



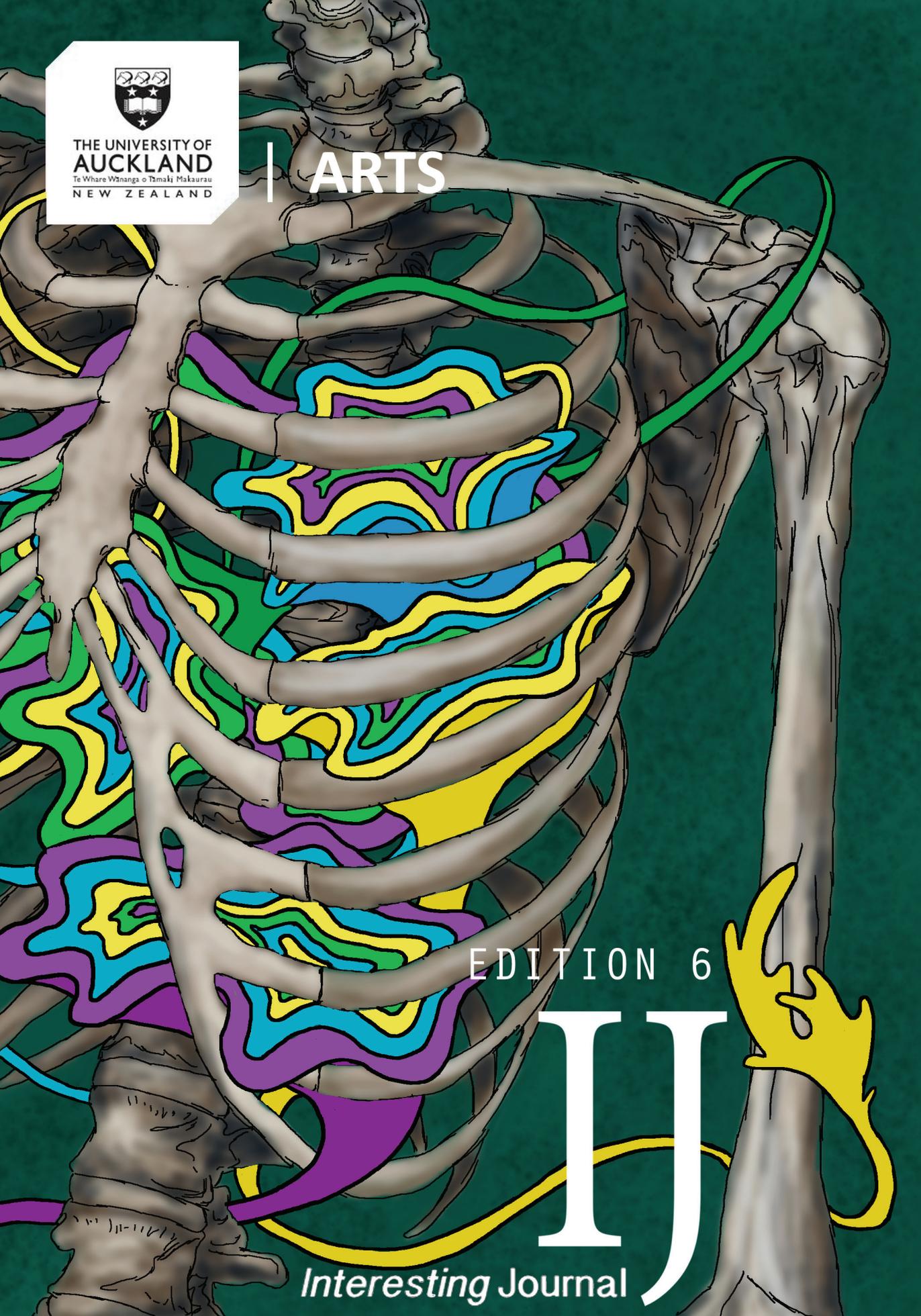
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Interesting Journal

Changing Tack: Collaborative Thinking

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Editors' Note

Interesting Journal is compiled of 17 essays from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland. The essays are independent academic works that have been written by undergraduate students in Semester One 2017. We present the material to you in a series of chapters exploring the versatility of collaborative thinking in the Arts.

COMMUNICATING WITH THE WORLD

Edition 6 of *Interesting Journal* opens with two essays that are very close to their authors' hearts. These pieces are thought-provoking and challenge us to consider senses that many people take for granted.

We begin with a Zsadanyi's recount of caring for a nonverbal child. The author illustrates a passion for linguistics and language through her story of Dylan, a child who struggles to communicate with those around him. Zsadanyi argues that human language might be the greatest achievement of mankind, yet this tool cannot free someone from their lingual entrapment.

Our next piece follows Lemalu's research at a Vodafone Warriors rugby match, where the author evaluates rugby commentary from a visual perspective. As a visually impaired viewer himself, Lemalu finds that rugby does not fully cater to viewers such as himself. He presents the findings from his own experience of a rugby match: observing the commentators' performance and interviews through the programme. Despite the sport's efforts to meet the needs of fans from all spheres and backgrounds, some groups remain excluded from its full and unadulterated experience.

The works in this chapter are profoundly thought-provoking as speech and sight are so often taken for granted as senses we all have access to. For many of us, these features are presupposed, considered integral to our daily lives. The authors remind us that regardless of how far technology has aided progression, we still have a long way to go in order to ensure a level playing field.

English 252

Creative Writing

Sara Zsadanyi

Wordless Child

Trapped. That is the word the wordless child would use.

He cannot say, "I touched the stove," "I'm starving," or, "My stomach... please help me!" He kicks you and bites you and yells and sobs.

Trapped. That is what he would say, if he could say it.

My mother explained the beginnings of my love for language as a direct response to the growing multilingualism of New Zealand. It began in preschool, surrounded by kids with Asian backgrounds who spoke amongst themselves, and continued at home, my parents conversing in German and letting my ears prick every time they used my name amongst the gibberish. She recalled times when, after acquiring a decent grasp of English, I would sit, talking to my toys, in the dialect of Babble. She says that, although I used hardly any real words, she could tell by my intonation and the sounds I was making that closely resembled the sounds of natural sentence structure, that I was attempting to speak English, German and Mandarin.

All throughout my childhood, I was an obsessive reader, the type that could be called to dinner five times and not hear over the cacophony of the book in my hands. An 'exceptional' writer with a good grip on English. A joker, a punner, a literary roadrunner. Language was central to my existence, to my way of being. Language was the only way I knew to give back to the world my thoughts and feelings. Language was fundamental to being.

I took care of Dylan, a ten year old with severe autism, for six months. Six months marked by fixations, repeating cartoon scenes, bruises, colds. If Dylan was hungry, he grabbed me by the sleeve, dragged me to the kitchen, and waited. Sometimes, if I was lucky, he pointed to a pie sitting in the pantry. If we were having a particularly good day, he would pull out the pie himself, cut the packaging open, and catapult it into my lap, skipping all preliminary steps. If he began to kick and scream, I would have to go through the process of pointing, first to the TV, then to the laptop, his mouth, the heater. If he began to bite the calloused area between his thumb and index finger, hit himself in the head, or kick the wall, there was no process I could go through. In autumn he raced me from one end of the garden to the other. In winter he sat on my feet like a cat. He knew and correctly used the word, "Go!", he could almost say his name, and his eyes never quite focused on anything. He only wanted to watch certain shows, and only certain scenes over and over, and he refused to eat what he didn't like.

The nonverbal child challenges my belief that language is fundamental to being. Dylan's place on the spectrum made 'Babysitter' an inappropriate job description, the severity of his autism required much more introductory conversation between his mother and I than actually occurred. Home alone with a ten year old whose only speech is monosyllabic repetition for four hours a day, five days a week with no guidance, no discussion prior to my being kicked in the chest about ways to deal with outbursts or interpret his actions. Yet even Dylan's mother could not understand him, nor could she help me to do the same.

While I busied myself studying for Linguistics 101 and a Psychology paper with a large portion dedicated to child language acquisition, the child under my daily care had avoided nearly every early childhood linguistic stage I was learning about. He was trapped, seemingly for eternity, in the babble phase.

When I was eleven, my parents and their friends told me I spoke ‘nicely’ on stage. When I was fourteen, my uncle received a poem from me for his birthday and marvelled that we had a ‘budding writer’ in our family. At eleven, Dylan could not speak to ask for necessities, and the prognosis is that at fourteen, his mastery of language will be unchanged. At twenty-seven he will live with his mother and if he outlives her, he will move into a home.

On a particularly cold evening in their poorly-insulated house, Dylan was more restless than usual. He wanted me to be up, chasing him around the room, and wanted nothing more than to bounce on his Swiss ball until I was afraid he might make his way into the stratosphere. He didn’t need words to communicate this to me, all he had to do was pull, bounce, run. I was heavily jacketed, wrapped in a blanket, and as nervous as ever at the fact that he refused to wear anything other than a tracksuit pants and a thin jumper. They had to be blue, and the hood had to be up, or chaos would ensue. At one point, he stopped bouncing and murmuring to himself, then looked at me, swaddled like a baby. “Brrrr!” he yelled, and raided the laundry cupboard for a blanket. He curled up on the couch, on my feet in the traditional fashion, mumbling under his breath until he fell asleep.

In small moments, there was recognition in his eyes and what seemed to be sudden clarity, like a switch had flicked on, and the world inside his mind, and the reality outside, suddenly began to interact. No one could tell me that this child did not understand, or have something to say. I imagine, though, that if I could climb into his mind I would find myself in tears. Through all the anger and yelling, the moments of calm and sweetness, there was an innate will to communicate that I simply could not sit back and ignore. He would tug at my sleeve, hold out a pair of scissors for me and turn his shirt inside out to show off the irritating tag. He would pull me to the cupboard where his box of buttons resides and beg me to let him play with them, to feel their texture, to have something touch-based to focus on in his moments of agitation. Throughout each effort to communicate, he harboured a sort of resilience that I admire. Making speech sounds was a practice alien to him, and yet he comprehended the world around him, processed it, and wanted to experience it fully, whether through his eyes or his fingertips.

Studying Linguistics sometimes seems like a futile act. Most people speak, question, declare, ask that their basic needs be met, and some even ruminate on complex philosophy and indefinable emotion. Thousands can speak over expanses of land and sea, and we are bombarded with text that we cannot ignore in the day-to-day. At times I wonder what studying meaning, lexicon and grammar really affords me, given that

people like Dylan need not say anything for their wants and needs to be met. For many years, humans lived without language. They lived, pointing at objects, demonstrating their uses, working towards their most primitive needs, and survived. If that is the basis upon which all language is derived, then what use is studying syntax and pragmatics?

But when I think about Dylan, I am reminded why I study Linguistics. The wordless child, trapped, has no outlet to directly say what he wants. While my mind is a wordy free-for-all by way of speech and writing, Dylan's has built an impenetrable fortress around itself. Yet he struggles on. He watches people communicate with ease, and he longs to do the same. The wordless child pushes against the restraints that trap him with such force that his efforts to communicate, and his success against all odds, are admirable. Over thousands of years, humans have developed language that can be held in book form by the engrossed ten year old, that can be penned in a flurry of anger by the teenager, studied and perhaps yet never fully understood by the scholar. They have developed words for the complex feeling of intense joy, for an object phenomenal and deviant, for a person who restricts their spending of money. Human language spans timelines, lands, emotions and thoughts. It is, perhaps, the greatest invention of mankind, the cornerstone of their flourishing. Yet we fail to understand the language of a young boy who wants a pie.

Communication 303

Sites of Contest: The Media Sport Nexus

Ite Lemalu

Blind Spot – Television Rugby League Commentary and the Visually Impaired Viewer: Case Study

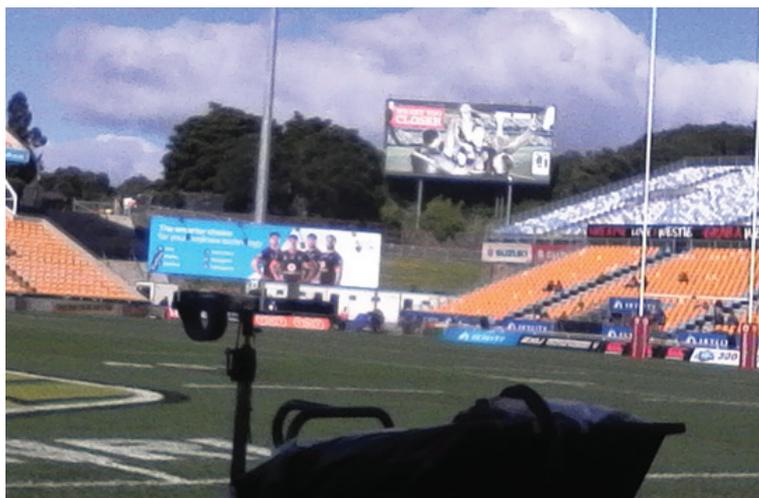
This case study evaluates television rugby commentary from a visual perspective. It investigates whether television rugby commentary is accommodating to the viewing experience of the visually impaired viewer. For this case study, I attended the Vodafone Auckland Warriors rugby league game at Mount Smart Stadium on the 30th of April. At this event, I interviewed the Warriors commentator Dale Husband regarding television rugby commentary and the visually impaired viewer. We explored ways on how commentating could accommodate this viewing minority. Dale demonstrated a useful commentary tool which he referred to as the ‘value of the whisper’. This was a technique of voice dynamic that primarily follows whichever team that has possession of the ball – as they make their pursuit to the try line. The voice would build depending on the team’s momentum. While at Mt Smart, I also sat in the commentary booth to hear Dale and his broadcast partner, and former league player, Richie Barnett call the Under 20s Warriors game. This was an opportunity for me to listen to Dale execute the ‘value of the whisper’. I also explored the grounds during my visit, as I discovered a strong family presence in the atmosphere that involved young children participating in league exhibition games. My observations of this image found that the atmosphere did not cater or appeal to people with disabilities.

The partially sighted viewer can be overlooked when sports commentary is not fulfilling to their viewing experience of a game. Television viewing for the hearing impaired has been accommodated with the additional option of closed captioning. This allows the hearing impaired to follow the television sports commentary or a dialogue of a TV show as the words from the discussion are translated onto screen, as it happens. Television is a visual medium, and commentary must align to it for it to give the visually impaired viewers the particular provision to enhance their television viewing experience. When Barbra Morris and Joel Nydahl argued, “Most would say that watching television cannot replace the exhilaration of attending live sports events. But a reverse argument is equally valid” (1985, p 101, 2) 1; they were referring to the National Basketball Association’s (NBA) television production of the 1980s that switched from the single camera lens which followed the gameplay up and down the basketball court, to the multiple camera angles and cinematic style, which gave the home viewer a much better detailed and informative view of the games. I refer to Morris’ and Nydahl’s quote in the context for the visually impaired viewer who although may appreciate the technological camera work, they are more reliant on the commentary to guide and help them to understand what is happening on the court/field. This case study investigated how television rugby league commentary could do more to aid the visually impaired viewer. I will also be referencing Fabrice Desmaris and Toni Bruce (2008), (2009), and (2010).

Methodology

I attended the Vodafone Warriors game at Mount Smart Stadium where I had the privilege of meeting and interviewing the Vodafone Warriors commentator, Dale Husband. The purpose of the interview was to gain an idea on whether rugby league

commentary was accommodating the visually impaired. The interview was recorded on audio. My investigation also included sitting in the commentary booth to observe Dale and his broadcast partner, and former league player, Richie Barnett call the Under 20s league game. This experience helped me to gain insight as a visually impaired viewer to understand the style of television rugby league commentary. This would assist my case study in determining what works and doesn't work for the visually impaired viewer, and to formulate and seek the solutions needed to improve commentary from a visual perspective. A copy of the broadcast which includes the commentary was provided by the University of Auckland, Resources Administrator, Tim Signal. While exploring the grounds at the stadium, I was able to see some of the spectators, the people and diverse groups that make up the Vodafone Warrior fan base. I also visited the production van; the audio, directing and editing departments that work together to broadcast the live games – however, my time in the production van is irrelevant to this case study and therefore will not be discussed. The study also included a questionnaire that was sent to and answered by Michael Lloyd – a blind member of the visually impaired community and host of the Blind Sport Podcast. Michael gave feedback on the improvements that could be made on commentary and suggestions of changes to incorporate at live games.



Interview with Dale Husband

My interview began with Dale talking about how he got started in broadcasting, which he explained was rooted in radio. Dale became the back-up rugby league commentator with Aotearoa Radio, and then later became the station's main rugby league commentator. Dale's cross over to television came with an opportunity to work with TV2, and that led to Dale working with Sky Television's league team. In the interview, Dale also explained the difference between radio commentary and television commentary by demonstrating examples from each medium. First, with radio, Dale planted a grid pattern in the

listeners mind so they could know the layout of the field which would make it easy to follow the game. Names of players, break downs, distance measured by meters to establish the whereabouts of players on the field and where they were travelling to, described the style of radio commentary. The second example, television commentary, was demonstrated as being less descriptive as the general viewer could see the game unfold, so the commentator would mainly call the names that had possession of the ball.

Dale spoke about his time in Australia, when he noticed the style of Australian commentary was brash and loud, which mirrored the Australian psyche. Dale found that the New Zealand psyche was the opposite in the way that New Zealand viewers didn't like being shouted at, making their manner of viewing to be subtle and conservative. In time, Dale modified his style which was developed around a range of voice dynamics. Desmarias Fabrice and Toni Bruce (2009, p 140, 49), make comparisons in rugby union commentary between New Zealand and French styles, pointing out that the French commentary is based on enthusiasm and cheerfulness, and uses a faster pace and increasing volume as the action evolves to favour the French team. In contrast, New Zealand commentary is conservative and fair to both sides, and gives a right balance of education to their viewers. The study of Fabrice and Bruce aligns with Dale Husband's analysis in the style of New Zealand commentary and the parallels between the Australian and French commentary.

In Dale's modifying of his commentary style, he found value in what he referred to as the 'value of the whisper'. Dale demonstrated the technique by setting up the scenario of a team that has possession of the ball. A wonderful example of voice dynamics which guides the viewer through the game, it was executed in a story telling mode where the style followed whichever team had possession of the rugby ball. The dynamics of the voice would build or crescendo as the team would draw near or accelerate towards the try line. This style has influences from both radio and television commentary, and after I was made aware of this technique, I found it to be helpful while following the game play as I listened to the 'value of the whisper' being put into action during my visit to the commentary booth.



Exploring the Stadium Grounds: Vodafone Warrior Fan Base

I observed Dale Husband and Richie Barnett in the commentary booth for the second half of the Vodafone Warriors vs. Sydney Rooster, Under 20s, Holden Cup game. During the first half of the game, I explored inside the stadium grounds. This visit to the grounds gave me an insight to the people and the diverse groups that made up the Warriors supporters. From what I was able to observe, this core fan base was made up of predominantly Maori and Pasifika people. There was also a strong family presence in the atmosphere, as young children were given the outlet to experience rugby league in an exhibition styled game. My evaluation also found that the atmosphere did not appeal to people with disabilities – specifically the visually impaired. That was indicated to me (in my experience) as the grounds did not accommodate my basic need of assistance while walking. For example, in the interview with Dale Husband, I spoke about the yellow footpath designs that are implemented on train stations and pedestrian crossing foot paths to keep the visually impaired within a safety zone, away from oncoming traffic. I used this analogy as an example to bring awareness and suggest what additions can be made on the field so that visually impaired viewers could have better visibility of the game. However, I did not realise that such additions could also be taken into consideration throughout the stadium, more so in areas like the stands, where people are ascending and descending through the stands. As I walked down the stands, I saw fading yellow lines at the tip of most steps, however, there were no designed patterns to compliment those lines and for my feet to feel and warn me that I was about to take a step down.



Aaron Lawton is the Fan Engagement Manager for the Vodafone Warriors. Lawton was interviewed by Jazz Dos Santos, Augusta Mercer and Sam O’Connell on the Full Credit interview segment in regards his role with the Warriors. Lawton described the structure of the Warrior’s fan base as diverse, of many demographics, from different walks of life.

When Lawton was asked whether he had strategies to reach certain minority groups such as the visually impaired, he replied that there wasn't a particular strategy to reach out to the visually impaired. Rather, Lawton's focus of reaching out to minority groups were in terms of ethnicity; such as Chinese or Indian groups. Lawton's goal for reaching out to these groups was to integrate them into the Vodafone Warriors community, and to give those from immigrant backgrounds the opportunity to experience New Zealand sporting culture through the Warriors. After my experience in the stadium and the interview with Aaron Lawton, I felt that I was not a fully integrated member of the Vodafone Warriors fan base or community.



Commentary Booth

As I observed Dale Husband's commentary, the relationship between Dale, the Vodafone Warriors and the Vodafone fan base began to make sense to me. Fabrice and Bruce argued, "Announcers are influential intermediaries in terms of creating an image for a sport, a team, or a television channel" (2009, p 184, 12) 3. This reading applies to Dale's role as an intermediary. Dale Husband's voice resonates with the Vodafone Warrior's predominantly Maori and Pasifika fan base. The Warriors' home ground of Mount Smart Stadium is situated in the industrial suburb of Penrose, Auckland. The location of Mount Smart contributes to who and what makes up the Warrior's fan base. My interview with Dale Husband also revealed his family's connection with the area surrounding Mount Smart, as well as his family's association to rugby league (Dale's grandfather, Steve Watene was the first Maori to captain the Kiwis team, in 1936). Desmarais and Bruce point out that "voice carries elements that aid considerable meaning to the act of communication". (2009, p 136, 29) 4. I would say that Dale Husband is not just an intermediary for rugby league, Sky TV, and the Vodafone Warriors; Dale is also a representative of the Auckland Warrior community. Dale has a richness in his tone that carries knowledge and authority, and of course, trust. Broadcaster and politician

Willie Jackson wrote a piece in 2012 on RadioLive.co.nz which agrees with Fabrice and Bruce. Jackson congratulated Dale Husband who had just been chosen to be the commentator of the Warriors' NRL games. He described Dale as being a "versatile and popular character with a rich, warm voice, a great sense of humour". Jackson also praised Dale for being able to "cope courteously with a wild range of topics that broadcasters routinely have to handle". He pointed out the significance of Dale's appointment as lead commentator due to Dale's involvement with the Maori and Pacific communities and his knowledge of pronouncing the names of the Maori and Pacific Island players. More importantly, Dale Husband possesses a presence that is welcoming and down to earth.

Morris and Nydahl, define commentators as "students of the game" who provide a description to the viewer with 'expert evaluation of how the "flow of play is proceeding"'. They describe the commentators vocabulary of interpretations as colourful (1985, p 106, 31) 5. As a commentary team, Dale and Richie embody this analysis from Morris and Nydahl. Dale's vocabulary has a working class appeal which he uses to apply to his commentary, and Richie's vocabulary consists of rugby terminology, backed by the knowledge and experience of being a former league player. "The flow of play" which proceeds can be heard throughout the game when Dale sets up a clever line that would have an attached pop culture reference to it as part of his analysis to describe an important play or a try. Then Richie would follow up with an additional analogy or a summary that is usually worded in sporting terminology. This style of commentary and blending of casual and sporting terms is repeated many times throughout the course of the game. One example where a pop culture reference was used during the commentary was when Warriors player, Kane Tele'a, made a risky decision that ended up costing his team possession of the ball. Barnett commented on Tele'a's decision, quoting, "Knowing when to hold them", to which Dale responded with, "and when to fold them". This was a nice reference to the Kenny Rogers' song, 'the Gambler'; a country song which is associated with the working class pub scene. This song is also commonly used as a 'sing along' at parties, and could also resonate with the Warrior's fan base. Fabrice and Bruce make reference to Hansen when quoting that commentators "construct a narrative, in real time, that is attuned to the expectations and collective agenda of their broadcast audience" (2010, p 341, 7) 6. This quote relates to the 'Tele'a Gambler' reference by Richie and Dale where the narrative coincided in real time with Tele'a's mishap. The broadcast audience share in the disappointment behind the meaning of the reference. Dale and Richie also showed the style of NZ commentary and its integrity as they executed boosts of excitement when players from the Roosters scored their tries. The replays highlighting the tries had an emphasis on showcasing the player's skill that scored the try. These analyses of the tries were discussed in great detail.

