensible to suspend the rule of law in dealing with anyone who fits the image of the terrorist (Porras, 1994). In contrast, Karen Engle (2007) notes

that a white domestic terrorist (who is a citizen of the state) is highly unlikely to be labelled a terrorist. Furthermore, they are likely to be sanctioned in accordance with the rule of law. Illeana Porras (1994) attributes this disparity in treatment to the maintenance of the Us versus Them ideology, and this rhetoric justifies compromising the rule of law in handling potential terrorists. Hence, most counter-terrorism legislation is directed at non-citizens. Extralegal initiatives directed at those fitting the foreign terrorist identity are painted as the exception, so states are able to maintain the legitimacy of the legal system and prevent a complete breakdown of the rule of law.

The Importance of Upholding the Rule of Law

The Western liberal state must generally govern through the rule of law, which is the cornerstone of a democratic system. The rule of law holds that no one is above the law, and all must act in accordance with laws made by a democratically elected legislature. This principle guarantees certainty in the law, as opposed to a legal system subject to a ruler's arbitrary will (MacDonald, 1961). Because a democratic government cannot compel its citizens to obey the law all the time, it depends on citizens recognizing the legitimacy of the law and abiding by it (Choi, 2010). Seung-Whan Choi (2010) explains that this belief in the legal system ensures citizens still conduct everyday life largely in accordance with the law, even if they may not agree on particular policies. It is this public acceptance of the law as the correct system that fosters peaceful democratic societies.

It is also this acceptance of the law's legitimacy that is imperilled when the state acts in violation of the rule of law. Post 9/11, states tend to overreact when faced with the possibility of another devastating terrorist attack on that scale (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). Many legislatures responded by passing new counter-terrorism legislation. However, in many countries, this legislation authorized initiatives that bypass the rule of law, with the constructed terrorist identity used to justify the unusual deviation. Certain provisions contained in Western liberal states' counter-terrorism legislation, such as the USA PATRIOT Act 2001, circumvent fundamental elements of the rule of law. Particular issues arise with violations of due process, reversing the presumption of innocence, and conferring very broad powers of discretion on the executive. While these exceptions to the rule of law are directed at non-citizens, this sets a dangerous precedent for handling citizens suspected of terrorist activity. Professor Cole (as cited in Bingham, 2010) argues that there is a historic pattern of first denying non-citizens the protection of the rule of law, and soon extending that to citizens as well. The detentions of Jose Padilla and Yaser Hamdi, both US citizens, exemplify exactly this (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). When even citizens are subject to extralegal powers, public confidence in the law's legitimacy is likely to be put in jeopardy.

Counter-terrorism Measures Subverting Rule of Law Principles

I Due Process

Creating the terrorist identity has seemingly provided a justification for eroding the rule of law, and especially for departing from the norm of following due process. Due process is an important safeguard that protects against arbitrariness and reins in executive

discretion (Cole & Dempsey, 2006; MacDonald, 1961). In dealing with criminal suspects, this means police powers should only be used in accordance with due process requirements under criminal law. While President Bush declaring a “war on terror” may sound like a rhetorical flourish, it paints terrorism as an ‘imminent’ threat, which is cited as good reason to short-cut due process measures (McCann, 2015). This severely undercuts a key pillar of the rule of law, which is crucial to maintaining its legitimacy.

A commonly used counter-terrorism strategy, but one that contravenes due process principles, is detaining people to prevent them from engaging in terrorist activities. Preventative detention is intended to detain people who are suspected of having links to terrorist groups. However, because this is judged not on conclusive proof, but rather on deeming a person dangerous, no formal charges can be brought (Bell, 2006). In contrast, due process states a person should not be detained unless they are charged with a crime, and that these charges are to be brought within a reasonable time (Pious, 2007). Preventative detention has led to numerous cases of people being detained for years, without being charged or given trial, because security officials cannot be completely sure they are not a threat (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). This severe deprivation of liberty and bypassing of proper process is why detention centres such as Guantanamo Bay have drawn such criticism. The United States claims that declaring a war on terror essentially subjects terrorists to the law of armed conflict (Bingham, 2010), which justifies the state holding enemy combatants for the duration of hostilities (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). However, while this approach may be justifiable, Wesley McCann (2015) argues that it is certainly not legal. He advocates for detaining and prosecuting suspects under the criminal law, where following due process would bring preventative detention within the confines of the law.

Following due process also means informing suspects of what they are being accused of, and providing a fair opportunity for them to respond (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). Critical to this process is the suspect being provided with prejudicial evidence used against them, and being able to challenge its validity in the courts. However, post 9/11 counter-terrorism legislation permits exceptions to this principle, such as using classified evidence to issue security certificates and to process suspects for preventative detention. Although law enforcement agencies must submit an unclassified summary of classified evidence, the secretive nature of intelligence agencies’ operations restricts the information that can be disclosed (Bingham, 2010). Consequently, witness testimony and cross examination is generally not allowed, or is extremely limited (Bell, 2006). Here there is a clear lack of transparency, which is central to democracy and fair process (Bingham, 2010). Mounting a challenge to the state’s allegations is extremely difficult under these conditions, as a person must essentially guess what evidence is being used against them. This results in a highly imbalanced hearing that weighs heavily in the state’s favour, leading to the state’s allegations being implicitly accepted as the truth (Bell, 2006). Peter Goldsmith QC (2005), former Attorney-General of the UK, asserts that the right to a fair trial is a key aspect of the rule of law that must not be compromised. However, the rule of law is compromised when the state cites “national security” reasons to protect their counter-intelligence network and simultaneously obstruct a suspect’s chances of a fair trial. This further reinforces the Us versus Them ideology necessary to justify taking unlawful action against terrorism suspects.

Rather than continuing preventative detentions and investigations in a way that cuts across the rule of law, operating consistently with due process requirements may yield better results. Richard Pious (2007) suggests this could involve having counsel for both parties gathering evidence and testimony before a suspect is sanctioned, like in a regular criminal procedure. He proposes that this almost co-operative information gathering process would generate invaluable leads for intelligence agencies to follow up on. Having full disclosure of evidence, as well as allowing cross-examination of witnesses and independent experts, would also enable judges to better gauge the reliability of evidence (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). McCann (2015) proposes that the well-established checks and balances of the criminal law would reduce the risk of error, which is especially important when the implications of being deemed a terrorist are so great. Conducting trials in this way would also likely provide a more accurate picture of potential terrorist activity, enabling the government to focus resources on the most likely threats.

II Presumption of Innocence

Western liberal states have generally taken a “better safe than sorry” approach when identifying people with potential terrorist affiliations, essentially reversing the presumption of innocence. Fixation on the Muslim-Arab terrorist identity and counter-terrorism measures premised on secrecy and accusations perpetuate a culture of fear, which rationalizes ethnic and religious profiling (Bell, 2006) and reversing the presumption of innocence.

The creation of the terrorist identity has meant that anyone sharing characteristics with “a terrorist” is automatically regarded with suspicion. Consequently, Muslims and people of Middle Eastern or North African descent are often subjected to heightened scrutiny due to religious and ethnic profiling (Bahdi, 2003). Associating a particular ethnicity and religion with greater risk means the criteria for being a likely national security threat is tied more so to who a person is, rather than the actions they take (Bell, 2006). The fixation on the Muslim-Arab terrorist encourages law enforcement to profile as a valid counter-terrorism strategy (Bahdi, 2003). This in turn justifies setting aside the presumption of innocence for Muslims and Arabs, perpetuating the cycle of profiling. While proponents of profiling claim there is nothing to fear if a person is innocent, there are huge ramifications of being wrongly accused. There have been too many cases where Arabs and Muslims are subject to undue searches and delays at airports that other travellers are not. There is also a disproportionate number of Muslims and Arabs who are detained and subject to harsh treatment (some for extended periods of time), and then found to have absolutely no connection with terrorist groups (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). Further sanctions, such as suspected terrorists’ assets, also disproportionately affect Muslims and Arabs, who face punishment before any guilt can be established (Bahdi, 2003).

Furthermore, with counter-terrorism legislation that sanctions the provision of “material support” for groups designated as terrorist organisations, the presumption of innocence is completely disregarded. The trials of people who provide any assistance to these groups features a shift in the burden of proof from the prosecutor to the defendant (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). An individual must prove that they did not know, or should

not reasonably have known, that the organisation they supported has links to terrorist activity (Pious, 2007). Here, a person is deemed guilty until proven innocent, a complete reversal of the innocent until proven guilty approach which underlies a fair, democratic justice system.

The result is social stigmatisation, loss of relationships and livelihood, and deprivation of liberty. Weighing it up, this huge individual and social cost of reversing the presumption of innocence is not worth the extra time it takes to ascertain whether a person is truly going to be a terrorist threat. While abiding by due process requirements may increase the time taken to process a single suspect, it ultimately saves time and resources being expended on random searches and monitoring multiple groups of largely innocent people (Pious, 2007). If law enforcement regards an entire group with suspicion, it will undoubtedly follow that members of the group will also regard law enforcement with suspicion (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). Casting a wide net of suspicion on Arab and Muslim communities marginalizes a whole segment of the population that may want to help in counter-terrorism efforts (Bahdi, 2003). Thus, racial and religious profiling reverses the presumption of innocence, which hinders, rather than helps, counter-terrorism efforts.

III Heightened Executive Powers

Post 9/11 counter-terrorism legislation has greatly broadened executive discretion, but the scope of conferred executive powers in this area may erode the legitimacy of the rule of law. For example, a resolution in Congress passed a week after 9/11 set out that the President has ultimate discretion to designate a person as a terrorist, and suspects are subject to detention without charge or trial (Bingham, 2010). National security officials and law enforcement have been granted similar discretion to detain on suspicion, though to a slightly lesser extent (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). However, such broad powers were conferred with few guidelines or procedural requirements. When the executive is given such broad discretion to operate as they see fit, with few mechanisms able to rein in this power, the “rule of law” can easily give way to the arbitrariness of the “rule of men” (Bell, 2006). This arbitrariness can manifest through random detentions, mistreatment and torture. Though arbitrary detentions for extended periods are targeted at foreign nationals, citizens who otherwise fit the image of the terrorist identity are also often randomly searched and detained. A legal system committed to the rule of law is premised on a non-arbitrary basis, which is critical for maintaining the law’s legitimacy (Choi, 2010). This legitimacy is undermined when there is virtually no law restraining the extent of executive power for counter-terrorism purposes, and a suspect is subject to the whims of law enforcement officers.

An independent judiciary is fundamental to maintaining the impartiality of the law, and acts as an important check on executive power (Choi, 2010). In contrast to the executive, however, counter-terrorism legislation has reduced the power of the judiciary to oversee the detentions of terrorist suspects. For example, a Presidential Military Order was made in the United States replacing courts of law with military tribunals to trial non-citizen terrorist suspects (Bingham, 2010). This is problematic as the executive is essentially substituting itself for the judiciary, and the law’s impartiality suffers if prosecutor, judge and jury are all military personnel. Furthermore, as designating a person as a terrorist

and detaining them is the prerogative of the executive, the judiciary's capacity to oversee this process via judicial review is compromised (Cole & Dempsey, 2006). Judicial review is an important mechanism which can restrain the executive and is critical in maintaining the legitimacy of the rule of law (Goldsmith, 2005). However, in jurisdictions such as the United Kingdom and New Zealand, courts cannot review the substance of executive decision-making. Reviewing the executive's counter-terrorism actions, such as security certificates, only involves determining if the executive made their decision on "reasonable grounds" (Bell, 2006). Being unable to consider the legality of a person's detention, the courts play a nominal role in this process. The effect of establishing military tribunals and limiting the role of the courts in reviewing executive decisions, as well as short-cutting due process requirements, hinders the courts' ability to constrain executive discretion. Separation of powers has long been a key feature of the rule of law, ensuring the three branches of government are held accountable to each other (MacDonald, 1961). The judiciary is responsible for scrutinizing the lawfulness of executive action and upholding the rule of law, regardless of the situation's urgency (Goldsmith, 2005). To limit its capacity to do so inevitably undermines public confidence in the legal system.

Conclusion

Threats from the Islamic State and recent incidents linked to terrorist activity (such as the 2017 London Bridge attack and 2016 Berlin Market attack) have strengthened the commitment of Western liberal states to the war on terror. The difficulty of combatting this unknown enemy that threatens national security has led to the construction of the terrorist identity. Through stereotyping and Othering, non-citizen Muslims and those of Middle Eastern descent are exposed to broad executive powers that violate the rule of law. Those fitting the terrorist identity are not granted core democratic rights, such as due process and the presumption of innocence. They are also subject to arbitrary executive powers, which have severe consequences for those deemed guilty. These unlawful actions are justified by framing the terrorist as a primitive Other who should not be afforded the safeguards of the rule of law.

This should not be the approach taken in states committed to democracy and the rule of law. In criticism of extralegal counter-terrorism measures that subvert the rule of law, Lord Hoffman expresses (in *A v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2004] UKHL 56) that "the real threat to the life of the nation, in the sense of a people living in accordance with its traditional laws and political values, comes not from terrorism but from laws such as these." Circumventing the rule of law to fight terrorist threats in turn threatens the legitimacy of the law in democratic nations. Per Peter Goldsmith QC (2005), the war on terror is not just a fight to protect innocent lives, but also to preserve individual freedoms, democracy and the rule of law. If terrorists are seeking to destroy these pillars of a free society, fighting terrorism in a way that violates the rule of law grants them that victory. Fire need not be fought with more fire; unlawful action need not be fought with more unlawful action.

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FEMINIST LENSES: BROADENING VIEWS

Feminist scholarship and theories invite us to re-examine constructs and concepts both contemporary and historical. This chapter illustrates the importance of feminist analyses, as seemingly abstract concepts of labour, power, and violence become windows through which we are better able to see gendered inequalities and notions of gender omnipresent in our identities. It is through continual questioning of 'accepted' knowledge that we see through new lenses; that our views are broadened.

MacLeod invites us as historical observers to overcome the challenges involved in historical representations and depictions of gender. Emphasising the often-overlooked autonomy of significant Queen Regents and Consorts during the medieval period, MacLeod discusses the 'real' power of Queens in both formal and informal capacities as intercessors, strategists, and as rulers in their own right. The author critically examines the concept of Queenship itself, and the cruel double-edged sword that was gender for the public and private personae of these women.

Hindley, on the other hand, examines the concept of gendered division of labour in a contemporary context. While popular representations of modern fathers seem to suggest that their contributions to childcare and housework are significant, this essay re-asserts the enduringly gendered division of labour—think Clarke Gayford and Jacinda Ardern as not the rule, but its exception. Through explanatory sociological models as theoretical framework, Hindley critically evaluates theories of power imbalances, resources, and 'doing one's gender'. The gendered construction of the identities of wives and mothers leads us to question how we define 'fair', and gifts the reader with a broadened awareness of the pervasiveness and power of notions of gender in domestic labour and the private sphere.

Remaining in the context of the private sphere, Ye presents a fresh angle on the obviously gendered violence of domestic abuse, acknowledging that while statistics may suggest an equal perpetration of violence by men and women, women's engagement in intimate partner violence is in fact most often a form of violent resistance to battering – a context not taken into account by the pro-arrest response. Thus, the paradox of pro-arrest policy reveals itself: a highly gendered crime does not warrant gender-neutral arrest policy. Interweaving policy analysis, criminological critique of the criminal justice system, and studies of pro-arrest's challenge to victims' personal identities, Ye carefully considers how the criminal justice system and domestic violence responders can best address this complex, and often covert, issue.

As we have seen throughout Edition 7, our authors are capable of changing the ways in which readers understand and conceptualise our world, and the myriad of issues within it. It is in continual re-examining and questioning, through a critical feminist lens, that we are able to broaden our understanding of these issues, and move closer to intersectional and equitable solutions.

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Medieval Mentalities, Western Europe c. 1100-1500

Quein MacLeod

The Powerless or the Powerful?

To the historical observer, it may be a challenge to clearly hear the voices of Queens rising from chronicles and to understand whether they themselves believed they had 'real' power, because their chroniclers and biographers were mainly men of the Church (Collins, 1993). Michael Enright (1988) argues that Queens should not be perceived as wielding any 'real' power; instead, they should be perceived as an instrument utilised by others, rather than as personal agents. This essay will analyse the different roles and powers that Queens were able to attain and exert. Medieval women were disadvantaged by a world dominated by masculinity (Poulet, 1993). However, they did have power, and in some cases informal power was more significant than formal power. However, Wolf (1993) illustrates that women were able to attain prominent roles and positions in the medieval world. Therefore, the careers and reigns of significant Queen Consorts, such as Queen Matilda of Scotland, and Queen Regnants, such as Queen Isabella of Castile and Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, will be examined. The essay will highlight the difficulties and hurdles these Queens were able to overcome, and their ability to exercise power and influence over politics and society in the medieval world, as well as examining the different roles and levels of power these women utilised.

Did Queen Consorts exercise any 'real' power? Using the example of Queen Matilda of Scotland's reign and career, this essay will analyse the influence and power a Queen Consort was able to exercise. Stafford (as cited in Duggan, 1995) defines power as "The ability to take part in the events ... to have strategic means" (p. xix). However, the distinction between 'formal' power and 'informal' power may not have been a primary concern of some medieval Queens in the same sense that it would be perceived by modern scholars (Huneycutt, 2003). For example, Queen Matilda of Scotland recognised that her role as intercessor was more effective than the visible authority she possessed in the councils (2003). Contemporaries and church authorities expressed the important role of a Queen Consort, which was to act as an intercessor (Huneycutt, 1989). The ability of the Queen to intercede on behalf of others and her ability to influence the King's actions cemented the Queen's status in the court and the wider kingdom (Huneycutt, 2003). Huneycutt (2003), explains that this led to individuals attempting to gain the Queen's favour; for example, the courtier's utilised methods of flattery and bribes to persuade the Queen to intercede on their behalf. Furthermore, the clergy composed sermons and didactic treatises to manipulate the language of intercession to achieve their own agendas (Huneycutt, 2003). The communication between the Emperor Henry IV and Matilda illustrated that the Queen was "the best avenue for approaching the king" (Udalaric codex as cited in Huneycutt, 2003, p. 85.) This illustrated that the Queen might have retained power and influence over key individuals such as clergymen and the aristocracy through her ability to intercede (Huneycutt, 2003). Therefore, it is evident that a Queen Consort did have considerable informal power, particularly through her role as an intercessor to achieve political and social objectives.

The Queen's proximity to the King distinguished her from other royal and non-royal women. However, despite this distinction, these women often had to rely on the trust

and compassion of the King and prominent nobles of the realm (Earenfight, 2012). Bak (1995) examines the rulership of the Queens of Hungary, concluding that Queens were an ideal 'scapegoat'. For example, when there was disaffection in the government, blame was not cast onto the King, instead it was cast onto the King's advisors and the Queen (1995). Moreover, Bak (1995) highlights that a Queen who did not perform expected behaviours, such as being a pious intercessor and a charitable benefactor, were more likely to be negatively portrayed.

While there were negative connotations associated with a woman's gender in medieval society, many Queens were able to have successful careers in government and society. The medieval (misogynistic) medical perception of women derived from antiquity (Huneycutt, 1993). Furthermore, the clergy perceived women as the cause of original sin through Eve's disobedience to God (1993). Therefore, women were assigned stereotypical gender characteristics such as irrationality, physical weakness and instability (1993). The Lollard texts (as cited in Carolyn, Dinshaw and David Wallace, and University Press Cambridge, 2003) portrayed an extreme view on women, arguing that men had the responsibility to police the imperfections of women. For example, medieval men expected their female relations or partners to further the familial goals, raise children, and defend and manage their estates when they were not present (Huneycutt, 1993). Family politics and affairs were important in the medieval world as these could both indirectly and directly affect the affairs of the state (Loprete, 1990). Loprete (1990) explains that the voice of a woman in planning familial strategies and alliances was often sought after. Therefore, prominent women could utilise 'real power' to exploit and challenge an opportunity which could influence their family politics and impact the political landscape of the state (1990). Nevertheless, in comparison to their male equivalents, women were still disadvantaged at inception merely as a result of their gender.

Women in France and Spain faced many hurdles that affected their ability to rule, however, despite these hurdles they were able to exercise power and influence prominent individuals. Unlike their French counterparts, women in Iberia could inherit the throne (Shadis, 2006), whereas Salic law in France prevented a woman's accession to the throne (Taylor, 2006). The law which derived from a Visigoth tradition supported the succession of female rulers, nonetheless, priority was always given to the male heirs (Shadis, 2006). Shadis (2006) explains that as these royal women had an opportunity to gain the throne, they received an excellent education in regard to the governance of their kingdom. Therefore, even if they were unable to attain the throne they were still able to assume a more active role in the politics of the realm (2006). Yet, Shadis (2006) elucidates that the Iberians found themselves "between a practical rock and an ideological hard place when it came to gender and rulership" (p. 483). There was the prevalent Christian ideology which portrayed women as objects of sin and conversely as an object of salvation through Mary's intercession ability (Shadis, 2006). Furthermore, there was the perception that male rulers are more favoured as leaders as they would have the ability to be military

leaders (2006).

The essay will also discuss the role and power a Queen Regnant could utilise, particularly through the analysis of the careers and reigns of Queen Melisende and Isabella of Castile. A Queen Regnant ruled her kingdom within her own right. For example, Queen Melisende ruled over the diverse kingdom of Jerusalem (Huneycutt, 1989). Her father appointed her as his successor, therefore it is not surprising that she had participated in the governance of the kingdom as early as 1129 (1989). Although when she married Fulk of Anjou her reign was contested as he attempted to gain more political power within the realm, Fulk did not prevail, and was indeed uxorious as he did not act upon trivial matters without Melisende's consent (1989). Between the years of 1143-1152, she ruled in her own right as Queen Regnant. However, in the 12th Century, the rule of a woman in her own right was unprecedented, and she was therefore often cited as acting as a Queen Regent for her son Baldwin III (1989). However, when Baldwin came of age in 1145, Melisende gave no indication that she would give up her throne. I therefore concur with Huneycutt (1989), who described her as Queen Regnant. Bernard of Clairvaux (as cited in Huneycutt, 1989) suggests that "although a woman you must act as a man" (p. 20), illustrating that despite a Queen Regnant's 'real' power, women were impaired by their gender. Therefore, when women came to power they had to assume or portray some masculine qualities during their rule. This coincides with Wallace-Hadrill's argument, who explains that a Queen became an "honorary man" (1983, p. 404). For example, Queen Regnant Urraca was expected to display qualities of a King when she acted as a military leader (Shadis, 2006). However, masculinity was not the only quality Urraca needed to surpass. She illustrated that a successful Queen had to successfully navigate the ravages of political storms within and surrounding their kingdoms (Earenfight, 2012).

Isabella of Castile acted in the capacity of Queen Regnant and her husband Ferdinand was described as "King Consort" (Lehfeldt, 2000, p. 163). Lehfeldt (2000) explains that the reign of Isabella illustrated the "plasticity of gender" (p. 32), as gender could be created and recreated. Martin de Cordoba created an advice manual which supported the notion of a female ruler, whilst prejudicially acknowledging the shortcomings of the female sex (2000). However, Isabella would not be permanently impeded by her gender; she accepted the shortcomings of her gender whilst emphasising the favourable qualities of femininity such as those portrayed by the Virgin Mary (2000). Isabella portrayed herself in opposition to her predecessor Enrique IV, and emulated the characteristics which the Spanish nobility desired in a ruler (2000). Therefore, Isabella was a firm and moral ruler who transcended the constraints of her gender by emphasising and propagating the image of redemption (2000). Isabella had substantial control over the finances of her kingdom and she held the power to appoint individuals to positions of authority (2000). Isabella restored order in the kingdom by reinforcing the judicial system and by supporting and reforming the church (2000). A more notable aspect of her reign was that she brought the Inquisition under the control of the crown (2000). Isabella had to overcome her own deficiencies and demonstrate her ability to rule in a masculine

world. Therefore, despite a culture of misogyny in the medieval period, it did not mean that a Queen was powerless and adversely constrained by her gender (Earenfight, 2007).

Queenship was a fluid concept as Queens were able to adapt their roles to their circumstances. Therefore, Earenfight (2012) argues that the meaning of Queenship is not univocal. Queenship is an important concept when understanding medieval rulership. The need to preserve and extend the dynasty was more important than misogynistic and prejudicial perspectives of gender (2012). The predominant notion that women were not suited for the complicated intricacies of governance, but instead were the ideal guardians and caretakers of children, permeated medieval beliefs, and was supported by contemporary chroniclers and biblical texts (2012). However, analysis of the various roles able to be held by a Queen indicated that theory could differ from reality in the medieval world (Martindale, 2002). For example, Eleanor's reign as Queen Regent illustrated the power a Queen could retain despite her gender; Eleanor was not a mere puppet controlled by Kings or the nobility, and showed that a Queen could occupy multiple roles (2002). For example, she was a Queen Consort, Queen Lieutenant, and she was the ruler of her own territory of Aquitaine (2002). Regardless of the Queen's role and official power, they were actively involved in the medieval world as they participated in the royal courts, the household and the church (Earenfight, 2012).

Returning to the topic of the Queen Consort, this type of rule illustrates the successful ability of a Queen (without direct power) to influence politics and prominent individuals, including the King. However, the issues that Queens faced in a world subject to male authority and the Church's perception of a Queen must also be discussed. The Queen Consort could bring peace to warring nations whilst validating the King's legitimacy and authority (Chamberlayne, 1999). This was illustrated in the case of Henry VII, whose position as King was insecure until he married Queen Elizabeth of York (1999). However, the relationship of Catharine and Henry V illustrated that although a King might marry for peace, he would also gain access to her financial assets (1999). Furthermore, Queens were to embody the notion of ideal womanhood such as Wisdom, Beauty and Virtuousness (1999). Wisdom was important to ensure discretion of confidential matters and for raising heirs of good character (1999). Through the embodiment of ideal womanhood, Queens were also expected to set an example for their subjects (1999). As a Consort, the Queen could also bring peace between the King and his subjects (1999). The Coronation of Queens' orisons referred to God approving the fragility of the feminine sex and thereby the "weak in the world confounds the strong" (1999: 54). This was kept to a spiritual rather than earthly context; although God approved the weaker sex, this did not translate into women having the same powers as men on earth (1999). Furthermore, it is worth noting that there was no concept of the 'Divine right of Queens' (1999) in the medieval world. This was supported in the biblical texts for example, since the time of King Solomon God had appointed Kings, however, there was no appointment of Queens (King James Bible, 1996). This illustrated that women were discriminated by the all-male clergy, church, and chroniclers who were cautious not to give absolute power to women.

From the time of the Norman conquest to the fifteenth century, English Kings tended to select virgin brides, the most significant exception to this being Eleanor of Aquitaine (Chamberlayne, 1999). Eleanor had title to vast lands and was therefore considered a suitable bride for Henry II despite her marital past (1999). However, there were challenges to the notion of the ideal Queen and womanhood between the 11th century and the 16th century (1999). For example, Henry IV was the first Plantagenet King to marry a widow, and, as a widower himself, this appeared to be more acceptable (1999). The political unrest during the period of Henry IV's reign meant that a woman's position in the English power structure was more important than her connections to continental Europe (1999). Sixty-one years later, Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville was more controversial (1999). Edward's brother, the Duke of Clarence, declared Edward had "married a widow in violation of custom" (Dominic Mancini 1483 as cited in Chamberlayne, 1993 p. 60). Following 1066, many Queens were chosen because they were virgins, whereas towards the end of the fifteenth century, unchaste woman attained virgin-like status by becoming a Queen, a title which was likened to the Virgin Mary (Chamberlayne, 1999).

Queens of medieval England were expected to complement a King's authority through their qualities of wisdom, beauty, chastity, mercy, peace-making ability and fertility (Chamberlayne, 1999). These norms, however, were not all inclusive, and where there was a lack of conformity in these characteristics, the image or ideals remained intact through ignoring or glossing over the deficiency to safeguard the idealistic image of ideal womanhood which embodied medieval Queenship (1999). The political needs of Henry IV and the passion of Edward IV are significant examples of challenges to medieval norms (1999). In the first case, the production of heirs was not a prerequisite. The second case highlighted that even a knight's widow could represent the Queen of Heaven (1999). These nonconformities were nevertheless reconciled to medieval Queenship through the clerics' and chroniclers' idealised version of womanhood (1999). This reconciliation was perhaps necessary to safeguard the King's position in the interests of maintaining peace and stability for the country (1999).

The power held by powerful women in the medieval world was complex and diverse. A Queen could occupy various roles during her career, as discussed in the life of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine. The Church and biblical texts perceived women in relation to Eve or the Virgin Mary. Women were disadvantaged by their gender and in a sense, had to work harder and smarter to wield informal or formal power. The importance of the dynastic survival overruled the ideals and constraints of women and Queens. The examples of Henry IV and Edward IV illustrate how the concepts of ideal womanhood of a Queen had changed and were not strictly adhered to. The Queen was a formidable individual who had to work hard and decisively in a world that was subject to man's authority supported by the church in part as man was not held responsible for 'original sin'. The study of Queenship is a fascinating area of history which is still developing. Whilst the concept of a 'Divine Right of Queens' may have been absent, a Queens' influential power certainly existed.

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Families, Labour and Love

Pearl Hindley

Maintaining the 'Second Shift': Popular Representations of Fathers' Contributions to Childcare and Housework Fail to Reflect an Enduring Gendered Division of Labour in Contemporary Western Society

Popular representations of fathers suggest that contemporary culture is moving towards a more egalitarian division of childcare and household labour, and that men now make significant contributions in these areas. Despite such representations, fathers continue to do far less than mothers when it comes to maintaining the household and raising children. The literature indicates that the division of household labour is a complex process influenced by several forces and may be best explained by referring to a combination of theoretical perspectives (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). This essay will address three models which attempt to explain the gendered division of labour in the private sphere: the relative resources model, the power differences model, and the gender display model (Aassve, Fuochi, & Mencarini, 2014; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). With reference to sociological research, this essay will also consider the role of marital status and the presence of young children in the reinforcement of traditional gender roles around the home (Baxter, 2002, 2005; Craig, 2007; Hook, 2006; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Despite a trend towards egalitarian values in both public and private life, family practices continue to depend on a more traditional and gendered division of household labour (Baxter, 2002). Even though female participation in the workforce has become increasingly more accepted, cultural, social, and structural forces have meant that women continue to be burdened with the bulk of unpaid domestic labour (Hochschild, 1989). This phenomenon has been referred to as the 'second shift' (1989, p. 2).

The fact that women do more household labour than their male counterparts has been addressed throughout the literature over the last few decades. In assessing the dynamics of American family life, American sociologist, Arlie Hochschild (1989) argues that the family is stuck in a 'stalled revolution' (p. 11). The stall refers to the reality that while women are entering the workforce in vast numbers, they continue to carry out more than their fair share of domestic labour (in what has been labelled the 'second shift'), due to the fact that the majority of men fail to compensate by contributing their fair share of labour around the home (Hochschild, 1989, p. 2). During this revolution, women were the main proponents of change and struggled to coordinate the demands of both public and private life (1989). Hochschild (1989) acknowledges that trends such as these reflect broader economic and cultural factors that influence changes within couples. For example, women are encouraged to enter paid labour because economic inflation necessitates dual incomes in families (1989). In addition, cultural images of the working mother enforce the idea that while women may be participating in the workforce, they are still seen as the primary homemaker (1989). In terms of ideological roles, women and men have been historically divided (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Traditionally, women were responsible for household maintenance and men were responsible for providing an economic income (Aassve et al., 2014). Despite beliefs that fathers now make significant contributions to housework and childcare, a traditional and gendered domestic division of labour still persists (Baxter, 2005).

Why is it that traditional male breadwinner and female homemaker roles continue to define the family? From a fundamentally economic and logical point of view, one model that attempts to understand why women continue to undertake a disproportionate amount of housework is the relative resources model, also known as the economic exchange model (Baxter, 2005). The relative resources model assumes that the partner

with less time and more economic resources ought to carry out less household labour (2005). The allocation of household labour can be understood as rational within this framework, in that women perform unpaid domestic labour in exchange for the income provided by the male breadwinner (2005). Alternatively, as women increase the time they spend in paid labour, men ought to increase their contribution towards domestic labour and, consequently, a more equitable allocation of labour can be possible in the home (2005). Research has found, however, that this is not necessarily what happens (2005). When women enter the workforce, there is a more consistent and much stronger relationship between the hours spent at work and the hours spent performing housework than there is for men (2005). Men only do 'somewhat more housework' when their wives are in paid employment (2005, p. 588). Taking this into consideration, the relative resources model may be better understood as an ideological framework, rather than a model that accurately explains the gendered division of labour. It is because of this that the relative resources model, though rational in theory, is not necessarily as applicable as other models to the division of labour in the home.

The relative resources model has been critiqued from a feminist perspective as being fundamentally involved with power differences: it assumes that an individual's external resources, such as income and education, contribute towards the decision-making or bargaining power that person has in a partnership (Baxter, 2002; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Building on this model, a second explanatory framework is the power differences model (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). This argues that more often than not, male partners contribute more economic income to the household and, as a result, are better able to negotiate their involvement in what is often considered to be unpleasant or unrewarding housework (Baxter, 2002; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). Looking at how power is distributed between men and women around the home is ultimately a feminist issue because compared to men, women are usually in a proportionately unfavourable position (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). This position is not only reflected by the amount of time that women spend on housework, but also by the types of tasks they perform (Baxter, 2002). Where men tend to be responsible for traditionally masculine outdoor tasks, such as mowing lawns and taking out the garbage, women tend to be responsible for more time consuming and routine tasks, such as cooking and cleaning (2002). Research has found that women do approximately three quarters of all cleaning work around the home (2002). The power differences model provides another framework for understanding certain elements involved in the domestic division of labour.

The relative resources model and the power differences model provide some insight into how domestic labour is allocated between women and men, but a model associated with even more compelling research findings is the gender display model (Aassve et al., 2014). Closely linked with the gender ideology model, which considers how beliefs around gender roles affect the sharing of household labour, the gender display model acknowledges that men and women are socialised to behave in certain ways which enforce their gendered identities (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In accordance with this concept, household activities are gender specific and carrying out these activities involves a display of one's gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). This is reflective of the notion of 'doing gender' formulated by West and Zimmerman (1987, p.

125). From this perspective, gender is a routine and methodical accomplishment that is continuously being performed throughout daily life (1987). Building on this theory, housework can be understood not as a neutral feature of family life, but as a site where men and women enact and 'express gender relations within households' (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000, p. 194). Regardless of other demands, the roles of wives and mothers are intimately connected to expectations for completing household labour and are reflected in outcomes such as having a tidy home (Bianchi et al., 2000). Research has shown that stronger attitudes concerning gender equality are correlated with a more equitable division of domestic labour (Aassve et al., 2014). Furthermore, gender ideology and gender itself are the most powerful predictors of who carries out household labour (Aassve et al., 2014; Baxter, 2005).

Apart from the theoretical frameworks that have been used to explain the gendered division of labour, there are several factors which can increase the divide between men and women in the allocation of domestic work. Recent sociological research has found that two factors which have been associated with an increase in women's disproportionate load of housework are marital status and the presence of children (Baxter, 2002). In a study conducted using a nationally representative sample of Australian citizens, Baxter (2002) found that 'marital status has a significant effect' on the hours men and women spend on housework per week (p. 593). Men who are married do less domestic labour than men who are in de facto relationships, separated, divorced, widowed, or have never been married (2002). In contrast, women who are married 'spend more time on housework than women in other marital statuses' (2002). Compared to less traditional arrangements, such as couples who are cohabiting, marriage can be understood as a marker of more traditional couple households, resulting in an entrenched gendered division of domestic work (2002).

Children are another factor that lead to a substantial increase in women's domestic labour (Baxter, 2002). The presence of young children in the household is also an explanation for differences in men and women's employment patterns (Baxter, 2005; Craig, 2007). The fact that the majority of women work part-time for a considerable proportion of their careers is strongly related to their youngest child's age (Baxter, 2005). Most men, on the other hand, work full-time for their entire careers (2005). Extending paternal leave for fathers has been shown to be one mechanism for encouraging men to participate more actively in housework and early childcare, and also reduces support for traditional gender roles (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Prolonged parental leaves, however, tend to reinforce a traditional division of labour between partners (Hook, 2006). Female participation in paid labour and a retraction from most housework and childcare duties has also been argued to be an effective way of encouraging fathers to do their fair share and achieve equity between men and women in the private sphere (Craig, 2007).

It is important to consider the consequences of both marriage and the presence of young children for men and women (Craig, 2006). Married women, in particular, continue to feel responsible for maintaining the household and raising children (Hochschild, 1989, p. 7). While fathers may be responsible for some specific tasks around the home, housework and childcare are still understood as areas that mothers are responsible for (1989). Because of this assumption, women typically struggle to juggle the demands of

work, family, and domestic labour (1989). The phenomenon of women having to take charge of thinking about and managing the performance of housework and childcare tasks has been referred to as mental or invisible labour (Walzer, 1998). In light of these patterns, it is interesting to look at the attitudes married couples have towards the allocation of domestic labour (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Research has shown that even when women participate in paid work, complete the majority of housework, and act as the primary caregiver, both husbands and wives perceive the arrangement as fair (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In addition, when women become mothers they are often compelled to make serious adjustments to their working lives, both in terms of the amount of time spent at work and the opportunities they have to earn an income (Craig, 2006). Craig (2006) recognises that 'the consequences of the decision to become a mother are very different from the consequences of the decision to become a father' (p. 135). It may be that until the ramifications of becoming a father are equal to that of becoming a mother, inequality will persist in both the private and the public spheres.

While popular portrayals of fathers show men engaging more actively in housework and childcare, women still commit significantly more of their time to this 'second shift' (Hochschild, 1989, p. 2). Despite persisting inequities around domestic labour, perceptions of fairness continue to hinder social and cultural change towards a more proportionate division of labour in the home (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As the recent sociological research presented in this essay has outlined, the division of household labour is a complicated process that may be best understood with reference to various theoretical frameworks (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). While providing a rational framework, the relative resources model does not adequately explain the gendered division of labour (Aassve et al., 2014). The power differences model gives some insight into how economic income influences the ability to negotiate housework participation (Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999). The gender display model possibly provides the best explanation of the gendered division of labour in the private sphere by illustrating how powerful and pervasive individual notions of gender can be in determining which partner completes what tasks in and around the home (Aassve et al., 2014). This essay has also considered the role that marital status and the presence of young children play in supporting an adherence to a traditional and gendered division of labour (Baxter, 2002, 2005; Craig, 2007; Hook, 2006; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Individuals are strongly influenced by various cultural, social, and structural forces and are socialised to behave accordingly (Hochschild, 1989). Thus, an area for further consideration that was not addressed in this essay is cultural differences around the gendered division of labour. Nevertheless, the gendered division of household labour remains a point of contestation for families aiming to achieve an egalitarian way of life.

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Issues in Criminal Justice

Ling Ye

Pro-Arrest Policies: Arresting Women for their use of Force in Intimate Relationships

From the 1980s, mandatory arrest policies have increased arrest rates for women in intimate partner violence in New Zealand (Hirschel & Buzawa, 2002). This is often seen as a gender-neutral policy by holding both perpetrators equally accountable for their actions. However, when women use violence against their intimate partner, it is almost always in response to ongoing battering (2002; Miller & Meloy, 2006). This essay will argue that mandatory arrest policies should not reinforce gender neutrality as this fails to address the gendered nature of domestic violence and ignores women's realities. Instead, police need to evaluate each individual woman's actions within the context of her relationship. It will consider the importance of analyzing domestic violence as a gendered phenomenon, domestic violence policing in New Zealand, including the use of arrest in response to domestic violence, implications of pro-arrest policies, and how the policies should be improved as to correctly identify whether a woman's violence is within the context of self-defense or whether she is a perpetrator of abuse. Gendered language is used throughout the essay to acknowledge the gendered offense of domestic violence.

Domestic Violence: a Gendered Crime

Historically, gender was not a focal point in criminal justice studies and was not seen as a significant factor shaping patterns of offending (Tolmie, 2007). Consequently, male patterns of offending were presented as the universal norm (2007). However, gender plays a key role in shaping people's life situations, choices, and the criminal justice response to them. In fact, gender is a phenomenon present at every stage of criminal justice examination (2007: 295). This shift in thinking is important when examining certain crimes. Domestic violence, as the focus of this essay, is often argued as a heavily gendered crime with women as the predominant victims (2007). Various data supports the verification of this argument in New Zealand. Between 2000 and 2010, New Zealand women experienced the highest rate of assault from intimate partners of any women in the OECD countries (Wilson, Smith, Tolmie & Haan, 2015). However, the issue with assault statistics is the distortion created by an under-reporting of offences. This is less likely with homicide statistics due to the difficulty of hiding such a crime and the high likelihood of it coming to police attention (Tolmie, 2007). Anderson's (1997) study of New Zealand homicides between 1988 and 1995 show that out of 102 people, 80 men intentionally killed their intimate partners, compared to only 22 women. Further, one-half of all homicides are domestic related, and out of 35 domestic homicides committed in 2005, 31 were committed by men. These statistics echo those of other jurisdictions. In Australia, Wallace (1986) found that men were three times more likely to kill, rather than be killed by their partners. Therefore, there is sufficient support from homicide statistics to demonstrate that New Zealand women are more likely to be killed by their male partners.

At the same time, however, New Zealand population surveys paint a different picture to these statistics, suggesting instead that violence between intimate partners is perpetrated by both men and women at an equal frequency. The 2006 New Zealand Crime and Safety

Survey found that 7% of women and 6% of men out of a sample of 5000 experienced assault by their intimate partner (Mayhew & Reilly, 2007). Magdol et al's 1997 study of 474 young adults in Dunedin found that most couples experienced violence where both partners were violent towards each other. Additionally, 34% of men reported their partner had physically abused them, compared to 27% of women (1997). However, these studies do not acknowledge the wider contextual underpinnings in which women utilize violence against their male partners. Women's use of violence differs significantly to men, especially in reference to the nature of the violence, intention, and physical and emotional impact (Dobash & Dobash, 2004). Johnson (2005) argues further that women's use of violence falls under three categories, divided into a) violence used to gain control (intimate terrorism), b) the use of violence to respond to violence (violent resistance), and c) violence that is an escalation of a specific conflict not embedded in a general pattern of power and control (common couple violence). He concludes that while men largely perpetuate intimate terrorism, women are more likely to use violent resistance, and an equal number of men and women engage in common couple violence (2005). Even though there are practical implications of Johnson's study, such as the possibility of misclassification of cases (Tolmie, 2007), the significance of this study is in its acknowledgment of the differing gender balances with each case of abuse. This is important when considering that a unique characteristic of domestic violence distinct from other crimes is the existence of power imbalance between the offender and victim. Women's engagement in violent resistance does not come from a place of power and control and is instead triggered by a series of conflicts (Johnson, 2014). These debates surrounding the gendered nature of domestic violence are significant as it can have direct ramifications for the protection of its victims.