The commentating was thorough with its blend of entertaining and educating the viewer. Although the commentary did as much as it could to help me follow the game, the size of the crowd could not match the commentator's enthusiasm. The changing mood of the crowd does a lot to help with the storytelling of the game, acting as an orchestra

conducted by the movements of the players and the dynamics of commentary. In terms of players' identities, I went by what names the commentators were calling. The names of the players on the backs of their shirts were too small, and I could not catch up with a player when they were moving around on the field. However, I could see the numbers on the players' backs. I think it would help if the commentators regularly called out the player's shirt number before their surname. From a visual perspective, it would give a viewer the basic information of the player's number, position and identity rather than just calling names. If the name of a player who does not have possession of the ball is called out, it causes greater confusion because a person with a visual disability would not know which one of the many players on the field (and on screen) is being referred to. This can be remedied by calling out the shirt number before the player's name.



Looking for Solutions, Questionnaire: Michael Lloyd – The Blind Sport Podcast

Michael Lloyd is a member of the visual impaired community. He owns and is the host of the Blind Sport Podcast. The Blind Sport Podcast caters to visually impaired sports athletes from all levels, and to supporters from the visually impaired community. The goal of the podcast is to assist others to begin or enhance their sporting activity, to build a community to share experiences and tips, and to give encouragement to others. Michael enjoys running, cycling and keeping fit, and has competed in seven New York City Marathons.

Michael filled out a questionnaire that had seven questions. His answers weren't based entirely on rugby league commentary but more on televised sports, in general. Some of the answers that Michael gave have been excluded as they have already been addressed by myself or by Dale Husband.

Question 3: How does television commentary not accommodate to the viewing experience of the visually impaired?

“They make comments based on the idea that their audience can see what is happening on screen so most common things mentioned are player’s [sic] names, ref decisions, opinions of plays and decisions etc.”

“No mention is made of direction (passing to the left), field placement of team members, distance of play locations (example: Scrum is 10 metres in from the left hand touch, 10 metres from the Kiwi’s try line).”

Dale Husband made mention of this in the interview on how television commentary was less descriptive because there is this assumption that everyone watching television is seeing the game unfold.

“Before the start of each game an overview of the scene. Example: Team A, in the black jumpers and black socks will be playing from the left side of the field, defending the Sandringham Road end of the park and Team B, in the green jumpers and gold socks, will be playing from the right side defending the Mt Eden side of the park. “

I agree with Michael, that giving detail to colour of uniforms and establishing positions on where the teams are established will help with the viewing experience. These positions also need to be re-established in the second half when the teams switch their positions.

Question 4: Do you feel that the visually impaired television viewer is overlooked by the commentary style of the game, if so please explain how?

“Yes, but this is because it is an expectation that the viewer has 20/20 vision and has their 100% focus on the screen. If you have full sight and leave the TV for any reason and therefore rely on the audio, then it is easy to miss out on what is happening. Comments like” Wow that was incredible” or “Hey that was a dangerous move” without verbal explanation of the context mean nothing.”

“Often game scores are not spoken regularly as the score is displayed onscreen.”

I would often find myself squinting at the bottom left corner of the screen to see the score of the game which would usually take up a lot of my viewing time.

Question 7: What physical advancements can be made on the field to assist that the visually impaired viewer (and spectator who attends the live game) with better visibility in following the game? (Example: rugby ball should have a more visible colour, rugby posts should be painted differently to stand out, etc.)

“Hi vis ball, goals, field markings, player identification.”

“At the venue it could be useful to provide volunteers for vision impaired attendees to assist with basic commentary and assistance moving around the venue (on a pre-booked basis). Possibly being able to listen to a commentary via a venue supplied wireless headset that anyone could hire (maybe with a bond that is returned when the device is returned after the game).”

“Large print programs at games.”

“For the home viewer maybe a separate audio channel with high description commentary.”

“Enhancing the standard commentary to include some of the info as noted above.”

Putting a microphone inside the rugby ball would also help. It would be a helpful feature at live games as it would direct the visually impaired spectator of the whereabouts of the rugby ball when kicked. Upgrading the stereo surround sound would also enhance the viewing experience, as it would give the viewer a better chance at following where the game is travelling on the field.

Findings

Television commentary assumes that the general viewer can see the action unfold on screen, and although radio commentary aligns more to the visually impaired, television rugby commentary may consider taking into consideration the adoption of some of the radio style. In terms of the Vodafone Warriors, the case study found that the grounds of Mount Smart Stadium were not accommodating to the visually impaired. Although there was a strong family atmosphere that promoted activeness, multiculturalism, and the future of rugby league through the children’s exhibition game, the visually impaired fan did not seem to fit in the Warriors fan community. The Aaron Lawton interview confirmed that the visually impaired viewer/fan was overlooked. He described the structure of the Vodafone fan base as diverse, of many demographics, and from all walks of life, but he did not have a strategy to reach out to the visually impaired community.

Conclusion

This case study investigated television rugby commentary from a visual perspective to see if the commentary was accommodating the viewing experience of the visually impaired. I found that commentary does not entirely meet the needs of the visually impaired viewer. There may be some practices in radio commentary that should be brought over to television commentary to help remedy the lack of visual description. However, a lot more should be done to enhance and develop commentary to give visually impaired viewers a better viewing experience.

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Appendix: Interview with Michael Lloyd of the Blind Sport Podcast

These questions explore how television sports rugby commentary could assist in enhancing the viewing experience of the partial blind viewer.

These questions and answers should help offer insight and suggest ways to integrate the partially blind viewer to feel part of the television viewing audience through commentary, and what is suggested in the replies should help the partially blind viewer have a satisfactory visual awareness of the game.

My case study is based on rugby league and my experience visiting the Vodafone Warriors game at Mount Smart Stadium and interviewing the Warriors commentator, Dale Husband. It would help if your answers were based on rugby league and rugby league commentary, first and foremost. However if you follow other sports and their commentary it would also help if you can reply in that sport's context and/or add that sports' context to your reply.

Please feel free to answer in a lengthy reply. There are 7 questions and a Comments section where you add more to the topic.

Ite Lemalu

=====

Questions

Question 1

Are television sports commentators accommodating to the visually impaired fan's viewing experience?

"No"

Question 2

If you answered 'Yes', please explain how they are accommodating to the viewing experience?

Question 3

If you answered 'No', please explain why, and how they are not accommodating to the viewing experience, what are they not doing?

"They make comments based on the idea that their audience can see what is happening on screen so most common things mentioned are player's [sic] names, ref decisions, opinions of plays and decisions etc."

"No mention is made of direction (passing to the left), field placement of team members, distance of play locations (example: Scrum is 10 metres in from the lefthand touch, 10 metres from the Kiwi's try line)."

"Before the start of each game an overview of the scene. Example: Team A, in the black

jumpers and black socks will be playing from the left side of the field, defending the Sandringham Road end of the park and Team B, in the green jumpers and gold socks, will be playing from the right side defending the Mt Eden side of the park. “

Question 4

Do you feel that the visually impaired television viewer is overlooked by the commentary style of the game, if so please explain how?

“Yes, but this is because it is an expectation that the viewer has 20-20 vision and has their 100% focus on the screen. If you have full sight and leave the TV for any reason and therefore rely on the audio, then it is easy to miss out on what is happening. Comments like” Wow that was incredible” or “Hey that was a dangerous move” without verbal explanation of the context mean nothing.”

“Often game scores are not spoken regularly as the score is displayed onscreen.”

Question 5

Does radio sports commentary do a satisfactory job at calling the game for the visually impaired viewer?

“Yes most of the time. They need to paint a mental picture for the listener of what can be seen. So this usually does include extra comments on direction of play, team member placement, facial/body gestures, repeating the score”

Question 6

What can commentators do and add to their commentating to help the visually impaired fan to follow the game?

“Enhancing the standard commentary to include some of the info as noted above.”

Question 7

What physical advancements can be made on the field to assist that the visual impaired viewer (and spectator who attends the live game) has better visibility at following the game? (Example: rugby ball should have a more visible colour, rugby posts should be painted differently to stand out, etc.)

“Hi vis ball, goals, field markings, player identification”

“At the venue it could be useful to provide volunteers for vision impaired attendees to assist with basic commentary and assistance moving around the venue (on a pre-booked basis). Possibly being able to listen to a commentary via a venue supplied wireless headset that anyone could hire (maybe with a bond that is returned when the device is returned after the game)”

“Large print programs at games.”

“For the home viewer maybe a separate audio channel with high description commentary.”

“Enhancing the standard commentary to include some of the info as noted above.”

ENGAGING WITH ART

This semester's submissions saw some stunning pieces on art and art history. Jerzy Kosiński is quoted for telling us, "the principles of true art is not to portray, but to evoke". As such, these pieces not only explore and analyse the portrayal of art, but respond to the ideas they raise - and in turn induce their readers to discuss these concepts further.

Ramsay's essay teaches us about Upper Palaeolithic cave art, and digs to the heart of why it was created. The piece masterfully presents different theories regarding the purposes of prehistoric art, and asks us to consider art's place in the evolution of human society.

Our next piece in this section evaluates the ability to access art, and asks whether one requires an extensive understanding of a piece of art and its context to be able to enjoy and comprehend its meaning. Van den Heever takes us through many great works, discussing aesthetic pleasure and artistic depth.

Raynor turns our attention to how colonisation has impacted art, specifically looking at the claiming and return of human remains as artefacts. This piece looks at the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, analysing the benefits and flaws of the act through case studies. It raises some important points about museum collections, artefact collection techniques, and the treatment of art from indigenous cultures: something we can always afford to think about in Aotearoa.

All the work in this section shows great examples of critical thought, and analysis of art. Furthermore, they highlight the crucial place art has in our history, and it's powerful ability to communicate ideas about the histories we continue living, recording, and reflecting upon.

Anthropology 101

World Archaeology

Erin Ramsay

Palaeolithic cave art: the case for ambiguity

The development of parietal art in the Upper Palaeolithic has been subject to a number of explanatory theories since its discovery in the nineteenth century. Interpretations of Palaeolithic cave art, particularly in relation to Franco-Cantabrian art, include the idea that parietal art was created merely for aesthetic purposes, or “art for art’s sake;”; the hypothesis that spiritual affinity for animals or belief in “sympathetic magic” led to the creation of Palaeolithic cave art forms and; that parietal art can be understood using psychological postulates or concepts. None of these theories succeed fully in unifying all characteristics of Upper Palaeolithic cave art into a coherent explanation, and only a general interpretation of the social significance of parietal art from this period to its creators may be deduced. In terms of the “when” and “where” of cave art from the Upper Palaeolithic, it is interesting to note that observable (preservation-related) reasons for the commonality of artwork in Europe and propositions of artistic behaviours, if not evidence of artwork, prior to the Upper Palaeolithic, both disrupt previously accepted ideas about these aspects of Palaeolithic cave art.

Within the context of historical interpretations of Upper Palaeolithic cave art, an early explanation was of works being produced solely because of their aesthetic value. Archaeologists Lartet and Christy posited in 1864 that abundance of resources for Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer peoples was such that those peoples had ample leisure time in which to create art for decorative purposes (Ucko, 1967). The “art for art’s sake” theory was lent weight by a late nineteenth-century newfound appreciation among artists and art critics for artisanal and “primitive”, as opposed to “fine”, art (Palacio Pérez, 2010). This “l’art pour l’art” interpretation is in fact problematic for a number of reasons – in a less recent, but very thorough consideration of parietal art theories Ucko (1967) summarises these. Ethnographic analyses of modern hunter-gatherer peoples quickly disproved the idea that plentiful leisure time was required for the creation of art, as Australian communities, who could not be said to have “easy” lives, produced complex artworks (Ucko, 1967). Ucko (1967), as well as Blum (2011), points to the argument put forward by archaeologist Adolphe Reinach that it is unlikely artworks would have been created in deep or less accessible areas in caves, as many were, if such art was solely decorative and to be viewed for pleasure. Finally, and most significantly, the aesthetic-driven understanding of cave art can be seen to be flawed in its reliance on an (unreasonable) mid-to-late nineteenth-century belief that Palaeolithic peoples were too primitive to have developed spiritual or symbolic thought (Palacio Pérez, 2010; Ucko, 1967). This particular interpretation of parietal art was then not merely based on the possibility of aesthetic motivation by prehistoric artists but a refusal to acknowledge any potential social dimension to their artworks. “Art for art’s sake” is therefore an insufficient explanation for the development of cave art in the Upper Palaeolithic.

Another explanation for the development of Palaeolithic cave art is that it has religious significance, a theory which has often associated artworks with so-called “sympathetic magic” or alternatively, the spiritual system of totemism. In the late nineteenth century, ethnographers investigated totemic systems within modern hunter-gatherer Australian

and Native American peoples. ‘Totemism’ as a term referring broadly to the reverence by a community of certain animals, including depictions of those animals, to which a group perceives themselves to have a spiritual relationship (Ucko, 1967). Ethnographic parallels between these modern hunter-gatherer populations and Palaeolithic peoples were made and archaeologists such as the Abbé Henri Breuil embraced the theory that cave art, especially depiction of large animals such as bison, oxen and deer, was totemic (Palacio Pérez, 2010; Ucko, 1967). Scholars such as Reinach offered another spiritual explanation for parietal (and mobile) art – sympathetic magic (Ucko, 1967). Since nearly all figurative works within Palaeolithic cave art are animals, and of these primarily food source animals are depicted, it can be supposed that parietal art was created because of a belief in the magical power of images and a desire to control the animals or resources which were then shown, including making them easier to hunt (Ucko, 1967). The placement of art within nearly inaccessible areas in caves fits with this hypothesis, as it implies some level of sacredness or restriction belonging to artworks (Ucko, 1967, Blum, 2011). As with “art for art’s sake”, however, there are problems. Blum (2011) notes the depictions of wounded animals, which would be expected if parietal images were meant to aid in hunting, are extremely rare, and that cave art in general lacks aggressive traits. Furthermore, Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998, p.14), in a similar fashion to De Cruz and De Smedt (2011), point out that modern hunter-gatherers “[are] not living Upper Palaeolithic fossils” – it can be dangerous to apply (at least with certainty) ideas around modern practices to communities living tens of thousands of years ago. The understanding of Upper Palaeolithic cave art as totemic or magical may be useful in recognising the social and potential spiritual importance of parietal art, but it is not a perfect interpretation.

More recently, psychological explanations for the development of cave art in the Upper Palaeolithic have arisen. Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998) argue that parietal art arose from the experience of “altered states” in which shamanic figures, through sensory deprivation made possible by cave environments, hallucinated animals and spirits onto cave walls and produced in order to cement these visions. A bison image from Niaux in France is used by them to indicate how natural features on cave walls may have contributed to the perception of figures when in an altered mood – the bison’s back is defined by a natural shadow in the wall (Clottes and Lewis-Williams, 1998). Margaret Bullen (2011) also investigates the potential link between unusual mental states, including those induced by mental illnesses, and the creative drives which might have led Upper Palaeolithic people to make art. She concludes that genes responsible for mood disorders (such as depression and bipolar disorder) which developed in *Homo sapiens* may have encouraged the taking of creative risks which led to the development of cave art (Bullen 2011). Once again, these understandings of parietal art are not without fault. Not to mention Bullen’s reliance on a popular narrative of mental disorders conferring advantages on people, which could be seen as a glorification of mental illness, Ucko (1967) states that Palaeolithic artists often disregarded natural wall features in the creation of parietal art, counting as an example where a flint nodule within the outline of an engraved mammoth at Rouffignac was ignored. This complicates the suggestion that

cave art was inspired by surface characteristics which appeared like animals when in an altered psychological state. Most conclusively, Blum (2011) argues that the concentration required for the creation of parietal art, including working with others to ensure access to light while painting or engraving, could not have been undertaken in a hallucinatory state. Unfortunately then, as with other theories, psychological explanations for Upper Palaeolithic cave art do not appear conclusive enough to elucidate fully the meanings of parietal art.

In all likelihood, the absolute meaning of Upper Palaeolithic cave art cannot be found, but a general interpretation may be drawn from multiple theories surrounding parietal art. It is undeniable that Palaeolithic cave art had some social significance to its creators, and was not simply “l’art pour l’art” – the cooperation required to produce the scaffolding and light sources necessary for parietal art creation in hard-to-reach areas implies an understanding about the importance of creating art between an artist and their apprentice or assistant at the very least (Blum 2011). Bullen (2011) also notes that it would have been difficult for extensive artwork such as that at Lascaux and Chauvet to have been made without some sort of social approval behind the creation of parietal art. Psychoanalytical theories may offer useful generalisations about Palaeolithic cave art which reinterpret characteristics of parietal art employed to support the “sympathetic magic” theorem. Blum (2011) contends that at the very least, the selectivity of subjects found in cave art, the usual avoidance of anthropomorphic figures and the location of art deep within caves signify a kind of social code surrounding parietal art, though what that might specifically be is unclear. Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998, p.14) speak of a “pessimist[ic]” attitude to interpreting cave art that is common among theorists. While it would not be useful to refute all potential meanings of parietal art on the basis of their being inconclusive, it is necessary when considering Upper Palaeolithic art to be “pessimist[ic]” to some degree to avoid the same arrogance expressed by those who first analysed cave art and ignorantly transposed nineteenth-century ideals onto Palaeolithic art. While differing perspectives may shed light on the numerous difficult questions surrounding parietal art, as stated by Melcher and Wade (2006, p.721), “it is [...] unlikely that we will resolve the conundrum regarding cave art.”

Tracing the “where” and “when” of prehistoric art also poses challenges and reveals assumptions about those who analyse parietal art. Traditionally Upper Palaeolithic cave art was thought to be confined to the Franco-Cantabrian region, but discoveries such as that indicated by Aubert et al. (2014), in which, among other contemporaneous artworks, a hand stencil with an approximate age of 39.9 kyr was found in a cave in Sulawesi, Indonesia, disrupt this idea. Such findings indicate that it was not as though only Europeans were capable of making cave art at this time – Franco-Cantabrian cave art was simply better preserved. Ucko (1967) acknowledges this in stating that the sealing of caves, the development of deposits over painted areas and the placement of art away from cave entrances, all of which would lead to improved preservation was typical of Franco-Cantabrian caves. It can be supposed that the accepted uniqueness of

European Palaeolithic parietal art led to Eurocentric assumptions about human artistic ability that will now have to be unlearned. Contested instances of the world's oldest art beyond accepted Palaeolithic examples include a Neanderthal/Mousterian "face" from La Roche-Cotard consisting of a piece of flint with a bone splinter lodged within (Lorblanchet and Marquet 2003) and cross-hatched ochre pieces from Blombos Cave in South Africa dated to between 70-77 kyr (González Morales et al. 2012). As De Cruz and De Smedt (2011) observe, humans are capable of recognising faces, which can be a boon for modern archaeologists looking for first art because of the probability an intentionally designed face might be seen in an object where none actually occurs (such is possibly the case with the La Roche-Cotard "face"). However, facial recognition capability proves useful when considering whether prehistoric hominins exhibited "symbol-mindedness", a trait that De Cruz and De Smedt (2011) posit as being a useful consideration when testing for artistic ability. "Symbol-mindedness" would mean that the creation of non-utilitarian Oldowan artefacts two million years ago (Harrod, 2014) or the appreciation and picking up of a waterworn face-like cobble by an Australopithecine and bringing it to Makapansgat, South Africa, over three million years ago (Bahn, 1997) could be evidence of artistic ability in species prior to *Homo sapiens*. The potential recognition of an object as symbolic can be seen as proof of artistic behaviour, if not proof of the creation of art itself, again disrupting an accepted archaeological narrative around art.

Historically, there have been numerous attempts by different groups of archaeologists and schools of thought to make clearer the motivations behind the creation of Upper Palaeolithic cave art. These include utilising the concepts of "art for art's sake", totemism, "sympathetic magic" and several psychological ideas around the relationship between parietal art and mental states. While each of these theories does contribute to the understanding of parietal art, none is completely dependable; it is reasonable, instead, to be sceptical of too-specific explanations for Palaeolithic cave art and know that while parietal art may have been accepted as socially codified by its inventors, the details of that social code are to an extent impenetrable. Both considerations of why Franco-Cantabrian cave art is the most common parietal art as well as whether evidence exists for art beyond the Palaeolithic period have the potential to upset traditional archaeological narratives.

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Art History 322

Radical Transformations: Modern Art 1875-1950

Aviva van Den Heever

Art Is a One Liner?

To suggest that the meaning of an artwork can never be accessed by the viewer at a glance seems to bring injustice to the foundations on which art is built on. The statement seems to restrict and reduce art to simply an aesthetic experience, empty of symbolism and iconography. To state never, is an over exaggeration of the limits of art. Art is meant to be accessible, relatable and understanding to its relative audience. The bigger question within this essay is not whether art has meaning but to what extent this meaning can be accessed by the audience. Accessing art in the West has never been easier than with the introduction of the Internet. However, do we truly experience the artwork through an image splashed onto our laptops' screens? Can our imaginations reach as far as to imagine the texture of a van Gogh brushstroke, the colour of a Matisse and the size of a Picasso? Every individuals body react differently to a situation, and that is no different in art. For many people, to establish a meaning is a phenomenological experience only accessible in life not through virtuality. Art will always provide clues to its meaning (as a type of accessibility) for the viewer through the use of medium, imagery, location, context and style. However, it is up to the viewer to recognise that their impersonal experience with an image of an artwork will always be limited access.

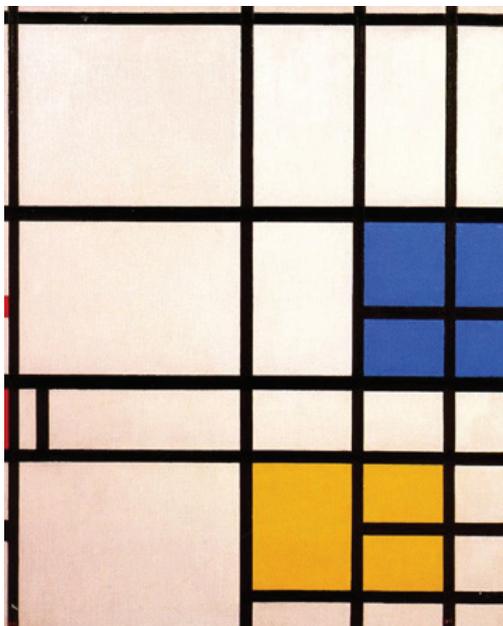
Accessibility is limited to the medium in which an artwork is executed. For example, Rietveld's Schroder House, 1924, [Fig.1] is executed in a Bauhaus manner. Although hints of the Bauhaus movement are apparent such as the use of asymmetrical design and the emphasis on space rather than mass (Friedewald, 2009). The over all aim of the Bauhaus movement was to unite functionality with creativity and this cannot be grasped from an image. This accessibility to meaning can only be accessed through moving through the space and examining the ever changing and dynamic architecture that attributes to the functionality. Here the process of accessing the meaning of the Bauhaus architectural movement seems to rely on an individual's phenomenological experience of the space. However, the use of blue, red, yellow and black can be read as having a distinct connection with modern abstract painting such as Mondrain's Composition, 1940-42, [Fig. 2].



Gerit Rietveld,
Schröder House,
1924, [Figure 1]

The use of colour (in both the interior and exterior) acts as a glimpse to the gateway for the true understanding of the purity and marks the functionality that is extended throughout the architectural space. Nonetheless, the accessibility to the meaning of the artwork seems to be far fetched and minimal. This is due to the forms the artwork takes as well as the lack of imagery that is presented. Is the question then that familiar imagery is essential to accessing the meaning of an artwork?

Epstein's, *The Tomb of Oscar Wilde*, 1912 [Fig. 3] is a monument done in a three-dimensional manner and showcases a sort of sphinx-like demon with the seven sins depicted above the headdress. Although, the phenomenological experience of the viewer stills plays a role in accessing the meaning of the artwork; it is not solely dependent on it. The imagery of the sphinx-like human accelerating into eternity references the transition of the body between earth and heaven. The imagery is familiar to most, is drawn from Egyptian sculptures and also mimics the style of Egyptian funerary sculptures (Cork et al., 2009). However, the gathering of meaning is only accessible through the imagery made apparent by the sculptor, as well as the familiarity of the context of the work. As a gravestone it is only correct to assume that the monument will have connotations of life and death. Unlike, the context of [Fig.1] that is broad and lost within its location, Epstein's monument is more suitable and specific to its location. Therefore, it is only fair to conclude that it is not only the medium and imagery that accompanies an artwork that generates more accessibility, but also the context and location that it is situated in.