Pro-Arrest Policing: Rise to Popularity

The complexities around the gendered phenomenon of domestic violence have led to a combination of different police responses and interventions. In New Zealand, three distinct chronological phases in police response to domestic violence have been identified – traditional approach, crisis intervention approach, and pro-arrest method (Carswell, 2006). The traditional approach was prevalent prior to the 1970s. Colonization has directly imported Western ideologies surrounding the subservient position of the wife to her husband, whom upon marriage became family chattel (Erez, 2002). Further, the law placed great importance on a man's home as his castle, well protected from state interference (2002). The perpetuation of these ideas led to police response to domestic violence being 'non-intervention' (Benschop, Coombes, Morgan & Gammon, 2013). Police instructions warned against using arrest for domestic violence and to be 'wary of the wife' who is complaining (cited in Newbold & Cross, 2008: 2). Despite the fact that the Crimes Act 1961 created the specific offence of male assault female, a 1968 Department of Justice report on crimes in New Zealand contained no reference to domestic violence (2008).

A wave of feminist movement in the 1970's led by the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges pushed domestic violence from a private issue to a public concern (2008). However, traditional police approaches remained largely unchanged. The crisis intervention approach saw police playing a mediating and counseling role, emphasizing on the reconciliation of the couple and avoiding arrest where possible (Carswell, 2006). This approach is still a continuation of the ideology that domestic violence is a private matter. A mediator approach is especially problematic given police's limited time and resources in dealing with the situation (Ford, 1986), the non-denunciation of punishment for the offender, and the inappropriate use of mediation between two parties that are not on equal footing (Zehr, 2002).

The last and current phase is termed 'arrest policy' and began in the 1980's (Carswell, 2006). New Zealand's implementation of the arrest policy followed international developments, especially in the United States, to use arrest where there is sufficient evidence of domestic abuse (Commissioners Circular, 1987). This method is recognized as the hallmark of feminists' fight for domestic violence to be formally criminalized and taken more seriously (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003). In particular, arrest is seen as having symbolic value by acting as a general deterrent at the community level through sending a message of denunciation towards domestic violence, and by acting as a specific deterrent to the offender (Carswell, 2006).

The Paradox of Pro-Arrest

It is imperative that police response to domestic violence effectively aids the protection of victims, as the police are often the first port of call for victims of domestic violence. The lessening of police discretion by promoting pro-arrest policies is argued to increase victim protection by decreasing discriminatory responses by police when dealing with domestic violence (Sherman & Berk, 1984). However, influential pro-arrest studies were riddled with implications. The Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment distributed colour-coded pads to police to which, depending on the colour of the pads, the police had to respond by either arresting, separating, or mediating the situation (1984). The study concluded that arrest of offenders led to lower recidivism rates, and thereby was the most effective response to domestic violence (1984). The revolutionary nature of this study resulted in the implementation of pro-arrest policies throughout the United States and influenced replicate experiments in New Zealand (see Ford, 1986). However, the study is decontextualized from the wider context of criminal justice response to domestic violence (Frisch, 2003). This meant that an unreasonably high standard of success outcomes was placed on deterrence, rather than on how other sectors of the criminal justice system supported ongoing offender accountability (2003). Further, the study's measurement of success is unclear. While it focuses on the return of low recidivism rates, the conclusion emphasized more individual deterrence than the effectiveness of the pro-arrest policy (2003). Placing a strong emphasis on deterrence fails to take into account how the offender may perceive the criminal justice intervention (Carbonatto, 1997). The

consequence of connecting the cessation of abuse to arrest undermines the complexity of domestic violence.

The immediate consequences of pro-arrest policies are also paradoxical for feminists' aim in bringing effective protection for battered women. The Domestic Dispute Policy sets out that an arrest has to be made where there is sufficient evidence that a domestic violence has occurred, even though no formal complaint has been made (Commissioners Circular, 1987). This has led to the increase in the number of women arrested for domestic abuse (Hirschel & Buzawa, 2002). However, police's use of arrest is ultimately a 'snap-shot' of what has happened (2002: 1457). By limiting police discretion and following the black letter of police policy, coupled with an incident-driven criminal justice system that fails to differentiate between the motivations behind women's use of force in domestic violence cases, many battered women deserving of justice are instead arrested (2002). Failing to identify the primary aggressor and denying her of the role of the victim has immediate consequences for the safety of the woman. She is unable to be transported to another safe place, reserve a space in women's shelters and refuges, nor, importantly, issue restraining and protection orders against the offender (2002: 1459). Battered women arrested for using violence in self-defense could deter women from calling the police again, putting them at further risk of ongoing abuse (Miller, 2001). Additionally, women tend to be less familiar with the criminal justice system than men, and her eagerness to get the case over with by accepting a guilty plea results in potential consequences of having a criminal record (2001). Consequences such as the loss of certain employment opportunities, loss of welfare benefits, immigration status, and denial of public housing are particularly dire for women, who are often the primary caregiver in relationships (2001: 1360). While these consequences should be imposed on violent women who are the primary aggressors of violence, the full picture is often more complicated. Miller's (2001) study of interviews conducted with treatment providers, police, prosecutors, defence lawyers, and probation officers repeatedly stated that there is no correlation between the increase in women's arrest and women's violence. Instead, women's use of violence was not part of the power-control dynamic associated with domestic violence (2001). This finding supports the issues surrounding the different nature of women's use of violence compared to men's in domestic violence cases, as discussed previously. Importantly, it also reflects that an increase in women's arrest correlates to changes in policy, which paints an inaccurate picture on the complexities of domestic violence.

Pro-Arrest's Challenge to Personal Identity

In addition to the harmful immediate consequences of arresting women who are not the rightful primary aggressors, pro-arrest policies tend to also have long-term effects on women's sense of self. Rajah, Frye & Haviland's (2006) study with victims who have been arrested expressed that having been victimized by domestic violence, and then to be defined as a criminal by the police, changed their sense of self from 'independent'

and 'strong' women to 'worthless' and 'frightened' (p. 909). The arrest reinforces to the victim that she is not worthy of protection, destroying the little self-esteem she has left as a result of ongoing abuse (2006). Disturbingly, women also report that arrest left them feeling like they could no longer trust the criminal justice system (2006). The distrust in the criminal justice system also leaves battered women in constant fear for their safety. Without the power of the state on her side, the victim may feel like she needs to protect herself by any means possible, including the use of weapons (2006). Further, Rajah et al (2006: 911) also note that arrest imposes on the women a sense of criminal identity that is difficult to change. This is because an arrest can be public, witnessed by the community. The involvement of police in a domestic violence case reveals to the community that she is having problems in her relationship. Once this is made public, it becomes difficult for the woman to define her role in her own terms (2006). Stark (2000) argues that it is not appropriate to consider long-term psychological effects of pro-arrest policies because primacy needs to be given to the imminence of danger. The implication with this argument is that it silences contextual underpinnings of a woman's use of violence and disregards findings that most men do not feel more threatened that their life is at risk when the violence is perpetrated by women (Miller, 2001).

Conclusion: Looking Forward

The gendered nature of domestic violence as a crime means that policies cannot strive to be gender-neutral. Instead, police response to domestic violence needs to differentiate domestic conflicts arising from a situation of conflict, and coercive battering characterized by control. It is acknowledged that this is a difficult task to do in practice, especially given the emotional and intimate nature of the crime. However, greater police discretion can help police to follow up 'who hit' with 'why' and 'how', instead of mandating an arrest based on a snapshot of the incident (Miller, 2001: 1345). In giving police greater discretion, however, the approach should not go back to non-intervention or mediation phase, nor should a police officer's subjective bias come into play. Rather, arrest can be effective if the police examine the full range responses available to them by placing the incident in the broader context within which such arrests take place (Hirschel & Buzawa, 2002). Research can also help in devising policy to effectively evaluate an individual's use of force within the context of their situation (Miller & Meloy, 2006). Hirschel & Buzawa (2002) urge that an understanding of how the police decide which party to arrest would give valuable insight into factors impacting these decisions. Ultimately, when responding to domestic violence, the police need to reject policies that ignore women's reality and instead adopt a contextually based framework that examines the arrests of women in order to provide an effective response to women's use of force in intimate relationships.

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EXAMINING MINUTIAE: AN EMPHASIS ON DETAIL

The following works give us insights into the finer aspects of archaeological, media, and literature scholarship. Many of the more detailed and narrow investigations within the arts pass by unnoticed by those outside the discipline, and these essays highlight the everyday challenges and nuances that are faced and uncovered by those within the disciplines. While each is extremely focused on what some might consider insignificant topics, the authors do exceptional jobs at illustrating the importance of things that often go unquestioned.

Pillay, for example, provides a deep examination of the problems of waterlogged archaeological sites, specifically in the UK, and ways to preserve the wealth of artefacts that are at risk of degradation and decay due to human industrial development and environmental change. This is a seldom considered facet of scholarship by those who aren't in direct contact with it and provides a new perspective on the challenges and importance of archaeological scholarship.

Tang expertly illustrates the significance of music in television through the examination of the use of a single song in a single scene from a single episode of the popular *Westworld* series. Seldom do we think about the plethora of meanings that can be conveyed through just a fraction of a soundtrack, and Tang shows the extent to which composers and writers go in their creation of art, and, indeed, the extent to which these creations can be unravelled to expose its myriad effects on their audiences.

Similarly, Narayanan delves into Shakespeare's *Richard III*, choosing to take a microscope to the word 'deep'. Her analysis takes what may be overlooked by even the most devout followers of Shakespeare's works and reveals how the most minute details can drastically shape meaning and impact audiences and readers, as well as exploring the psychological power language has over us.

It is well understood that remnants of past civilisations provide us with ways to conceptualise and understand our heritage and the present, that music can have drastic emotional impacts on us, and that literature gives us unique understanding and insight into the human condition. But it is our hope that these essays show you something else; that the present and past clash in surprising ways, that the sound of a popular tune taps into more than just our emotions, and that a single word can dramatically affect the way we see the world.

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Special Topic: Global Heritage

Patricia Pillay

An Assessment of Human-Induced Environmental Change on the Preservation of Organic Materials in Wetland Archaeological Sites in England

Archaeological wetland sites in England are recognised for their unique properties in preserving organic material that is pertinent to understanding human interaction with past environments. Wetland sites are defined as containing groundwater at or above the soil/sediment surface as well as the soil-root zone (Holden et al. 2006). These soils become waterlogged by regular saturation creating an anaerobic and oxidized environment that preserves organic matter (Douterelo et al. 2011). Anthropogenic activity poses a great threat to wetland archaeological sites as they alter the water table balance. Drainage activity to convert land for pasture, agricultural activities, industrial processes such as peat extraction for fuel and horticulture as well as gravel extraction and urban development are all major threats to these sites (Van de Noort et al. 2002; Malim et al. 2015). From a global perspective these sites provide a wealth of information essential to heritage management and in situ (on site) preservation is often a preferred method. Archaeological site monitoring and in situ preservation are heavily reliant on potentially limited funding, therefore, prioritisation of which sites require immediate attention becomes an issue. As rapid urban development continues it is likely that many sites will continue to deteriorate, and valuable information will be lost. As human-induced environmental change continues, it is vital to obtain an understanding of internal wetland environmental processes in order to make informed decisions when managing wetland archaeological sites in the future.

Site management is heavily influenced by human-induced environmental change including drainage works, agricultural activity and archaeological excavations. Site monitoring is a common strategy implemented to mitigate damage on these already deteriorating sites and understand in greater depth the dynamics of water and subsurface conditions in waterlogged archaeological sites (High et al. 2015). Change in land use has influenced the way site monitoring is carried out as various mitigation options become available. This is exemplified in the case study of Star Carr, a Mesolithic site in Yorkshire, England, where an in depth understanding of geochemical changes enabled the site to be studied (High et al. 2016). Geochemical analyses at Star Carr have indicated a rapid loss of bone material in the ever-increasing acidic environment, resulting in a significant loss of heritage information (Boreham et al. 2011; High et al. 2016). Archaeological material which is already degraded is at a higher risk of damage from acidification as land development continues. Model based laboratory experiments of an archaeological sample from the site revealed a pH 1, at 80 °C in 7 days - which is alarming (see Figure 1 and Figure 2) - and suggests that unexcavated bone is prone to rapid degradation and collagen breakdown (High et al. 2016). Bone and antler preservation is under the greatest threat as most of the bone mineral can be removed by the acidic groundwater removing the internal support structure (Brown et al. 2011; Milner et al. 2011).

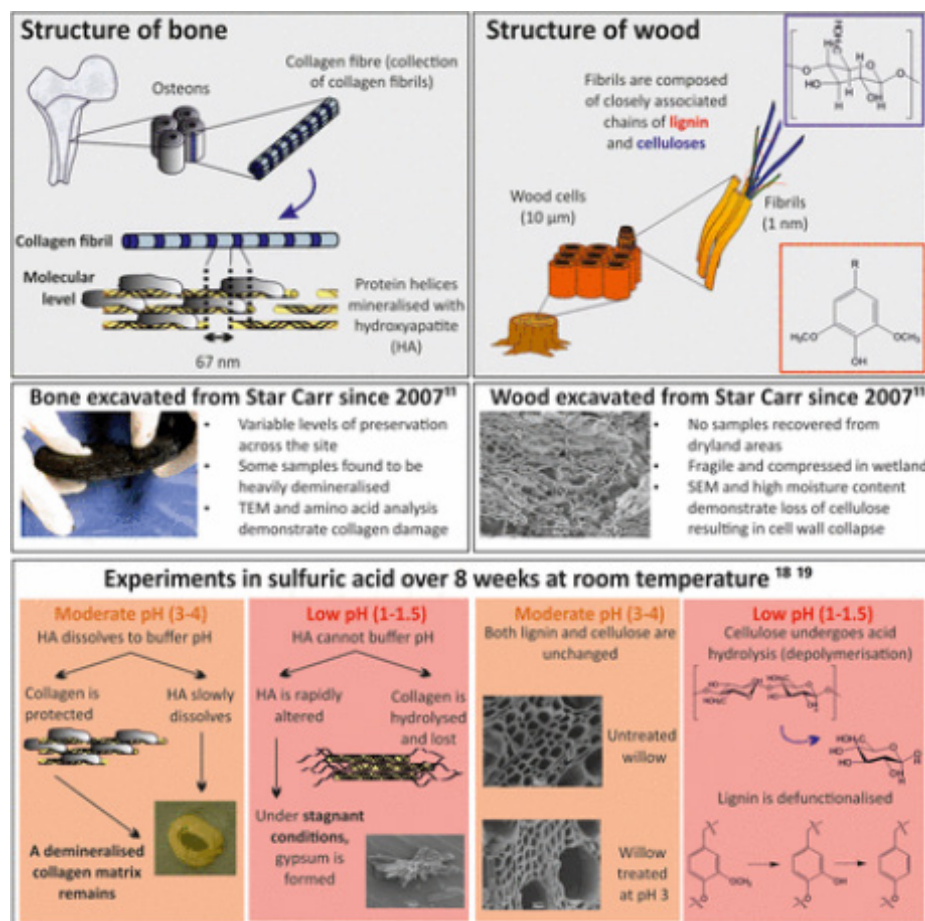


Figure 1. Diagram of the degradation of organic archaeological material at Star Carr.

Modified from High et al. 2016.

Various preservation states exist at each deposit within a waterlogged site, emphasising the degree to which information survival is heavily reliant on substantial differences. Increased focus on sediment pH at Star Carr and other threatened waterlogged archaeological sites is essential to preserve important archaeological information (Vorenhout 2011). There is a profound knowledge gap in the decay process at these sites and whether decay is directly related to anthropogenic activity or natural processes (Williams 2013). This also brings into question at what stage of the decay process do we attempt to preserve and mitigate. Long term studies that are specific to various regions in England are required for extensive decision making and evaluating whether national policy standards should be applied to investigating ground truths of archaeological resource management.

Human-induced environmental change on waterlogged sites require understanding of each site's archaeological context in isolation. This is essential when reviewing the importance of in situ preservation and hydrological monitoring within their broader landscape (Brown et al. 2012; Durham et al. 2012). It is essential to consider a vast range of monitoring approaches that are community based and interactive for effective in situ preservation of organic materials in waterlogged sites. A study by Malim and Painter (2012) shows that the quality of heritage sites can offer invaluable insight into the preservation processes essential to maintaining sites and preventing the loss of information. Matthiesen (2015) suggests that prioritisation between excavation or in situ preservation requiring mitigation and site monitoring should consider the decay rate of sites. Identifying and quantifying the state of preservation at frequent intervals (Figure 2) is one of the most explicit ways to investigate decay rate and evaluate whether excavation or in situ preservation is most appropriate (Williams 2013). However, ongoing decay from agricultural and urban activity on-site and near site can lead to loss of information before the next interval for site monitoring can take place. The monitoring of environmental parameters has also been suggested as a way to develop an interpretation scheme for the assessment of decay rates to warn conservators if site conditions are changing (Matthiesen, 2015). Model experiments on decay in field and in the laboratory, as have been carried out by High and colleagues (2016), have the potential to examine homogenous material within a controlled environment to forecast decay rates and are better than proxy indicators of decay.

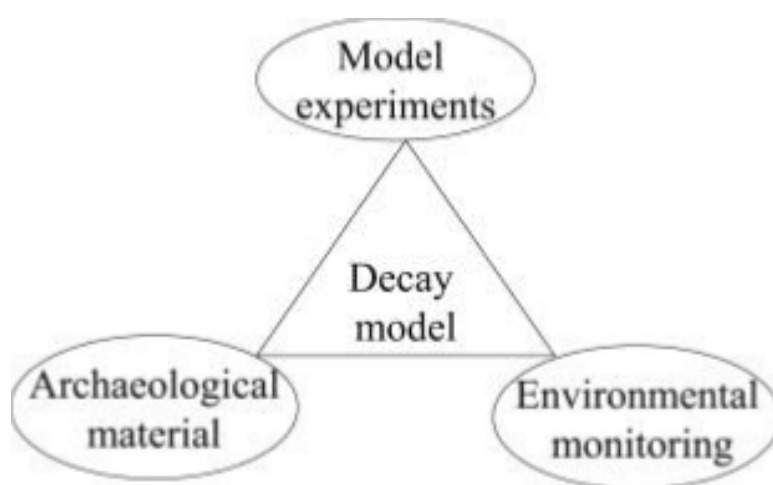


Figure 2. A simple diagram highlighting the main approaches to understand decay at wetland archaeological sites.
Modified from Matthiesen 2015.

A common issue overlooked is the systematic planning and management on sites adjacent to development areas. An overview of waterlogged deposits within specific urban areas and regions need to be accounted for. Does site monitoring guarantee the preservation of archaeological remains and the overall archaeological record at these sites? Modelling systems and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) are ideal providers of data to forecast likely effects of development work, as seen in the world heritage site of Bryggen in Bergen, Norway, and they have been considered in England Heritage management (de Beer et al. 2012; 2016). This may be an alternative to physical monitoring and provide predictable information to make informed decisions about prioritising site management monitoring. Preservation of significant sites in situ is foundational in English planning guidance (Gregory and Matthiesen 2013). An important issue highlighted is the common decision to preserve waterlogged archaeological sites in situ without taking into consideration long term feasibility of preservation on current and future human-induced environmental modifications. It has been suggested that funding could be better allocated towards characterising the condition of remains before development starts, in order to mitigate potential impacts of the intended buildings (Gregory and Matthiesen 2013). If the site is to be redeveloped in the future, this data can be used in conjunction with a repetition of the method to assess the previous scheme of in situ preservation and evaluate whether in situ preservation is appropriate or not. Developmental schemes should consider alternative approaches to site monitoring when preserving organic-rich waterlogged archaeological remains during site monitoring.

The value of the archaeology present in wetland sites is often called into question and whether the archaeological materials extracted outweigh the potential expense of preserving a waterlogged site. Sites which have well preserved archaeological remains that are classed as nationally or internationally significant are more likely to receive consideration for in situ reservation. It has been suggested that design solutions, such as building removable basement flooring to access samples, are a way of working with threatened sites (Williams 2013). If rapid deterioration occurs, then excavation of these deposits should be carried out. Some have argued, however, that there is little benefit from monitoring a site already deteriorating, and that waterlogged sites already compromised by multiple factors should not be targeted for implementation of in situ preservation (Williams 2013). This was evident at the Late Bronze Age Flag Fen timber avenue and platform site where the hydrological conditions were not suitable for long term in situ preservation due to nearby anthropogenic drainage and dewatering processes, and thus the site was not targeted for such procedures (Pryor 2001; French 2017).

Indeed, only certain sites are appropriate for in situ preservation. Isolating waterlogged sites within a larger catchment is financially straining and a complex engineering problem. The Must Farm site lies between the King's Dyke river channel and quarrying pit to the north, which has important access roads and drainage requirements, making it very difficult to isolate the site (Malim et al. 2015; French 2017). Therefore, it is unfeasible to seal the site off from the surrounding anthropogenic activity making in situ preservation methods such as site rewetting unrealistic (Malim et al. 2015). This exceeds realistic funding goals, meaning community-based outreach to raise awareness of these

concerns is required to spark funding interest and review monitoring plans (Malim et al. 2015). Considering in situ preservation, which requires in depth evaluation of all surrounding factors influencing the site, it is necessary to evaluate the question of who should be responsible for both management and ongoing monitoring, and whether they can be successful.

The Nantwich site is a good example where supplementary planning guidance has been provided to inform developers and planners of the archaeological significance, as well as to encourage the introduction of holistic planning for sustainable economic development (Malim and Painter 2012; Matthiesen 2015). The English Heritage and Cheshire council, supported by Ian Panter from York Archaeological Trust, arranged to investigate the historic salt-production town to characterise the physical and chemical nature of the buried environment (SLR, 2007; 2010). A three-year monitoring program was funded by the English Heritage and Cheshire East from 2011-2014 (Malim et al. 2015). In the Netherlands spatial planners and other stakeholders have collaborated to design sustainable urban drainage and rehydrate sites (Malim et al. 2015; 2016). This economically effective option has been suggested for the conservation of the Nantwich site. Their research shows soil coring programs and dipper well installations can generate necessary information to examine the in situ preservation conditions of these deposits. Proactive involvement of archaeologists is necessary if the value and vulnerability of the buried archaeological heritage at Nantwich is to be recognised by urban planners (Malim et al. 2016). The heritage associated with the town is a large contributor to its economic success making it an attractive place to visit and live in (Malim et al. 2016). This type of approach may be the persuasive argument necessary for establishing ongoing preservation of the deposits rather than just the archaeology as urban development continues.

Communication between all key stakeholders of waterlogged archaeological sites regarding in situ preservation is essential as human-induced environmental change continues. Waterlogged sites should be acknowledged as being unique to specific areas and occupy a wider catchment with site specific monitoring planning rather than generalised national policy schemes. Alternative options to in situ preservation need to be further investigated to combat human-induced environmental change which is an ongoing process. Quantification of the degradation rate and best practice guidelines and reflexive documentation will enable archaeologists to maximise preservation of waterlogged archaeological sites where possible.

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Media, Film and Television 218

Popular Music on Screens

Rebecca Tang

The Self-Aware Soundtrack: Existentialism, Identity and Cognitive Dissonance

Music integrated in visual media, such as television shows, is chosen based on the song's "musical and culturally resonant qualities" to shape the viewers understanding of a scene and the role the music plays (Garwood, 2006, p. 92). In *Westworld* (2017), a television show about a Western-styled theme park with lifelike robot "hosts" where guests can do anything they want without any consequences, the song "Motion Picture Soundtrack" by Radiohead is played non-diegetically when one of the hosts, Maeve, walks through the theme park's technical headquarters. The character discovers that her existence and reality was merely an artificial creation. Through foregrounding the music in the scene, using a rerecorded violin instrumental of the song and the editing of moving images in relation to the music, the music is used as a "narrational device" (p. 93). Therefore, the music associates pre-existing meanings of the song with the scene, creates a new identity for Maeve, evokes emotions associated with cognitive dissonance and conveys overarching, existentialist themes.

The music is foregrounded in the scene to enable the audience to link pre-existing meanings of the song to understand what is happening to Maeve. The song, being the most prominent aspect of the scene, emphasises that the music choice is important and invites the audience to inspect deeper. As Robb Wright argues, "previously heard pop songs carry their own sets of feelings and associations, often developed over months or years of repeated hearings...which enables a film to effectively build on the work that the song has already done" (2003, p. 12-13). Music is "culturally and historically relative – a shared experiential vocabulary is essential, and the greater that shared experience, the more effective its associative power" (p. 11). "Motion Picture Soundtrack" is a song written by Radiohead, a band whose songs have been analysed by fans and scholars since their debut. On Reddit, a popular social media site where Radiohead fans gather to discuss their views on what Radiohead songs mean, "Motion Picture Soundtrack" has been richly interpreted. The song is the final track of their album, *Kid A*, which fans believe is a concept album about the process of life (Beanz122, 2012). Many fans have interpreted the "Motion Picture Soundtrack" to represent an epitaph to the life of the narrator in the album due to its place in the track listing and its angelic sound alluding to heaven (ChurKirby, 2012). In other words, the song symbolizes death. In the context of Maeve's scene in *Westworld*, she is walking through the headquarters of the theme park and seeing hosts in the process of being made and programmed. Therefore, the song is culturally resonant with the scene. Maeve realises that she was also created and programmed by humans; she is not real, and her existence is essentially a lie. The prominent music in the scene links the song's pre-existing meaning of death with the death of Maeve's perceived reality and her life living in ignorant bliss.

Furthermore, the image and the celebrity persona of the band, Radiohead, plays a crucial role in shaping the new identity of Maeve. According to Ian Garwood:

the resonance of the pop star persona...the relationship between pop stars [and] songs and the construction of the individual and group identities of

pop music fans...suggest equivalences between this wider cultural process and the specific use of pop song in providing identities for film characters. (2006, p. 98)

Radiohead is a band known for writing philosophical songs that criticise society. For example, their song “Paranoid Android”, draws on ideas of technophobia, “Fake Plastic Trees,” talks about the materialistic life we live in the modern world and “Motion Picture Soundtrack,” as argued by Bradley Kaye, “connect[s] to the writings of...French postmodern thinking Jena Baudrillard” (2009, p. 248). Baudrillard believes the modern “capitalist society is saturated by fantasies, and specifically, representations. These representations of things have so much power that it’s impossible to distinguish between reality and these many representations of it” (p. 248). Therefore, Radiohead, who write and composes these songs have established a star persona of being impeccably aware of existentialist issues and questions reality, and Radiohead fans have developed a similar identity from listening to the music and engaging with lyrics. This identity subsequently is transferred onto Maeve. Just like how Radiohead is knowledgeable of the construct of reality, Maeve becomes self-aware and discovers how her reality in Westworld was shaped by programmers who have fed her “fantasies and representations” (p. 248). In turn, a new identity is established for Maeve and sets up a new storyline for her in the narrative of the show. She has become a host who is critical of her reality and surroundings and cannot be controlled by humans anymore.

Instead of using the original song in Maeve’s scene, an instrumental rendition of “Motion Picture Soundtrack” without any lyrics is incorporated to musically allude to how she is becoming self-aware and experiencing cognitive dissonance. “Music is the primary instrument of emotion direction in film – it tells us what to feel about a character, a place, a situation” (Wright, 2003, p. 10). By re-recording the song using a string quartet and leaving out the lyrics, the audience is guided to experience the dramatic emotions that the song musically evokes. As discussed previously, the song symbolises death. “Motion Picture Soundtrack” was also created to mimic a Disney soundtrack (Mingus, 2001). Disney soundtracks are typically very dramatic sounding which explains the long crescendo notes in “Motion Picture Soundtrack”. Musically, the song evokes emotions of sadness and heartbreak through the interchanging between long single notes and chords. These emotions are emphasised further through the use of string instruments, as a variety of dynamics can easily be played and notes can be dramatically emphasised and dragged out. Thus, the string rendition of “Motion Picture Soundtrack” articulates to the audience that Maeve’s experience of cognitive dissonance is as agonising and heartbreaking as the music and enables them to empathise with the character. On another level, knowing that “Motion Picture Soundtrack” is written to reflect a typical dramatic film score, the music suggests how Maeve is becoming self-aware of her existence is for the purpose of entertaining humans, just like how “Motion Picture Soundtrack” is a self-conscious composition that incorporates the dramatic elements of a typical motion picture soundtrack used for entertainment.

The editing of the moving images in the scene, in relation to the music, ties in the overarching existentialist themes of the show such as how society has shaped our own realities. Since, “Motion Picture Soundtrack” has been rerecorded, the song has been slightly sped up to match the slow but steady walking pace of Maeve and is “syncable” to the movements in the scene (Anderson, 2013, p. 371). The cutting between shots of hosts being created and Maeve’s reaction seeing the process of how she was made along with the downbeats in the music, smoothly articulates to the audience that she is realising that her reality is constructed by humans, the governing figures of her world (Holman, 2010, p. xii). Hubbert and Garwood have argued that foregrounded music on screen enable the lyrics “to speak for characters” (Hubbert, 2014, p. 298) and “play as a kind of commentary on a narrative situation” (Garwood, 2006, p. 97). However, although the song “Motion Picture Soundtrack” used in *Westworld* omits the lyrics, the music still has a wider “referential range” than newly composed orchestral scores (Hubbert, 2014, p. 291) and is well-known and culturally relevant enough for audiences to associate lyric meanings into the scene. For example, when the melody of the lyrics, “It’s not like the movies, they fed us on little white lies”, is played, the scene cuts to Maeve walking into *Westworld*’s design room where she sees hosts in the early stages of being modeled, which fully confirms that her existence is a lie. Therefore, knowing the lyrics to the song evokes deeper links to how Maeve’s life and reality is constructed through white lies and, like movies, is a mere fantasy. Therefore, the editing of the moving images and in the scene, in relation to the music, enables the audience to identify that Maeve is realising that her reality is constructed by humans and in turn, conveys that the audience themselves must recognise governing bodies and ideas that shape our world.

Through analysing the integration of the song, “Motion Picture Soundtrack” in *Westworld*, where the robot host, Maeve, walks through the headquarters and becomes aware of her fake existence and constructed reality, a plethora of meanings and emotions are articulated in different ways. The pre-existing meanings of the song, such as death, is brought into the scene to represent new meanings in the scene, such as the death of Maeve’s preconceived and ignorant bliss towards her purpose of existence. The star persona of Radiohead being a band that is aware of existentialist issues, alludes to Maeve’s new identity as a self-aware character in the show’s narrative. Musically, the song, especially as a string instrumental rendition evokes emotions of sadness associated with the cognitive dissonance Maeve is experiencing and the self-conscious element of the soundtrack links to Maeve’s awareness of the true reality. Finally, the editing of moving images in the scene in relation to the music conveys overarching, existentialist themes of the show’s narrative and how we must be critical of the constructed reality and purpose of our life in society. Ultimately, the music in the scene is used as narrational device that heightens the audience’s understanding of Maeve’s emotions, experience and character development in becoming a sentient being.

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English 102

Great Books: Seduction & Betrayal

Nithya Narayanan

Depths and Surfaces: The System of Layers in Shakespeare's Richard III

In "Angel with Horns: The Unity of Richard III", A.P. Rossiter (2008) identifies a "system of paradox" (p. 254) as the unifying aspect of the play. Rossiter refers not only to the conventional literary paradox—that is, an apparent absurdity or contradiction revealed to be true—but also to the larger patterns of contrast, irony and "reversals of meaning" (p. 254) which permeate the entire play. Analysis of the word "deep" is particularly important to decoding these ideas in Richard III. The word functions to highlight the contrast between surfaces and depths, and the interaction between visible and invisible. The system of layers operating in the play is thus revealed. The word emphasizes the opposition between false and true in Richard's character, the levels of meaning which contribute to dramatic irony, and ideas of repression within the subconscious. Each occurrence of the word "deep" produces a specific atmosphere or audience reaction and introduces repetitive structural patterns through which the overall development of the play might be understood.

One of the primary functions of the word "deep" in the play is to indicate the opposition between truth and deceit in Richard, the consummate villain. Rossiter terms this "the antithesis of false in true in the histrionic character" (p. 254). In the opening soliloquy, Richard refers to "...the clouds lowered upon our house/In the deep bosom of the ocean buried" (Shakespeare, 2000, p. 5). Shakespeare begins at the 'surface' with a deliberately ambiguous metaphor. An initial reading suggests that the image of the clouds buried "in the deep" is a reference to the reign of peace following the War of the Roses. The word "deep" signifies history, the place where unpleasant pasts are laid to rest. However, Richard subsequently proceeds to dwell upon his deformity—"I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks"—and intimates to the audience that he is "determined to prove a villain" (p. 6). Richard's almost obsessive focus on his deformity demands reinterpretation of the original metaphor: perhaps the "clouds" deposited in "the deep bosom of the ocean" refer instead to Richard's repressed resentment and ambition. This is a prime example of what Rossiter terms "verbal capsizeings, with their deliberate reversals to the opposite meaning in equivocal terms" (p. 254). In the first interpretation, the word "deep" indicates histories forgotten and buried. The second interpretation, however, entirely subverts this meaning. "Deep" now becomes a reference to the darkest interior of Richard's consciousness: his soul. These dual interpretations of "deep" correlate with the dual levels in Richard's character. At the surface level, Richard presents the façade of contentment and peace; on a deeper level, he blazes with villainous motives. Torrey (2010) describes this divide as "the vexed relationship between outward appearances and inward reality, between surfaces and interiors" (p. 284). The word "deep" thus has important implications for the atmosphere and development of the play overall. It gives the introduction of the play its powerful atmosphere of mystery and intrigue; audience fascination with Richard's psychology is heightened. Structurally, too, the word is important: it introduces a broader pattern in which Richard continually enters and exits the role of performer. This is a pattern the audience will experience repeatedly: Richard will soon don the mask of penitent lover to seduce Anne; he will later assume the role of concerned brother even as he orchestrates Clarence's murder. The word "deep", as it occurs here, is therefore integral to understanding the larger pattern of masquerade operating within the play.

The word "deep" is also used to generate dramatic irony by emphasizing the interplay

of visible and invisible meanings in dialogue. A prime example of this is when Richard states: "...this deep disgrace in brotherhood/Touches me deeper than you can imagine" (p. 9). The word "deep", in this context, is primarily used to draw attention to the multiple layers of meaning. The "disgrace" to which Richard alludes remains ambiguous. It could be a reference to Edward's betrayal of Clarence; alternatively, it could be interpreted as a reference to Clarence's loss of face. However, the "disgrace" may also indicate Richard's betrayal of Clarence—it is, of course, Richard who informs Edward of the prophecy which originally sends Clarence to the tower. The irony arises from the fact that Clarence remains unaware of this third and most crucial meaning. The word "deep" thus emphasizes the wealth of meaning in Richard's statement—a meaning of which Clarence is largely ignorant, but of which the audience is all too aware. "Deep" is also used ironically in the elaborate speech which Buckingham makes to the mayor. Buckingham asserts that Richard is "not dallying with a brace of courtezans,/But meditating with two deep divines" (p. 95). The word "deep", here, is intended to indicate the supposed moral and spiritual depth of Richard's character. It functions as part of a highly ironic pattern of contrasts. The words "lewd", "sleeping" and "idle" are all used in relation to Edward; in contrast, the words "praying", "watchful" and "virtuous" are connected with Richard. The primary function of the word "deep", then, is to set up an opposition between Richard and Edward—with Edward characterized as shallow and hedonistic, and Richard characterized as pure and morally superior. Once again, the dramatic irony is supreme: by this stage in the play, Richard has already organised multiple murders. These ironic instances of the word "deep" impact the atmosphere of the play overall. In each instance, the word produces an atmosphere that is darkly comic: the audience is always awake to the irony of the fabrication. The use of "deep" is also fundamental to the development of the bond between Richard and the audience. Through appreciation of these ironic moments, the audience become complicit in Richard's villainy. This bond, predicated on the idea of shared secrets, is fundamental to the development of the play: it will sustain connection with Richard for a substantial portion of the narrative.

The word "deep" further functions as a reference to history and the subconscious. Several characters in *Richard III* grapple with their moral histories. Shakespeare uses powerful imagery to demonstrate how those histories, when repressed, inevitably resurface in violent ways. This idea appears most prominently in the representation of Clarence's dream, in which Clarence is pushed by Richard into "the slimy bottom of the deep" (p. 38). This occurrence of the word "deep" can be deconstructed to reveal several layers of meaning. In its most basic sense, it can be interpreted as a reference to the ocean floor. This image holds metaphoric significance. The motion of falling to the ocean floor echoes a more abstract concept: the idea of thoughts being pushed downwards, into the deepest corners of the mind. It indicates the split between what is allowed into the conscious—the 'shallow'—and what is repressed within the subconscious—the 'deep'. Clarence's dream also presents the deceased Prince Edward—whom Clarence helped to kill—as a vengeful angel, suggesting that the dream itself embodies the surfacing of repressed guilt. Further, the dream-scene ultimately morphs from ocean floor into "the kingdom of perpetual night" (p. 38), implying that the "slimy...deep", which Clarence initially describes, may also function as an oblique reference to hell. The fall into "the deep", then, parallels the fall into hell. However, another function of the word "deep" is to foreshadow Richard's murder of Clarence. Reality echoes the supernatural: the dream

depicts Clarence drowning in the “the deep”; in reality, his corpse is drowned by Richard’s men in a keg of wine. The use of “deep” thus functions to introduce a sinister atmosphere into the play, setting the tone for the series of murders which will follow. The word itself unifies two distinct concepts: the image of drowning—which foreshadows Clarence’s murder—and the image of hell, which represents his guilt. The ideas of punishment and guilt are thus fused. The implicit suggestion is that retribution follows repression; histories buried in the deep must naturally surface for equilibrium to be restored. This idea of repression and retribution manifests as a recurring pattern which structures and develops the entire play. It presents itself most spectacularly in the climax, when Richard’s repressed guilt finally surfaces: “All several sins, all used in each degree,/Throng to the bar, crying all, ‘Guilty! Guilty!’” (p. 149). This psychological breakdown is integral to the resolution of the play—Richard is not destroyed by Richmond, but rather his own surfacing conscience.

The word “deep” performs a variety of functions in the play. Through analysis of the word, the system of layers in the play can be understood. The word works to depict the surfaces and depths in Richard’s character, to expose ‘invisible’ meanings which produce irony, and to examine the idea of the repressed returning to the surface. The word has immense significance for the overall construction and unity of the play. It varies the atmosphere of the play from mysterious, to sinister, to comic. Furthermore, the transitions from true into false, the moments of irony, and the surfacing of guilt are all recurring patterns which define the structure and development of the play as a whole.

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THE ARTS AND MEDICINE: ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS

The arts are crucial for understanding myriad complex phenomena regarding us as a species. This includes the understanding of science and medicine and their roles in society. The following authors' works range from exploring Alzheimer's and public health, to examining the long term effects of natural disasters on mental health, to investigating how medicine and healing was viewed and used hundreds of years ago. Each essay highlights the necessity for critical awareness of our environments and those around us. Additionally, in an age where awareness of mental health is wider but still largely misunderstood, these works are key in building a foundation of global awareness and understanding of health and medicine.

Cao examines Alzheimer's and the neglect governments and pharmaceutical companies are displaying toward environmental factors that influence its onset. She delves into the reasons and harmful consequences of this, illustrating the importance of awareness for the link between us and our environments, and being critically minded when it comes to social policies.

Mehta superbly uncovers the effects of the Christchurch earthquakes that are still reverberating throughout the population through an investigation into medicine and bureaucracy in terms of mental health. This essay leads us to question how we define medical problems, and the implications of a medical system that medicalises mental health to the extreme.

McConnell, on the other hand, leaves the contemporary to explore magic, medicine, and religion in Europe in the Middle Ages. Her work invites us into a seemingly different conceptualisation of magic and medicine and devotion, yet picks it apart to illustrate how these convoluted mentalities paved the way for our own messy perspectives of the world.

These authors take novel perspectives to bring to light key issues in the relation between health and our environment, our societies, and our minds. They demonstrate the necessity for unhindered exploration into human behaviour in all its forms, in order to provide different ways of both understanding and changing our world.

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Sociology of Health, Illness and Medicine

Michelle Cao

A critical analysis of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services guidelines regarding Dementia/Alzheimer's Disease

Introduction

Human health is inextricably intertwined with the environment. Whilst this relationship extends across multiple conditions and diseases, this critical analysis will focus on the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services guidelines for Alzheimer's disease (AD) in regard to aluminium. AD is a neurodegenerative disorder that falls under the umbrella term "dementia", and involves progressive and often permanent deterioration of cells in the brain (Risacher & Saykin, 2013). The common features of dementia include deterioration of memory, language, problem-solving, and other cognitive skills (Alzheimer's Association, 2016). AD is the most common form of dementia with over 26 million people worldwide suffering from the disease (Otaegui-Arrazola, Amiano, Elbusto, Urdaneta & Martinez-Lage, 2014). It is also a very costly disease, a reported US\$200 billion being spent on AD in 2012 (Barage & Sonawane, 2015).

The CHE database (2018) on toxicants and disease weakly associates AD with aluminium, iron, lead, pesticides, solvents and tellurium. Whilst these are all important factors, this critical analysis will focus on aluminium. Although the database states that there is limited evidence, studies show a clear link between aluminium levels and risk for AD.

Literature on Aluminium & Alzheimer's Disease

Why focus on aluminium?

There has been a long-standing proposal that aluminium exposure is correlated with neurological disorders (Campbell, Becaria, Lahiri, Sharman & Bondy, 2004). Walton (2013) identifies metal neurotoxins such as lead, mercury and aluminium as potential environmental factors that may play a role in AD. However, this critical analysis will focus on aluminium as it is thought to be a key candidate in the onset, progression and aggressiveness of AD (Exley, 2014). Walton (2013) explains this hypothesis has existed since 1973, when it was discovered that grey matter (the brain is made up of both white and grey matter) in AD patients contains more aluminium than people who are the same age and do not have AD. Although two earlier studies pre-dating this discovery were unable to confirm this, at least 11 studies have also found higher levels of aluminium in brains of patients with AD (Walton, 2013).

Walton (2014) reveals how populations that are exposed to high aluminium levels have correspondingly higher prevalence and incidence rates of AD compared to populations that are exposed to lower aluminium levels. Bondy (2010) reiterates how the most accepted facts related to aluminium are its neurotoxic effects when it is at high levels, correlation between ingested aluminium and incidence of AD, and the widespread prevalence of aluminium in human consumption.