Piet Mondrian, *Composition*, 1940-42 [Figure 2]



Jacob Epstein, *The Tomb of Oscar Wilde*, 1912 [Figure 3]

This essay has already established that accessibility to meaning is dependant on the context, location and type of medium. However, there is also the possibility that accessibility to meaning can also be measured in terms of the relativity of the imagery to the viewer. For, example a viewer who is from a Buddhist background will not relate to an image of the Madonna and Child on the same degree as a viewer who is from a Catholic background. Does the viewer then determine the type of accessibility of meaning an artwork can provide? For Western Christian viewers the image of Picasso's Mother and Child, 1901, [Fig. 4] is no doubt a depiction of the Madonna and Child. The figure of a woman dressed in a blue robe who is seated on a chair kissing her child clasping his hands in prayer can easily be translated into a figure of the Mother Mary – who is seated on her throne dressed in blue representing her loyalty and looking upon the Christ child. This is very similar to da Vinci's Madonna Litta, c. 1490 [Fig. 5]. There is no doubt that a person who has been exposed to such imagery through religion, cannot access its meaning. However, is it possible that Cassatt's Mother and Child, 1897 [Fig. 6] is too far reduced from the iconic characteristics of the Madonna and Child? Although it does resemble a mother embracing her child, the throne (or chair) is no longer represented neither is the use of the loyal blue nor the hands grasped in prayer. The access of meaning becomes distanced from the source, and takes on a more nurturing meaning that is associated with motherhood rather than with religion. A topic that would be more accessible to women rather than men, therefore it might be more appropriate to categorise Cassatt's paintings as feminist rather than religious.



Pablo Picasso, Mother and Child, 1901, [Figure 4]



Leonardo da Vinci, Madonna Litta, c. 1460 [Figure 5]



Mary Cassat,
Mother and Child,
1897 [Figure 6]

Another tool of accessibility in an artwork is the use of a title by the artist. However, it is important to take into consideration that not all titles are given by artists and that some artworks are titled over time by viewers and critics. Often works titled by artists gets supplementary titles that are adjusted to meet the meanings that viewers have taken from an artwork. Such as the *Le Baiser* (*The Kiss*), 1882 [Fig. 7] done by Rodin that was originally titled *Francesca da Rimini*. Rodin took the imagery from Dante's *Inferno* however when critics first saw the sculpture they suggested the less specific title of *Le Baiser* (Sooke, 2015). This situation may lead to misinterpretations of an artwork that was never intended by the artists, however in Rodin's case the overall message of love and eroticism is maintained in both titles. The purpose of the title of an artwork acts as a way of access into the meaning of an artwork as it often suggests what the artists was intending of accomplishing with the work. This is especially useful in abstract work such as Brancusi's *The Beginning of the World*, 1924 [Fig. 8]. Here the viewer is presented with a smooth ovoid shaped piece of marble, that resembles the simplicity of shape and form. Shape and form were both concepts that Brancusi were interested in throughout his later years (Geist, 1975). Deprived of the title, Brancusi's sculpture is reduced to a modest form that could just as easily resemble the outline of a head. Nevertheless, the viewer references the work within the idea of life due to the title that explicitly introduces the idea of a 'beginning', and therefore the artwork is instantaneously associated with the conception of life. Although the use of the title is a way of accessing the meaning of an artwork it cannot be relied on. For example, abstract expressionist painters such as Pollock solely focused on the materiality of the medium without giving insight into his conceptual ideas through a title. Here the artist is responsible for cutting off all accessibility of the meaning of an artwork through using abstracted imagery and

simpleminded titles. This can be seen when examining his painting titled One: Number 31, 1951, [Fig. 9] here the viewer is not forced to look for meaning but rather the manner in which the painting is executed (a key conceptual idea of Pollock's practice).



August Rodin, Le Baiser (The Kiss), 1882 [Figure 7]



Constantin Brancusi, The Beginning of the World, 1924 [Figure 8]

Jackson Pollock, One: Number 31, 1951, [Figure 9]



While Pollock still focused on the end results, conceptual artists focused on the processes and methods of creating an artwork. Conceptual art did not focus on the end results as its meaning, but rather the process and methods. Conceptual art's accessibility can therefore

be limited and is largely dependent on the viewer's knowledge and interpretation of the work. Beuys' most well-known performance titled, *I like America and America Likes Me*, 1974, [Fig.10], consisted of Beuys spending three days in a room with a coyote. His performance as a whole comprised of concepts around anti-colonialism and anti-war stances combined with environmental politics (Jeffs, 2005). The accessibility and the meaning of the work gets obscured by the abstraction of the action within conceptualisation. Furthermore, the accessibility of the meaning of the performance can also be limited by time. During 1974, there was a large anti-war movement, especially the anti-Vietnam war movement therefore people were well aware of the socio-political stance that Beuys was taking. However, looking back at Beuys' work now the viewer might be left unaware of the socio-political stance due to the time and place separation. Separation of time and place, can cause a viewer not to access the meaning of an artwork. However, when analysing Duchamp's, *Fountain*, 1917, [Fig.11] that falls under the subtitle of 'The Ready-mades,' time and place does not seem to be relevant to his concept. Duchamp whose conceptual practise was formed around the idea, that any object can be considered art when placed in the right context, creates accessibility to the audience through making use of everyday objects. Although some might consider the *Fountain* as a urinal, the broader concepts of mass production, consumption and humour is apparent. These are all elements that people can relate to on a daily basis, therefore the accessibility to the conceptual meaning of the artwork is much easier to relate to.



Joseph Beuys, *I like America and America Likes Me*, 1974, [Figure 10]



Marcel Duchamp,
Fountain,
1917 [Figure 11]

The accessibility of art in terms of meaning will always be a complex topic to deal with. Art does not always allow meanings to be easily constructed alongside it, and most often the context of the artist and the viewer is so far abstracted that the artwork itself becomes difficult to engage with. However, it is crucial for both the viewer and the artist to be aware of the critique they are constructing through trying to access the meaning (often this critique is associated with the work for its entire duration). Habitually trying to reach the meaning of an artwork can cause the aesthetic pleasure of examining and admiring an artwork to be lost. Meaning of art can never take a universal form. However, this does not imply that meaning cannot be accessed by a glance, it simply implies that every viewer is an individual in a different circumstance, with different opinions and views on life. Art cannot be read as a one liner.

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Art History 322

Radical Transformations: Modern Art 1875-1950

Kirsten Raynor

Colonial Legacies: Issues in the repatriation of human remains under NAGPRA

Please note that due to the cultural sensitivities of this topic, it is requested that you do not eat whilst reading, or read in an area of food preparation and consumption.

The remains of Native American ancestors still sit in the archives of many museums and institutions across the United States of America. The return of these remains to Native American tribes is a contentious issue. In the United States, legislation has been passed to repatriate remains from within public collections. However, as the cases of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe and the Ancient One show, NAGPRA fails to adequately support tribes in the return of their ancestors, and allows institutions ways to hold onto remains through the designation of “culturally unidentified”.

The collection of Native American remains began in the early colonial period, but it considerably increased in the early 19th Century with the rise in anthropology (Lonetree, 2012). Anthropologists such as George Otis and Samuel Morton incentivised the collection of human remains so that they could build collections for study and display. The Army Medical Museum alone collected 4,500 crania (Lonetree, 2012). Many of these were then transferred to the Smithsonian Institute and other large collections. This has resulted in an additional difficulty for museums. By returning the remains, they would be acknowledging the illegally acquired items which they have built their reputation upon, potentially opening themselves to further questions for provenance and legitimacy in other collections.

The Antiquities Act of 1906 was intended to protect pre-European cultural resources through a permit system. However, this law continued discriminatory practises through its commodification of excavations, and was overall ineffective due to a lack of enforcement. In *Decolonising Museums* (2012), the shortcomings of this law are outlined:

The Act failed to directly consider the interests that Native Americans might have in their own material culture, and it legislated the appropriation of that culture by anthropologists (page 30).

The Antiquities Act consolidated the authority of anthropologists over Native American bodies. Excavated human remains became the property of the government and mass removal of remains and cultural objects continued. This law also failed to determine any time frame, with no differentiation between recent remains or historic (Lonetree, 2012). Regardless of the time passed these remains are still ancestors of surviving peoples, so the lack of differentiation makes no difference in terms of claim. It can, however, pose additional legal issues, as is seen in the case of *The Ancient One*.

The process by which human remains were collected in the earlier colonial period has led to a difficulty in arranging the return of remains in museum collections as many of them are not adequately recorded. Nancy Rossoff (2003) notes, “Early cataloguing

practises indicate human remains at that time were considered less important than their associated artefacts.” (page 73) Funerary objects were also collected as part of this early anthropological research. One researcher whilst surveying the National Museum of American Indians (NMAI) collection found that a celebrated pot actually held cremated ashes (Rossoff, 2003), but there was no previous record of this.

In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed following a large amount of campaigning by Native Americans (O’Neal, 2015). This Act provided the legal basis for the repatriation of ancestors to their Native American tribes. Museums and federal agencies were now required to inventory their collections and notify tribes if they held remains of their ancestors. NAGPRA has some essential flaws. Firstly, the statement on excavations (Section 3) does not apply to sites or remains found on private or state-held land, only federal or tribal lands. Secondly, the section on collections only applies to federal collections or public institutions (National Parks Service). Thirdly, for the repatriation of remains, NAGPRA requires connection to a “single federally recognised” (Kelsey and Carpenter, 2011) tribe. This includes that individuals of the group must not already be affiliated with any other tribe, which has obvious limitations. Only tribes that are federally recognised have a legal basis for sovereignty, and thus the chance to have ancestors returned to them under NAGPRA. Some tribes have refused to apply for federal recognition as they consider it to be a continuation of colonialism. The limitation of NAGPRA is that it does not acknowledge varied lineage or tribal interactivity, and it is again the federal government having control over the identity of indigenous peoples (Kelsey and Carpenter, 2011).

NAGPRA did significantly increase the communication between institutions and tribes regarding their collections. This communication is especially vital as there is no pan-Native American way of responding to the news that their ancestors have been found in a museum catalogue. Some tribes wish for the return of the remains, and others wish for them to remain in the collection. Each tribe has their own considerations when making this decision. NAGPRA has led to tens of thousands of human remains (National Park Service) and funerary objects being returned. However, there is limited staff and funding to accurately catalogue and research their collections. Thus, many remain unidentified in collections.

CASE STUDY: SAGINAW CHIPPEWA TRIBE AND MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Following NAGPRA, Michigan State University (MSU) began a survey of their archives and notified the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe that there were human remains of their ancestors within the collections. Saginaw Chippewa began meetings within their community to have the conversation of what was to be done with these remains. They decided that the remains were “the people themselves” (Lonetree, 2012) and wished to return them to the earth. In 1995 Saginaw Chippewa created an ancestral cemetery, where more than 400 remains have been laid to rest (Lonetree, 2012).

However, NAGPRA still left large numbers of ancestors in the collections of institutions under the title of Cultural Unidentified Human Remains (CUHR). These are human remains which cannot be linked to a particular tribe due to a lack of records of the excavation, or the ancestor and site not being linked to a federally recognised tribe. Michigan State University recorded 1,200 CUHR in their collection (Lonetree, 2012) and would not release any of these to be buried.

Saginaw Chippewa Tribe worked collectively with other tribes in the region, forming Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance (MACPRA) to present a unified commitment to protecting Native American cultural heritage and the repatriation of human remains and funerary objects in their area. In 2007, MSU's collection was researched by MACPRA and they made claim to 405 human remains, as although these were deemed "culturally unidentifiable" by MSU, MACPRA could identify them as being ancestors of one or more of these tribes (Lonetree, 2012).. The stance of MSU is that the CUHR must continue in their collection to avoid the issue of the remains being returned to the wrong tribe. Unfortunately, with no section of NAGPRA requiring the institutions conduct tests or research to identify the remains, these ancestors remain with MSU.

An institution that has had a different interpretation of NAGPRA and CUHR is NMAI. They recognise that the repatriation of human remains is highly complex, with different practises across tribal groups. This complexity has slowed the repatriation process, but it has not halted it. Following a period of consultations, NMAI returned previously undocumented and unaffiliated human remains to the earth with the assistance of tribal groups in New York (Rossoff, 2003). There was a communal ceremony with the tribes working together to determine common burial and ceremonial practises. NMAI recognised that these CUHR should be treated in the most respectful way, even without the knowledge of which customs the persons would have followed, rather than left in their collection.

CASE STUDY – THE ANCIENT ONE

The most well-known case of CUHR is the Ancient One, also known as the Kennewick Man. The skeletal remains of a 9,000-year-old man was found in 1996. The US Army Corps owned the land on which the Ancient One's remains were found (Blackmore, 2016), and thus "owned" the remains. For twenty years, five tribes that existed within the Washington state claimed the Ancient One as Native American and therefore to be repatriated under NAGPRA. When the news was first released, Armand Mainthorn, member of the Umatilla tribe stated:

If this individual is truly over 9,000 years old, that only substantiates our belief that he is Native American. From our oral histories, we know that our people have been part of this land since the beginning of time.... We already know our history (Blackmore, 2016).

The age recorded aligned with the oral history of Native American tribes and the scientific consensus that there were no European settlers in the United States at the time the Ancient One would have lived. A few scientists claimed that the remains could be evidence of early European settlement that had not previously been recorded and therefore should not be released.

The US Army Corps of Engineers did not concede this until DNA testing in 2015 definitively proved that the Ancient One was related to the Native Americans in the region, as they had made claim to two decades prior. The Ancient One was buried in 2017 through a joint ceremony of the Native American tribes of the Pacific Northwest (Blackmore, 2016). This case does have a satisfactory resolution, however for CUHR, the Ancient One is the exception. If it had not been for the age of him, the unsubstantiated claims of “proof” of early European settlement, and the high publicity that resulted from the potential scientific discovery, it is unlikely that DNA testing would have been done at all. The repatriation outcome was the same as it would have been twenty years before when the claim was started. The delay in the process, including a case in the San Francisco federal court, was costly and painful for those who only wished for the return of one of their ancestors. The labelling of remains as CUHR is a way for institutions to avoid returning remains from their collection, particularly if these hold a perceived high value of the prestige of having such a rare find in their collection.

THE FUTURE OF HUMAN REMAINS REPATRIATION

In 2010, the Obama administration ratified the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). This declaration protects the rights of Native Americans over the remains of their ancestors specifically in Article 12 stating “indigenous peoples have... the right to the repatriation of their human remains” (United Nations, 2007). However, the United States federal government has not taken any steps to implement this and thus communities must enforce its tenets themselves (O’Neal, 2015). The National Park Service is the department under which NAGPRA is acted upon, and grants for museums and institutions to survey their collections for human remains comes from this budget. There has been no additional funding provided to assist with this, and the current Trump administration has cut funding to the National Park Service in the 2018 budget (Calfas, 2017). Consequently it is unlikely that any improvements will be made in this area.

In April 2017, US President Donald Trump signed an executive order requiring a review of the Antiquities Act. His intentions are for areas of federal land to return to private control (Trump, 2017), which would result in human remains found on the newly designated private lands to be the property of the owner of that land instead of the descendants having claim. At the time of writing, this review has not yet occurred, and it is unclear how this will affect the ownership of remains found in these lands previously.

An ongoing issue with the treatment and repatriation of Native American human remains in museums is that different tribes have different customs and laws, meaning that each case is different. Museums, particularly those federally funded do not have the resources to adequately research and act in these ways. A way forward is the continued work between representatives of tribes and museums in teaching the customs they wish to be followed.

It has been suggested by a number of scholars (Vine Deloria Jr, William T. Hagan and O'Neal) that the way forward is access to resources and archives being placed in the hands of Native American communities and their historians. O'Neal (2015) links this idea back to the rise in Native American activism and movements in 1960's and noted that at the time, the notion that Native American's had control of their own people's histories and objects was entirely radical. As NAGPRA is currently interpreted, the power of identification is in the hands of non-Native people and institutions (Kelsey and Carpenter, 2011). The key to this is cooperative work between institutions and Tribes as reflected in the work by NMAI.

Their [Native Americans] survival as distinct peoples in this nation depends largely on [the] extent, quality, and accessibility of tribal archives. (O'Neal, 2015, page 10)
The repatriation of human remains is a crucial issue in the self-determination and representation of indigenous identity. Native American communities are able to affirm their sovereignty through control over their own histories (O'Neal, 2015) and act in ways that are appropriate to each group. When remains are identified to a number of tribes, following the "indigenous model of interrelationship" (Kelsey and Carpenter, 2011) is preferred. The return of control over their ancestors remains and cultural objects would greatly benefit Native American communities. This would require an amendment of NAGPRA to be passed by the U.S. congress, or initiatives from the institutions themselves.

Native American human remains were collected on a substantial scale beginning in the early colonial period. The Antiquities Act and NAGPRA have both reaffirmed the federal governments control over Native American ancestors. NAGPRA has made some legal basis for the repatriation of human remains, however, an institution can deem remains as CUHR to avoid repatriating them. Both the cases of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe and the Ancient One show that there needs to be a shift to place control of the archives into Native American hands, as NMAI has worked to do. This is the best way to ensure that Native American communities are able to act within their sovereignty and the rights over their cultural heritage, as the United States is beholden to under the UNDRIP.

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ACRONYMS

CUHR: Cultural Unidentified Human Remains

MACPRA: Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance

MSU: Michigan State University

NAGPRA: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

NMAI: National Museum of American Indians

UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

QUESTIONING THE NORM

With this section we have two very different pieces, both connected through their ability to introduce the readers to new ideas, and critically analyse concepts we often perceive as 'normal'.

McCarthy's gives us a funny, opinionated piece of work which takes on the gender binary, and questions of the role of genital reconstructive surgery. This work looks into the role this type of surgery plays in reproducing 'bigender' discourse, and reinforcing negative associations with the binary itself. It also tackles the issue of access to certain type of surgeries, and society's commitment to a gender binary heavily informed by patriarchal values.

Coleman also uses humour to bring in her audience, while presenting a queer reading of a biblical story. The author analyses the telling of Samson and Delilah through a lens which critiques heteronormative performances of gender, and sexual relationships. This piece encourages us to review how biblical history is written, and the purposes behind certain portrayals we encounter. Furthermore, we are invited to challenge these texts that many of us take for granted as final.

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Special Issues in Gender

Lana McCarthy

Genital Surgery! The latest and greatest way to do your gender well!

Have you checked your labia lately? What about the size of them? Are they too small? They're probably too small, and if they're too big, well that's a problem too. I bet you didn't even know it was a problem – but yes, doctors have decided it is! And now here's another way women can feel ashamed of their bodies! But not to worry, Female Genital Cosmetic Surgery (FGCS) is here to fix you! (Braun, 2005). BBC's "My Unusual Vagina" (Gibb, 2017) shows us Antonia who's having vaginal reconstruction to fix (yes I said fix because there's absolutely no way there are a variety of vagina anatomies, but indeed only one proper one- if you're unfamiliar visit www.pornhub.com) her labia minora (the inner lips) because they hang outside of her labia majora (the outer lips). So if your sexual partners tell you your vagina looks like a "Big Mac", instead of changing your partner, you can change your vagina!

The pressure to conform to the ultimate feminine ideal is all too real, and it's reaching new extremes. Where to even start... Let's try with the gender binary.

The gender binary rests upon the belief that there are two genders, and they are distinctly, and naturally different. We have men and women, the masculine and feminine. These are seen as opposites, to be masculine is to be absolutely not feminine, and society values masculinity over femininity (Simmons, 2016; Gilbert, 2009). Any exceptions to this binary are considered not serious or constitute an illness in the individual. This gender binary is then fundamental to heteronormativity, as the implication is that these two genders pair together to function in healthy sexual and social partnerships. Heterosexuality is not only a sexual relationship, but a fundamentally gendered relationship that orders the norms of social life. Heteronormativity sets expectations regarding sexual behaviour, the 'normal' order of life, and performance of gender (Scharff, 2016). It works to regulate those within it, and sanction and marginalise those outside it. Therefore, the ideal woman in society is a heterosexual feminine woman, and FGCS serves to regulate her to keep her neatly in the 'hetero' box. In turn, aligning her to the ideal of the "real" feminine woman (Braun, 2005)

Virginia Braun's study in 2005 analysed media data on, and interviews with, surgeons about FGCS. Her findings showed that though some women opted for FGCS for functional reasons, most women wanted FGCS because they were ashamed of their genitals. They felt concerned their genitals did not look normal, and did not fit a male oriented aesthetic. FGCS is advertised as being sexually liberating for women, you've probably seen the magazines advertisements: "I am no longer embarrassed to be naked!" or "I could finally relax and be myself during sex, I didn't have to worry about my boyfriend seeing me naked!" (Braun, 2005, p.413). The surgery pretends to be sexually liberating, but come on – it is clear from these quotes alone the surgery actually works to reinforce oppressive social norms. These norms dictate a "real woman" is heterosexual, and exists to serve male sexual pleasure. These women are enjoying sex post surgery because they are pleasing their male partners, and conforming to the ideal of the perfect vagina. Virginia Braun herself made an insightful comment that "it is important to note how hard [the surgeon] has to work to undermine the suggestion that the surgery might

‘really’ be about male sexual pleasure” (Braun, 2005, p.417).

New Zealand surgeon Murray Beagley website actually states “we restore the anatomy of your vagina” (Murray Beagley Plastic Surgery, 2016). Restore? To what?? And surprise, surprise... the gold standard most often brought to surgeons in Braun’s study (2005) were pictures of vaginas from male oriented pornography like “*Playboy*”. And heaven forbid you prefer a type of sex that doesn’t involve penis-in-vagina penetration (when apparently only 25% of women reliably orgasm through vaginal penetration (Castleman, 2009)): we don’t want to challenge heteronormative definitions of sex (Jackson, 2006). We desperately need to think about how we judge women’s bodies, and teach women that to be feminine is to be serving of men’s sexual desires and conforming to their preferences. FGSC is just the latest way in which we do this.

Now at this point you’re probably ripping your hair out, or maybe you’re feeling insecure about your labia (to be honest with you I’d never worried about it UNTIL now). However it gets worse: it is shocking how easy it is to obtain this surgery, In Braun’s study (2005) some of the twenty four surgeons interviewed advised they had experience in over a thousand surgeries. Furthermore, it took me approximately one minute to fire up google and find three clinics in Auckland where I could waltz on in, and get it done for as little as \$5200 (WhatClinic, 2016). This is crucial to consider when comparing the different experiences of medical access between bio-sex females, and members of the trans* community.

People who express a gender different to their biological sex assigned at birth, or (radically) something other than conforming to the binary itself have their existence medicalised (Inch, 2016). Medicalisation is the foot soldier of heteronormativity. Trans* people can often then be told they can be “treated” for this illness with things such as hormone therapy or genital reconstruction surgeries. But even then, access to these, in particular genital construction surgery, is very limited (Forrester, 2017). However it should be noted that genital reconstruction surgeries are different to FGCS: not only in medical practice but in access and often reason. FGCS may consist of a number of different procedures with the purpose of creating a ‘more aesthetically pleasing’ vulva (external genitalia). Furthermore, it is fair to argue generally only cis-gendered women would have this surgery. Whereas sex reassignment surgery often more medically invasive, complex, expensive and is undertaken in response to the gender dysphoria someone feels. Or, to ‘treat’ the ‘disorder’ they are suffering from.

The “illness” named Gender Identity Disorder *eye roll* . Gender Identity Disorder (GID) is a term often used internationally, including on our own Ministry of Health website (2014), however there has been recent motions to move away from this term. This term is problematic as it considers the expression of gender as different to that which was assigned to you at birth as a *disorder* which can be ‘treated’ with hormones or sex reassignment surgery. This is a desperate attempt to reinforce the gender binary by making those who threaten it the problem. This is a discourse we have come to know in

the public sphere, and an expected trans* narrative of someone who is mentally ill still exists if you want to access treatment (Inch, 2016, Spade, 2006). The Ministry of Health website (2014) cites requirements that also reinforce the gender binary wholeheartedly, such as having to live for two years as a man/woman in society before being considered for surgery. This requirement would exclude those not living within the binary, and also brings to question what performing as a “man” or “woman” entails.

While medicine has progressed to the point where gender diversity is no longer considered a mental illness in New Zealand (according to the Mental Health Foundation, 2015) society stills centres and privileges a normative gender binary. Furthermore although Gender Identity Disorder was removed from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Diseases, we have a long way to go when our latest guidelines around surgery for trans* people from the Ministry of Health STILL state a diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder as required for eligibility (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2012). Moreover, GID still sits in the International Statistical Classification of Diseases (Inch, 2016). Accepting that there might be ways outside the dichotomy of expressing gender would pose far too much of a threat to the binary and the heteronormativity that rests upon it. The solution to getting rid of this threat? Medicalising those who pose it (Inch, 2016, Spade, 2006).

While the medical requirements of FGCS and sex reassignment surgery differ, we should critically examine why there is such a significant difference in access between the two. The NZ trans* community still face long waiting lists for publically funded surgeries (Forrester 2017). On top of all the barriers already covered, our last gender reassignment surgeon retired in 2014. People who seek gender reassignment surgery currently have to travel overseas (Newshub, 2017). All the while access to FGCS is incredibly easy...and it also supports societal standards of female beauty. Coincidence? Probably not.