Sources of Aluminium Exposure

Willhite et. al. (2014) explain how aluminium exists naturally in our environment as the third most abundant element. However, due to the action of humans, it also deliberately exists in water, food, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, antacids and vaccines. This work will focus on the first three methods of exposure.

Food

Aluminium is widely used in food to prevent caking (salt, cocoa powders, milk powders), to emulsify and enhance how cheese melts, as rising agents (bread, cake, baked goods), as stabilizing agents, and so on (Walton, 2014). The FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) and WHO (World Health Organization) reduced the tolerable weekly intake for aluminium from 7 mg/kg body weight to 1 mg/kg body weight. However, many people exceed this, with an estimated 2-14 mg aluminium being consumed per day (Walton, 2014).

Drinking Water

Aluminium is found in drinking water supplies through natural means, as well as water treatment processes to remove dissolved substances (Kimura, Matsui, Kondo, Ishikawa, Matsushita & Shirasaki, 2013). Walton (2014) reveals that a study conducted on brains donated to the Canadian Brain Bank showed that long-term ingestion (at least 10 years) of water with higher aluminium levels doubled the risk of developing AD. At least 13 other reports have shown that an increasing concentration of aluminium in drinking water is correlated with a higher risk of developing AD (Bondy, 2010).

Cosmetics

Aluminium is present within many cosmetic products such as antiperspirants, creams, emulsions, lipsticks, and so on (Borowska & Brzoska, 2015). Salama (2016) argues that cosmetics are one of the most important sources of heavy metal exposure because they contribute to regular body care routine. These heavy metals can be absorbed from the skin and into the blood where they can accumulate.

Salama (2016) details a study that explored the levels of heavy metals in cosmetic products such as hair wash, body lotion, and toothpaste. The heavy metals tested included aluminium, copper, manganese, and many others. Aluminium content was the highest out of all the heavy metals tested in cream products, which involved well-known brands such as Dove and Nivea. This trend continued as the mean aluminium concentration was the highest out of the heavy metals tested in shampoo products and toothpaste (Salama, 2016). However, there is no clear evidence that these cosmetics containing aluminium increases the risk of AD (Willhite et. al., 2014).

The impact of Aluminium on the Brain

Although the precise mechanism of how aluminium influences the brain and the progress of AD is unknown, evidence suggests that exposure to Al increases oxidative stress and inflammation in the body, which are linked to AD (Campbell et. al., 2004).

Another study portrays how aluminium has an affinity for degenerated neurons that are associated with neurofibrillary tangles, a common feature of AD. (Graves, et. al., 1990). Campbell et. al. (2004) underline that whilst exposure to aluminium does not cause AD, it does exacerbate events that are associated with the aging brain and contributes to the progression of neurodegeneration.

Recommendations from the Literature

As orally ingested aluminium is a key issue, Walton (2014) emphasizes that humans who constantly eat processed foods with aluminium additives have an increased risk for AD. Therefore, eating a fresh food diet will decrease your intake of aluminium.

In terms of aluminium found in cosmetics, Salama (2016) emphasizes that although it is not possible to remove metals from cosmetics, there are precautions that companies can take to reduce the amount found in the final product. Salama (2016) recommends that industrialists investigate raw materials to track the source of contaminants and thus, select their materials carefully to improve the quality of the final product.

Analysing the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services

Although the precise mechanisms of aluminium's effect on the human brain are unclear, there is a link between aluminium as a neurotoxin and AD. Peto (2015) highlights how aluminium's role in progressing AD has been discussed in literature for decades yet it is not reflected on the U.S Department of Health and Human Services website.

The "Causes of Alzheimer's Disease" webpage does not mention any toxicant information, let alone aluminium. The webpage mentions how late-onset Alzheimer's Disease, which applies to AD patients over 65, involves a combination of "genetic, lifestyle, and environmental factors". Whilst it is commendable that they acknowledge more than one source of the disease, the webpage then goes on to detail the genetic component of AD in great length. The genetic background is discussed under the sub-headings "Genetics 101", "The Genetics of Disease", "Alzheimer's Disease Genetics", "Late-Onset Alzheimer's Disease", and "Early-Onset Alzheimer's Disease". However, it fails to mention that an estimated 1% or fewer AD cases develop as a result of genetic mutations (Alzheimer's Association, 2016). Therefore, this begs the question as to why there is such a heavy emphasis on genetic history on the U.S. government website. There is one short paragraph that discusses "Health, Environmental and Lifestyle Factors" regarding AD. However, the paragraph encourages "a nutritious diet, physical activity, social engagement, and mentally stimulating pursuits", failing to mention environmental toxicants of any kind. Moreover, these recommendations place the responsibility on the individual rather than institutions. This webpage was reviewed recently on May 22nd, 2017, meaning it appears to ignore all past research done on neurotoxins and their relationship to neurodegeneration.

The Social Consequences

The U.S. Department of Health and Human services website's deliberate lack of any toxicant information, namely aluminium, has negative consequences for many, but also serves to benefit several particular groups.

Millions of people currently suffer from AD and lack of toxicant information further exacerbates this, because it prevents and stalls the development of new or existing treatments. For example, chelation therapy used for AD helps remove metals from the body but has many negative side effects (Veto, 2010). If the general public were more informed about the toxicants, there would be public pressure on pharmaceutical companies and scientists to further develop chelation therapy or explore other drugs that target heavy metals in the body. Moreover, the unaffected populations that currently do not suffer from AD but will develop it later on in life are unknowingly being harmed. The deficiency of toxicant information on the U.S government also means that people are unaware that they should be minimizing their aluminium intake.

Consequently, the current AD patients, the general public, as well as the government, are being harmed financially by the lack of AD treatments targeting toxicity. According to the Alzheimer's Association (2016), the 2016 facts and figures show that the total payments in 2016 for AD patients were estimated at \$236 billion. This money comes from taxpayer dollars, the families themselves who pay for care, and the government who funds care units and care services.

However, drug manufacturers benefit from this omission of information as their products continue to be sold to millions of patients. The "Treatment of Alzheimer's Disease" page details prescription drugs that are currently approved by the U.S. FDA such as Razadyne®, Exelon®, Aricept®, Namenda® and Namzaric®. These drugs modestly slow down the cognitive deterioration and help troublesome behaviour in some patients, but at least 50% of patients who take these drugs do not respond (Kumar, Sing & Ekavali, 2015). Furthermore, Kumar et. al. (2015) go on to highlight how these drugs merely target symptoms and do not address the cause of the disease. Only a handful of drugs are approved by the FDA which means there is a concentration of wealth between these pharmaceutical companies.

Another group of people who benefit are cosmetic companies whose products contain aluminium. Although there is limited evidence on cosmetics, the lack awareness means there is no pressure on these companies to reformulate products or re-assess the source of their raw materials.

Accounting for the Omission

Despite the FDA approved drugs only having moderate effects, one must question why the U.S government website focuses on those particular drugs without any mention of toxicant information. The following critical assessment of medical information provided

by government agencies will focus on the shifting role of government as a regulatory agency versus one that promotes the use of pharmaceuticals.

Jorgensen (2013) criticizes how Congress fails to solve problems regarding the cost, effectiveness, and safety of pharmaceuticals. This is partially due to the pharmaceutical industry's financial influence over government. Jorgensen (2013) reveals how individuals and industry firms donate money to candidates, political parties, and committees. In 2012, pharmaceutical manufacturers spent a total of \$21.3 million on federal elections. A lot of this money goes to people sitting on relevant committees who can grant the industry legislative favours. Moreover, this has ensured that prices are not controlled and Medicare cannot set drug prices. Jorgensen (2013) summarizes this as the "dependence corruption framework" – whilst a political system is over-reliant on the pharmaceutical industry, it will continue to meet the needs of the industry rather than protecting the public.

Another regulatory role that government plays in pharmaceuticals is their regulation of the promotion of drugs (Alves, Lexchin & Mintzes, 2018). According to Alves et. al. (2018), in 2007 almost two-thirds of governments in high income countries co-regulate drugs. Co-regulation is when the government and industry share responsibilities in the promotion of pharmaceutical products. This division in responsibility means not enough resources regulate their advertisement, despite evidence that promotion strongly affects how drugs are prescribed and used. Alves et. al. (2018) reveal a study in which industry-sponsored meals of even \$20 were associated with an increased prescription of that brand's medication promoted during the meal. This influence not only penetrates at a state level but also an individual level where doctors are influenced.

Conclusion

AD in relation to the toxicant aluminium serves to illuminate the link between environment and humans. Aluminium is an abundant neurotoxin present not only naturally but also in manufactured food, cosmetics, drinking water, and so on. Despite a long-standing link between aluminium exacerbating the effects of AD, there is no toxicant information on the U.S. government website in relation to AD causes nor treatments. The focus of only a few FDA approved drugs, despite their minimal success, is not only a financial burden to the individuals but to their families, governments, taxpayers and the general population who are unaware of the dangers of aluminium. The current situation only serves to benefit industries and companies who continue to put aluminium in their food and cosmetic products. Furthermore, the enormous financial persuasion of the industry highlights the shifting role from the state as a regulator to one of an enabler. The link between AD and aluminium is one which needs to be studied and promoted globally in order to lessen its damage to the human brain and human health.

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History 319

Medieval Mentalities, Western Europe c. 1100-1500

Karis McConnell

A Medieval Mix: Magic, Medicine and Mainstream Devotion in the Middle Ages

There is an inherent link between magic, mainstream devotion and medicine shown throughout the Middle Ages. In order to fully understand the influence of magic on medieval lives one must clear their minds of modern stereotypes frequently associated with magical practices, often depicted in popular media. The relationship between magic and religion or popular devotion is complex. Primarily this essay will examine how greatly magical practices were intertwined with both 'mainstream' devotion and medicine. It will address the role of St Augustine in the perceptions of magic by the Church. It will explain the role of ritual magic and its effects on religion. Charms were a vital part of the medieval world, with their presence being evident in both medical cures and religious practices. Medical magic was a popular notion and something the ordinary person in the Middle Ages would have been accustomed to. And secondly, it will assess and compare historians' attitudes to the suppression of both witchcraft and magic. Historians attribute the suppression and condemnation of all things magical with the reformation and the disenchantment of magic, the rise of witch trials and association with demons.

A very influential work on the church's stance towards magic was St. Augustine of Hippo's *City of God*. Additionally, he also discussed magic several times in many of his other theological writings. Augustine defined 'the magic art' and 'superstitious' practices as activities that were intended to manipulate the world around us, but which could not work by natural means (Rider, 2015, p. 266). In general magic is a hard term to define. According to David Collins (2011) it is a term which has often been used, in both ancient and modern societies, to condemn whole categories of belief and corresponding practices (p. 410). Augustine also helps to draw a distinction between miracles and magic (Collins, 2011 p. 411). His distinction is that miracles are extraordinary and unique events, whose immediate cause is God, which strengthen the onlooker's faith. In contrast, magic, which also evokes awe in the onlookers, does this through demonic involvement (Collins, 2011, p. 411). Robert Bartlett (2008) also mentions that Christian meanings of miracles have tended to revolve around three principal conceptions: miracles can be characterised by their causation, by the sense of wonder they arouse, or by their function as signs (p. 8). Miracles have God at their center, magic has demons. Church authorities looked to the highly-valued texts of Augustine as guides on what constituted magic and how to recognise it. The implications of Augustine's works were that some magical practices fit into 'mainstream' medieval devotion and some did not.

A way in which religion and magic were intertwined in the medieval period was through ritual magic. Claire Fanger (2013) recognises that there are three basic categories of ritual magic: Theurgic texts, necromancy and image texts (p. 610). Theurgic texts often involve searching for visions of the divine in order to achieve some sort of purification of the soul (Fanger, 2013, p. 610). Necromancy is the practice of communicating with the dead and image magic has a reliance on astrology in the creation of talismans or images which focus on the power of heavenly bodies (Fanger, 2013, p. 610). A key point which Fanger raises is that medieval people who used, composed or wrote down magical texts

were likely monks, friars, or university students (the study of theology being common) (Fanger, 2013, p. 610). Catherine Rider (2015) also adds to this argument that educated men (mostly religious men, such as monks and clergy) had the most links to this ritual magic as they had the most access to Latin magical manuscripts and had the education to read them (p. 271). Ritual magic has a complex relationship with religion. Many of the texts stand in different positions to religion and were regarded differently by the readers. The texts also have similarities with Christianity. They assume the existence of a Christian cosmos in which angels and demons could influence the world, for both good or evil, and in which God was more powerful than the demons. An example of a ritual magic text is the *Ars Notoria*, which was often seen as devotional material despite multiple condemnations (Rider, 2015, p. 271). The view on ritual magic by medieval people, both lay and clergy, represents how there was no distinct line between magic and religion. This led to much confusion about what was legitimate, and it is easy to see how readers of ritual magic texts could have regarded their activities as appropriate and even pious (Rider, 2015, p. 272).

Attitudes towards charms represented how standardised it was to encounter charms and spells in everyday life, in the medieval period. Charms made appearances in both medical manuscripts and prayer books (Rider, 2015, p. 269). Charms were mostly used and associated with healing of sicknesses and wounds. The healing of illnesses would often rely on calling on God or saints (Rider, 2015, p. 269). Indeed, many charms relied on Christian imagery. This is shown in the saying: 'Christ was born, Christ was lost, Christ was found again; may he bless these wounds in the name of the father and of the son and of the holy spirit' (Bailey, 2008, p. 116). Many charms and magical practices were based on ecclesiastical rites, drawing on prayers and elements of the liturgy. Some modern scholars use this as evidence to support the idea of a substantial lay religiosity (Bailey, 2008, p. 116). However, the vast majority of Europe's population may not have been Christianized until the 16th century, and for most of the Middle Ages there was a sharp divide between the small amount of Christian elite, and the laity, who practiced a mostly pagan folk religion. By looking at the above blessing one might think that this is fundamentally Christian, but to the Christian authorities of the day, this was under the category of 'superstitious'. Unlike our modern meaning of the term superstition, in the Middle Ages, their basic definition of superstition was deformed or misdirected worship (Bailey, 2006, p. 402).

Charms were often used as an equivalent to medical practices in medieval society. Michael McVaugh and Lea Olsan have argued that medical writers of the medieval period did not classify charms as 'magic', but instead put them into a wider category of 'empirica' or 'experimenta' (Rider, 2011, p. 93). Even though these cures had been observed to work, they could not be explained by the theory of the humours which made them based only on subjective experience rather than medical theory (Rider, 2011, p. 93). Because charms and spells were so commonly used many people probably would not have perceived them as magic. This demonstrates how integrated they were into both mainstream medical

procedures and religious practices. However, attitudes towards empirica varied with some medical writers being more tolerant than others, and McVaugh suggests that, from the fourteenth century onwards, many writers became less sympathetic towards charms (Rider, 2011, p. 93). Ritualized, quasi-religious charms and amulets threaded their way through both the medical literature of experimenta (to which magica was cognate) and academic treatises (Hordern, 2011, p. 48). The wearing of amulets on the body was also seen as empirica. For example, the remedy for a nosebleed was suggested to be wearing herbs around the neck, as well as saying a charm or prayer whilst gathering the herbs (Rider, 2011, p. 99). The fact that a charm or prayer were interchangeable shows how pertinent magic practices and ordinary healing remained for the majority of the Middle Ages.

Charms lay on the border between acceptable religion and illicit magic. There was the fear from Christian authorities that charms were being used for demonic purposes, strange words in charms looked like they were being used to communicate with demons (Rider, 2011, p. 100). An example of this is 'Rex, Pax, Nax' for a toothache. This is an illustration of a charm which did not use Christian imagery right. Even though many charms would not have been accepted by the church, they were still accepted by the common people and even some clergy. The *Malleus maleficarum* conveys this widely shared fear when it warns that charms must not contain explicit or implicit invocation of demons, such as reference to "unknown names" (Kieckhefer, 1989, p. 182).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, concern with charms had shifted towards concern about witchcraft, which had become predominant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Bailey, 2008, p. 32). The rise of witchcraft led to even more efforts from both the church and local authorities to suppress magic. There are many debates among historians as to why, when and how magic and witchcraft came to be suppressed. Disenchantment, as made famous by anthropologist Max Weber, is part of the gradual transition from foundational Christian beliefs about the functioning of religio-magical rites, to the enlightened rejection of magic (Bailey, 2006, p. 403). It can also be defined as emerging scepticism and repudiation of magical beliefs (Bailey, 2006, p. 403). Disenchantment is a key feature of modern western society. Weber describes the development of disenchantment in relation to science, stating it entailed primarily the conviction "there are no mysterious incalculable forces" and that "one need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore spirits" (Bailey, 2006, p. 383). Keith Thomas' ground breaking book, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, has a more recent take on disenchantment. He attributes the 'decline of magic' to the sixteenth century Protestant Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment (Collins, 2011, p. 431). Thomas briefly mentions Weber directly but takes up the Weberian notion of religion displacing magic from European society (Bailey, 2006, p. 384). The Reformation was both a time of new ideas and a shift away from traditional religion and magical practices.

Witch trials were based on a new concept of magic, which developed at the end of the Middle Ages according to Rider (2015, p. 271). Valerie Flint (2006) argues that witch trials, or any type of magic trials, were a means of disposing of political enemies, including popes, and accusations of magical activity offered a way whereby members of a profession, such as doctors, might find scapegoats for their own failures (p. 345). Kieckhefer (1989) suggests that a reason for the suppression of magic and witchcraft was that those who practiced it were in danger of physical and spiritual attack from demons who sought to control them (p.176). In theory there were two types of legislation against the practice of magic: secular laws, and ecclesiastical laws. Most of the known trials for magic in the Middle Ages involved important political figures serving as defendants, accusers, or victims (Kieckhefer, 1989, p 187). These events were more likely to be recorded by chroniclers as significant events; therefore there is less likely to be information on the trials of ordinary villagers (Kieckhefer, 1989, p 187). Before the new concept of witchcraft arose, it was generally believed that magicians acted alone and were not automatically associated with devil worship (Fanger, 2013, p. 273). The development of the witch stereotype led to growing concern about the devil's role in magic and the stereotype of the witch presented witchcraft as a deviant form of religion (Fanger, 2013, p. 274). This meant that both magic and witchcraft came to be persecuted more in the sixteenth century and onwards. Magic was seen as both a physical threat in terms of using magical powers to harm others and scapegoating enemies, as well as a spiritual threat because of the demonic associations.

Magic and witchcraft were suppressed due to what the church saw as its demonic root. By the early fifteenth century, witchcraft implied far more than just engaging in malevolent magic (*maleficium*), it was now fabricated as the total surrender to demons (Bailey, 2006, p. 386). By condemning witchcraft and clarifying both the nature of the witches' power and the rites by which they might appear to work that power, authorities were obliged to address the essence of many common healing and protective rites (Bailey, 2006, p. 386). These included both official ceremonies and formally approved practices as well as fully popular improvisations often resulting from these. Keith Thomas labelled these rites the "magic of the medieval church" (Bailey, 2006, p. 386). Against witchcraft Christian authorities desired to recommend the power of official Christian rites, such as praying a blessing or making the sign of the cross (Bailey, 2006, p. 395).

It is evident that religion and medicine were interwoven with magic in many diverse ways in the medieval period. The nature and scope of these interactions continue to be investigated by scholars across many various practices and sources, from the widespread charms to the ritual magic texts that attracted a far smaller readership; and from sources that give directions from the practitioners, to condemnations penned by theologians and other clergy. It is evident that magic played a crucial role in society, existing alongside and often intertwined with religion. There was and still is debate as to whether it was accepted by church authorities, as some members of the clergy endorsed whilst others condemned magical acts, even if they were beneficial. The lines between what was licit

and illicit were often blurred, while magic had many different uses including healing powers, protection, blessings, and even communicating with the dead. Magic can thus be seen as a trajectory leading to true science as it was a precursor to the Enlightenment as well as the rise of Rationalism and Positivism.

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Anthropology 324

Medical Anthropology

Jinal Mehta

In the Wake of the Quake

The Christchurch earthquakes left an indelible mark on New Zealanders and have shaped a generation. The tragedy of these quakes became an impetus for several important national conversations about disaster management and infrastructure to meet New Zealand's unique geological profile. One of the most striking aspects of the ongoing recovery and rebuilding following the quakes is their impact on mental health in Christchurch. A social suffering perspective provides an informative framework through which to understand how medicalisation and bureaucratisation interact within the context of the Christchurch earthquake, particularly in terms of mental health. Further, the processes of social suffering Cantabrians have undergone are embodied as differential mental health outcomes.

Social suffering is the consequence of political, economic, and institutional power on people, and how problems are addressed as a result of such powers (Kleinman, Das, & Lock, 1997). Essentially, problems of the individual are not ignored, but are situated within the wider socio-political and economic context. Using Scheper-Hughes' and Lock's (1987) conception of the three bodies, an experience of suffering can also be understood as an interaction between the individual body, the social body, and the body politic. The interactions between social bodies and control exerted by the body politic are embodied as psychological distress in Christchurch residents. Moreover, the body is not just an entity that is scrutinised, but also one that actively shapes one's experience of the world and thus the interplay between the three bodies (Csordas, 1994; Desjarlais & Throop, 2011).