This is the fundamental difference between the two surgery situations we have here. In one instance there is a threat posed to the gender binary and heteronormativity, and in the other there isn't. We need serious discussion around the oppressive nature of the gender binary, and the damage it does to those who conform and to those who don't.

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Theological and Religious Studies 211

Religion, Gender and Sexuality

Jessica Coleman

Filling (Plot) Holes: Queering Judges 16

Of all the characters, of all the names, of all the women in the Bible, none is perceived as dangerous as Delilah. Her story occupies only one of the 1,189 chapters found within the bible and yet her name is so renowned that it invokes powerful images of a foreign femme fatale within popular culture. For too long academics have read Judges 16 and filled in the blanks of the text with their socio-cultural understandings of the world, thus casting Samson as the flawed hero and Delilah as the temptress/whore who betrayed the man who loved her. But what if the text does not actually say that Delilah is a whore and a deceiver? What if Samson actually enjoyed his time with Delilah in ways unacceptable to conservative readers? Using queer reading techniques, I will examine the story of Samson and Delilah, asking what the nature of their relationship was, and how these characters might be perceived differently when the plot holes in this narrative are not filled by heteronormative understandings.

First, a quick definition. The queer reading technique that I will be employing will be Grace Jantzen's "Lesbian Rule" (Jantzen, 2001, p. 278-279). The Lesbian Rule is a mason's rule that bends, getting into all the contours to accurately measure the surface of an object. Reading a text using the Lesbian Rule technique allows us to measure the camber of the text, perhaps giving us a more accurate measurement of it. A straight ruler would miss out on the beauty of the contours of the object, giving an inaccurate measurement. Sadly, most biblical texts are read with a straight ruler next to them. The beauty of the curvature of the texts is missed out, the bumps filled in and smoothed to fit nicely with interpreter's world view. Using the Lesbian Rule, I will look for valleys and breaks between the bumps of information. I intend not to skip over those holes, filling them with my world in front of the text, but instead to explore other, queer possibilities. I will not be searching for queerness that is not there, but instead, where things have been painted by interpreters using the bland palette of heteronormativity, I will subvert and look for new meanings. Marco Derks says it best: "I use a queer perspective to find queer characters, constellations, and practices in the text that are often overlooked in implicitly heteronormative readings" (Derks, 2015, p. 554).

The tale of Samson and Delilah is a short one. It lasts from Judges 16:4-22 – hardly the epic it is made out to be in feature films and even operas! The narrative begins by telling us that Samson fell in love with a woman from the valley of Sorek whose name was Delilah. Knowing that Samson loved her, the leaders of the Philistines (Israel's - and Samson's – main enemy) approached Delilah and each offered her 1100 pieces of silver if she can find out why Samson was so strong and how they could defeat him. Delilah agreed and said to Samson, "Please tell me what makes your strength so great, and how you could be bound so that one could subdue you" (Judges 16:7, The New Revised Standard Version). Samson lied to her saying that he can be bound using "seven fresh bowstrings that are not dried out, then I shall become weak, and be like everyone else." Delilah bound him and called the Philistines to come and subdue him, but he escaped. Two more times Delilah asked him, and two more times he lied. When Delilah tried to bind him in new ropes, or weave his hair into a loom, he was able to easily escape and

fight off any attacking Philistines. Delilah nagged Samson to tell her the secret to his strength, pleading to his emotions and his love for her to tell her. Eventually, Samson got sick of it. Maybe he was sick of lying to the woman he claimed to love, maybe he was sick of hearing her go on and on about it, either way, he gave up his secret: “A razor has never come upon my head; for I have been a nazirite to God from my mother’s womb. If my head were shaved, then my strength would leave me; I would become weak, and be like anyone else” (Judges 16:17). Using this information, Delilah took the opportunity to shave Samson’s head when he fell asleep in her lap. She had Samson taken away by the Philistine lords. Samson’s eyes were gouged out and he was forced to work in a mill in prison. From here, Delilah exits the story. We hear more about what happened to Samson, but we never hear what happens to Delilah.

Delilah is an ambiguous character — not much about her is actually said. The narrator tells us only a few things about her. One of those things is where she is from: the valley of Sorek. The valley of Sorek was a large area, on the border of Israelite and Philistine territories. It is often assumed that Delilah is a Philistine, but Delilah’s very name is Hebrew (Smith, 1999). The fact that Delilah does something that is considered bad and makes her dangerous, casts her as an outsider. It could simply be because all the other villains in this story are Philistines, Delilah surely has to be one too. But what is the effect of the assumption that she is a Philistine? If Delilah is assumed to be a Philistine, the interpreter immediately hates her, they immediately know that she is a dangerous character. She is the enemy of Israel and therefore the enemy of the reader. But what if Delilah was an Israelite? What would happen to our interpretation then? The Bible is a very biased book. Its stories were created for a specific purpose: making the Israelites and their God look good. Perhaps the author of this text did not want to portray an Israelite who behaves this way who also manages to avoid judgement and punishment, as Delilah does. Perhaps that is why the author was so vague with the details of her birthplace and residence.

Because she is paid for her time with Samson, “it is often assumed that Delilah was a prostitute, but the text nowhere states that she was (although the assumption itself says something about the interpreters)” (Smith, 1999, p. 94). This scathing aside by Carol Smith is right. People will fill the gaps in a text with their knowledge of the world, the society they grew up in that shaped them. Delilah had the power to live alone, demand high payment, and had no affiliation with any man. Her deviation from the standard wife/mother/sister/daughter role surely means that she has to do the only other available job for a woman: prostitution. And if she’s a prostitute, she is likely using sex as a weapon to get Samson to talk.

Lori Rowlett would beg to differ, though. While Delilah was being paid, what if she was offering a different kind of service to Samson? What if she were a professional dominatrix? Rowlett (2001) explains:

Nevertheless, the mystery of the forbidden may have been attractive to him in all three of his liaisons with foreign women, because the unknown always includes an element of danger. One wonders too whether part of the attraction might be power. The Philistines were the ones with political power. Does Samson want to match wits with them? Or, more likely, does he want to be dominated by a powerful woman from the powerful group, a woman who represents power itself (p. 110).

The way Rowlett interprets Delilah's role is fairly simple. Delilah is a dominatrix who uses classic S/M games, such as bondage (being tied up with ropes), questioning, and even cutting hair as an act of submission (Rowlett, 2001). Powerful men often have a fetish to be dominated. Perhaps the strong Samson wanted to feel helpless and so he let himself be tied up. After all, the text itself says that Delilah bound him, but he did not break free from the bindings until there was legitimate danger of attack by the Philistines (Judges 16:8-9). He could have easily snapped those strings at any time. The text does not say that he was tricked into being tied up, he was not asleep when it happened, he had to willingly let Delilah bind him with the fresh bowstrings the first time, and then with brand new ropes the second time. Is it not possible that Samson was allowing himself to be tied up as an act of submission to his dominant?

Marco Derks believes that Samson performs the masculine role that is expected of him in order to cover up a "queer personality" (Derks, 2017). He uses a hypermasculinity of violence and sex to cover up for a queerness – a queerness that only Delilah can bring out. When Samson is with Delilah, she emasculates him by tying him down, putting his hair into a loom, and finally cutting all his hair off. The act of cutting off his hair is often viewed by academics as a "symbolic castration" (Exum, 2007, as cited in Kim, 2014). Derks (2017) believes that "the reason why Samson plays this bondage game with Delilah and why he finally reveals his secret, is that this mysterious and powerful woman has made him unable or unwilling to keep up his 'heterosexual' appearance" (para. 4). Allowing himself to be symbolically castrated allows him to be free of the heterosexual performance he portrays through violence. With his hair gone, so too is God. He no longer needs to fulfil the call to violence against the Philistines – at least for now. This game of bondage, of dominant and submissive, is a novel idea. Refreshing and unusual, it certainly queers common assumptions of prostitution and sex within the narrative. But we must be wary of our terms that we use. While I have used terms such as 'queer', 'heterosexuality', 'dominant', and 'submissive', these are all relatively new terms. They certainly did not exist at the time the narrative was written. We must be aware when using these terms so that we do not put our own understandings of gender, sexuality and S/M into the text so that we are not looking at things anachronistically.

Using queer reading strategies to look for gaps in the text comes up with some wonderfully different interpretations of biblical narratives. We question the assumption that Delilah is foreign, we question the nature of her relationship with Samson, and we

could even question Samson's heterosexuality. All that I have argued should not be taken as gospel. It is an opportunity for you to read Judges 16 with different eyes, looking at it apart from heteronormativity; merely a theory, just the same as all interpretations. For we can never really know what the author truly meant to say, but we can ask how we might perceive it ourselves.

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IDENTITY TODAY: AN INCONVENIENT YOUTH

These following works reinforce the fluidity and complexity of identity and how it can be shaped differently through evolving interpretations of social structures. Firstly, Leung establishes that changes in Western understandings of the family can consequently reconstruct childhood. Socialisation theory appears to be rather outdated in its application, which is where the conception of 'new sociology' comes into play. New sociology involves the interposition between agency and structure which shows that children can now actively build their own childhood. The author acknowledges that these are shaped by external and sociocultural factors, some of which may help children to flourish whilst others prove to be more oppressive instead.

We move on to possibly the most denigrated generation of all time: millennials. Ralph encourages readers to perceive the parasitic nature of millennials as a form of resilience in societies that offer them little to no support in achieving a narrative arc socially constructed by the heyday of previous generations. Despite being the 'heroes', the third of four spokes in Strauss and Howe's cycle of generational roles, millennials are seen and see themselves in a negative light. The author presents the unattainable ideals of capitalism as reason for the necessary exploitation of their hosts. Ralph shows this is a worldwide trend.

Although identity has generally come to be understood as ever-shifting, this appears to be ignored in some respects. Kearney criticises the principles behind Oscar Lewis's 'culture of poverty' and examines its role in the impoverishment of marginalised groups in 1960s America, and the current situation of youth unemployment in New Zealand. The author expresses a view similar to many academics, and in a similar fashion to Ralph, recognises a need for a new approach to poverty which does not perpetuate inequalities by placing the onus on the poor themselves. Unfortunately, the detrimental ideas brought about by this dated 'culture of poverty' thesis continue to exist today, relatively undeterred by its invalidation by various case studies.

Likewise, Vale discusses the imbalance between the idea of a society built on principles of egalitarianism and meritocracy and the lack of resources for those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The author shows this through the lens of education in New Zealand, and argues how our education system may actually be serving to preserve such inequalities rather than mitigate them. The unconscious maintenance of a generally Māori proletariat and Pākehā bourgeoisie is explained through the application of Gramsci's and Marx's respective theories of hegemony and ideology. Furthermore, the author provides several strategies and programmes that could be implemented in order to provide Kiwi students with equal opportunities for success.

Identity plays a major role in what experiences we go through in life. It may contribute to oppression or rather, to privilege, potentially being a source of first impressions and pre-determining futures.

Education 300

Understanding Childhood

Joelyn Leung

A Conceptualisation of Childhood Gendered Scripts and Intergenerational Contracts

The meaning of childhood has been contested throughout history and through varying cultures despite its universal use. This essay aims to explore the meaning of childhood, what changes have occurred and what factors remain the same as a result of shifts in parental understanding in the Western world. This essay will be grounded in sociological understandings of symbolic interactionism around family and how parent-child relationships have continued to shape the experience of childhood. It is acknowledged that there are many ways in which childhood is constructed, but there will be a focus on the sociology of family, socialisation theory in understanding how ideas around childhood were constructed and how social learning theory is more appropriate for analysing childhood. Despite the rise of democracy and agency in the Western world, childhood is still constructed around an intergenerational contract and gendered scripts that heterosexual parents reference when it comes to family practices. Evidence of this is shown through the persistence of traditional social institutions such as hierarchies of age and gender and how children negotiate within them. There is now an understanding in 'new sociology' that agency and structures are mediated to an extent (Baker, 2014; James & Curtis, 2010; James & Prout, 2008).

Firstly, the meaning of childhood and how it is experienced needs to be conceptualised through cultural understandings of the family in the Western world. The universal understanding of childhood is defined by the biological period between birth and puberty. However, the social definition is less conventional and is shaped by the sociocultural understanding of childhood (Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007). The experience of childhood is not universal for all as there is a broad spectrum of diversity in the world (Smith, 2013). The understanding of childhood is fluid and changes depending on the time and place (Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007). Childhood is not only defined by where the individual is located in society but where their family is located. The family is one of the most significant social and cultural institutions that holds a unique place in the construction of individual understanding and permeates throughout the entire course of life, starting from childhood. This social significance of family is hard to eradicate and therefore greatly affects how childhood is experienced (Finch, 2007).

Both Baker (2014) and Kehily (2013) demonstrate that the change in family and parental values is the most significant cultural change to affect the experience of childhood in history. In the nineteenth century, the dichotomy between childhood and adulthood was not as strong as it is today. Children during this historical period were viewed as economic capital, especially children from low-income families. It was required of them to contribute to the family economy. This situation was seen as the norm in society at the time as children had no rights and belonged to their family. Rather than being economic capital, children are now seen in terms of social capital that requires more and different kinds of investment. Childhood is now romanticised as children are the centre of intimate relationships which require emotional investment by the parent. The change in parental ideology is supported by the government, social institutions and policy which shapes how childhood is experienced politically. The experience of childhood now

different compared to previous centuries. For example, the modern ideas of compulsory schooling and equal rights to educational attainment stemming from changes in policy have replaced labour intensive work and consequently changed family practice. Childhood is therefore not only defined by biological maturation but also by culture, the ideologies within society and family, all of which are susceptible to change. These changes in the sociocultural context of childhood have led to the view of children as being innocent, pure and precious (Montgomery, 2009; Wyness, 2012).

Traditional sociological understandings of childhood are being grounded in socialisation (Mathews, 2007). The process of socialisation is understood through the idea that a child is essentially from birth an incomplete citizen that is to be moulded by specific societal understandings and ideologies, then in turn, affect the social structures the child is moulded by (Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007; Mathews, 2007). Individuals will develop into citizens through stocking cultural knowledge and skills that are deemed important, usually by those governing through policy, emotionally significant relationships and varying forms of communication (Baker, 2014; Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007). Socialisation ultimately aims to produce motivated and committed citizens that will participate in society (Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007).

The new sociology of childhood acknowledges that children are not passive, but have the agency to create and participate in their own constructions of childhood. In sociological terms, social learning theory and interpretive reproduction encapsulate both the social structures in society as well as the agency that the child has to work within, which socialisation fails to recognise. Children do not passively experience childhood but rather actively construct their own ideas in reference to their sociocultural environments, through observation and interpretation before they act (Baker, 2014). The new sociological view suggests that children are able to understand what happens in the social world (Mathews, 2007). Another issue with socialisation theory is that it doesn't take into account the difference in everyday family practices that children may participate in, even within apparently similar cultural settings (Finch, 2007; Mathews 2007). A key aspect of new sociology is that it acknowledges the importance of relational life which is co-constructed between parents and children. Analysing relational life allows for a more in-depth understanding of the power relations that shape childhood and family structures. Through the 'new' sociology of childhood, the different layers of how childhood is experienced can be explained in terms of agency, diversity and oppression in relational life. This reveals the dark side of childhood and the taken-for-granted assumptions of how it is experienced. (Mathews, 2007).

The power of social institutions has a greater force than the child's agency. This leads childhood experiences to construct and reconstruct their understandings of the different facets that make up society (James & Prout, 2008). Gender and age are social institutions that greatly affect the experience of oppression in childhood. Traditional family practices still persist today through the intergenerational contract and gendered scripts despite the

rise in democratic beliefs (Jamieson, 2011). This is predominantly seen in heterosexual parent families through ideas about the parent being a role model for participation in social life. A child uses their parent's practices and behaviour to reference how they themselves should act. For example, there are the ideas that the typical role model for a daughter would be her mother or how parents are filial children themselves (Baker, 2014). However, following gendered scripts and the intergenerational contract, it is not always a conscious effort. The ideals around traditional family structures that create a hierarchy around gender and age are so strong that it has become a normative family practice. A consequence of hierarchical family practices is that children do not have as much agency as they are perceived to have in a democratic society, especially regarding young girls. Childhood is in some ways, defined by conformity as children lack the power within the hierarchy of the family structure to negotiate within it (James & Curtis, 2010; Jamieson, 2011). As social learning theory and interpretation reproduction would suggest, the child will interpret what they see and reference it in their own actions. If they are predominantly exposed to normative culture, they will interpret this as the way they should act and they will conform. This inevitably leads to childhood being experienced through oppression (Baker, 2014; Jamieson, 2011).

Evidence of this is shown in the way parents distribute household chores and determine who receives the most income as a part of their family practice. Whether it is done consciously or not, the majority of parents distribute tasks and pocket money according to gender. Parents have the power to dictate how much income their children receive for certain tasks. Even when the child has the agency to decide which chores they want to do, they tend to choose ones that follow the gendered scripts, following in the footsteps of their parents, partially due to social reproduction (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Examples of this are shown in articles by Wynn (2015) and Fitzsimmons (2016) around the distribution of income when it comes to chores and tasks that are performed according to gender. Both implicitly highlight that the reproduction of gender inequalities is shaped during childhood by parents despite favouring democratic values of equal distribution.

It is important to understand that childhood and how it is experienced is not universal and that the sociocultural context of the family plays a significant role in childhood (Finch, 2007; Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007). External factors such as governmental influence and policy can affect the way childhood is experienced as they have the ability to create a cultural turn (Montgomery, 2009; Wyness, 2012). The process of socialisation, which is a more traditional manner of sociological thinking, is still relevant in creating understandings of the experience of childhood yet it is now known that children are not as passive as it suggests (Handel, Cahill & Elkin, 2007; Mathews, 2007). What must be taken into consideration is the importance of the co-construction of relational life as this shows the power differences within families that help to shape childhood (Mathews, 2007). Gender and age are defining factors in the experience of childhood but these institutions also have the ability to oppress children through their hierarchical structure. Children do not necessarily have as much agency as new sociology suggests, leading to

the social reproduction of inequalities (Baker, 2014; Jamieson, 2011). Inequalities that shape childhood today are evident in how parents dictate the distribution of pocket money and household chores (Fitzsimmons, 2016; Wynn, 2015).

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English 354

Writing Selves

Marina Ralph

Generation Why: Millennials and Shaping the Image of Self

When you begin a Google search with “millennials are”, the first four things that autocomplete suggests are “millennials are lazy”, “millennials are poor”, “millennials are entitled”, and “millennials are the worst generation”. The reasons for millennials’ supposed failures as a generation vary. One day, the reason we cannot afford houses is because we spend too much on smashed avocado on toast. The next, we are hard to manage in the workplace because we have been given too many awards as children. Millennials are viewed as pests and parasites of public life by older generations. This paper aims to unpack the ways in which this perception has grown and evolved, and how the public and self-image of millennials has formed around this perception. I will argue that much of the perception of millennials as parasites has been formed around the fact that they have less money than previous generations in a society driven by capitalist ideals. Four different explorations of the millennial sense of self and the construction of millennials as parasites will be explored. Firstly, the way parasitic capitalism manifests itself in contemporary society in relation to millennials will be addressed. Secondly, the perception of millennials as parasites to their relatives and the system will be discussed. Thirdly, a global perspective will be accessed through an examination of parasitic language referring to Japanese, Italian, and Brazilian millennials. Lastly, the human construction of self through narrative will be looked at, specifically, how millennials have been affected by this.

The definition of millennials is a very broad one. Generally, researchers deem people born between 1982 and 1996 as the ages that the label encompasses, but there have been estimates as low as 1977 and as high as 2000.

To understand the lens through which millennials can be viewed as parasitic, we must first delve into some proper context. We cannot discuss millennials without discussing capitalism and its functions. In contemporary society, the majority of the world operates underneath capitalist philosophy. It is not possible to escape capitalist codes and societal structures. The ultimate tenet of capitalism is to produce capital gain. The only way to earn a wage under a capitalist system is to work. Thus, under a capitalist system, one’s worth is inversely proportional to one’s ability to work. The free market economic structure of capitalism over time fosters an environment of financial inequality: we see it currently with the increasing class gap (van Linden, 2012). Capitalism is so inherent to the way we experience our lives that we have a hard time seeing it: “the parasite absorbs vitality only from the perspective of the restricted economy of the host body” (Salminen, 2012). The parasite gains life from feeding off of the host body, i.e. the worker. However, the body of the host is restricted. Since it is not possible to have a perfectly capitalist society, the hosts are exploited. Millennials have become one of the prime victims of this.

Youth unemployment worldwide is at an all-time high (The Global Youth Wellbeing Index). This is the catch-22 of being a millennial. Capitalist society views millennials as pests of public life, parasites feeding off of our parents as hosts like we did as children. Being parasitic is only viewed as acceptable until one reaches a certain age. However, limited economic opportunity has made it extremely difficult for millennials to

secure a job, and they achieve 20% less capital gain than their parents, indicating their worthlessness. Without the ability to work, one must rely on outside sources such as social welfare or assistance from relatives to continue to live, thus acting as a parasite to the capitalist system. The host is becoming the parasite. The Global Youth Wellbeing Index states that the number one cause of unrest among youth worldwide is lack of economic stability, and the second cause is feeling undervalued by civic society (16-17). Since one of the driving forces of capitalism is the spending of money, and millennials are considered the prime consumers of the modern era, the parasite strives to feed. However, a Bankrate survey found that millennials are actually saving the highest proportion of their income relative to other age groups. The ability of millennials to preserve their capital gain is contrary to what the parasite wants. To keep growing, the parasite needs the host to spend. So, the millennial, simultaneously encompassing both host and parasite within a capitalist system, is living a sort of double life: “there are not only different ways of existing. There are different existences. What the parasite calls existence is significantly different from the existence of the host body, and the best evidence of this is the inalienable intertwining of these two existences in the same flesh” (Salminen, 2012). The millennial has two different existences, constantly attempting to carry out the role of advancing the future generation with the parasite of the capitalist system on its back, while also feeding off the previous generation, as a necessity.

The view of millennials as parasites is not limited to the Western world. In Japan, the term ‘parasite single’ has emerged. The term refers to single women who have chosen not to marry and still live at home in their 20s and 30s, often living off of a small disposable income (Orenstein, 2001). They have been blamed for many of the current issues within Japanese society, such as the declining birth rate. These women are the driving force of the Japanese economy, and the leading spenders. Antti Salminen (2012) refers to a class of workers in Finland, hosted entirely by their employers and deemed parasites by society: “such a parasite lived in the house of another and paid for his or her lodgings by either money or work; all they owned was themselves”. Parasite singles are not unique to Japan. In Italy, adults who still live with their parents in their 20s and 30s were deemed ‘bamboccioni’ (literally, ‘big babies’). This term gained relevance when the Italian Minister of Economy and Finance used it in a derogatory way to refer to Italian youth. In Brazil, the term ‘paitrocínio’ (a portmanteau of the Portuguese words for parents and sponsorship) is used to describe adults who are still financially dependent on their parents. What all of these examples have in common is the parasitical nature of the language used. A baby, dependent on its mother for milk, could be viewed as parasitical in the way that it uses the mother as a host, directly feeding off of her in order to live. Millennials who still live with their parents or are financially dependent on them encounter the same kind of coded language. In a capitalist society, people are assigned worth based on their ability to work and earn capital. A number of factors including inflation, economic crises, rising university fees, and housing market crashes, has influenced millennials’ living habits and financial situations. The parasitic relationship is one of necessity; the parasite must feed off of the host to continue to live. Even if the millennial is of detriment to whatever host it is clinging onto, it is still essentially a double

agent by no fault of its own: “a parasite does not strive towards anything, it cannot rise higher in the food chain. It strives to live. And if, by living, it kills its host, that simply happens” (Salminen, 2012).