Social suffering and how it is embodied is particularly salient in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes, especially as the tragedies and recovery are regularly relitigated. Canterbury was struck by a magnitude 7.1 earthquake in September 2010 that was non-fatal but resulted in extensive property damage and aftershocks. It was followed by a magnitude 6.3 earthquake in February 2011, which resulted in 185 fatalities and further damage to the city (Greater Christchurch Group, 2017). Seven years later, rebuilding and recovery efforts are still ongoing. Unsurprisingly, the earthquakes had several implications for mental health in Christchurch from the individual to the community levels, and from the short-term to the long-term.

There is a plethora of literature about the psychological consequences of the earthquakes. Unsurprisingly, there is increased psychological distress shown within a range of samples and studies (Fergusson, Boden, Horwood, & Mulder, 2015; Spittlehouse, Joyce, Vierck, Schluter, & Pearson, 2014). However, what is of particular interest is the medicalisation of distress. Medicalisation is the manner in which 'non-medical' or 'normal' behaviours are reconceptualised and approached as medical problems (Parens, 2013). It can be understood as a spectrum, as some behaviours may be medicalised more than others, and thus have varied types and degrees of consequences (Conrad & Slodden, 2012; Parens, 2013).

Of course, this raises the question of what we define as ‘medical’ problems. This is especially fraught in the context of psychology, where traditional ideas of Western biomedicine are problematised. Western biomedicine assumes that a constellation of symptoms (no matter how mild) are due to some underlying pathology. However, psychological distress is frequently in response to some external stimuli and is not necessarily pathological (paradoxically, some might consider a lack of distress pathological). Thus, at what point does a ‘normal’ reaction to a distressing event become a pathologized? Is there some quality that distinguishes the expected trauma and distress from pathology, or is pathology the extreme in the range of reactions (Aneshensel, Phelan, & Bierman, 2012)?

In a clinical setting in which the medical gaze is applied, one might argue mental health is irrevocably medicalised. Psychiatry is a tradition grounded in Western biomedicine, so any measure of mental health within a psychiatric setting is treated as an objective, standardised measure similar to measures of physical health in Western biomedicine. This plays out in the case of the Christchurch earthquake, in that measures of prescriptions and improvements in a psychiatric setting are used as assessments of mental health in the region (Beaglehole, Frampton, Boden, Mulder, & Bell, 2017; Beaglehole, Bell, Frampton, Hamilton, & McKean, 2015). However, such measures fail to consider those who do not or are unable to seek support in a psychiatric setting, and forms of psychological distress that are not necessarily treated with medical interventions.

Moreover, medicalising distress and placing it in the context of Western biomedicine individualises it. It becomes constrained to the individual physical body, and is stripped of its cultural, socio-political, and structural contexts (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). This is problematic in terms of disaster management and mental health because it disregards the social antecedents of distress and the myriad ways in which sociocultural factors can influence experience and expression, even though it may provide a rigorous frame of treatment (Stein, Seedat, Iversen, & Wessely, 2007). Crucially, medicalisation of mental and emotional suffering absolves the powerful of responsibility in addressing the larger structural factors contributing to suffering. Thus, it becomes a form of control exerted over individual bodies by the body politic. By medicalising response to trauma, the body politic is able to regulate and reproduce the type of responses deemed appropriate (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987).

Medicalising mental health and situating it in a clinical context also adds to the burden of bureaucracy already borne by Cantabrians. More than seven years after the initial earthquakes, residents are still struggling to have their homes and communities fixed amid constant battle with the Earthquake Commission (EQC) for adequate insurance and revelations of sub-standard repairs (Bayer, 2017; Hayward, 2018). The residents’ narratives of the rebuild are often at odds with the Government’s, which compounds the uncertainty of (literally) insecure housing and communities and contributes to the

residents' social experience of routinised misery (Simons, 2016). In addition to the bureaucratisation of accessing suitable living conditions, residents must also contend with inadequate access to mental health care.

Consistent with mental health responses after other disasters, there was an initial decrease in demand for inpatient mental health services in Christchurch in the immediate aftermath of the earthquakes and a drop in the suicide rate (Beaglehole, Bell, Beveridge, & Frampton, 2015; Ministry of Justice, 2013). As the community rallies in the immediate aftermath of a disaster, there is an overwhelming focus on resilience and courage that may distract from the suffering (Cox, Long, Jones, & Handler, 2008). Unfortunately, this perceived decrease in demand (and need) for mental health services does not hold over time (Ministry of Justice, 2017). There are regular news stories about a mental health infrastructure in Christchurch that is underfunded, understaffed, and overworked such that those in need are underserved. Parents report waiting up to six months for appointments with mental health specialists for their children, and mental health professionals describe in-patient services operating near or at-capacity such that the safety of patients and professionals is compromised (Meier, 2017; Meier, 2018). Bureaucratisation of mental health care enforces the power of the body politic over the individual body as it shapes who has access to state-funded mental health services. People of greater affluence and privilege are better able to afford private support, so it is those already hindered by structural violence that are disproportionately underserved (Wang et al., 2007).

Consequently, inadequate support intensifies suffering and perpetuates previously existing structural violence, such that psychological risk is focussed on the already vulnerable. For example, Māori are already overrepresented in the New Zealand suicide rate and in specialist mental health services under the Mental Health Act (Ministry of Justice, 2017; Ministry of Health, 2016). Some might suspect this is an innate predisposition, but data from the New Zealand Health Survey (NZHS) suggests that mental health is adversely affected by racial discrimination, not just for Maori, but for other ethnic groups also (Harris et al., 2012). Similarly, New Zealanders are more likely to report higher subjective well-being and higher self-perceived ability to meet one's basic needs as their income increases (Sengupta et al., 2012). Unfortunately, such inequalities shape response and are amplified in the aftermath of disaster. They represent an interaction between the individual bodies that bear the brunt of structural violence, the social body which affects and is affected by inequality, and the body politic that perpetuates structural violence through culture and policy that systemically disadvantage some groups more than others. Consideration of such factors is vital to re-embedding the individual in their wider socio-political and moral world and understanding the structural context in which mental health outcomes emerge.

There is a geographical split in prevalence of mood disorder symptoms, such that proximity to areas with greater damage was a risk factor for actual diagnoses of mood

disorders, even after controlling for demographic variables. It is likely that those in more affected areas feel less control over aftershocks, thus increasing their distress (Dorahy & Kannis-Dymand, 2012; Hogg, Kingham, Wilson, Griffin, & Ardagh, 2014). In isolation, this suggests that simply experiencing more devastating effects increases distress. However, the long-term consequences of greater devastation (such as rebuilding and recovery efforts) also contribute to suffering within the community.

This is evident in east Christchurch, which was hardest hit; its residents are at greatest risk of being diagnosed with a mood disorder (Hogg et al., 2014). This is likely to be a manifestation of several interacting social and political forces. For one, in areas with greater damage, there is also greater displacement and loss of property, thus undermining residents' sense of belonging and security. This entails not only a loss of one's home, but also a loss of community spaces in which to build restore social networks and institutions, build resilience, and mobilise (Kirkmayer, Kienzler, Afana, & Pedersen, 2010). Social relations are vital for bodily health (especially mental health), such that an unhealthy social body has consequences for the individual body through which the world is experienced (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). Furthermore, return to 'normalcy' requires greater rebuilding efforts and funding, both from private and government sources. This has been a source of consternation in the community; residents report feeling demoralised, neglected, and unrepresented in the narrative of a thriving city (Law, 2018; Radio New Zealand, 2017). The control of the body politic over the production of a new city is not to the advantage of residents in east Christchurch, and this is embodied as displaced communities and increased risk of mood disorders.

Issues of displacement and psychological distress are further complexified by the role of socioeconomic power. For example, residents of suburbs with higher socioeconomic status report greater feelings of control over responses to aftershocks compared to residents in suburbs with comparable levels of damage but of lower socioeconomic status (Dorahy et al., 2016). Consequently, they also report lower aftershock anxiety, mood disorder symptoms, and general disruption to functioning (Dorahy et al., 2015; Dorahy et al., 2016). The Christchurch Earthquake Recovery Authority's (CERA) biannual CERA Wellbeing Survey (CWS) also demonstrates similar trends. Participants with low household incomes, pre-existing ill-health or disability, people who were renting homes, and ethnic minorities (including Māori and Pasifika) were more likely to rate their quality of life negatively over time and have lower mean scores on an emotional wellbeing scale (Morgan et al., 2015).

The amplification of structural violence during crisis is perpetuated and reinforced through a variety of processes. Affluent residents were more likely to relocate after the earthquake, possibly because they had the means to (Dorahy et al., 2015). Not only does this remove them from the immediate physical environment of insecurity and instability, but also demonstrates an element of the greater control residents in high income areas felt they had. A sense of control may also stem from being more able (and likely) to afford repairs on their homes without relying on EQC or other insurance providers,

or having greater understanding or complicity with the bureaucracy. Simultaneously, overrepresentation of already vulnerable groups in post-disaster mental health adversity may also be an intensification of chronic stress over the course of a lifetime that has shaped response to crisis (Hertzman & Boyce, 2010). This exemplifies how cultural, socioeconomic, and political forces had shaped the bodies of Christchurch residents prior to the earthquakes, which in turn influenced how they experienced the earthquakes and their aftermath.

The interplay between individual bodies, the social body, and the body politic is especially evident in the bodies of young children. After the earthquake, children displayed more post-traumatic stress (PTS) symptoms and behavioural problems than children of a similar age before the earthquake (Liberty, Tarren-Sweeney, Macfarlane, Basu, & Reid, 2016). Furthermore, children who were 24 months or younger at the beginning of the earthquake sequence displayed greater PTS symptoms than children older than 24 months, suggesting that period of development may play a critical role in how children experienced the trauma and reacted to it (Liberty et al., 2016). There are also reports of children born after the large 2010 and 2011 earthquakes starting school with quake-related PTS symptoms, which affects their learning due to hyperarousal (Broughton, 2017). We cannot yet untangle the effects of epigenetic transfer of maternal stress while the children were in-utero and the effects of anxiety experienced by the children themselves. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the uncertainty and tension of post-earthquake Christchurch is embodied in children as quake-related stress.

It is entirely possible that epigenetic transfer of maternal stress is reinforced by the socio-political context of the children and that the two processes interact, which challenges the medicalisation of quake-related distress as purely psychological or psychiatric. How children cope with disaster is a function of a multitude of factors, including parental socioeconomic position, parental distress, relationships with parents (including cultural variants of parenting styles and expectations), exposure to media coverage, and social support (Pfefferbaum, Jacobs, Houston, & Griffin, 2015). To use Scheper-Hughes' and Lock's body metaphor (1987), such results suggest that nourishing the social body is vital for children.

Thus, schools have become important sites for building social bonds after the Christchurch earthquakes. In the months and years following the earthquakes, they were a space in which children (especially those who were displaced) could address their own trauma and support their peers through a range of activities and contexts (Johnson & Ronan, 2014; Mutch, 2013; Mutch & Gawith, 2014). This is further enhanced by school administrators and teachers being responsive to the needs of children. Some report trying to provide emotional support, while some schools have changed the structure of the classroom and school day in order to create a more cohesive learning environment for hypervigilant children (Johnson & Ronan, 2014; Young, 2018). This is an example of small-scale structural change that is attentive to the distress of the children but does not

necessarily medicalise it as problems pertaining to individuals.

The Christchurch earthquakes and its consequences shaped the course of New Zealand history. By understanding processes of social suffering and understanding how they are embodied within the context of the Christchurch earthquake, we can begin to understand the psychological consequences of the earthquakes. One can begin to establish the larger structural forces that are present and perpetuated in crisis, and perhaps ascertain how we can affect change to alleviate the suffering of Christchurch residents.

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HOME IS WHERE HEGEMONY IS: NEW ZEALAND POLITICS AND IDENTITY

The cultural, social and political dynamics in New Zealand have resulted in an evocative backdrop for creating new understandings. The establishment Pākehā hegemony in New Zealand's colonial has left a blueprint for ethnic and cultural inequalities in New Zealand, not only for Māori but also for other ethnic minorities. The following essays open discussions and debates through art, understanding one's own position and the meaning of democracy in New Zealand which assists in the understanding for a more equitable New Zealand.

In the opening essay for this section, Jokic draws on a variety of classical and contemporary sources to discuss the impracticality and possible implications of voter competency test in the context of New Zealand. Rather than having voter competency test, Jokic suggests varying ways to strengthen New Zealand's democracy; the use of NZ Vote Compass to increase policy awareness and reforming high school systems.

Artistic expression has the ability to create understandings that have transformative politics and personal messages through drawing on the ancestral history of Māori. James explores Te Kooti's contribution to the peaceful resistance through figurative painting to the injustices experienced by Māori that resulted from colonial powers.

Harris offers insight into a reimagining of national identity through the lens of biculturalism. It is through biculturalism, the Māori and Pākehā traditions are balanced and Pākehā hegemony is deconstructed. However, Pākehā privilege in Devonport remains ignored and unquestioned. The racial politics in Devonport is not only a local issue but also a national issue.

Opening with a comparison of his experience with the experience of 'Victor', Vale recognises how his inherited privilege has shaped his social position and ethnic identity as a Pākehā male in New Zealand. Through the manipulation of public discourse, some groups are afforded certain privileges in society while 'others' are not. The egalitarian ideology and meritocratic belief in New Zealand disguise the Pākehā hegemony.

To end Edition 7, Puertollano provides insight into the struggles of racial ambiguity through navigating between a Western New Zealand context and Filipino upbringing. The social location of 'inbetweenness' can be an ongoing struggle due to the 'failure' to meet the cultural expectations social markers that are determined by others despite biological links.

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Democracy in Theory and Practice

Vukan Jokic

From Democratic Theory to Politics in Practice: The Case Against Voter Competency Tests in New Zealand

Write right from the left to the right as you see it spelled here.

–Louisiana Voter Literacy Test, circa 1964 (as cited in Schwartz, 2010)

If Western societies were to learn anything about voter competency tests from the lessons of history, it would be that there is nothing democratic about them. The most well-known lesson comes from the Jim Crow South in the mid-twentieth century: after the end of the American Civil War, would-be black voters in the South faced an array of disproportionate barriers to enfranchisement and impossible to pass voter competency tests were one of them (Onion, 2013). The infamous Louisiana Literacy Test demonstrated that these kinds of tests had little to do with citizenship or political competency, and a lot to do with electoral exclusion and racial discrimination, which is reason enough to never implement them again (Onion, 2013). This essay revisits voting competency tests as outlined in Caplan's provocative 2007 book *The Myth of the Rational Voter* in an attempt to determine whether today's New Zealand society could benefit from them. It does so in three distinctive ways: First, a discussion on Caplan's ideas in the New Zealand context renders competency tests impractical and discriminatory. Second, the flaws of comparing voting and driving are highlighted. Third, counterarguments are considered in a discussion on Rousseauian and Schumpeterian theory. The conclusion sums up these three subtopics and offers alternative solutions to improve New Zealand democracy.

The fact that democratic states have stayed away from competency tests for so long either implies that the lesson has been learned, or that the controversy surrounding testing voters is so great that it has daunted politicians to the point of disregarding them, even when in dire need of solutions to pressing democratic problems. The umbrella-term used to encompass different democratic issues across different countries is 'the global crisis in democracy' and is currently characterised by declining participation rates, the officials' struggle to retain the public's trust, populism and personality politics (Miller, 2015). A recent Ipsos poll shows that New Zealand parallels patterns found in other Western democracies with 64% of Kiwis claiming that the economy is rigged against them and 56% agreeing that traditional parties and politicians do not care about ordinary people (Cooke, 2017). It is precisely sentiments like these that, according to Caplan (2007), have led to senseless policy-making and the failure of democracy. He claims that "in theory, democracy is a bulwark against socially harmful policies, but in practice, it gives them a safe harbor" (2007, p. 1). To combat this paradox and the 'irrational' views highlighted by the Ipsos poll, he offers several solutions, the most striking one being a competency test designed to ensure citizens are familiar with economic and political principles before casting their vote.

Caplan's thought experiment is based on the argument that requirements such as an economic literacy test or even a tertiary degree would drastically "raise the economic understanding of the median voter, leading to more sensible policies" which would consequently strengthen democracy (2007, p. 197). It is important to note that the

Louisiana Literacy Test was likewise designed to supposedly allow all prospective voters to prove a certain level of education prior to elections, yet it did nothing more than perpetuate racial discrimination (Onion, 2013). The idea that some have more democratic rights than others is undemocratic itself and undermines the concept of fair and inclusive elections, embraced by every representative democracy in the world (Miller, 2015). As one of the oldest and most enduring democracies, New Zealand has been committed to these values enshrined in the Electoral Act, according to which all citizens and residents who have lived in the country for at least one year have the universal right to vote and may put themselves forward as the people's representatives at any time (Miller, 2015). Not only does the legal system demonstrate these values, but so do national campaigns which highlight the importance of voting and overall high voting participation which was 77 percent in 2014 – higher than the OECD median of 66 percent for recent elections (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).

Undoubtedly, a Caplan-esque test would demoralise these values, discourage participation and slash turnout rates. More importantly, it would remove the political presence of an unprivileged portion of society which already struggles with social marginalisation. Much like the Louisiana example, such a test would immediately become a tool for racial discrimination, widening the gap in inequality between Māori and Pacific people, and the European population. In fact, New Zealand is already struggling with growing racial inequalities: as of 2014, there has been a 10 percent gap between the portion of Europeans with a Bachelor's degree vis-à-vis Māori and Pacific people, a 20 percent gap if the number of school leavers with a minimum of NCEA Level 2 is taken into account, as well as a 10 percent unemployment gap (Mariott & Sim, 2014). In addition, such a selective competency test would be a direct breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of New Zealand as a nation, which guarantees Māori people the right to self-determination and all the privileges of citizenship (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).

Caplan defends his contentious proposal by presenting a comparison between driving and voting which, in a relatable way, highlights the importance of protecting society from both reckless drivers and voters. He argues that “an irrational voter does not hurt only himself. He also hurts everyone who is, as a result of his irrationality, more likely to live under misguided policies” (2007, p. 1). This argument may seem compelling, especially in the context of the 2016 American presidential election, where there is a case to be made that were Americans more knowledgeable on policy issues and less interested in personality politics, the outcome may have been different (Clinton, 2017). However, upon closer inspection, Caplan's parallel is less convincing: while the road code clearly differentiates good driving from bad, who will be the judge of what constitutes a good government? It is common knowledge that even political scientists and the educated elites across many democratic countries find themselves arguing over which party deserves to be the winning one. Although the concept of an ideal common good itself has been crucial to the development of modern political thought, and is perhaps the utopian

purpose of competency tests, there is no evidence to support the idea that the politically savvy speak with a united voice.

In classical democratic theory, the general will plays a central role in establishing good governance. According to Rousseau, the general will is the will of the sovereign, or all the people together, that aims at the common good, at what is best for the state as a whole (2010). Furthermore, “if the general will is to emerge clearly it is important that there should be no partial society within the state, and that each citizen should think only his own thoughts” (Rousseau, 2010, p. 14). This classical idea implies that the citizenry possesses the competency to make unanimous decisions for their collective benefit and elect governments whose policies are in accordance with the common good. If this civic virtue were truly present in the democratic societies Caplan writes about, voter competency tests would be meaningless as all citizens would have the same opinion and could easily decide whom to vote for. However, Caplan adjusts this scenario suggesting that, while the common good does exist, it is only those who are knowledgeable in economics that could recognise it and make the right political decisions (2007). In reality, the common good is contested, elusive and in a pluralistic state like New Zealand, may not even exist since different individuals with different backgrounds may never agree on what is good for all.

Schumpeter grounds Rousseau’s ambitious understanding of how democracy should work and makes the point that ordinary people are, in fact, not rational enough to see what their true interests are (1954). He believes that “human actions and choices are based on some irrational and extra-rational elements that prevent people from having, seeing, and trying to achieve a common good” (1954, p. 77). Although people do make rational decisions while, for example, driving to avoid getting into an accident, they do not have the same sense of responsibility when hitting the polls, opening the door to irrational voting. Moreover, because citizens are often ignorant and lack the ability to make fair judgments outside their personal circles, Schumpeter argues, their political power should be reduced to choosing a government that will on its own come up with adequate policies rather than follow the citizens’ will (1954). Caplan takes a step further and asserts that voter competency tests are necessary to identify those irrational voters who deserve not minimal power, but no power at all. He builds on Schumpeter’s argument that people vote irrationally and introduces the oxymoron ‘rational irrationality’ to show that what is irrational from the standpoint of the common good can be rational from the standpoint of individual self-actualisation (2007, p. 141).

Under layers of elitism and white middle-class privilege, Caplan may still have a point. Voting does impact everyone, and bad decisions by an electorate will cause the entire polity to suffer (Mazie, 2016). After all, the origins of the driver’s licence analogy can be traced back to Book VI of the Republic in which Socrates compares society to a ship, asking who should have the power to appoint those in charge of the vessel: just anyone, or people educated in the rules and demands of seafaring? (Plato, 1969). Sadly,

Socrates' emphasis on knowledge and skill was not noticeable in New Zealand's 2017 General Election. With their focus on smiles, selfies and relentless positivity, the election campaigns have confirmed Miller's (2015) concern; catering to the irrational through party branding and style has trumped substance and deprived the voting public of informed policy choice. And while better informed and wiser voters entering the voting booth would surely have a positive impact on the country (Mazie, 2016), voter competency tests are not the solution.

Drawing on a variety of classical and contemporary sources, this essay has shown that competency tests can only be justified from a theoretical standpoint, not a practical one, especially in the bicultural New Zealand context. A non-discriminatory alternative is the already existing NZ Vote Compass, a questionnaire which shows where people fit into New Zealand's political spectrum based on the current policies of running parties (George, 2014). I believe that popularising this optional test online and in print would weaken personality politics and increase policy awareness amongst voters. A second, more comprehensive and structural alternative would be reforming the high school system to ensure all young Kiwis are taught how to think critically and make their own conclusions. In other words, enhancing students' cultural capital through education is likely to create more literate and politically engaged voters, without discriminating those who miss out. Currently, only a handful of high-end schools in New Zealand offer programmes like International Baccalaureate or Cambridge Global which are proven to help students develop their critical minds and research skills (Dykstra, 2016). In the end, if policy-makers are to commit to advancing voter competency, their solutions will have to proportionately benefit all electors, respecting the notion that without discussion and deliberation amongst free and equal citizens, democracy would cease to exist.

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Art History 238

Maori Art History: Mana Taonga

Emily James

'Art of this world': Te Kooti's contemporary and customary contribution to figurative painting in the 19th century

The 19th century was characterised by change and innovation in Māori art. The establishment of the whare whakairo was radicalised in the attachment of a distinctive decorative style known as figurative painting. Of the over 80 whare whakairo associated with figurative painting, Te Tokanganui-a-Noho, 1873 and Rongopai, 1888 demonstrate the significance of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki's role in the creation and continuation of the movement. Te Tokanganui-a-Noho serves as an origin of figurative painting trends, while Rongopai is the synthesis of the movement's ideas (Neich, 1990). Te Kooti recognised the value in artistic expression. He transformed understandings of figurative painting to assert powerful political claims, but also more personal messages of resistance and identity in the new age of understanding. However, figurative painting existed prior to its use by Te Kooti and he cannot be credited as the creator of figurative painting. The earliest known use is by the carver Hone Taahu who painted 6 heke tipi panels containing a series of figures for Hau Te Ana Nui o Tangaroa, 1873 (Ellis, 2016). This was an individual project not made in association with Te Kooti or Ringatū. (Ellis, 2016). However, Te Kooti brought a new branch of creativity to the East Coast that would not have been achieved without his influence (Kaa, 2013).

Figurative painting drew on histories of *kōwhaiwhai* and naturalistic drawings. Like many other leaders, Te Kooti was well versed in the traditions and styles of Māori art (Ellis, 2016). The whare whakairo served as a transitional area, where continuities between art forms were apparent. A naturalist precedent emerged early with European contact (Neich, 2001). However, it was an "artistic ferment" between Māori artists and European commissioners that cultivated some of the most influential innovations (Neich, 2001, p. 86). A new *kōwhaiwhai* design of Te Pitau-a-Manaia emerged, countering William Williams critique for "genuine traditional designs" (Neich, 1990, p. 169). Te Pitau-a-Manaia included "curved prolific limbs" branching off double spirals of the buttocks (Neich, 2001, p. 86). This figurative *kōwhaiwhai* informed the stylised forms of Rongopai paintings (Neich, 2001). Alternatively, naturalistic drawings were figurative by design (Neich, 2001). "Narrative drawings" emerged in the 1860s informed particularly by the circulation of illustrated bibles (Neich, 2001, p. 170). The compositions were a complex combination of Maori and European imagery; renderings of Rota's (a Pāi Marire follower) dreams contained birds, canoes and taniwha juxtaposed against solid forms of devils derived from Christianity (Neich, 2001). The black silhouettes of Rota's dreams share an affinity in form to the active figures engaged in cricket and football on the third panel from the right on the back-porch wall (Neich, 2001). Te Kooti would pioneer figurative painting into mainstream practice, as part of a broader theme of abstract to naturalism occurring across Māori art (Brown, 2009).

Te Kooti associated the meeting house with mana, and accordingly created new ideas for figurative painting that would transform its artistic value (Ellis, 2016). Prior to the 19th century, notions of painting existed in oral histories, however, always as a subordinate art. In 1929, Best published an oral history suggesting the celestial origin of carved

and painted designs (Neich, 1990). It describes a god teaching several brothers how to embellish their houses with painted designs as their younger brothers had already taken the higher value art of woodcarving (Neich, 1990). As a carver and apprentice to Raharuhi Rukupo, Te Kooti's renovation of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho for King Tāwhiao with figurative painting was a deliberate decision (Ellis, 2016). The figurative painting on the exterior is in a strong visual position (Binney, 1995). Two figures are painted on the door; both wear huia feathers signalling their rank, the left bears a top knot while the right is distinguished by the short hair of the new generation (Binney, 1995). The vertical porch beams depict painted flowers, taniwha and other motifs in traditional kōwhaiwhai compositions (Neich, 2001). In attaching figurative painting to such a powerful symbol of reconciliation, Te Kooti recreated the value of figurative painting and elevated its communicative ability (Hoskins, 2011).

Te Kooti encouraged his followers in the commission of new whare that would express the culture of Ringatū (Ellis, 2016). This was both practical and visual. Whare whakairo such as Rongopai were often erected quickly in anticipation of Te Kooti and without the presence of a tohunga (Brown, 2009). Oral histories describe painting as an "art of this world," unbound by the laws of tapu that was attached to its traditional counterpart, woodcarving (Neich, 1990, p. 168). Figurative painting bypassed these protocols, and the traditional gender divisions associated with art, allowing men, women and children to participate simultaneously in decoration (Ellis, 2016). For its efficiency, figurative painting continued to become the identifiable art of Ringatū.

Te Kooti's teachings were manifested in the imagery of figurative painting. Against the devastation of land alienation and the activity of the Native Land Court, Te Kooti took a strong stance against the sale of tribal land (Neich, 2001). Oral histories describe repeating patterns of flowers and plants along Te Tokanganui-a-Noho's porch boards, rendered in the colours of the rainbow (Hoskins, 2011). Neich argues these represented the land, its timber and prosperity which symbolised mana and turangawaewae (2001). This message of strength continued in the "brightly painted garden" of Rongopai (Binney, 1995, p. 370). A botanical index covered Rongopai, which visually expressed Tangata Whenua. Through his powerful political statements in figurative painting, Te Kooti appealed to Māori nationalism (Mead, 1972). His ideas of a powerful yet peaceful method of resistance to colonial injustices continued in the imagery of Ringatū (Kaa, 2013).

Te Kooti expressed a new historical consciousness through figurative painting (Neich, 1990). Te Tokanganui-a-Noho re-evaluated understandings of time and space by juxtaposing contemporary scenes of figures engaged in Pakeha sport against taniwha and other traditional motifs (Brown, 2009). Rongopai continued this as an expression of a new historical identity, including the depiction of Hinehikirangi, a pre-European ancestor rendered in Victorian attire (Brown, 2009). The English rose is symbolic of her virtue, while her leadership status retains her mana (Brown, 2009). Furthermore, Wi

Pere, a contemporary figure, is rendered with moko kanohi which he did not possess in life (Brown, 2009). Iconography symbolises two forms of mana. Inherited mana is suggested with his mother Riria Mauaranui perched on his right shoulder, while his achieved mana is alluded to in the chair, illustrative of his position as a member of the House of Representatives (Neich, 1990; Brown, 2009). The merging of contemporary with customary concepts was an expression of a new worldview and an identity within it (Neich, 1990). The continuum of the ancestral past to the colonial present promoted ideas of resistance as still existing and achievable through contemporary leaders such as Te Kooti (Brown, 2009).

Figurative painting continued as an expression of identity; as identity changed, so did the mode of artistic expression. In its simplest function, the presence or absence of figurative painting could indicate allegiance to Te Kooti. Although the practice continued after Te Kooti's death in 1893, it lost momentum with the rise of new prophetic movements that orientated many away from Ringatū to new faiths (Binney, 1990). Residual attitudes to Te Kooti as a militant coloured the perception of figurative painting (Binney, 1990). Whilst many whare whakairo - including Rongopai - still contain their original decorations, figurative paintings by their very nature were easily removable from history, often being painted over or removed altogether to disassociate with Te Kooti (Neich, 2001). The figurative paintings of Te Tokanganui-a-noho can now only be recognised through oral histories and photographs. Whilst these whare whakairo reflect a vibrant period of transition for Māori art, as change continued to take place, so did the mode of artistic expression (McLean, 2013). While Te Kooti was significant for the continuation of figurative painting, evidently, his association was also key to its decline.

Te Kooti's role is best summarised as the pioneer of the figurative painting movement, both for its creation and continuation. His visions of liberation were translated through figurative painting into powerful expressions of identity and resistance (Kaa, 2013). However, the 1920's saw a government-funded revival of 'traditional' Māori arts based on Eurocentric criteria (Neich, 1990). Despite both emerging in the 19th century, 'traditional' could encompass the whare but did not extend to figurative painting. Against the full history of Māori art, the practice of figurative painting was brief, however, its legacy remained. The new consciousness of figurative painting continued under the Young Maori Party. Āpirana Ngata like Te Kooti recognised the power of art. Whilst figurative painting was among the most dynamic arts of the time, its diversity and politically charged nature inhibited Māori unity on a national scale. Woodcarving was more appropriate to take on the role of 'national' art to quell European demands whilst retaining a platform to express Māori interests and identity.

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Politics of Culture

Kate Harris

A Mountain or a Maunga? A Reflection upon White Privilege and Aotearoa's Racial Politics in Devonport, Auckland

Devonport is a sea-side suburb of Auckland, prized by its residents for its quaint village, and beautiful beaches and scenery. On February 28th, 2018, a photo of council workmen constructing a vehicular barrier arm was posted to the Devonport Locals Facebook Group. To any non-community member, this commentary seems like a bizarre over-reaction to a mundane event. On the webpage however, commentary included such statements as: "It just doesn't seem right & doesn't seem very democratic"; "A bit of salt water will fix it!" (Devonport Locals Facebook Group, 2018b).¹ This commentary is only a small sample of the weeks and months of debate surrounding the closure of vehicular access to Devonport's Mount Victoria (Takarunga). Through the lens of this local issue, I seek to explore how Aotearoa's colonial past impacts contemporary racial politics, which in turn impact emerging notions of bicultural nationalism. Benedict Anderson's ideas of how a nation is "imagined", can be used to explain bicultural and racial politics in Aotearoa, in the context of the iwi collective who are enforcing the vehicular ban (1983/2006). Opposition to the ban can be understood within Devonport's distinct character, based on commentary in the Facebook group and in the New Zealand Herald. Devonport's demographics complicate the opposition perspective, which can be illuminated through Tim Wise and Ibram X. Kendi's explanations of white privilege, "racist ideas", and "post-racialism" (Kendi 2017; Young, Morris, & Jhally 2013). By telling this story, I also reflect upon how my privilege, as a life-long Devonport resident, affects my view of this debate.

Benedict Anderson suggests defining a "nation" as an "imagined political community ... both inherently limited and sovereign" (1983/2006, p. 6). People are bound together by nationalism – some shared notion of a national identity. Yet, the term 'imagined' implies the nation, however entrenched, can then be re-'imagined' in response to political currents. How a nation is 'sovereign' – or who is sovereign – is similarly mutable. In Aotearoa, many argue that nationalism should turn towards a notion of biculturalism.² This concept theorises that colonial sovereignty can be deconstructed, so a nation in which both tikanga Māori (customs) and Pākehā³ traditions are balanced, in the way the partnership of Te Tiriti o Waitangi initially intended, can be built. This is integral to the purpose of the Tūpuna Maunga Authority (TMA). The Ngā Mana Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau Collective Redress Act 2014 was created with the overall purpose of restoring ownership and the right to practise mana whenua (ancestral authority) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship or protection) of several key Auckland maunga (mountains), to the collective iwi of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) (2014, s 3). The Act further establishes the TMA, comprised of equal representation from Auckland Council and the Tāmaki collective, as the active body carrying out functions of "the spiritual, ancestral, cultural, customary, and historical significance of the maunga" (Ngā Mana Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau Collective Redress Act 2014, s 106). This correction of the cultural domination in Aotearoa's past (namely, violations of Te Tiriti through confiscation of taonga – objects of spiritual and cultural value) is a central process of bicultural politics.

Anderson further discusses how a nation is "distinguished ... by the style in which [it

is] imagined” (1983/2006, p. 6). A spirit of underdog independence, of winning against more powerful outside forces, is distinct in New Zealand’s nationalism as a whole⁴, and is intensified in Devonport. Devonport’s iteration of this autonomous spirit sees itself as the poster-child, for every ‘kiwi’s’ pride and duty to protect the natural beauty and heritage that make up the unique character of Devonport (and by extension, New Zealand). In Devonport, the community’s perceived duty is theirs alone to administer, as outside interference (especially from the Auckland Council, which to them includes the TMA) being very unwelcome. While Devonport is a place in which face-to-face contact is an everyday occurrence, and reminder of exactly who the community consists of, this if anything highlights how the community’s boundaries of insider versus outsider are constructed.

These boundaries are made visible in the commentary opposing the TMA’s decision. The decision to pedestrianize Takarunga came in November 2016, with a confirmed date closure to vehicles on March 1st 2018 confirmed around November 2017 (Chapple, 2018a). This came, as Devonport’s opposition posits, without due consultation with community members and local council. Journalist Geoff Chapple, a key organiser of opposition to the ban, criticises how the Devonport-Takapuna local board’s opposition to the ban has no weight in the TMA’s decision. Chapple’s answer of holding a public hui (meeting) calling for a moratorium on the ban, was announced on the Facebook group in a statement that upheld Devonport’s autonomous spirit: “You all know that you don’t impose things on Devonport. You talk them out” (2018b). Notably, the hui resulted in a unanimous vote to enact a moratorium of the vehicle ban, on behalf of the people of Devonport.

However, this issue encompasses greater national discussions of how to correct the colonial history of Māori subjugation, such as of land ownership, in the process of “imagining” a bicultural nation. Indeed, Chapple further suggests that the issue “travels along that distinctive New Zealand interface: Māori rights and Pākehā ones” (2018b). On the one hand, the collective Tāmaki iwi not only have ownership, but are kaitiaki with mana whenua over Takarunga – an historically significant pā (settlement) and thus a taonga (Majurey, 2018). However, Devonport residents who currently inhabit Takarunga have their own connected heritage, and are unquestionably impacted by the vehicular ban. Whose claim is more legitimate? How can this be decided? Does the complexity of negotiating between two perspectives of tikanga Māori, and the dominant Pākehā culture, prevent any conclusions from being drawn?

Looking closer at the racial politics of the present may illuminate the issue further. In this regard, I must explain the demographics of Devonport. The suburb’s population is 89.2% of European descent in ethnicity (Stats NZ, 2015). The average income is markedly above the national average, with over 40% earning above \$50,000 a year compared to 29.6% earning at that level across Auckland (Stats NZ, 2017). This lack of diversity lends itself to discussions of white privilege. This refers to the ways in which

whiteness is hegemonically constructed as the default, or the norm. A post-colonial nation, as Wise explains, has ingrained structural advantages that benefit white people – in Aotearoa, those of European descent (Young, et al., 2013). That one of Auckland's most environmentally treasured suburbs, is predominantly populated by Pākehā, and has been since the 1880s, is not an apolitical fact. Having never experienced the ways in which Pākehā-dominated society suppresses Māori rights, especially linking to land and mana whenua, a non-diverse population like Devonport may not always perceive their privilege. Indeed, Chapple states that the TMA is “all but ignoring the normal political channels”, which confirms the prioritisation of Pākehā systems and structures (2018b). Devonport residents have a “mentality of entitlement”, an expectation to be accommodated, and are unused to the validity of their opinions being questioned (Young, et al., 2013). Devonport's narrative that “imagines” itself in the national narrative of ‘underdog’ insider versus outsider authority – with the inside being inherently majority Pākehā, and the outside force in this situation representing Māori authority – may need to be inverted. Devonport's ‘limited’ community's boundaries could be argued to be racially drawn (however unconsciously).

Moreover, I argue for a possible link between Devonport's lack of perception concerning how their ‘right’ to consultation is implicated by their whiteness, and Ibram X. Kendi's notion of the ‘racist idea’. Kendi argues that a ‘racist idea’ is any concept that discriminates against another racial group (2017). These ideas are generated to justify racial disparities created by discriminatory policies (while ‘anti-racist’ ideas highlight how those disparities are caused by discrimination itself). Racism changes form and progresses with history. Contemporary iterations often reside in the notion of a ‘post-racial’ society. When some strides are made towards oppressed groups becoming more powerful politically, this breeds a sentiment that racism is no longer a national issue (Kendi, 2017). I argue that returning ownership and restoring mana whenua of Takarunga to Māori, in the Collective Redress Act 2014, was anti-racist in intention, yet has exposed ‘post-racial’ thought. Devonport's organised opposition exposes a feeling that ownership in name (rather than the practice of kaitiakitanga) should be enough for Māori. In this way, the Devonport conflict highlights how Pākehā hegemony is inevitably difficult to deconstruct. The way in which Devonport's unquestioned privilege prioritises colonial systems is in itself a ‘racist idea’ – although one the opposition is unaware of – that must be challenged by ‘anti-racist’ ideas for biculturalism to equalise power in Aotearoa (Kendi, 2017).

The Takarunga debate has made visible, and caused me to reflect upon, aspects of my community often hidden from those outside, but very apparent to me (and perhaps then made more visible to outsiders by this conflict). What becomes more apparent to me, are the ways in which my community is unaware of our white privilege, and of our white majority limiting diverse perspectives in community discussions. Devonport residents who oppose the ban have their own history and emotional experiences with the maunga, which are completely valid. However, in doing so, Pākehā experience with Takarunga is

prioritised over its significance as a pā, and to mana whenua of iwi of Tāmaki Makaurau. This somewhat erases from opposers' minds the significance of their own history as a product of colonialism.

Devonport residents need to realise that we “inherit the legacy of that which has come before”, as Wise claims (Young, et al., 2013). This means we are directly in the position to, as inheritors of colonial legacy, make a change. While residents have very real emotional attachments to the maunga, this is not delegitimised by allowing for more diverse perspectives surrounding its protection. Furthermore, as a life-long member of an affluent, very white community (as part of that majority), it is necessary to reflect upon the ways in which white privilege affects myself also. Tim Wise, as a white man, notes being responsible for one's own privilege (Young, et al., 2013). While we are not personally responsible for the creation of the system that privileges whiteness, we do benefit from those system of privilege today, in the ways white people are unburdened by being ‘feeling’ their race, and in which racial issues can be easily ignored. In this way, I seek to acknowledge and leverage my privileged position as an insider, so it may have a profound impact. Indeed, the fact that debate on the Facebook group has not been completely oppositional is hopeful to me: one commenter wrote to “Look a bit wider than your own very privileged suburb,” (Devonport Locals, 2018a). I would see my part in this debate as encouraging locals in that idea of ‘looking wider’, by asking commenters or debaters in the opposition to justify their position, and then justifying mine in return. As Wise notes, a failure to talk about racism feeds into white people's ability to ignore these issues (Killooy, Rabinovitz, Young, & Jhally, 2008).

As things currently stand, the TMA has agreed to a public meeting to discuss the ban; Whether this means that the opposition has won the debate still remains to be seen.⁵ I suggest that the resolution of this debate could be an opportunity for Devonport to reconcile with how their privilege has historically prioritised their own perspective, and thus redefine which perspectives matter within the community. This would be highly impactful to the process of “imagining” a bicultural nation. The Collective Redress Act is indeed a start at addressing disparities due to colonial history, however if bicultural Aotearoa is to be an equal partnership between Pākehā and Māori, then the Devonport situation, exemplifies, through the racial politics involved, how far there is to go to ‘imagine’ that nation.

Notes:

1. I have intentionally left commenters anonymous throughout my essay, due to the private nature of the Facebook group (excepting Geoff Chapple).
2. While not the focus of my essay, it must be acknowledged that Aotearoa, especially Auckland, is very multi-cultural, which is a further paradigm that must be explored when “imagining” the nation.
3. I must note the difficulties around this term. Pākehā can refer generally to any non-Māori New Zealanders, but most often refers to New Zealanders of European (namely British colonial) descent. I use it to refer to the ethnicity and to the dominant power of government since colonial times.
4. This is proven by events like the Aotearoa becoming nuclear-free, in which Devonport was the first council in Aotearoa to declare itself a nuclear-free zone in 1981.
5. This meeting took place on Thursday 24th May, at 7.30pm, held at the Devonport Community House. At this meeting, a 1200-person petition, signed by residents of Devonport against the closure, was presented to the TMA. Proceedings began to take a turn from the beginning, when it was intimated by one man that speaking the pre-organised mihi in Te Reo Māori was “disrespectful” (Devonport Locals, 2018c). This man interrupted the mihi, interjecting by saying “please speak a language 99 per cent of us here understand” and “If I stood here and spoke Cantonese, Mandarin, or Eskimo, would anybody stay”. The mihi was then switched to English, showing a disturbing failure of understanding Māori tikanga protocol on Devonport’s part. Attendees’ accounts sum up the consequences of what unfolded: “Interrupting the mihi, blatant racism and appalling lack of respect. A young man afterwards said he was traumatised at seeing this side of our community” (Devonport Locals, 2018c). Needless to say, since writing this essay in March, Devonport has not taken any opportunities to reflect upon its privilege, or upon how inherent racism is within our community. Needless to say again, I am severely disappointed. That the above reflection in the Facebook group came from a community member who was as disappointed as me, and that the events of the meeting has made more Devonport residents vocal about opposing racism in the community, means I still have some hope that the overtly racist elements of the opposition comes from a, albeit very vocal, minority. However, this minority’s demands to be taken seriously, are setting a negative tone for how our community deals with tensions between Māori and Pākehā, and public spaces. Another comment on the same Facebook post states: “this racist abuse has been publicised in the national media now, the country is watching our small town more closely” (Devonport Locals, 2018c). I would say that this national scrutiny is exactly what needs to happen in order for Devonport opposition to face the reality of how intolerable their current attitudes are.