In a 2012 article in *The Guardian*, Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman describes the way millennials self-image has been molded by what he calls downward mobility: “Every generation has its measure of outcasts. However, it doesn’t happen often that the plight of being outcast may stretch to embrace a whole generation”. The way we remember previous generations is dependent on positive impressions. Generation X is known as the ‘perfect generation’, Baby Boomers started families during ‘The Golden Age’. Other names for millennials include ‘Generation Snowflake’, and ‘Generation Me’, or in Taiwan, ‘Strawberry Generation’ (as strawberries are delicate and bruise easily). All of these labels are reactions on some level to millennials’ perceived oversensitivity and narcissism. Millennials assumed penchant for oversensitivity has roots in William Strauss and Neil Howe’s assignment of seven personality traits to them in their book *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation*. The seven traits assigned to millennials are: special, sheltered, confident, team-oriented, conventional, pressured, and achieving. Strauss and Howe’s book has been extremely influential in the way that we perceive millennials, in fact, they coined the term. Strauss-Howe generational theory states that in modern history, generations operate in four cycles of assigned roles: the prophet, the nomad, the hero, and the artist. Millennials have been assigned the third cycle, the hero. The hero generations are said to grow up during times of unrest and come of age during times of crisis (Strauss & Howe, 1998, pg. 87). In reducing millennials to this role, we can understand how society has so rejected them. They have become an object, an image. As the cycle repeats itself throughout generations, the image of the hero loses its meaning: “this hero’s immortality no longer originates in the strength to survive all possible ordeals, but from its ability to be xeroxed, recycled, and reincarnated” (Steyerl, 2010). When we create an image of a thing, we automatically turn it into an object, stripping it of all agency. In the headlines, we see ‘millennial’ so often it becomes a parody of itself. The materiality of the millennial begins to slip away the moment we start to see them as objects as opposed to subjects. The moment when ‘they’ becomes ‘it’. To participate in the image of something is to be privy to all of the politics and violence that come with it (Steyerl, 2010). In labelling millennials ‘Generation Snowflake’, the image of the millennial as the hero has been irrevocably altered with the presumptions that come with it. ‘Generation Snowflake’ is a label that was brought to public attention by the alt-right movement, a movement with close ties to white supremacy (Roy, 2016). To be referred to as a snowflake is to be called delicate. One cannot mistake the coded language here. A hero is seen as traditionally masculine whereas delicateness is associated with traditional notions of femininity. The alt-right movement is violently misogynistic. Interestingly, much of the alt-right movement falls under the millennial generation. Since the image of the millennial is a feminine one, in an act of violence towards the image, they rupture it. The hero is no more. A mere image now exists in the world as a commodity, easily bruised, much like a strawberry.

The millennial has had the ability to shape its sense of self immutably changed by its negative representation in media. A report released by Pew Research Center posits that millennials are far more likely to self-identify negative traits than Generation X, Baby Boomers, or the Silent Generation. Some traits included in the report were self-absorbed, greedy, and wasteful. Respectively, 59, 43, and 49% of millennials self-identified this way, some 20 percentage points higher than other generations studied. Throughout our lives, we construct the self through three different modes: the actor, the agent, and the author (McAdams, 2013, pg. 272). We start as the actor, then in early adolescence move on to the agent, and in young adulthood begin to view ourselves as authors. These three modes of self allow us to make sense of the world around us. When we reach young adulthood, the author mode of self allows us to construct narratives to parse the constant stream of information that is sense and memory (McAdams, 2013, pg. 287). There are also societally constructed narratives. The most obvious kind of societally constructed narrative arc is to grow up, go to university, get a job, get married, buy a house, start a family and so on. This narrative arc was achievable for previous generations and millennials grew up with the narratives of their parents and grandparents, all of which supported a general trend. So, now emerging into adulthood, when the narrative sense of self is being constructed, the traditional narrative cannot be realised, consequently damaging the author as well as the agent. When this perception is shattered, it creates a muddled, negative sense of self. 65% of European millennials feel that they have no impact in the world and that circumstances are beyond their control (Pew Research Center). Without a perception of agency, higher levels of depression and anxiety begin to rear their heads. A quarter of millennials have been diagnosed with some form of mental illness (Beck, 2016). With the feeling that agency has dissolved comes distress. People with mental illness are seen as weak-minded, symptomatic of a larger generational problem. This is a worldwide phenomenon, South Korean millennials refer to themselves as the 'Chilpo Generation' or the generation that had to give up seven things to live (courtship, marriage, childbirth, employment, home ownership, interpersonal relationships, and hope). It seems that this sentiment is not limited to them.

To be a millennial is to be many things at once, to live multiple existences. Millennials must play the role of host to parasitic capitalism in an era of adversity. They must continue their symbiosis of childhood and adolescence into adulthood, as the circumstances of the world have not permitted them to do anything else. They must bear the brunt of criticism, playing the role of the hero in a time of crisis, but losing their agency in the process. These "not-quite-humans" have shaped their sense of self around the very sentiment of their 'subhumanness' (Salminen, 2012). They have internalised the lack of opportunity around them, becoming the first generation totally defined by their otherness (Bauman, 2012). The capitalist forces around them have rendered them worthless to society at large during a worldwide unemployment crisis. The millennial itself, viewed as an object, is marred with the violence that comes with participating in the image of something. In capitalist culture, an object is a commodity, and a commodity

is complicated, a “condensation of social forces” (Steyerl, 2010). Millennials are seen as parasitical for their failures to contribute to capitalism, their reliance on external forces in a time of crisis, and due to the after-effects of the narrative structure that they were raised with. The disintegration of self that this has caused cannot be underestimated. The millennial sense of self will be defined by the difficulty to form one. There is a certain strength in remaining parasitical when it is hard to live at all, a resilience.

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Anthropology 321

Equality and Inequality

Hebe Kearney

Victim Blaming: Oscar Lewis and the Myth of Cultural Poverty

In the 1960s, the anthropologist Oscar Lewis popularised the idea that poverty was cultural. His premise was that poor people share similar beliefs, values, and behaviours which prevent them from being economically successful. He named this thesis 'the culture of poverty', and it has proved to be a potent one. Over the half century since Lewis's controversial idea was first presented, it has taken on somewhat of an ideological role. In a variety of contexts, it has been used to obscure the material causes of poverty, justify the structures that produce it, and place the blame on those who are suffering. Therefore, this essay will consider the way that the 'culture of poverty' functions as a harmful ideology. I will address Lewis's original thesis, as well as examine the numerous layers of both methodological and conceptual debate which it has been subject to. I will also discuss what is at stake in its endurance by examining two specific contexts to which it has been applied: racist conceptions of poverty in 1960 America, and contemporary conceptions of unemployed youth in New Zealand. These two disparate contexts show how far-reaching the impact of Lewis's thesis has been, and why it is crucial to interrogate and challenge presentations of poverty that make reference to its conceptual framework, and place blame upon the victims.

The central premise of Lewis's 'culture of poverty' is that poverty is not only a distinct set of economic circumstances, but also cultural ones. Lewis (1966) claimed this culture is an adaptive response to deprivation, a 'design for living' passed on from generation to generation. It is not simply a description of how people survive when placed under economic and resource-based pressure, but a way of life based on a disengagement from society, a lack of organisation, and a refusal to subscribe to 'middle class values' (Lewis, 1966). He contended that the culture of poverty is an adaptation to ensure survival, and that children will, by the age of six or seven, be fully integrated into (Lewis, 1966). In this sense, Lewis's thesis expanded what 'poverty' referred to; making it not only a set of economic circumstances imposed on people, but cultural ones. Lewis claimed that this 'culture of poverty' was present in a wide range of capitalist societies, but that it was not a universal feature of poverty (Lewis 1966). Poor groups such as 'primitive and preliterate peoples' and lower-caste people in India did not, to Lewis, show evidence of a culture of poverty as their communities are highly organised or integrated into wider society (Lewis, 1966). Therefore the culture of poverty contended that there was a specific, cultural way of being poor which occurred in some capitalist societies.

Lewis defined the culture of poverty as being characterised by some seventy 'traits'. He grouped these into four main categories: the values and 'character structure' of the individual; the nature of the family; the nature of the community; and the relationship between the community and the wider society (Cordasco, 1974). He described the individual psychology of those who grew up in a culture of poverty in pathological terms, attributing them with a 'weak ego structure' and strong senses of 'fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority' (Cordasco, 1974). A family living in Lewis's culture of poverty was one run by an 'authoritarian' woman, one in which the experience of childhood was shorter, and one in which there was earlier 'initiation into sex'. It was

less likely to include marriage, and less structured (Cordasco, 1974). This distinct family unit was also the highest form of communal organisation. Despite strong social senses of community, Lewis contended that the formal organisations within a culture of poverty were 'minimum' (Cordasco, 1974). Lewis saw each of these as contributing to the poor people's lack of integration into wider society, evidenced by their lack of engagement with its institutions and its culture (Cordasco). Therefore, Lewis's thesis conceived of those living in poverty as a culturally distinct group, defined by seventy traits associated with four categories.

Lewis's thesis also contained suggestions about how poverty should be addressed. His cultural approach shifted focus away from material and economic conditions and towards individuals. Lewis contended that those living in a culture of poverty are 'psychologically unready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improving opportunities' (Cordasco, 1974). This leads to the idea that changing individual psychology would help to prevent the perpetuation of poverty. Lewis himself considered the political organisation of the poor to be essential (Lewis, 1971). Therefore, he held that any efforts to politicise them must combat the cultural traits of poverty as well as structural ones (Lewis, 1971). Lewis also believed his thesis could challenge racialized conceptions of poverty (Lewis, 1966). That is, as the culture of poverty spanned many countries and context, the idea that its characteristics were inherent to certain racial groups would become redundant. Lewis's own ideas about the application and implications of the culture of poverty would, as it happens, vary significantly from other's.

Many scholars have critiqued Lewis for his misuse of anthropological principles and methods in defining the 'culture of poverty'. In their analysis, Goode and Eames critique Lewis's use of 'culture' when he actually means 'subculture'. Lewis apparently chose to use 'culture' to make his idea more accessible to his public audience, thereby forfeiting its clarity (Eames & Goode, 1970). Similarly, others have taken issue with the methodology of the ethnographic research his thesis was based on. They questioned his almost complete reliance on his own observations of a small number of individuals, which deviated from the central tenants of ethnography (Greenbaum, 2015). Absent from his ethnographies, according to critics such as Frank Cordasco, was a sense of context; a locating of the specific families he studied in the rest of their community (Greenbaum, 2015). It is unclear how representative the families he studied were of the context they inhabited, as his accounts often read like narratives of families 'deliberately selected for their deviance' (Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 26-27). Similarly, Lewis, according to Cordasco, reads the culture of poverty in the data, even when this causes distortion (Cordasco, 1971). These scholars, and many besides, express uncertainty about the extent to which Lewis is describing 'extraordinary people living extraordinary lives', and therefore to what extent the conclusions drawn from these lives are applicable to impoverished groups in other contexts (Coward et al., 1974., Cordasco 1974, p. 36). Perhaps some of these issues arose from the fact that Lewis saw his work as the start of an interrogation of poverty from a cultural perspective, rather than an authoritative statement on it (Cordasco 1974).

However, the academic discourse that arose from the thesis was one of critique rather than elaboration.

Indeed, many of Lewis's critics in fact denounced a cultural approach to poverty entirely. They objected to the idea that poverty was intergenerationally perpetuated by the psychology and actions of those living in it, claiming this placed causation (or 'blame') in the hands of the victims rather than material and economic conditions. Its suggestion that poverty should be addressed by changing the psychology and social organisation of poor people, rather than by addressing economic inequalities, was not well received (Eames & Goode, 1970). Some of Lewis's critics objected to his characterisation of poverty not only for its potentially harmful implications, but also because they doubted its existence. Many have pointed out that a large number of the traits that Lewis explains in cultural terms are equally or better explained in 'situational' ones (Coward, et al. 1974, pp. 632). Coward et al. investigated the prevalence of Lewis's seventy traits in poor families in the Southwest United States (Coward, et al., 1974). Relying on interview-based data, they found that in regard to 60% of the traits, there was no significant difference between the perspectives of poor and non-poor people, and also that many of the differences were better explained by the physical reality of living in poverty, rather than a culture informed by it (Coward et al., 1974). They concluded that these traits are caused by the material conditions of poverty, rather than by a specific inter-generational cultural adaptation of the poor (Coward et al., 1974). In this matter, as in many, it seems to me that Ockham's Razor is applicable; it is a simple explanation that, for example, the segregation of poor people is due to deficient resources and discrimination, rather than due to a self-perpetuating cultural adaptation that creates a distinct and isolated subculture of poverty. Those who are critical of Lewis, myself included, tend towards explanations of poverty that place 'blame' directly on the economic structures that produce inequality rather than those who are suffering.

Despite all this criticism, and despite Lewis's original intentions, the 'culture of poverty' narrative was absorbed into contemporary official discourse and policy. In the historical context in which Lewis was writing (i.e. the United States during the Civil Rights Movement and President Johnson's 'Great Society' and 'War on Poverty' initiatives) the idea that poverty had a cultural component made waves. In 1965, a report titled *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* was released by the US Department of Labor. Its writer, Patrick Moynihan, heavily drew on Lewis's ideas about poverty being perpetuated by family structure (Moynihan, 1965). The report made a number of claims about the family structure of poor 'negroes', describing it as 'highly unstable', 'matriarchal' and 'breaking down' (Moynihan, 1965). Moynihan extrapolated from Lewis's description of 'authoritarian' female heads of households, as well as his pathologized psychological depictions, and argued that inverted gender roles were significantly responsible for the lack of advancement of poor 'negroes' (Moynihan, 1965). The report also picked up on Lewis's suggestion of generational inheritance, arguing that African American children are often fated to be less successful due to the structure of the families they grew up in

(Moynihan, 1965). Though the report did not outline specific policies, it did recommend that: 'the programs of the Federal government... be designed to.. enhance the stability and resources of the Negro American family' (Moynihan, 1965, Section Five). Far from Lewis's hope that the culture of poverty would deracialize conceptions of poverty, its cultural characterisations were used by Moynihan to justify a racist view of poverty among African Americans. That the report called on official policy to address family structure, of all things, is particularly striking given that it was released in March 1965; five months before the Voting Rights Act was signed into law. Despite obvious structural forms of racism that persisted against African Americans, and despite that all of this was happening during the Civil Rights Movement, the culture of poverty thesis gave licence to the idea that that their suffering was partially their fault. I believe the reason that the culture of poverty was taken up so rapidly in spheres such as this, despite the many aforementioned flaws in it, is because it protects the interests of those in power by obscuring the need for fundamental change. In a sense, Moynihan's report was a backlash to the Civil Rights Movement which called for structural changes. The culture of poverty offered a way to present an artifice of combatting poverty without addressing the deep economic inequalities that cause it.

The culture of poverty's conceptual language can still be recognised in initiatives that aim to combat poverty in the present. For Lewis's culture of poverty has become much more than a thesis: it has been appropriated from its context as an academic suggestion, and its language used to articulate an analysis that suits the needs of capital. There are a multitude of examples I could draw on; however, I will only discuss one here: the Limited Services Volunteer Program for unemployed youth in New Zealand. I will discuss it but because of its qualities as a 'trope'—to borrow from Susan Greenbaum's conception of the Moynihan Report—as a 'convenient device for exploring [the] abstraction that... poor people are a collection of individuals who are simply deficient competitors' (Greenbaum, 2015, p.13). It is a six-week intensive course for young people aged 18-25 composed of both physical and educational elements, and is run in the style of a military camp; with military-style uniform and routine (Work and Income, 2017a). Trainees are told that the course will allow them to 'better themselves' and learn values like 'respect, pride, and discipline' (Work and Income, 2017b). The reason they need to learn these things is because they are on the 'Jobseeker' benefit which, according to politicians, 'robs' them of 'aspiration, hope and self-worth' (Work and Income, 2017b). The values the course offers to combat and teach map directly onto Lewis's first definitional category and the 'fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority' of individuals living in poverty (Lewis, 1966). The premise of the LSV program is that personal growth can cure unemployment and poverty, thereby assuming the causes of these are personal ones rooted in beliefs, values and behaviours rather than structural factors. According to a report that analysed the outcomes of LSV, it has positive outcomes for those who engage in it (Maxwell, 2011). Many develop skills such as confidence and discipline, and believe these will help them succeed in the workplace. However, psychological change in individuals is only an intelligible measure of success in alleviating poverty if one assumes Lewis's thesis that poverty has casual links with psychology and culture. To quote Greenbaum, 'Moynihan...

and Lewis's writing about the culture of the poor have evolved over the decades into the faux compassionate face of neoliberalism' (Greenbaum, 2015, p. 132). While those who go through LSV may benefit from the experience, in order to engage in it they must first accept the idea that they are, in some sense, psychologically or culturally deficient, and need to improve in order to be employed. Likewise, this 'faux compassion' can be seen in the emphasis placed on these initiatives by right wing politicians, as they are a way of seeming to address poverty without changing its structural causes. As in the case of the Moynihan Report, they are a way of looking away from structural problems and solutions and towards the individuals. I believe the idea that people are to blame for their own suffering has been such an enduring one because it obscures the fundamentally unequal foundations of capitalist society. Focusing the combat against poverty on individuals rather than addressing, for example, the unequal distribution of resources, serves well the interests of capital.

To conclude, I have used Oscar Lewis's 'culture of poverty' as a lens through which to examine academic debate, history, and the way in which poverty is treated as an individual failing. Lewis's initial thesis took the form of compelling ethnographies of poor families, and straightforward definitions of the apparently separate culture to which they belonged. He identified the culture of poverty with seventy different traits, which he grouped into four main categories that concerned the individual, the family, the community and the wider society. Lewis's critics took issue with multiple facets of this thesis, including its methodology, approach, implications and validity. To put all of this into historical context, I discussed the application of the culture of poverty to the Moynihan Report. Finally, I looked at how Lewis's cultural conception of poverty still has influence over the way poverty is viewed in the present, using the trope of the Limited Service Volunteer program in New Zealand. I have attempted to emphasise that I believe Lewis's thesis has had such large and lasting impacts due to its appeal to, and potential to be deployed in defence of, the interests of capital. I believe being aware of how warped versions of the culture of poverty, which was flawed to begin with, are employed in blaming the victims of economic inequalities is important, and makes clear that we should interrogate the causes of poverty in places outside the minds of individuals.

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Education 204

Philosophy and Sociology of Education

Nicolas Vale

Egalitarianism in Schools: a Problematic Ideology

New Zealand has long prided itself as a nation built on the ideals of egalitarianism (the principles of equal rights and opportunity for all), and meritocracy (the notion that ability combined with effort brings reward) (Simon, 2000). A quote from Sir John Key to Parliament in 2016 exemplifies these ideals; “there is no limit to what Kiwis can achieve when they set goals and work hard to attain them” (Key, 2016). This perspective presupposes that New Zealand provides everyone with equal opportunities to reach goals of their choosing (personal, professional or economic) if they work hard enough. It is not uncommon to hear claims of this nature throughout New Zealand institutions such as the mainstream media and public education system. However, these claims are problematic for we live in systems and power structures that deliver differently to different groups of people (Reid, 2006). The public education system in New Zealand, while understood to be built on, and driven by, egalitarian principles, does not in fact provide equal opportunities for all children, and thus outcomes are unequal regardless of effort (Dale, 2000; Simon, 1990). This leads to differences in educational attainment, that in turn influence occupational success, thereby further perpetuating class divisions and socio-economic inequality. This essay argues that the public education system plays a key role in the reproduction of socio-economic class differences in capitalist societies such as New Zealand. Using Marx’s theory of ideology and Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, this essay provides an analysis of how and why schools reproduce social stratification. The essay concludes with pedagogical strategies to ameliorate these divisions.

Claims such as Sir John Key’s represent an ideology comprised of two components; egalitarianism and meritocracy. This ideology plays a significant role in the mindset of the New Zealand public. However, it is problematic for it conceals the fact that due to class differences, not every child in New Zealand has equal access to the rewards and benefits education has to offer, nor is the education system a ‘level playing field’ where a child’s level of attainment can be measured upon their effort alone (McKinley & Hoskins, 2013).

Egalitarian/meritocratic ideology has become embedded within the social context of New Zealand from the time the nation-state was first established. Colonialists arriving from a rigid class-based society in Great Britain came to New Zealand seeking material advancement. It was a country seen as “a land where equal opportunities were available regardless of class background, and for those willing to work hard, there were no barriers to success” (Simon, 2000, p. 26). The ideals of egalitarianism and meritocracy were clearly represented by this perspective.

The 1877 Education Act marked the beginning of a national, compulsory system of education, and carried with it the idea that an equal opportunity for education now existed for all children. However, concerns such as social control and economics also played a significant role in its formation (Simon, 1990). “Different groups within society were competing to have their concerns addressed through the education system” (Simon, 1990). John Codd (1988) contends that schooling became a site of contestation between

those demanding social equality, and those demanding social selectivity (cited in Simon, 2000 p.36). Despite the guise of equal opportunity, the dominant socio-economic group—the Pākehā, had ultimate control over the formation of the school system and: (a.) wished to ensure their children received an education fit for their prospective futures, and (b.) wished to ensure a ready and willing (often Māori) proletariat was available to fill an economic base of production in a burgeoning capitalist society undergoing rapid economic expansion (Simon, 1990).

The education system also served to assimilate Māori in to Pākehā culture (McKinley & Hoskins, 2013). It served to separate Māori from their cultural ties and fracture their traditional social structure making them dependent on Pākehā and compliant with Pākehā law. Māori became politically and economically marginalised, alienated from their land, and conditioned to sell their labour power to new Pākehā landowners in pursuit of capital accumulation (Simon, 2000). Furthermore, the education system acted as a social filter, channelling the children of the proletariat into mostly manual and vocational-type education, while the children of the bourgeoisie were directed towards academic education and commerce, thus further reproducing class relations (Simon, 2000).

The ideology of egalitarianism/meritocracy gave children and parents the belief that everyone was getting ‘a fair go’ at education and that a child’s attainment was the result of their individual effort and ability; therefore, some children were “best fitted” for manual labour, while others “best fitted” professions requiring higher education (Fraser & Beeby, 1939, quoted in Maharey, 2003).

As outlined earlier, this belief was ideological; it served to conceal the contradictions of a selective education system while portraying the interests of different groups to be in harmony and seemingly offering to extend opportunities and rewards across social boundaries to produce a more egalitarian society. Differences in attainment were cast as ‘natural’, and class differences were justified and legitimated (Dale, 2000; Simon, 1990). The contemporary public education system remains biased to the dominant economic and cultural majority—the Pākehā middleclass. According to educational sociologist Roger Dale (2000), socio-economic status plays a fundamental role in determining educational achievement, with children of a higher social class (the bourgeoisie) capitalising on educational opportunities and resources, leaving groups of lower class status (the proletariat) marginalised. Dale (2000) argues “there is a strong association between social class and educational achievements and outcomes” (p.109). This is exemplified in his article through research carried out by Lauder and Hughes (1990). Evidence illustrates that a student’s capacity to benefit from education (CBE) is directly related to their socio-economic position—and not a difference in their inherent ability. Dale (2000) posits that middleclass children have an increased likelihood of academic achievement through access to the middleclass’ collectively-owned resources, their pooling of resources, and their control of various assets- a phenomenon he describes as

“middleclass capture” (p. 125). The middleclass holds influence over the public school learning environment with their ability to exploit pedagogical processes at the expense of the working class (Flude, 1974, p. 57, cited in Dale, 2000, p.123). The working class (often largely comprised of ethnic minorities in the major urban centres) is left marginalised, their traditional methods of learning discounted and viewed as inferior (or even less ‘civilised’), while aspects of their native language or cultural etiquette are either not catered to, or in some cases, symbolically adopted within learning environments—yet remain at the peripheral of ‘normal’ school pedagogical practices (May & Sleeter, 2010). A school system that fails to take into consideration the different learning needs of other social groups in the belief that everyone should be treated equally, gives the appearance of following egalitarian principles, however, such practice discriminates against other social groups, and thereby only serves to maintain the social dominance of the middleclass bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the ideology of meritocracy produces a technocratic justification for the social order. It creates the belief that the educational/economic ‘failure’ of lower class children and their families is a result of a lack of effort and ability, and in some cases a moral or cultural deficit (Dale, 2000). Educational ‘success’—always measured against the (disproportionate) success of the middleclass—is framed as a personal responsibility; therefore, the ‘blame’ for lack of educational attainment is placed with the individuals or groups themselves, rather than placed on an education system that has failed to deliver. This ‘blame’ often becomes internalised by the recipients, lowering their aspirations, hopes and goals for the future (Rashbrooke, 2014).

Egalitarian/meritocratic ideology forms a basis on which the ruling class achieve Gramsci’s notion of hegemony (1971). Hegemony is “the ability of a class to secure the adhesion and consent of the broad masses” through a system of symbols and ideas (Simon, 1990, p. 20). These ideas and values (or worldview) form attitudes and provide orientations for action (Simon, 1990). Thus, Gramsci’s hegemony represents the unity between a worldview and its corresponding rules of conduct. The dominant class exercises control over other classes through hegemony; through its moral and intellectual leadership in what Henry Giroux refers to as a pedagogic and politically transformative process (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986). Hegemonic principles bring social groups together through a unifying process of consent and wide acceptance. Such principles are socialised in the masses. Through doing so, the dominant class assumes control over state resources, communication media and the education system, further enabling the social saturation of mainstream cultural practices. Hegemonic principles establish the worldview of the dominant class as normal, natural and universal, and in this way, influence the interests and needs of the lower class, thus perpetuating societal power structures (Larrain, 1983, cited in Simon, 1990). Moreover, hegemony is enacted between groups within the lower classes also, with some groups competing to extend their influence over others (Aronowitz, 1986, cited in Simon, 1990).