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Ethnicity and Identity

Nick Vale

To the Victor(s) belong the Spoils

A Note from the Editor:

Please note the name ‘Victor’ is a pseudonym, which has been used to protect the source’s identity. The author of this piece has been given permission to use Victor’s story in this publication. Furthermore, the information regarding the author’s great-grandfather is public record, and the author has been given permission to use and publish it.

Power dynamics within society construct the identities of its members, the processes of which are multifaceted and complex (Giddens & Sutton, 2014). Contemporary New Zealand society is comprised of a hierarchy with the dominant Pākehā majority toward the top, a group to which I belong. This essay explores the factors that serve to construct my sense of belonging to this ethnocentric elite, the mechanisms that secure our power, privilege and status, and the role these play in the formation of a national identity. Further, the essay dissects the way in which the social hierarchy is sustained through discourse, ideology and neoliberal economics, and assesses their impact on the ‘other’: people perceived as different to, or outside of Pākehā social identity and of whom we have the power to include or exclude at will.

My great-grandfather, James Bennett Finlay was a Detective Inspector for the Criminal Investigation Bureau (C.I.B) at Auckland central police station. With over 30 years’ service to the force he was once described by the assistant Commissioner of Police in 1956 as “one of the ablest, if not the ablest officer in the C.I.B branch” (“A popular officer”, 1956). I have inherited Detective Inspector Finlay’s .38 calibre Smith and Wesson service revolver. It has three notches carved into the wooden handle. The nation-state of New Zealand has been built by men like my great-grandfather who had the power to kill on behalf of the Crown. He enforced the law and the burgeoning capitalist structure that keeps the ruling class—my people, in power today.

Several years ago, I was arrested in Auckland City with an acquaintance named ‘Victor’; a Māori man in his 20’s not previously known to Police. Victor was from a working-class South Auckland family. He was well-built, proudly indigenous and a staunch advocate of decolonisation—a political stance he succinctly expressed to the Police on this occasion. Back at the station he was taken straight to a cell, whereas I was afforded the luxury of being processed straight away. A polite, respectful and eloquent conversation with the (Pākehā) officers ensued. They enquired after my education and upbringing and it was not long before I mentioned the service of my great-grandfather and his “engagement in all the major homicide investigations of the time” including the high-profile Bayley murders and the Mareo trials (“Public owes a debt to police”, 1956, np; Ferrall & Ellis, 2002). I even mentioned I now own the .38 Smith and Wesson. It wasn’t long before I was released with my paperwork and asked if I needed money for a bus home. When I enquired after Victor the arresting officer pointed in his direction and replied: “He seems dodgy”. Obviously, I did not fit the ‘profile’ of an offender the police were concerned with. I was free to go, which suited me; for I had been the architect of a much bigger crime taking place. Yet it was Victor who was sitting in the cell—thankfully without the

evidence which remained with me: had the police been more astute they would have realised this. To reinforce my notion of Pākehā superiority, the following day I got a phone call from the arresting officer who felt it would be an ‘unnecessary disadvantage’ for me to appear in court on my charge. He stated that if I returned the arrest paperwork to him, he would ‘see to it that we move on.’ I did. A few days later I received an application form to join the New Zealand Police.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) posit ethnic identities are constructed in an interaction between what others say we are (an ascribed identity), by who we claim to be (an asserted identity) and an interaction between the two. The interaction between the state and myself, and the circumstances of my release, reinforced my self-perception as a citizen of ‘value’ within the social hierarchy. This self-perception affirmed in me strong feelings of inclusion and belonging with the group holding power. These feelings were to arise time and time again: four separate times I have escaped a conviction—all under similar circumstances to each other. How can these experiences not contribute to my belief that a Pākehā ethnic identity is viewed as superior and of central importance to this country while ‘others’ are of lower status? Moreover, it sends a strong message to people like Victor—people of colour, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds—about how people in power perceive them.

According to Cornell and Hartmann’s (2007) theory, my ethnic identity is “thick”: this identity organises a significant proportion of my social life (p.76). In this case, the organisation of my social life and the dominant ethnic majority are one in the same. For this reason, Pākehā culture exists as a ‘default norm,’ almost invisible—while at the same time ubiquitous and pervasive (Bell, 2017). We centralise our language, values, social norms, beliefs, customs and laws, and construct practices and processes to serve ourselves first and foremost (Giddens & Sutton, 2014). Therefore, services and institutions meet my needs and requirements and I satisfy theirs. As a member of the dominant majority as well as the product of a Eurocentric (and private) education system, both my class and ethnicity combined are privileged within structures of power. With educational credentials and social connections indicative of the ruling class (including a familial connection of high status within the Police) I can utilise my identity portfolio in pursuit of my goals: such as to avoid criminal charges, or to succeed in the labour market—where I can exchange my social and cultural capital for economic capital via employment as well as for the symbolic capital of respect and social status. Wacquant (2010) contends the state sets the conversion rate between various types of capital. The state thus shapes social space and strategies that organise social life. It is these experiences that in turn further construct, shape and reinforce my identity in addition to the identities I ascribe to others. Within this configuration one needs to have capital to make capital. For people like Victor who are considered the ‘other,’ the state’s organisation of social life works to reproduce existing cultural, social and economic divisions, reinforcing the ‘marginalised’ identity of the individual and collective groups.

My 'thick' Pakeha identity combined with my socio-economic status and a heteronormative and patriarchal worldview dominates the 'other' with a power unmatched by any other group in New Zealand. Moreover, as an ascribed and asserted 'ordinary tax payer', a 'hard-working' man imbued with an ideology of meritocracy: that 'hard work pays off', my White (and male) privilege remains both normalised and somewhat concealed. This 'norm'—the status quo, is maintained through familiar and repetitive language and discourse in everyday-type contexts. For example, one of the most important words in the Kiwi lexicon is 'bro'. 'Bro' brings everyone together, as if through being Kiwi "...we feel somehow related to and concerned for" each other (Bell, 2017, p.57). I like 'bro' for two reasons; it conceals the power structures underpinning social interactions—such as class and/or ethnicity, and it continues to privilege the importance of male-orientated relationships and discourse in our patriarchal society. So much more so, when men refer to women friends as 'bro', and women to other women too.

'Bro' goes well with the national obsession for rugby, which itself is symbolic of the power of masculinity and the historical relationship this concept has with the perceived national identity as 'blokey', anti-intellectual and egalitarian. 'Bro' has a certain 'we-are-all-in-this-together' solidarity type ring to it symbolising the national ideology of (supposedly) equal opportunities for all. It reinforces the notion of: 'If I can do it bro, why can't you?' and the meritocratic belief that social mobility is achievable for all New Zealanders solely through hard work (Rashbrooke, 2014).

Through adopting 'bro' discourse and its associated mentality, I can portray a tolerance of the 'other'. The great thing is, I do not lose my capacity to be intolerant by 'bro-ing' those in the margins outside of a Pākehā 'norm'. I am "empowered to remain capable of being intolerant" (Hage, 1998, p. 86). Thus, 'bro' represents a threshold of tolerance placing the 'other' within the limits and boundaries my people and the state have set for them through ascription. It is what Bourdieu (1990) terms a 'strategy of condescension' and I use this strategy to confirm and reassert my position within the social structure. 'Bro' has such vast power with regards to its application because so many Kiwis are interpellated in their daily interactions by this discourse of tolerance and governmental belonging in terms of citizenship. When a member of the middle-class Pākehā majority 'bro-s' in good jest hailing those lower down the social hierarchy, it creates a (false) sense of national unity enabling Pākehā to continue to acquire and accumulate capital at 'the other's' expense under the guise of a familial, kin-like multi-cultural relationship; a relationship that Hage (1998) describes as "...a mode of domination... presented as a form of egalitarianism" (p.87).

I am the product of a Western neo-liberal capitalist society that has a general disregard for distributive issues of justice and equality (Wacquant, 2010). I am socialised to compete with others, to accumulate capital and to take individual responsibility for the "construction of self" (Giddens & Sutton, 2014, p. 213). I am socialised to literally 'buy

in' to the neo-liberal nation, 'my' nation, and to define myself through consumption practices. I am a member of the dominant ethnic majority and under democracy, majority rules; my people rule, in a neo-liberal age of economic deregulation and fragmented labour, in a country with one of the fastest growing inequality gaps of any Western democracy (Rashbrooke, 2013). According to Rashbrooke (2014), the "hollowing out" of the workforce—driven by globalisation, economic out-sourcing and free trade agreements—has led to a polarisation between well-educated and well-paid workers at the top, and poorly educated and paid workers in the lower levels; a phenomenon he terms "the great divergence" (p.27, 30). Giddens and Sutton (2014) support this notion arguing neo-liberalism is a political project aiming to remake the connective relationships of market, state and citizenship from the top down. Thus, being located in the higher spheres of social space, I join a new global ruling class with power that extends beyond borders through transnational and multinational organisations. Through laissez-faire economics: free-market capitalism without the interference of government, neo-liberalism facilitates the expansion of my existing economic and cultural capital, and with it, the life chances of my children. At the same time, it reduces the social safety net to a minimum for those in need and implements legislation stipulating behavioural obligations as a condition for continued financial assistance (Wacquant, 2010). As the income gaps increase, so does society's acceptance of them thanks in part to the Kiwi egalitarian mantra of 'a fair go' which helps entrench the ideology that everyone gets a fair chance; and the neo-liberal notion that it is up to the individual to take responsibility and "get on with it" (Rashbrooke, 2013, p.33).

I have inherited a colonial legacy of power and dominance. The colonial 'gene' has been passed to me as I continue the tradition of 'divide and conquer' in a contemporary neo-colonial, neo-liberal capitalist society that privileges the work and word of White men, and to a lesser extent, White women. My lines of descent determine and continue to shape my ethnic identity and social position in this country. Pākehā have annexed this land and constructed ideologies of egalitarianism and meritocracy to conceal inequities and portray social stratification as 'natural' (Simon, 2000). Through governance, legislation and mainstream Pākehā hegemony we exert a high degree of control over the social order and manipulate public discourse through the media, appropriation of indigenous cultural signifiers and a national identity-type persona. These factors combine to consolidate hearts and minds for commercial advantage and hail people in social interactions furthering the economy through a perceived 'Kiwi work ethic' paired with mass-consumption practices. Through the collection of taxes and the mass-purchase of goods, capital is produced, of which those of us represented in both the ethnic majority as well as the ruling classes, with our tertiary educations and occupational success, remain the most likely to benefit from for generations to come.

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Ethnicity and Identity

Pia Jane Puertollano

No Place Like Home

*It's immigrant blood running through these veins, but
Split me open to find Auckland air inflating my lungs,
Backbone bent from carrying a culture across the Pacific,
Forgive me if my fingers had somehow let things slip,
Like coconut water between parched lips,
My tongue did not find Tagalog so sweet.*

*Don't ask me, what it means to be Filipino;
Because all I'll be able to offer,
Is mango juice running down chins,
Piso sized mosquito bites on limbs,
And stilted conversations about long haul flights.*

*Five centuries of history,
Did not fit into my parents' suitcases,
The responsibility of raising a child an ocean away from their home,
Took up too much space.*

*Instead ask me, to show you where the milky way entertains the Waikato,
Where the Remarkables brush morning clouds
Because I've been a squatter in someone else's home
For 18 years now,
And I hope one day I'll feel like
I can call it my own.*

Introduction

The poem that prefaces this essay is a work of my own, written after my first year at university. I had gone from a school that boasted over 70 ethnicities, located in the heart of the country's most multicultural suburb, to the pearly white institution that is higher education. Being in a space where I was just one of many colours, to sometimes being the only person of colour in the room, has meant that for the first time in my life, I have had to answer the question of what it means to be Filipino.

More specifically, what does it mean to be a person of Filipino descent, born and raised in New Zealand?

In a word, it has meant confusion. It has meant constant struggle between my self-asserted identity as a Filipino-New Zealander, and socially ascribed identity of 'racially ambiguous person.' It has been trying to live a Filipino-informed upbringing in a Western context, which has affected the position I hold in this society.

I'm Starting with the (Wo)Man in the Mirror

The first conflict is purely based on physicality – how I look to the world versus what I believe I see in the mirror.

For Daniel Miller, living in a body with dark skin and textured hair painted a picture of relative depravity and lower social standing to the outsider. As an African American academic who was raised by a white family in Nebraska, Miller published an autoethnographic study on how his life experiences had been impacted by the colour of his skin, particularly in academia. Despite his similarities in schooling history and lifestyle with his colleagues, it was his physical markers that made him an attraction at conferences; because young Black men, regardless of background, were rare doctoral candidates (Miller, 2008, pp 351-352). Identities are constructed through establishing criteria to differentiate between groups and their members (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007, p. 84), and though Miller held all the intellectual and educational experiences, his physicality marked him as different, and therefore, an anomaly of a Black man.

I believe a similar thought process is in action whenever someone is surprised at the clarity of my English. This may be because my particular shade of yellow suggests foreigner, rather than New Zealander. Even though I know that I am a product of our state schooling system, and took my first breath in an Auckland hospital, these truths aren't abundantly clear when the world looks at me.

Authentic or Fusion?

I have found Whiteness and education to be inextricably linked (fun fact: in 3 years of full-time study, only four of my lecturers have been of colour), and so the schoolyard becomes a stage for people of colour to perform their identities. However, it is not as simple as Whiteness being the default; being the dominant group allows its members to determine the 'authentic' characteristics of other identities, with people who conform to these expectations being seen as the 'most real' (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007, p. 98). This creates a 'standard' Filipino with brown skin, a tendency to pronounce 'F' as 'P', and heights not surpassing 162cm (Lozada, 2014).

So, what happens to a porcelain-skinned, accent-less, taller than average Filipina child? At the ripe old age of 10, it meant pretending to be Chinese for a year.

For school choir performances, we wore our respective national costumes to celebrate our diversity; it was for this reason that my parents had my first Barong Tagalog dress made. After one of these performances in my traditional wear, the Pakeha Choir Director came up to me and said "not to wear my poofy wedding dress thing again". At the time, I remember burning with embarrassment for being told off, but not understanding why. Reflecting on this a decade later, I can recognise that being reprimanded for wearing my national costume felt like being reprimanded for being Filipino. Wearing my Barong Tagalog had been a hesitant first step in manifesting my ethnic identity, and for it to

seemingly cause such a negative reaction made me equate being Filipino with shame. Though she didn't speak with malice, my teacher had wanted me to better fit the preconceptions she held of what my physical features meant. Essentially, I was singled out because I didn't fit the template for a Filipino. As a result, I was chided for presenting myself as one.

With my hair in a bun, and wearing a borrowed Cheongsam (Qipao), I became a stock standard Chinese girl. Only one person challenged my pseudo-Chinese heritage, because my physical appearance saw me fitting a category further East than the truth. What makes things even more difficult is that my great-grandmother was "authentically" Chinese – she was born in China, spoke Mandarin and other local dialects, and celebrated Chinese festivals. Though I never met her, I did have some biological claim to being Chinese that I never utilised, because I felt like I couldn't. Despite both countries being encompassed in the pan-ethnic racial identity of "Asian", there is little feeling of solidarity between the two (Vaghela & Ueno, 2017, p. 837). Being "Asian" doesn't automatically mean my knowledge of Filipino culture would make me just as well versed in Chinese culture. I cannot be expected to claim all identities that fall under "Asian" in the same way that Richie McCaw and Serena Williams both fall under the umbrella term "athlete", despite dominating different sports. My complete unfamiliarity with Chinese culture means I have never recognised my Chinese heritage when talking about my ethnic identity, and likely never will.

But biology is not the be all and end all – despite my biological and cultural links to the Philippines, I still feel Filipino is not something I can completely claim.

Would the Real Filipinos Please Stand Up?

Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p. 75) contend that ethnic identities are formed as a result of interaction between ascription and self-assertion; that it is a mixture of how people see us and how we see ourselves that allows an individual to define their place in the world. Their logic implies that each plays an equally important role, and hold equal weighting in identity formation. However, I would argue that ascription has a much stronger influence than self-assertion, because how others see us also affects how we see ourselves, and how we are treated (Vargas, Winston, Garcia, Sanchez, 2016, p. 500). This doesn't only play out in daily interactions, but can also affect interactions with institutions like the education and criminal justice systems. Thus, the impact of ascription is not as 'trivial' as hurt feelings, but can have an actual material impact on a person's life.

When my peers and teachers didn't recognise me as Filipino due to my lack of 'authentic' physical attributes, it begged the question of whether I could assert a Filipino identity, because I don't 'look' Filipino, and I don't act enough like one.

Did I have the right to think of myself as Filipino if others couldn't identify me as such?

(South) East vs West

This leads to the second conflict, between the two cultures that I was brought up with. Each is rooted in its own history, colonised by different empires and thus informed by different values and beliefs. I don't engage with either culture in its entirety, but instead use them to influence each other. According to Williams (2010), ethnic minorities tend to subconsciously pick and choose which aspects of their cultures will be used in the identity construction. In my case, I have been combining my Filipino culture at home, and the New Zealand culture I move through in the outside world.

Whoever I am as a person, begins with my family. My desire to ethnically identify as Filipino stems from my immediate 'blood' and ancestral connections to the Philippines, and the customs we practice (Kiely et al, 2005, p. 153). This small rejection of individualism is apparently common to non-Western societies (Williams, 2010, p. 124), where the individual is defined in relation to others in their lives – so I am a Filipina purely through my parents. We participate in few of the cultural markers, but the Philippines continues to be my biological homeland.

Comparatively, I recognise my national identity as a New Zealander, due to my place of birth, and sense of belonging from "living the identity" (Kiely et al, 2005, p. 153). Because my connection to Aotearoa is rooted in lived experience and my physical presence in the country, it feels like a more tangible connection, and thus a stronger identity. Aotearoa feels like my cultural homeland.

In terms of power relations, I am like Miller. Internally, I carry all the benefits of being born and raised in New Zealand – whether it be learning English as my first language, or education through the state school system. I have all the tools afforded to a New Zealander, but I am not always able to fully utilise them because I don't look like I would have those tools. I am not afforded the privilege of calling myself a Kiwi without being questioned, but I would not consider any other country to base my national identity. The inadequacies of social ascription become evident when the society I'm in changes. The Western world sees me by my skin colour and bone structure, and ascribes those features to somewhere in Asia. But in the Philippines, my New Zealand upbringing gives me a distinctive foreign aura. Everything from my accented Tagalog to Glassons-sourced wardrobe give me away when wandering the streets of Manila. Though I remain unchanged, the way identity is ascribed to me does, because the behaviours that I engage in are foreign. Filipinos can recognise my connection is biological, but they can also tell that culturally, I'm not 'one of them'.

X Marks the Spot

Identity markers can vary across nations (Bond, 2006, p. 613), which means the markers I fail to fulfil differ in either country.

The biggest barrier to me being recognisably New Zealander is (very) likely the fact that I am not white. I can sing every word of the national anthem (in both languages), I regularly spend my summers eating real strawberry ice cream, and my passport is a glossy black, declaring that I was born in Auckland.

Yet I have enough “where are you really from” stories to write a book series; they always start with raised eyebrows and a pointed look, and I end up with a desire to carry my birth certificate as proof for the non-believers. Only once have I told someone the well-practised run down of my ethnic identity, to have them reply “oh, I meant, where in Auckland are you from?” My mistake reflects the reality that when most people ask that question, they’re not wanting to compare neighbourhoods.

It is experiences like these that feed the perpetual foreigner syndrome plaguing people of colour (Wu, 2002, p. 14), where even if New Zealand is undoubtedly my home, I still have to knock on the door to be let in.

Engaging in ‘authentic’ culture practices allows immigrants to maintain their existing national identities in a new space (Wilcox & Busse, 2017, p. 356), but because I’m not an immigrant, I have felt less pressure to preserve, or even foster, a Filipino national identity. Therefore, I meet very few markers – I don’t celebrate the festivals, I don’t indulge in the nation’s love of basketball, and I am a slow reader in Tagalog. I feel as if I don’t belong in spaces designed for Filipinos, because it is the New Zealand culture I was raised with that Filipinos are seeking refuge from. The members of the Filipino Club on campus talk in their native dialects, reminisce about childhood birthdays celebrated at Jollibee, and catching the jeepney to school. And though these experiences make sense to me, they are not experiences I share. When Duterte was elected president, I was hesitant to give my opinion when asked, because I was acutely aware that my understanding of Filipino society was through a Kiwi lens; spending a month over the holidays is nowhere near living in the reality of the Philippines.

Conclusion

I began this essay with a declaration of my confusion, stemming from my failure to meet both the ‘authentic’ physical and cultural markers that make a Filipino. Social ascription has proven to be a powerful influence in the construction of my ethnic identity, and at times continues to conquer my self-assertion that blood can, and is, enough. I wish I could conclude with a proud statement of how I’ve overcome the conflict occupying two worlds has brought, but the reality is that every day brings a new situation that requires a readjustment of my self-assertions. Living between identities can be tiresome, but as long as I get to drink L&P at Noche Buena, I’m not complaining.

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