Karl Marx argued “the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class” (Marx quoted in Tucker p. 489). Hence, individuals that ascribe to the worldview and

social mores of the ruling class are more likely to achieve greater educational attainment and occupational success. Philosopher and social anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) attributes this success to an interplay of what he terms 'cultural' and 'social' capital. Children who possess cultural capital congruent to the bourgeoisie are the ones who get the most out of a public school system that incorporates and reflects such attitudes, beliefs and customs within its pedagogical framework and daily practices. Cultural capital plays a central role in societal power relations. It is a "non-economic form of domination and hierarchy" (Gaventa 2003, p. 8). Combined with social capital; a network of contacts and relationships within the ruling class, and 'habitus'; a social process leading to unconscious dispositions that are enduring and transferrable from one context to another (such as body language and non-verbal communication), middleclass children have a head start in the education system right from the beginning. Whereas children without the cultural and social capital of the majority, must try to 'catch up' through a schooling system that does not acknowledge these differences or prioritise students' needs, nor provide additional assistance or support to ensure that school benefits these children in way that is equal to the dominant class.

Moreover, by growing up middleclass, children are more likely to become socialised with tertiary education goals (goals which their parents have achieved), as well as have role models within the professional elite (Dale, 2000). In addition, although middleclass children have the capacity to benefit from public education the most, research shows there is a similar association between socio-economic position and post-school destination for middleclass children independent of their school success (Dale, 2000). Middleclass children with only marginal educational attainment, are more able than working class children (with higher grades) to use cultural and social capital to gain professions within the middleclass (Dale, 2000; McKinley & Hoskins, 2013).

Overall, the public school system plays a key role in the social reproduction of class relations. Power and culture are repressive aspects of the state, and the public school system functions as a state apparatus; its role is to prepare and provide human capital for New Zealand's economy (Simon, 1990). Through the ideology of egalitarianism and meritocracy, and a process of hegemony, public schools help to contain and limit opposing practices and discourse, while (often unconsciously) promoting the dominant ethnic and economic class's position and interests. Such notions are exemplified in the Ministry of Education's 'New Zealand Curriculum', a legislation for public schools, heavily weighted with the mainstream social norms and values needed for employment within a competitive capitalist economy (Ministry of Education, 2016).

In order to provide an equal opportunity for all children to reach their full potential, knowledge presented, and constructed, in public schools must reflect students' socio-cultural worldview and associated systems of symbols, values, and beliefs—including dialogue consisting of students' native language, and "language codes" specific to students' social class context (Bernstein, 1974 cited in Dale, 2000. p.122). Affirmative action practices such as scholarships and grants, and the just distribution of goods and resources,

must continue to increase and strengthen support for those whose life chances remain limited by socio-economic deprivation. Furthermore, mainstream New Zealand society must fully embrace both its increasing diversity and its ongoing partnership to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi, as well as create and sustain critical multicultural learning environments—funded by the state, and active within communities representing the highest needs. Equality of outcomes ought to be the goal, achieved through equity pedagogies that support an empowering school culture. Only in this way, will the education system cease to be an ideological state apparatus reproducing social divisions, and instead become a positive force for change, reducing social inequality and thus contributing to wider social justice (Banks, 2006).

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COLONISING GENDER

As a settler society, New Zealand carries a heavy legacy of colonialism made manifest in the poor outcomes of Māori even today. Colonialism is characterised by its assertion of ideology as objective truth, especially when empowered by religious rhetoric. Consequently, Indigenous worldviews become drowned out by those of the colonisers. This has a lasting impact on the way of life of Indigenous peoples, who are usually forced to westernise in order to modernise. It is precisely this arrogant Western assertion that this chapter brings into question. By contesting European colonial ideals in the realm of gender, these articles aim to highlight the fact that inequality is a foreign concept to traditional Māori worldview, and thus contemporary trends in domestic violence and gendered inequality are presented Pākehā influence on Māori culture.

The lasting legacy of colonialism on gender is that of inequality, and this lived inequality is not exclusive to women but is also cast upon the queer community within Māoridom. Mills gives us a detailed analysis of the relationship between Māori queerness and drag culture, which proves relevant due to the rising prominence of drag culture in popular culture in the West. Mills addresses the fluidity of gender in traditional Māori culture, which was disrupted by the imposed rigidity of Victorian culture. Drag culture provides takatāpui with freedom – freedom of expression, freedom to explore indigeneity, and freedom from imposed Western binaries. The author shows us how drag seeks to empower Māori, and is a contrast to the over-exaggerated expressions of gender and strength the haka frequently embodies. Mills reminds us drag queens serve to embody humour, sexuality, and passion: all of which are reminiscent of true ancestral ways.

Hudson follows with an analysis of the impact that colonisation has had on Māori women. From a Māori Studies perspective, this analysis rests on Indigenous scholarship grounded in a non-Western system of knowledge. First, Hudson questions scholarship of the past which relegated women in Māoridom to a supporter role, identifying these scholars' Western bias. Māori knowledge, however, informs that women in pre-contact New Zealand were regarded not only as equal to men, but they were also regarded as having a connection to the sacred that men could never attain. The author notes their own gendered experience and argues that a meaningful understanding of tikanga Māori can be achieved through listening and consulting Māori and female sources. In doing this, we can work towards discussions which are respectfully and truthfully informed, and hope for a moral outcome than the misinformed research of the past.

While Hudson looked at the impact of colonialism on the perception of Indigenous women in New Zealand, Dalton-Mill attempts a cross-cultural analysis from a theological perspective to explain women's resistance to Empire. The religious motives of the Empire contradict the gender roles and expectations of Māori in New Zealand, and Diola people of Western Africa. Christianity prescribed a woman's subjugation to their husband and encouraged males to lead their communities. Whereas both these Indigenous cultures had different established systems and expectations for men and women. These contrasting values and beliefs resulted in women actively rebelling against the gendered

norms of Empire. While admitting that cross-cultural analyses can be problematic, Dalton-Mill stresses the importance of starting meaningful dialogues between Indigenous cultures to share the lived and lasting experience of colonialism.

Through this exploration of colonialism in relation to gender, we may come to understand that progress for the West is perhaps a harkening back for Māori – a harkening back to ancestral equality that was disrupted and replaced by a Western hegemony. By reframing our scholarship to incorporate Indigenous knowledge, it becomes clear that the very assertion of dominance, which is intrinsic to colonialism, is its most detrimental factor. It leaves lasting impacts for Indigenous communities which prove difficult to shake, particularly when religion is involved.

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Te Ao Hou: Contemporary Māori Issues

Sam Mills

Not Just Men in Dresses: the relationship between Māori Takatāpui identity and drag culture

Drag queens are cultural icons. Whether they are to idolise or to laugh at, their cultural impact is only growing alongside the resurgence of drag culture in popular culture during recent years. This essay seeks to investigate the relationship between New Zealand drag culture and queer Māori, and ask what impacts this relationship might have for Māori in general. This area of study is initially fraught with difficulty; Māori-focused academia that enshrines Kaupapa Māori, as well as enquiries into drag culture and queer culture at large, are extremely limited. Research is also hindered by lingering stigmas surrounding queer lifestyles. For this reason, my essay will rely heavily on wider general frameworks of queer, feminist, and indigenous studies with elements from popular culture. This research was conducted with Kaupapa Māori in mind to give priority to Māori voice and agency, however, research by Māori academics, specifically queer Māori academics, is required for any conclusive statements to be made. Instead I wish to question these relationships and explore the link between drag culture and a resurgence of Māori gender, sexual, and cultural expression, which itself is a highly political and resistive act.

Establishing definitions:

In this essay, the terms Takatāpui and queer will be used interchangeably to refer to individuals who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, asexual, or otherwise having sexuality or gender expression outside of the heterosexual cis-gendered norm. Takatāpui, traditionally a term denoting gay males was reclaimed in the 1980s as an umbrella term for all people within the queer community, with an emphasis on Māori (Rainbow Youth, 2017). Whilst this term is rooted in Māori queer identity, it is important to note that in its contemporary form, Takatāpui is not a pre-contact concept and exists within the western hegemonic framework that 'others' alternate sexualities and gender expressions. There is no equivalent term for heterosexual individuals in Te Reo Māori.

The term drag queen and drag will be used throughout this essay with wider meaning than is typically associated. The terms entered the mainstream vocabulary through the 1970s and 80s, gaining popularity after the homosexual law reform, to describe female impersonators, usually cis-gendered gay men, who performed at bars and clubs (Simon, 2008). Here, the term drag will be used in a somewhat looser sense that is in keeping with recent revolutions seen within the drag community upon its re-entrance to the pop-culture sphere in the 21st century. This definition sees drag as any performance of exaggerated, modified, alternate, or non-binary gender. Typical camp over-the-top female impersonators are now seen joined by 'drag-kings', androgynous queens, and 'bio-queens' (cis-women in feminine drag) as drag continues to push notions of gender and cultural expression (Hilbert, 1995). It is important to note that whilst drag has, as will be explored, been appropriated positively by many indigenous communities, it is, by these definitions, a Western concept that relies on the binary operation of male versus female in order to act in resistance to this. Drag is also inherently linked to queer sexuality; whilst not all acts of drag are sexual in nature the platform is born from the need for the queer community to express themselves and their sexuality.

It is also important to draw a distinction between the terms transgender and drag queen. Transgender refers to individuals who experience a gender identity that is different to the one assigned to them at birth, whilst drag is a temporary form of expression, performance, or exploration of gender (Rainbow Youth, 2017). Whilst it is true that many drag queens also identify as transgender, they occupy different realms and transgender issues are not addressed in this essay except by extension in which drag forms a cornerstone for the entire queer community.

Finally, I will be loosely using Judith Butler's framework of gender performativity (2006) to denote the difference between sex (biology) and gender (the way in which we perform ourselves which may or may not be at odds with the social codings associated with our biology). This theory is not invulnerable to indigenous (amongst other) critiques but offers a useful frame of viewing drag as an exaggeration of alternate gender performativity.

Pre-contact Māori sexuality and gender expression:

Before exploring the relationship between drag and a contemporary Māori queer identity in a post-contact, postcolonial society, it is important to first consider the roles and operation of gender and sexuality in pre-contact Māori society. Unfortunately for researchers in this area, accurate accounts of sexuality and gender expression in pre-contact Māori societies are for the most part scarce. This fact is owed to the intentional eradication of Māori sexual expression from European histories. Documenters active in the period, driven by conservative Anglican views on sexuality, ignored or otherwise skirted over any parts of Māori culture that were incompatible with Anglican values. New Zealand, as a new settler nation, had to exhibit exactly the right amount of perceived exoticism, of which non-binary performances of gender and fluid sexualities crossed a 'perverse' cultural line for European colonial sensibilities (Aspin & Hutchings, *Māori Sexuality*, 2006).

For this reason, it has only in recent years been suggested (by European academics at least), that Māori operated within much more liberal, fluid frameworks of sex and gender than their European colonisers. Ceasing this operation was a product of colonisation – colonisation not only of land and resources, but of ideology and morals as well. As sex and gender operate in the private sphere, this colonisation process penetrated Te Ao Māori deeply, impacting not only political and cultural realms, but ideas and roles of sex, family, and gender performance (Butler, 2006). The spread of Christianity and its popularity amongst Māori is also seen as a catalyst for the retracting of sexual and gender freedoms as Māori were forced into assimilation, losing much of their traditional modes of expression (Aspin & Hutchings, *Māori Sexuality*, 2006). The perceived intertwining of Christianity around Tikanga Maori is perhaps the main reason many Māori today appear to have held onto conservative views about sexuality and gender despite a recent

liberalisation and relaxation of these views amongst other New Zealanders (Aspin & Hutchings, *Māori Sexuality*, 2006).

Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings (2006) shed some light on pre-contact Māori expressions of sexuality. As explored briefly already, it should be noted that *Takatāpui* is predominately a modern term and there is little pre-contact Māori vocabulary that seeks to categorise sexuality. *Takatāpui* traditionally referred to an intimate companion of the same sex, which, when shedding the colonially imposed heterosexual viewpoint, can be construed to refer to acts of homosexual sex and affection occurring in pre-contact Māori society. Aspin and Hutchings note that whilst this term is contemporarily used to categorise and identify, it is traditionally not such a weighted term; taking part in actions of sex or affection towards a member of the same sex did not pertain to a change in one's fundamental identity. This can be seen through story-telling methods that have evaded the colonial imposition of sexual repression, such as artworks and oral histories, which feature free and fluid expressions of sexuality with members of both opposite and same sex interchangeably.

More relevant to this essay, however, is the ways in which gender was performed and enacted. Whilst Māori societies did separate the roles of men and women, many European gendered actions were performed interchangeably. For example, it was men, not women, who in pre-contact society, carried out actions to exaggerate gender expression including the use of make-up and body enhancements of feathers and jewellery (Aspin, 2011). There are also well known stories of young Māori boys passing as girls to fool early settlers; however, the joke was never at the expense of the boys, who's femininity was often celebrated and respected (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006). Evidence such as this suggests that Māori gender expression was originally not as rigid as the Western binary system imposed upon it via colonisation.

Drag and queer Māori politics:

Takatāpui Māori have been at the forefront of the New Zealand drag scene since its popularisation in the 1960s and 70s (Simon, 2008). Coinciding Māori urbanisation during this period brought young, queer Māori from the rural areas of New Zealand and immersed them in the liberal melting pots of newly sexually free cultural centres of Wellington and Auckland. Rather than assimilating into the existing queer scene that was predominantly Pākehā, queer Māori carved out their own space within the community – spaces that often had to be self-sufficient as young queer Māori faced a double bind of oppression; alienated from their whanau and marae through the urbanisation process and homophobic stigmas, and at the forefront of racism that was rampant in the LGBT+ communities in even the most liberal New Zealand cities (Harris, 2016).

Whilst the Māori drag scene was undeniably figure headed by Carmen Rupe, by all means a 'traditional' drag queen, it is notable that Māori drag artists have occupied all areas of

the New Zealand drag scene. Many Māori drag artists, such as Mika Haka, incorporate both feminine and masculine aspects into their aesthetics and performances; as explored above, fluidity between the two are arguably normal in traditional Māori culture. Drag here has become a space for Māori to perform cultural exploration as well as that of gender and sexuality, perhaps because these two areas experience an intertwining in Māori culture, rather than a typical separation as seen in Western cultures. The public sphere where culture operates, and the private spheres of sex, sexuality, and gender, are not clear cut from a Māori world view and thus Takatāpui have grasped drag as a mode for exploration of all three areas in a platform that facilitates the pushing of boundaries. Of the few writers who have commented on drag culture's influence on politics, many seem eager to draw distinction between political drag and entertainment drag (Hilbert, 1995). However, I see no way of separating drag from politics as it employs acts of explicit defiance. Drag is fundamentally a mode of activism in a society that rigidizes the male-female dichotomy, alienates and marginalizes queer people, and of course is inescapably (still) colonial. This is concentrated by Māori artists who experience the double bind of homophobia/gender conformity and racism and cultural alienation.

The links between Te Ao Māori and drag continue to reveal themselves as drag re-establishes itself into popular culture. The Māori Television reality show *Queens of Panguru* (2017), produced by performer and drag artist Mika Haka, follows three Māori drag artists of various gender identities as they retrace their roots to their hometown and Marae in Panguru. Whilst the show has obvious comedic undertones (following city-bred 'glam queens' as they learn to milk cows and hunt pigs) the show's comedy is not at the expense of the queen's sexuality or vocations. They are, in fact, respected and celebrated for their role as entertainers, a role of high prestige within Māori communities (Haka, 2017). They are also often distinguished for their embodiment of both masculine and feminine characteristics, as aforementioned, as individuals able to present both as male and female were often revered and empowered within pre-contact Māori society; they are not subject to embarrassment or shame as commonly associated in Western societies (Aspin & Hutchings, *Māori Sexuality*, 2006). Whilst these artists left their cultural homes in search of more inclusive communities found in liberal cities, drag has offered them a platform for a cultural reconnection – the shared value of entertainment allows for a shared understanding despite some often-conservative viewpoints on sexuality (which, arguably, are of thanks to colonially imposed religions and morals). The queens from the show comment on the importance of the relationship between their identity and their culture, understanding that the two are mutually reliant and that drag offers a space for both to be extended, explored, and showcased (Haka, 2017).

The Māori and Pacific group 'FAFSWAG' too have found and fostered cultural identity through the platform of drag. The group features young queer Māori and Pacific people who choose to express themselves in ways outside of gendered norms. The group is a non-traditionalist drag contingent; most of the members express both masculine and feminine characteristics and their performances are more introspective, performed in

smaller, low-key locations that are based around local communities in South Auckland (FAFSWAG, Unspecified). The group promotes strong themes of Māori and Pacific cultural resurgence, transgender rights, and feminism through the appropriation of the Harlem Ballroom Scene dancing styles of 'Vogueing' (Morton, 2017). Occupation by Māori of the scene via these sorts of groups also challenges inherently racist undertones that still infiltrate the drag scene and queer culture in general. Queer people of colour often struggle within the community that operates under a guise of inclusiveness whilst perpetuating many racist and exclusionary notions of what constitutes and who controls beauty, fashion, pop-culture, and queerness (Riggs, 1995). Thus, FAFSWAG has forged new identities that combine new and radical expressions of alternate gender, sexuality, politics, and Māori and Pasifika culture and agency through the platform of 'new' drag.

Gender performativity and Māori culture:

So, the question remains – why has drag offered such a prominent outlet for Māori queer expression and what more can it offer, perhaps to Māori as a whole? I argue the answer lies within enquiry into what colonisation stole from Māori in terms of modes of cultural and personal expression.

The Haka has, and continues, to represent an immensely symbolic mode of Māori cultural expression that has managed to survive colonisation. Today the haka represents not only a link to history, but a mode of identity building, be it regarding Hapu, Iwi, or indeed national identity as per the use of it by sports teams (Royal, 2005). Examining the haka from a gender performativity point of view, I believe, reveals many links and similarities to drag as an expressive outlet. From the offset, the Haka is a heavily gendered experience. When taking part, both men and women perform actions of exaggerated gender performance; the motions and actions accentuate the male phallus, the loins, the strength of chest and arms (Higgins & Loader, 2014). Make-up, face-paint, ceremonial dress, and other adornments are often used by both genders during the Haka in ways that accentuate their performance of male or female, sometimes combining both (Royal, 2005). Whilst the stereotypical modern-day haka is reminiscent of provocative war dances, Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, in his essay *The Light Dances* (2005), writes of early hakas being stories of love, sex, and attraction. In these performances, the interplay between men and women was important, exaggerated, and often even eroticised; '(one specific) haka [...] involved the women standing on their heads and exposing themselves,' (Royal, 2005). Is this, in its moulding of crude humour, sexuality, passion, and gender expression, all that far removed from contemporary drag performances? What's more, the essay ends on the note of spirituality; 'Dance transforms or perhaps reminds us of our true selves' (Royal, 2005). Drag, here, may be reminiscent of historic modes of Māori gender, sexuality, and cultural expression – expressions that have been buried under processes of colonisation.

This is not to conclude that drunken renditions of Madonna and Cher on K Road by

drag queens wearing more glitter than clothes are the same as the haka – but it is instead to introduce a potentially different way of viewing these things. Both are expressions of culture, and, if we cease to ignore inherent gendered aspects, both are modes to express one's gender and sexual identities. Drag can and does offer Takatāpui a mode of expression, one within a community that is accepting, empowering, and growing. Drag can also offer all Māori a reminder of what colonisation took from them: the interplays between gender, sex, and culture – notions that Western hegemonies attempt desperately to keep separate. It is also a reminder of pre-contact freedom of expression; a fluidity between Western imposed lines of gender and sexuality, as it offers a defiance of the strict binaries of masculinity and femininity. I would argue that Māori drag artists are at the forefront of a cultural, sexual, and gendered revolution that reclaims expression stolen by colonisation. Drag is therefore a political act of resistance within colonised societies as a look backwards within a step forward.

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Maori 330

Te Ao Hou: Contemporary Maori Issues

Samuel Hudson

The Wāhine Disaster: an analysis of the impacts of colonisation on the roles of women in Māori society

Since the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa, colonisation has had an ongoing negative impact upon Māori women, both within their own societies and colonial ones (Smith, 2012). Pākehā institutions, including the New Zealand Law Commission (1999), acknowledge that Māori women have been continually and adversely affected by colonisation, as foreign ideologies were both racially and sexually prejudiced against them. Prior to imperial contact, notions of race and strict gender binaries did not exist for Māori (Pihama, 2001), and women had traditionally held an inherently valued position as the *whare tangata*, the bearers of life (McBreen, 2011). By looking at how education, religion, legislation and colonial internalisation have facilitated gendered oppression, I will broadly discuss how the application of Victorian norms has led to the continued subordination of Māori women in society. Through a Kaupapa Māori framework, specifically touching on the work of *mana wahine* scholars, I will discuss the intersection between being both Māori and female, and how the roles have changed since pre-European times. I will conclude by acknowledging the unique position Māori women hold in society today as survivors of colonisation, and suggest that only through such indigenous methodologies can the narratives of these subaltern people be properly represented.

Theory

Western academia is structurally geared against Māori knowledge as it “over-values the literate and under-values the oral” (King, 1978, p. 9). While Māori have come to work within this system, along with a few prominent Pākehā historians, such as Judith Binney and James Belich, who have attempted to retrieve oral histories in their support (Sinclair, 2002), this has commonly been viewed as insufficient. Adopting Western theories fails to properly represent the specifics of indigenous minorities.

Western feminism is commonly seen as a sufficient method of analysis, yet early waves condoned explicit race-based exclusion, as evidenced in areas of legislation and voting rights (Wetekia Paul, 2014, p. 8). Later movements have often failed to note the nuances of the intersectional identities of colonial victims (Smith, 2012). Western feminist discourse today is still a field dominated by Pākehā who often appropriate and misconstrue the perspectives of indigenous women with an arrogance that means their voices drown out the first-hand experiences of those minorities. Conversely, focusing on racial issues at the detriment of feminist discourse has also been problematic within Māori circles as Irwin (1992) notes.

Many argue that the middle ground can be found in post-colonial theory, and I agree that it is useful to the extent that it recognises the ongoing consequences of nineteenth-century imperialism. However, the theory falters in a number of ways: namely its culturally-neutral stance, failure to acknowledge potentially ongoing acts of colonisation, and differences in experiences on gendered grounds. Furthermore, the “post” in post-

colonialism predicates that historical analysis is unnecessary to determining the source of modern issues given that colonisation is intrinsically finished. LT Smith (2012) writes extensively on these concerns, and in conjunction with a plethora of other Māori scholars (Wetekia Paul, 2014; Hutchings & Aspin, 2007; Mikaere, 2003; Irwin, 1992), suggests Kaupapa Māori as an indigenous alternative better suited to analysing the impacts of colonisation on Māori women.

A mana wahine approach falls within this category, as it seeks to bridge the gap between race and gender in a specifically Māori way by focusing on reclaiming the narratives of history through unmolested tikanga principles (Mikaere, 2003; Te Awekotuku, 1999). The question then leads to whether a Pākehā, male academic like myself should participate in these studies. Opinions are mixed (Smith, 2012, p. 185); from the perspective of Māori, my participation in researching these issues could be seen as simply furthering the inextricable link between inaccurate histories and colonisation. By adopting histories from predominantly Māori (and largely female) sources however, I hope to set an example of academic work that counters the Western hegemony within indigenous studies. By aligning my conclusions with the likes of Smith (2012) and Mikaere (2003), I believe that non-Māori can adopt the principles of tikanga in close connection with Māori-written resources in order to move towards more accurate and moral research. I intend to strengthen the much-needed appreciation for Kaupapa Māori as a valid approach and refute the idea that it is anti-academic.

Historiography and Literature Assessment

Having control over knowledge has allowed Pākehā to manipulate Māori culture into detracting all value from the roles women held prior to colonisation. Māori have been “trapped” within definitions and histories that don’t accurately represent them (Smith, 2012, p. 172), and mana wahine seeks to take this power back. It is for this reason that information, let alone accurate content regarding Māori women is so difficult to access. More often than not Māori women have been removed, distorted or forgotten from history due to underlying sexist and racist prejudice, and primary indigenous resources are scarce (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; Simmonds, 2011; Smith, 2012). Specific literature about Māori women, , has often been mere a “add-on” to chapters on broader historical topics (Pihama, 2001, p. 201). In fictional literature, the frequent presentation of Māori women as half-caste “hip swingers” (p. 82), existing for the sole purpose of adding an illicit sexual character has furthered the view of them as lesser-beings (Witi Ihimaera, 1978). This shortage of valid Māori resources, as well as the need to avoid false narratives written by Pākehā act as the biggest limitations to my research.

Women in pre-European Māori society

To acknowledge the impacts of colonisation on Māori women’s roles in society, it is important to note how they stood prior to European contact. Evidence of how women

were viewed can stem from things as simple as language; the word *whenua* means both Mother Earth and a woman's placenta. This connection is by no coincidence, as both are held to be incredibly sacred (Higgins & Meredith, 2017). Unlike the English word *woman*, *wahine*, a non-universal label, specifically represents the intersection between space, time (*wā*) and the essence of being female (*hine*—something not exclusive to those born with female genitals) (Pihama, 2001; Wetekia Paul, 2014). Furthermore, *wahine* and *tāne* are not dichotomous opposites in *te reo Māori*, showing an underlying difference from the strict biological binaries (man and woman) of the English language (Pihama, 2001).

The aforementioned Western monopoly can be illustrated simply in how *te reo Māori* has been manipulated and translated. Early Western ethnography interpreted Māori women's sacred ability to *whakanoa* (remove *tapu*) as meaning women held little importance in Māori society, neatly meeting the criteria of Victorian gender subordination (Higgins & Meredith, 2017). This facilitated the warping of *tikanga* principles to imply that women held no *mana*, and thus marginalising women wasn't such a drastic act. In fact, women were afforded the utmost respect in Māori society prior to colonisation, and many held intrinsically important roles just as many men did (Binney & Chaplin, 2011). The word "Māori" has also been appropriated by *Pākehā* to broadly encapsulate all indigenous peoples of New Zealand to aid in simplifying oppression. There are differences however between *iwi*, notably customs that may pertain to the roles of women—something that Western academia has narrowed. This is worth noting as the notion of a "Māori society" was quite foreign to Māori themselves prior to colonisation—the connection between people as "Māori" existed simply on a spiritual and cosmological level and tribal differentiation was a relevant distinction (Hutchings & Aspin, 2007). Mahuika (2011) recognises this idea when looking at women in leadership. Traditional historians such as Elsdon Best argued that leadership within all Māori people was exclusively conducted by men, and only transferred through the male primogeniture (Mahuika, 2011, p. 42; Smith, 2012, p. 173). As Mahuika argues, within *Ngati Porou*, the mere fact that more senior *hapū* are named after significant women than men shows that gender was not the determinant, or that even the converse is more accurate (Mahuika, 2011, p. 47). More generally, words connected to the inheritance of authority were not gender specific, and a female *matua* and their descendants had the same rights and obligations as a male counterpart. Females of great importance transferred their status to children, as "rank transcended gender" (Binney & Chaplin, 2011, pp. 30-31)—this bond was lost when only male *ariki* were recognised by *Pākehā*. Mahuika (2011) notes too that women were free to speak on the *marae*, as they were integral repositories of knowledge. In *Te Arawa*, there has often been the expectation that women should not speak out on the *marae*, as their intrinsic motherly *tapu* could overbear the *mana* of men (Mahuika, 2011; *Te Awakotuku, Māori Women and Research: Researching Ourselves*, 1999). However, ancient aphorisms hold that the *marae* was a place for open discussion and democratic process, with no exclusion on the grounds of gender (Walker R. J., 2011). In fact, the female genitals were very commonly carved into the inside of the doorway to

represent the procreative power of women, and its ability to exorcise any tapu of visitors who entered (Walker R. J., 2011, p. 23).

How prolific women were within certain social settings seems to change throughout time too however. Te Awekotuku (1999) recalls that growing up in the 1950s, it was the elder women who passed down the “correct record” (p. 4) of history, and that they would humiliate any man who tried to adversely confront what was known to be true. This voice of authority has diminished in recent years however (Te Awekotuku, 1999), arguably because younger generations of women are exposed to falsely translated versions of tikanga and knowledge. The popular translation of the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai for example, commonly neglects that Hinemoa took the initiative to perform as a man to entice her counterpart, who was more romantically interested in a forgotten third (male) character, Tiki (Te Awekotuku, *Māori Women and Research: Researching Ourselves*, 1999). This false representation of such foundational stories means perspectives of sexuality and gender in ancient Maori culture have been warped for modern generations. Decoding original texts and oral accounts of such matters helps uncover the magnitude of change colonisation had on female leadership. Myths and legends form a vital part of the “corpus of sacred knowledge” (Marsden, 2003, p. 57) that grounds Māori in their orally transmitted heritage. Promoting the accurate versions of such stories helps to alter the views of both men and women who have internalised the Western gender binaries forced upon them.

Impacts of Christianity

Christianity acted as the first vehicle for colonial enterprise, and over time has become “heavily intertwined with tikanga” (Mikaere, 2016, p. 51), as seen by the prevalent use of Christian karakia in a pōwhiri. The introduction of Christianity impacted Māori women in a multitude of ways. In some cases, as Dana L Robert (2008) suggests, nineteenth century missionaries catered to indigenous peoples’ “immediate needs” (Robert, 2008, p. 13), setting up churches which centred around Māori principles—these were quickly disbanded by dominating authoritarian colonial forces driven by racist sentiments. Protestantism was fundamentally incompatible to te ao Māori, and was inherently patriarchal. The suggestion that Christianity facilitated the modernisation of Māori relies upon some ordained superiority in Western cultural knowledge. In regards to gender roles, Christianity had a “corrosive effect” (Walker R. J., 2011, p. 17), as it fundamentally disbanded every structural norm around how men and women interacted with each other in Aotearoa. While the roles of men and women were often distinct in traditional Māori society, they weren’t mutually exclusive on grounds of biological difference (Simmonds, 2011; Mikaere, *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori*, 2003; Yates-Smith, 1998). Actions, ability and often hierarchy within the hapū determined a person’s mana and role in society (Poananga, 1991) more so than gender. The shift from a meritocratic system to one where women were intrinsically seen as inferior by way of being female is what characterises the impact

of Christianity. Natural acts associated with women like conception and menstruation were traditionally seen as sacred. Under Christian views these were now deemed to be torturous and sinful (Pere, 1988). Te Awekotuku (1996) suggests that this misogyny has been internalised by Māori, men and women alike, leading to the dangerous recreation of Māori culture through colonised tikanga principles. The expectation of Māori women upholding the nuclear family structures today act as the harsh reminder of the theocratic beginnings of Pākehā government (Wetekia Paul, 2014).

Impacts of Education

Western education was similarly important in recreating the way Māori treated women in their own societies, and began with religious sentiments. The government's assimilation projects that claimed to be beneficial policies sought not to merge **Māori** and English culture, but rather eradicate the former and the education system was a fundamental tool for this agenda. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1997) has argued that schooling created a negative self-enforcing cycle of falsehoods around existing knowledge, within which Māori children have had to learn to cope in order to survive.* As Walker (2016) writes, mission schools sought to convert “Māori from ‘barbarism to civilisation’” (p. 20). The Native Schools Act 1858 entrenched the desired isolation of children from the so-called demoralising influence of Māori society by subsidising boarding at religious institutions (ibid). The systematic indoctrination of Māori women meant they left school knowing skills accustomed to the confines of a singular Western household; sewing, gardening, cleaning and cooking were the extent of their education (Walker, 2016). To educate women any further would only give them the agency to confront this unnatural philosophy, and dissociation from the marae as the “focal point” (Walker R. J., 2011, p. 15) of Māori life was key to reprogramming women. This deliberate removal from whānau support and adequate health care during development (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011) made them believe that their role in society was limited to the home. The aggregate result of this domesticated education has been the restriction on Māori women's abilities to work in high-skilled, high-paid professions in modern times. The systematic undervaluing of their potential has meant Māori women are over-represented in community services, manufacturing, retail and hospitality, when compared to Pākehā women who conversely work in real estate, business and other higher-paid dominions (Horsfield & Evans, 1988).** Furthermore, Māori women over 65 years old have higher rates of employment compared to non-Māori, despite a considerably lower life-expectancy (Horsfield & Evans, 1988). Whether this is by choice, or, more likely, by necessity is worthy of further discussion. It is important to note the impact colonisation has had on Māori women in regards to today's economy, where they are expected to provide income, uphold the traditional (Western) roles in the family household, and often complete (Western) gender-specific work in Māori-specific community setting.

Internalisation of Colonisation by Māori Men

The internalisation of colonisation by Māori men has also furthered the impacts of colonisation on women, and it occurred both through the direct subordination of their women and the passive impact of only ever seeing men in positions of authority (Lomax, 2007). The effect of socialisation meant Māori men fought for their own survival at the detriment of Māori women. This has culminated in disproportionately high domestic violence of women in Victorian style homes (Taonui, 2010), something that was not part of life “way back when” (referring to pre-colonial times in the marae) as one Māori woman stated in her personal account of physical abuse (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002, p. 21). During the process of colonisation “Māori men became the workhorse of the coloniser” leading to the quickening of female oppression (Glover, 1995, p. 89).

Survivors Not Victims

While colonisation has substantially altered the roles of Māori women, not all has been lost. Māori women have never been passive victims of colonisation and today play an essential role in sustaining the cultural, economic and social integrity of their communities; rural and urban, traditional or not. As Simmonds (2011) writes, Māori women have been struggling to “retain and regain” (p. 13) their agency since Pākehā first arrived. To suggest otherwise simply plays into the hands of the colonisers who wish to continue to control indigenous people and holds that such people are wholly powerless.

Natural Progression

Furthermore, it must be noted that all societies experience natural change, even in the underlying principles upon which they were based. The United States, while riddled with issues of racism and inequality to this day, was founded on the principle of freedom for all white-skinned men with enough wealth to own property—today this notion legally (albeit not always in practice) spans to all citizens no matter their race, gender or economic status. In Māori culture, progression should be welcomed also, and in regards to gender, New Zealand is fast moving towards being more accepting of diversity. Alongside this steady trend of liberalism, groups like the predominantly Māori Destiny’s Church are attempting to uphold regressive patriarchal beliefs and perverse interpretations of tikanga influenced by colonisation. Between these two extremes, it is important that the true fundamental principles of Māori culture are uncovered so that Māori women can be properly emancipated. While it is not the place of non-Māori, like myself, to dictate the necessary policy around uplifting the marginalised, I believe the ongoing impacts of colonisation need to be “acknowledged and uprooted” (Wetekia Paul, 2014, p. 6). Māori-centric decolonisation in academia is essential to re-writing the histories that have corrupted the values of te ao Māori.

It seems that the relationship between men and women in pre-European times was one

of equality (Poananga, 1991), and only through “Pākehā education, religion, and law” (Mahuika, 2011, p. 59) have determinants of roles in Māori society been changed to the detriment of wahine Māori. The writing of history by Pākehā and internalisation of colonial views by Māori men have perpetuated the broad subordination of women. I concur with Wetekia Paul (2014) that New Zealand as a whole has a moral and political obligation to give Māori the same opportunities to succeed as other New Zealanders—the first part of this is acknowledging the ongoing impacts of colonisation, and how it continues to specifically affect wahine Māori. Moving forward requires an acceptance of adaptability in how tikanga is viewed, seeing it as a set of constant values rather than rules so that Christian and Western norms can be eradicated from Māori tikanga (Mead, 2003).

Notes.

* This is a similar argument to what Te Awekotuku (1996) notes as the internalisation of colonisation, an idea LT Smith (2012) has supported in later work.

** I do not wish to infer that these professions hold no value in an economic or moral sense, this is far from the case. Rather, this point shows that the impact of under-educating Māori women is that they have been disadvantaged in the modern workforce, struggling with a lack of skills and the internal belief that they don't belong in certain settings.

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Special Topic in Theology and Religious Studies

Morgan Dalton-Mill

Towards Trans-Indigenous History: a cross-cultural history of Māori and Diola women's resistance to Empire

In both New Zealand and Western Africa, Māori and Diola women chose to resist their respective Empires by subverting gendered Christian values and preserving their culture. Though a majority of scholarship claims that the Christian worldview destabilised the status of indigenous women, the experience of Māori and Diola women during the nineteenth and twentieth-century reveals a more complex picture. Māori and Diola women challenged the Western concepts of patriarchy and domestic empire. While there are similarities between the Māori and Diola women's experiences, they are entirely different cultures. They each have their own worldview and unique responses to Empire. In light of their individuality, it is problematic to write a truly trans-indigenous account of indigenous female resistance without evidence of interaction between Māori and Diola during this time. However, we can still bring the Māori and Diola experiences into conversation to demonstrate the powerful presence of gender in religious resistance to Empire.

Māori prophetesses used their spiritual status to resist the British Empire which sought to impose a patriarchal system on their society. Britain's patriarchal sentiments cast the husband as head of the household, and his wife as his chattel (Mikaere, 1995). Nineteenth-century historiography contends that due to patriarchal ideology, Māori women 'never...possessed formal power in either the religious or political spheres' (Binney, 2004 (p.238)). However, this generalisation overlooks the religious leadership exerted by Māori prophetesses. Within Māori *mātauranga*, concepts of *mana* (authority) and *tapu* (sacredness) are held by women who can communicate with the spirit world (Binney, 2004 (p.236)). Māori prophetesses are given an elevated status in their community because of their *tohunga* practices and ability to act on advice from *tīpuna* (ancestors) to shape their *iwi's* future. Therefore, the attempt by British missionaries to transplant gender hierarchies onto Māori society was not wholly successful. As Angela Ballara outlines, 'all Maori women could not be regarded as inferior to all Maori men.' (Brookes, 2016 (p.78)). In fact, some Māori women held spiritual leadership roles and made significant contributions to the prophetic movements that aimed to resist the British Empire. The Ngāti Apa healer Mere Rikiriki influenced three of the key nineteenth-century prophetic movements with her promotion of peaceful activism. As a result of Mere Rikiriki's messages and image as a 'prophetess of peace', Ratana, Parihaka and Maramatanga adopted a peaceful approach to resist colonial rule (Young, 2004 (p.175)). Meri Puru was a 'kuia tapu' within the Ringatu faith because Te Kooti had stored his powers in her (Binney & Chaplin, 2011 (p.46)). She was awarded special status in the community for her capacity to destroy through prayer. During the war *Waerenga-a-Hika*, Meri Puru fought alongside Te Kooti and became a *whakarau* (captive). In these case studies, indigenous women are not passive observers, but people of authority within their *iwi* who resisted Empire. Mere and Meri illustrate how gender influenced religious resistance to Empire, as prophetesses could lead *iwi* despite Britain's efforts to enforce a patriarchal framework on Māori society.

In a culturally different context, twentieth-century Emitai prophetesses not only challenged colonial gender structures, but also their own African prophetic tradition. Before 1890, an 'exclusively male prophetic tradition' existed in Senegal, West Africa (Baum, 2016 (p.3)). In response to both the overwhelming French colonial force, and the ineffective actions of male prophets, a line of Diola prophetesses emerged in 1908 (Baum, 2016). These women claimed the Emitai (a remote supreme being) sent them to restore Diola culture. Spiritual fertility shrines such as Ehugna allowed some Emitai prophetesses to exert influence over the public sphere which included both women and men (Baum, 2016). The public power Diola women exerted destabilised the French Empire and Diola men's assumption that Diola women only had authority over the private domain. Alinesitoué Diatta used a communitarian approach to combat the French Empire's social hierarchies (Baum, 2016). The Diola prophetess created new rain ritual techniques in Kabrousse which included everyone, regardless of age, gender, or economic status (Baum, 2016). Alinesitoué's reformed rain rituals contributed to a broader aim of preserving the Diola collective identity in the face of destructive patriarchal structures. While Alinesitoué subtly resisted the French Empire, Alandisso Bassène directly resisted French colonial rule. She used her religious authority to publically criticise her community's acceptance of Christianity (Baum, 2016). Both prophetesses had to confront intersectional oppression; from the patriarchy imposed by the French, to the gendered spirituality administered by their own men. Their methods of resistance included democratising Diola rituals and rejecting Western concepts of religion in order to preserve the Diola culture (Baum, 2016). United on the basis of Diola religion and impending subordination, Diola prophetesses took action against gendered elements of the French Empire accepted by their men.

On the surface, both Māori and Diola societies contained prophetesses who held authority within their communities. The prophetesses could directly communicate with spiritual forces and used that ability to resist their colonial Empires. However, Māori and Diola concepts of prophetesses are completely distinct. Māori prophetesses are identified by their ability to communicate with dead ancestors, while Emitai prophetesses interact with the supreme being only (Baum, 2016). Māori and Diola prophetesses also responded to colonial force in a different manner. Resistance varied within iwi, hapu and tribes. A majority of Māori women supported resistance through peaceful protest such as the Parihaka prophetic movement, but Māori women also violently resisted in the New Zealand Wars. Some Diola women focused inwards to protect their culture. Others chose to directly oppose their men and colonial forces for the predicament Diola was in. Ultimately, both examples depict an image of agency from indigenous women that is not fully recognised in New Zealand and African scholarship.

Furthermore, Māori women utilised their familial ranking to subvert domestic initiatives which threatened their social order. Intertwined with, but separate from, the status given to 'prophetesses' is the mana given to particular Māori women due to their whakapapa (lineage). 'Whakapapa - genealogy - is the backbone of Māori history'

(Binney & Chaplin, 2011 (p.1)). Therefore, whakapapa influences the social organisation of iwi. Heni Sunderland is a twentieth-century example of a Māori woman with status derived from her ancestors. Heni's relation to prominent Ngāi Tamanuhiri and Ngāti Maru chiefs empowered her to transcend the domestic role implemented by the British Empire (Binney & Chaplin, 2011 (p.118)). The British Empire sought to mould Māori women into domestic servants, bound by the institution of marriage, motherhood and the private sphere. In the late twentieth-century, Rongowhakaata men made a paepae (permanent bench) exclusive to men on the Whakato marae. Heni challenged their decision as contrary to custom, stating that gender hierarchies were 'never our way' (Binney & Chaplin (p.118)). In this context, Heni's ancestral status allowed her to move beyond her assigned role as a wife in the private domain. She was able to hold a position of authority within the Rongowhakaata iwi. In order to achieve a domestic empire, The Marriage Act 1753 (UK) removed a woman's legal personhood upon marriage (Brookes, 2016). Despite this, some Māori women of status resisted the Christian model of marriage. The expectation of servitude in marriage caused the Ngāti Koata ariki (chief) Wetekia to swim home after her wedding in 1890 to John Arthur (Brookes, 2016). Other Māori women refused marriage altogether in an effort to preserve their ownership over ancestral lands (Brookes, 2016). Though the domestic model did dislocate communal whanau, hapu, and iwi arrangements, Māori women continuously found avenues to resist. Instead of submitting to the British Empire, Māori women of status demanded that their voices - and their tīpuna's - be heard.

Within the Diola community, family seniority aided women in acquiring leadership roles where they both cooperated with, and contravened, the French domestic role of women. A Diola woman's family is senior if their lineage can be traced back to the first ancestors period. As Emitai is said to have established all the spirit shrines, the oldest family line holds an extension of Emitai's power (Baum, 1999). Belonging to a senior family enhanced a Diola woman's claim to authority in the Diola tribe (Baum, 1999). Senior Diola women exercised authority over spirit shrines concerned with childbirth, where they passed on knowledge and rites reserved for childbearing women (Baum, 1999). French missionaries held a notion of domesticity similar to Britain and instructed that 'women should be trained to more effectively operate within a domestic sphere' (Baum, 2016 (p.190)). Yet, some Diola women exerted community-wide authority when they governed spirit shrines, which served as forums where they planned strategies of opposition to policies of taxation, forced labour and military conscription (Baum, 2016). Diola women did not limit themselves to the domestic standard of 'guardian of the home', but engaged in the issues their communities faced due to colonial policy (Baum, 2016 (p.191)). In the rapidly changing circumstances of colonial rule, Diola women of status exerted religious leadership, mediated, and encouraged men to resist in situations where they could not (Baum, 2016). Emitai women's strategies of cultural preservation and self-determination demonstrate high levels of agency where they interacted with the domestic French Empire on their own terms.

Experiences of familial status reveal how both Māori and Diola women resisted Empire in a multitude of religious and social ways. In both cultures, women could gain status in their communities through family lineage. A Diola family's seniority stems from how close their ancestor was to the omnipresent God, Emitai. In Māori mātauranga, status is awarded to descendants of chiefs, prophets or influential leaders. Though their sources of lineage are different, Māori and Diola women utilised the power associated with familial seniority.

Scholarship has struggled to marry the lived experiences of indigenous women across the globe through trans-indigenous methodology. Simplistic conclusions can often be drawn in this framework; however, merit arises from creating a conversation where the individual experience can speak for itself. This essay has attempted to begin a dialogue about Māori and Diola women's religious resistance to Empire. It is undeniable that gender influenced religious resistance to Empire. As Heni Sunderland states, 'we the women are the ones who really motivate our men' (Binney, 2004 (p.134)). Māori and Diola women actively contravened Western colonial structures by attaining religious and familial status in their communities. With that status, Māori and Diola women preached peaceful resistance, participated in wars and rejected hierarchal structures in Empire which sought to subjugate them. Most importantly, Māori and Diola women actively sought to protect their own cultures religious traditions and identity. Though the meaning for each culture is diverse, Māori and Diola women used self-determination as a form of resistance to empower their traditions, their communities, and themselves.

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INTERDISCIPLINARITY ENRICHING ARTS SCHOLARSHIP

Within the arts, disciplines adopt particular methodologies to suit their aims, yet this knowledge can be useful when shared between disciplines. Interdisciplinary scholarship is becoming more common as new areas of research push the boundaries of traditional disciplines, borrowing methods from the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities in order to produce holistic research. Consequently, the literature produced in this chapter traces the malleability of arts disciplines to borrow methods of enquiry from one another to suit a particular need, enriching the end result with new perspectives.

Thomson begins this commentary on interdisciplinarity by identifying the core elements of Pacific Studies, arguing that the scholarship is founded on borrowing methodologies from other disciplines. Pacific Studies heavily rely on methodology from the natural sciences, anthropology, and history to explain phenomena in the Pacific. However, a large amount of importance is still placed on oral histories and those embodied through dance and movement. The combination of these methods gives Pacific Studies a unique place within academic discourse.

Our next author looks at the value of other disciplines in informing historiography. Beaumont specifically investigates the concept of emotional history, a relatively new area of research in this discipline. The history of emotions lies at the intersection of anthropology and psychology. The discipline reshapes the way in which we think about history, for it humanises events in a novel way. Here we see interdisciplinarity present a new area of knowledge in history, thus offering a new perspective on experiences of the past.

The final piece of Edition 6 presents an interdisciplinary conflict regarding the fame of ancient Greek historian, Herodotus. In debating whether Herodotus would be considered an anthropologist or an historian, Hardy concedes he could easily fit into both descriptions. The author argues that it is his motives that distinguish him as an historian. While Herodotus was arguably well ahead of his time, the discipline of anthropology had not been invented yet. Nonetheless, he employed what is regarded today as anthropological enquiry in his historical texts, outlining the differences between groups of people in an almost ethnographic style, as to capture a true essence of life at the time. It must be noted that history loses nothing from Herodotus employing anthropological methodology, nor does anthropology lose anything by Herodotus being labelled an historian. Nonetheless, this article shows the fluidity between disciplines, and that the rich data gained through Herodotus' approach cemented him in history in his own right.

As all the authors in this chapter show us, interdisciplinarity serves new value to the arts. It stresses that no one method should be held in higher esteem than any other, and by using methodology and theory from other disciplines we adopt and adapt new ways of thinking. Only through the combination of efforts from all disciplines can we begin to address the problems of the past, present, and future, and find new ways of solving them.

Interdisciplinarity is a measure of perspective contesting long-held ideas and beliefs, and illuminating areas yet unexplored.

Pacific Studies 200

Pacific Studies

Georgia Thomson

Pacific Studies: Interdisciplinary Study and Beyond

In studying the Pacific Islands and the people who live there, a unique approach is required. Pacific Studies departments at the University of Auckland Centre for Pacific Studies and across the Pacific have developed this modern and dynamic field which reflects the culture and values of the people it studies. Research frameworks in Pacific Studies are markedly different from other departments, and are constantly developed to suit the culture in question, alongside an interdisciplinary approach to research and study, which draws more well-rounded and practical conclusions. Unaisi Nabobo-Baba's Vanua Research Framework in particular shows a sharp contrast with Margaret Mead's observational methods, with their opposing frameworks providing the potential for very different results. Pacific Studies research frameworks and interdisciplinary approaches are combined with a continued value and respect for the indigenous knowledge gained from generations of Pacific people. This knowledge has traditionally been discounted by other areas of study, perceived as inaccurate and unscientific. However, combining these key differences together allows Pacific Studies to draw modern, accurate and holistic conclusions that work well for both people in the Pacific and in the diaspora and will continue to do so in the future.

The methods of research used by Pacific Studies scholars in the modern day seem unrecognisable to those approaching from a more traditional Western research framework. Historically, academics have simply brought into the Pacific those methods which have been effective in studying Western cultures, ignoring the cultural diversity of Pacific peoples. In recent years, with the continuing development of Pacific Studies as a field, Pacific Studies scholars have developed research frameworks designed to be used for these particular cultures or developed to suit others in the area. Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (2008), a Fijian researcher, describes this as "decolonising" their research. She explains that the Western methods are ineffective and "do not take into account languages and Indigenous knowledge protocols, philosophies and principles, especially where and when their own knowledges and tribal issues are being researched" (p. 141). The Vanua Research framework she developed is intended to take into account, and work alongside, the cultural protocols of Fijian tribes, dictating that systems of inquiry are to be culturally appropriate. It is based on the Fijian worldview of people being connected to the land, and uses Fijian culture to characterise the research. By developing a relationship with a tribe and using their own systems, she has proved to her sceptical colleagues that the Pacific Studies method enables us to extend our understanding of the lives and culture of the Pacific people, as well as the areas they call home. By using Western research methods, scholars limit the accuracy and insight of their research, as communities may be unwilling to share their histories and knowledge with a researcher from overseas who has not shown respect for their culture. Margaret Mead, an American Anthropologist whose first book was called *Coming of Age in Samoa*, is an example of how Western academic tradition ignores Pacific cultural expectations. She relied on observational research and, as a result, a critical analysis of her research reveals that, while her conclusions may have seemed accurate from what information she possessed, it is impossible to tell just how much the Samoan people refrained from telling her as they

deemed it inappropriate or insensitive (Rogers, 2000). Methods such as Mead's research may not have been intended to be insensitive, but their conclusions have to be examined, as they may be inaccurate simply based on ignorance, which could have been avoided if scholars acknowledged the differing expectations that Pacific Islanders have for social interactions in comparison with the West, as is the case in Pacific Studies.

Modern Pacific Studies is particularly distinguished from its other academic counterparts in the university setting by its holistic interdisciplinary approach, in how it does not limit research to focussing on the sciences or the humanities alone. Instead, Pacific Studies combines aspects of both areas to allow us to draw a wiser and better informed conclusion that takes both quantitative and qualitative information into account. Graeme Whimp (2008) concluded in his work that, in its interdisciplinarity, Pacific Studies opens up new approaches to the concerns facing Pacific people; "it is not the answer, it is one way of asking the questions" (p. 414). Interdisciplinary study, such as that which Pacific Studies is known for, adds a human element to a subject, drawing from "sources that cut across the boundaries of disciplines," preventing us from being limited to an understanding of an issue that ignores other perspectives when developing our own (Hereniko, 2003, p. 414). The Pacific is a diverse area like no other, where the constraints of a single discipline can severely limit us as we draw conclusions that could change the futures of Pacific people without ever acknowledging their differences. In the present day, climate change is an increasing threat to the lives and the livelihoods of Pacific people. However, they do not need a scientific approach to climate change, they need an interdisciplinary approach that acknowledges how the consequences of the severe weather events and rising sea levels are wide reaching beyond the obvious land loss and crops being destroyed. They need holistic research that acknowledges the socioeconomic stress that climate change is causing, the increased poverty, the deteriorating infrastructure and the people being forced to leave lower lying islands to escape rising sea levels (Finucane, 2009). Not all people living in the Pacific experience climate change in the same way, some live in lower lying areas where rising sea levels are already an issue, while others have yet to experience this. Risk management plans and protocols need to take into account the realities of the lives of the 9.7 million people living in the 22 island nations and territories of the Pacific, alongside the approximately 4.2 million in New Zealand and 1.3 million in Hawaii (Finucane, 2009, p. 2). The ability of Pacific Studies to appreciate their differences means that we will be able to, in the future, make decisions that are more practical, realistic and beneficial to those people who would otherwise be studied by an individual discipline.

Finally, Pacific Studies values the knowledge that the indigenous people of the Pacific have developed over thousands of years, which has generally been ignored or suppressed by academics from Western universities. The perception exists that since indigenous knowledge has not been proven by Western scientific means that it must be inaccurate, further de-valued by the fact that most Pacific Island histories and knowledge have traditionally not been written down (Thaman, 2003). Epli Hau'ofa, a respected and

revolutionary academic who established the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture at the University of the South Pacific, was one of the first academics who voiced how indigenous knowledge was truly valuable to academic research. He expressed how the arts, including sculpture, dance and music, are an “archive” of Pacific knowledge, with the Oceania Centre being a place to connect those roots with modern academia (Teaiwa, 2014, p. 88). If Pacific Studies scholars were not to value the indigenous knowledge of the Pacific people, there would be no need for their culturally appropriate and well thought out research methods, or their interdisciplinary approach, and their limited conclusions would continue. Anthropologist Edward Hviding, whose work is based in the Solomon Islands, is a staunch supporter of the interdisciplinary Pacific Studies approach, and has critiqued how, in modern university settings, Pacific Island “traditional” knowledge is considered much lower in the hierarchy of scientific knowledge. Instead, he has stated that university academia has an “urgent need to give due attention to Pacific knowledge of plants and animals, astronomy... and other fields of knowledge as well to the conceptual and linguistic ways of organizing this knowledge” (Hviding 2003, p. 52). This is what Pacific Studies is already doing. A major example of this is the Marovo tribe’s knowledge of the life cycles of nesting marine turtles, which was in direct opposition to what Western academia had concluded. An academic outside of Pacific Studies would traditionally assume Western science to be the more reliable source, regardless of the fact that the Marovos had harvested the turtles for generations, and had to plan their time correctly to be prepared for them. The Marovo claimed that the turtles took 21 days to hatch, in direct opposition to the university scientists’ 55 to 70 days. Hviding (2003) tested the turtles himself, and found that even with all of the Western scientists’ mathematics and machinery, the “traditional” indigenous knowledge was correct. While both areas of study have value, as Hviding’s experience shows us, this Pacific Studies approach of valuing the Marovo people’s indigenous knowledge drew a more accurate conclusion, combining indigenous knowledge and Western academia to derive a more accurate conclusion. Ignoring Western science altogether would not have been wise, because, as Pacific Studies always remembers, Pacific Islanders have been studying their islands for generations, and their knowledge is not any less valuable than a university scholar coming with overseas bias.

A Master of Arts student studying under Terence Wesley-Smith said after her first semester of Pacific Studies “I expected to learn about the Pacific region, but I did not expect to feel that region was a part of me” (Wesley-Smith, 2016, p. 165). Therefore, in conclusion, Pacific Studies is a unique field that uses an interdisciplinary approach to study the Pacific Islands in a way other academics would struggle to conceive. It does not just take into account the culture of the Pacific people being studied, it values their culture and respects it. The interdisciplinary approach shows results that bring together multiple areas of study to form conclusions that not only are accurate, but benefit wider groups of people and have the potential to protect their futures. This approach does not neglect indigenous knowledge, as has been done in the past, but observes the fact that it has been developed and remembered by a people with a great connection to their

environment, rather than discounting them as legend. Through these characteristics, scholars and students alike in Pacific Studies will continue to develop and improve their own knowledge, with the prospect of supporting future generations in their study of such a dynamic and vital part of the world. As members of the Pacific community ourselves, it is our responsibility to continue the revolutionary Pacific Studies approach in the years to come.

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History 300

Thinking History: Approaches to the Past

Daniel Beaumont

An Historiographical Evaluation and Assessment of Emotions in History as a Topic of Historical Analysis

Emotion as an historiographical field has grown dramatically over the last 30 years as scholars have come to understand the breadth of material the study entails. Beginning as a broad method of cultural analysis of collective consciousness, it has been adapted to the study of individual aspects of society. A variety of psychological and anthropological approaches to the study of emotions and the roles they played in the past have been taken, as well as examining emotions through subjective, individual experiences. Scholars such as Stearns and Reddy pioneered early theoretical conceptions of emotions in history, exploding open a vast field of historical and methodological debate and giving rise to several diverse and detailed analyses of historical phenomena from an emotional standpoint, as well as of emotions as historical phenomena.

Though emotions in history had previously been examined, Peter and Carol Stearns' (1985) article "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards" marks the first time its study has been pinned to a theory. The term, 'emotionology', refers to the study of "attitudes that a group maintains towards basic emotions and ways these are encouraged," and is necessary to distinguish between "professed values and emotional experience" (p. 813). Indeed, while the term is not widely used, the concept of professed versus experienced emotions is present in a variety of historical analyses dating from the beginning of this century. The article aims at legitimising and solidifying the history of emotions' place among social, political, and cultural histories. The authors argue that emotionology can be used to "understand our own collective emotional past, a heady prospect in a society encouraged to daily emotional temperature-taking," (p. 815). This is a reaction against rationalist social history, and the Stearns' suggest that examining aspects of social history such as the family is impossible without also examining emotional elements (Stearns & Stearns, 1985). This piece shows the beginnings of the understanding of the depth and range of application emotion in history offers.

Peter Stearns (1994) applies Emotionology to American emotional development in the twentieth century. He argues that, like gender history, "emotional culture is an important topic in its own right, being a component of... popular... 'mentality'" (Stearns, 1994, p.2) The emotionology lens does an adequate job of identifying cultural shifts in opinions of emotions. His study, however, reveals that emotionology can only be applied to public emotions and broad societal opinions, rather than actual experienced emotions of the past. Other scholars have since chosen to adapt a more subjective, individual view of emotions in history to determine both the societal standards placed on them and the emotions experienced (Francis, 2002; Roper, 2005). In environments in which emotions are suppressed or discouraged from the public sphere, these studies have proven important in achieving that distinction the Stearns' (1985) originally outlined. Stearns' (1994) argument thus provides the weight needed in the Stearns and Stearns' (1985) original doctrine, and acts as a spring board into the subsequent diversification into narrower bands of society.

Before this could take place, however, a different approach to the study of emotions in history was advocated; William Reddy takes a cognition-centric view of emotional expression in the aim of establishing a theory that “establishes emotions as largely (but not entirely) learned. . . the theory establishes a core concept of emotions, universally applicable.” Using this theory of ‘emotives,’ “history becomes a record of efforts to conceptualise our emotional makeup, and to realise social and political orders attuned to its nature,” (2001, p. xi). Specifically, his theory is applied to the French Revolution, whereby using literature as well as political sources, Reddy argues that in the reign of Louis XIV society had a lack of interest in “inner complexities,” yet by the outbreak of the revolution there was a “shared belief that sincere emotions were of great political importance,” (pp. 141, 142). Despite discussing French society in general, Reddy’s focus is on connections between emotions and politics. The concept of emotives, Reddy argues, is essential to “individual identity, and therefore, to community life and to politics,” (p. 332). Reddy, like Stearns, successfully justifies the significance of emotions in history, however he too suffers from the limitations that stem from addressing the gargantuan topic of emotion’s role in an entire society. Reddy focusses mainly on upper class subjects, yet when he does examine different demographics it has been suggested that he assumes that “emotional regimes became socially uniform,” (Stearns, 2003, p. 473)

Once these grand publications had made themselves known, more tightly focussed studies emerged. These focussed on either one emotion, or emotions and their effect on one aspect of societal study. Much of the research has focused on emotion and gender, with a noticeable deficit in historical investigations on emotion and class, age, or non-western cultures. The mid-twentieth century in Britain and America has captured the attentions of Martin Francis and Claire Langhamer (2002; 2007). Francis’ analysis is an example of a micro approach to the study of emotions in history. This is achieved through a case study of three individual Prime Ministers and their reactions (or lack thereof) to various political conundrums. He charts a map of British societal standards of emotional repression among politicians, males, and British nationals in general. Francis argues that “the boundary between emotional control and expression was to be constructed along racial, rather than ethnic or national, lines,” (p. 363). Francis gives valid explanations as to why, in the post-war period, emotional restraint became so dominant among British political culture, yet through this close examination also concludes that “emotional control in public life might be better measured in terms of aspiration rather than achievement,” (p. 387). This reveals the extent to which the distinction between emotional experience and emotional expression is a necessary aspect of historical study, as well as both Stearns’ and Reddy’s influences over subsequent emotional scholarship.

Langhamer, in 2007, took the historiography on emotions in history and distilled it down to arrive at an investigation that relates to not only gender, but class and age as well. Like Bourke before her, Langhamer focusses on one emotion specifically, allowing for much more in-depth analysis of her chosen demographic. Her focus on love as a strategy to deploy “within particular social relationships,” is a clear indication of examining love as

a socially expressed, rather than individually felt, emotion. She concludes that courtship in mid-twentieth-century England “constituted a transitional stage between gendered youth and gendered adulthood. This was a stage experienced by the vast majority of the population across social classes...” (p. 196). This shows the diversification of the study of emotion in action, as now scholars have realised the full breadth of the study, they are choosing to study its many individual aspects and how they interact with other societal pressures in isolation.

Like Francis, Roper (2005) examines public expectations of masculinity and its effect on emotional expression and experience, this time in soldier’s experience of World War I. His aim differs from previous scholars works in that he is exclusively concerned with capturing individuals’ emotional experience, and the effects of societal emotional scripting on those emotions. He labels this as studying subjectivity, and uses diaries and letters as the chief form of evidence (p. 62). He criticises past emotional scholarship for not painting individuals as ‘emotional subjects’ and putting too much of an emphasis on – in this context – “ideologies of patriotism or stoic manliness,” (p. 65). This method necessarily requires the usage of psychoanalytical methods – particularly Freudian ideas of writing and its indications of emotional states – on historical sources (Roper, 2005). While this is important, a balance of study of societal expectations of emotion and accounts of individuals’ emotions themselves is necessary for a complete understanding of past human experience and mentalities on an individual and societal scale. Here Roper is expressing a differing set of priorities than many of the scholars previously discussed: empathy, and the goal of giving past human existence life, is his root ideology, rather than a desire to better understand present society a la Stearns (Roper; Stearns & Stearns, p. 815). This illustrates the diverse reasons for the studying of emotions in history, and the sheer number of perspectives able to be taken on them.

Perhaps the most significant successor of Stearns’ arguments is Bourke, who in 2005 took a similarly cultural approach to the study of emotions in British and American culture in the twentieth century. Her focus is on fear. This allows her to adeptly examine different aspects of society and how they relate to a single emotional experience (she focusses less on prescribed emotions), without making Stearns’ and Reddy’s mistake in taking too wide a view and missing the complexities. In terms of approach, she discourages taking any one form of psychological analysis to the study of emotions, such as the psychoanalytical approach seen in Reddy’s and Roper’s works. There is, she argues, “no reason to privilege a turn of the century psychoanalytical prototype over (for instance) a mid-nineteenth century evolutionary or late-twentieth century neurological one,” (Bourke, 2005, p. 161). Instead, she examines direct actions and responses to fear as seen in her evidence. She does not consider the difficulties of accessing less action-oriented emotions, however, overlooking the use of psychological strategies in examining the past.

Emotions as a topic of study in history blurs the line between psychology and anthropology. The study of history – indeed, all the human sciences – is driven by a need

to understand our species in all its complexity across time. The scholarship of the last three decades on emotions throughout history have shown how vital this field of study is in achieving this understanding. Though terms like 'emotionology' or 'emotives' are seldom seen in recent scholarship, the concepts they represent have impacted research greatly. Emotions underlie societal expectations, political constructs, and cultural ideologies, as well as determine individual behaviour and responses to said expectations, constructs, and ideologies. A clear path lies ahead for future scholarship; the impact of emotions on class, culture and to some degree age in history have been largely neglected, and countless individual emotions beyond love and fear, and their effects on past societies, are open for much investigation.

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Ancient History 102

Ancient Greek History

Maxwell Hardy

Herodotus: Historian or Anthropologist?

Herodotus has been called many things at many times. Cicero dubbed him “the Father of History”, Macaulay “a slovenly witness”, Thucydides, slyly and indirectly, a mere “story-teller”, Plutarch an unpatriotic “pro-barbarian”, and now it is fashionable to call him the ‘first anthropologist’, and even the “Father of Lies”. With so many voices calling him so many names, invariably contradictory and dissenting, it can be hard to tell exactly which one fits him best, if any at all. This problem is compounded by Herodotus’ reluctance to categorise himself as either an anthropologist or a historian (Gould, 1989), and by our own reluctance to agree on what exactly these words mean. Despite these complications, however, the answer to this question is still very clear. Herodotus made some fine advances in the field of anthropology, and there is certainly a case to be made that he was in some way its ‘father’, yet Herodotus’ contributions to historical thought were, by comparison, so substantially more significant that it would be wrong to call him anything else but a historian first, and an anthropologist second.

Before we proceed any further, however, I think we should clarify what we mean by ‘history’ and ‘anthropology’. The word Herodotus chose for his work was *historiai* (ἱστορίαι), meaning ‘inquiries’ (1920). And an ‘inquiry’ is exactly what I think the essential nature of history and anthropology is. Both of these disciplines are investigations into aspects of the past. They are based on the rigorous, critical analysis of historical evidence, and both disciplines possess a common goal. For R. G. Collingwood, the purpose of history is to tell us “what man has done and thus what man is” (1961). For J. L. Myres, the purpose of anthropology is virtually the same: “to answer these principal questions: What is man? And what kinds of Men are there?” (1908). History and anthropology are congruent, therefore, in so far as they are both ‘enquiries’, both critically dependent on evidence, and both written to inform humankind about itself. Rather, it is in the object of their investigations that these two disciplines diverge.

The object of history, declares Collingwood in *The Idea of History* (1961), is essentially *res gestae*—“the actions of human beings that have been done in the past”. Fornara (1983) takes the same line, suggesting that Herodotus’ primary subject matter was “*expositio rerum gestarum*”, the events of the Persian Wars and the rational, human actions that caused it. The object of anthropology, however, or rather social and cultural anthropology, is not necessarily the deeds and actions of certain individuals, but rather their ways of life: customs, institutions, and their daily habits. Furthermore, as noted by Robert Launay (2010), anthropology has for a considerable portion of its existence been particularly interested in the nature and customs of “others”. For the Victorian anthropologists the “Other” strictly meant non-Europeans, and for Herodotus this meant *barbaroi* (βαρβάροι), among whom he counted the Persians, Scythians, Egyptians and many more peoples besides. For my part, I would sum up the differences in this way: that where history is the study of actions, anthropology is the study of actors.

With these differences in mind, perhaps the best argument for reading Herodotus as an anthropologist proceeds not from his diverse descriptions of different ‘actors’ and

ethnicity, but from his exploration of the very concept of ‘Race’ itself. In one of the most celebrated passages in *The Histories*, Herodotus provides what J. L. Myres (1908) calls “a reasoned scheme of ethnological criteria”, four means of categorising races, by which the Greeks may be distinguished from barbarians. The Greek ambassadors to King Alexander, in Book 8 of *The Histories*, give the following reasons for their unwillingness to surrender their allies: “the kinship of all Greeks in (1) blood and (2) speech, and (3) the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and (4) the likeness of our way of life” (Herodotus, 1920). These are essentially the objects of modern (1) physical anthropology, (2) linguistic anthropology, and (3 + 4) social or cultural anthropology. That Herodotus foresaw exactly the manner in which modern academics would partition the field of anthropology suggests, in my opinion, that Herodotus has at least some claim to the title ‘anthropologist’. His interest in finding a definition for *etha* (ἔθρα), or ‘race’—in other words his interest in answering Myres’ question, “What kinds of Men are there?”—supports this conclusion as well.

An alternative approach to Herodotus’ claim to anthropology might focus less on his ethnological developments, and more on his conceptualisation of theories, namely “cultural relativism” and “cultural diffusion”. The first of these principles is found illustrated in Book 3, where Herodotus demonstrates the differences between the Greek custom of cremating the dead with the Callatian practice of eating them, and the mutual revulsion felt by both parties at the wickedness of the other’s rituals. Grasping at the spirit of cultural relativism, Herodotus concludes that, faced with the full array of human customs, every nation would always prefer their own; “so well is each convinced that its own are by far the best.” Herodotus explores the second principle, cultural diffusion, in Book 1: “But the Persians,” he says, “more than all men welcome foreign customs.” They take their breastplates from the Egyptians and their fashion from the Medes; they even copy the lasciviousness of the Greeks when afforded the opportunity. In Book 2, whilst observing how the practice of circumcision was transmitted from the Egyptians to the Colchians, Syrians and Phoenicians (but notably not to the Carians, because the manner in which they circumcised their young was different), Herodotus displays a sensitivity to the process, but also limitations, of cultural diffusion. Not only did Herodotus have a firm grasp of anthropological theories, however, but he also deployed its most characteristic methodology: the “comparative approach”. Launay notes, for instance, that although Herodotus never explicitly contrasts the culture of the Egyptians, a people ancient and monolithic, with that of the Scythians, impermanent “pastoral nomads” (Launay, 2010) (the Egyptians featuring in book three and the Scythians separately in four), the implicit antithesis between the two can be read as a classical attempt at cultural comparison—an attempt to differentiate the essential natures of different peoples, to understand why Egypt succumbed to the Persians and Scythia did not. T. E. Duff takes this analysis further, suggesting that Herodotus’ whole ethnography serves not just to compare barbarians among themselves, but to hold up a “mirror” to Greek society, to outline the differences between liberal Greeks and “autocratic” Persians (Duff, 2003), a distinction elucidated by Demaratus’ speech in Book 7, right in the middle of the ostensibly

historical Persian Wars narrative. Evidently Herodotus' reputation as a pioneering anthropologist rests not merely on his interest in the customs of barbarians, extensive though his illustrations are, but on his engagement with anthropological concepts (e.g. race, ethea), principles (e.g. diffusion, relativism) and methodologies (e.g. comparative approach).

Viewed holistically, however, it is clear the anthropology of *The Histories* is purely subsidiary to Herodotus' main concern: his work as a historian. The strongest support for this claim comes from his very first paragraph, that programmatic passage in which Herodotus gives the concrete, explicit object of his enquiry: "so that great and marvellous deeds, some displayed by the Hellenes, some by the barbarians, not lose their glory". His stated subject-matter is not, notably, the customs of Hellenes or Barbarians, but their "deeds" (τὰ γενόμενα), or in Collingwood's words, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Herodotus' preface, therefore, proves that he at least initially conceived his *Histories* as an inquiry into historical subject-matter (actions), and not anthropological (actors).

This argument from subject-matter is most aptly illustrated in Books 5 and 6, which detail the Ionian revolt, and in Books 7 to 9, which Fornara (1983) labels "the epitome of his historical technique". Here the object of Herodotus' narrative is plainly historical in nature: the invasion of 480-479BC, the crossing of the Hellespont, the battles of Salamis and Thermopylae, Xerxes' defeat and the triumph of the Greeks; these are the deeds of men that are in focus, not their habits or traditions. The ethnographical differences Herodotus has traced in the first half of his *Histories* serve to explain why such events turned out as they did; why the Persians could conquer Egypt but not the Scythians or the Greeks (Launay, 2010). Therefore, if the essential core of Herodotus' narrative is the climactic account of Xerxes' invasion, and this episode concerns historical deeds and not anthropological customs, then Herodotus' crowning achievement clearly lies in the realm of history, and he is thus "more of" a historian than he is an anthropologist.

When the decision came to label their translation of Herodotus, the Loeb Classical chose 'The Persian Wars'. They, like me, evidently believed that at the true heart of *The Histories* was not the foundation of anthropological theory—the customs of the Scythians and practices of the Persians—but a historical narrative about the deeds and acts of humans, done for humanistic reasons. We have seen how Herodotus showed some interest in ethnographic matters, notably in the first half of *The Histories*, and how he even uncovered some fundamental concepts, principles and methodologies of modern anthropological science (such as ethea, cultural diffusion and the comparative method). None of these developments, however, were ever quite as essential to his purpose or prominent in his narrative as the events of the Persian Wars, and the causes he gave for them. Herodotus' contributions to the field of history were colossal; they took immediate root in the work of Thucydides and Xenophon, and triumphed against the prevailing "anti-historical tendency of Greek thought", i.e. the idea that one can know only what is present and unchanging (Collingwood, 1961). By contrast, Herodotus' contributions

to anthropological theory were hardly recognised until the field itself was established (Launay, 2010)—a fact exemplified by the paucity of scholarship on this essay topic. It is therefore my submission that, if Herodotus was the intellectual father we say he is—and he has good claim to that title indeed—then History was clearly his eldest child, and Anthropology his second.

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