

# The Undergroud

Vol. 2, No. 2 / Fall 2012



**Journal of Undergraduate Research**  
**St. Lawrence University**

## **Editorial Policy**

THE UNDERGROUND is a peer-reviewed academic journal that publishes the work of students whose creative endeavors reflect issues in mediums of representation discourse (i.e. PCA, Film, Gender, Fine Arts, Art History, etc.). The goal of this journal is to provide an outlet which allows St. Lawrence students to share the results of their work with the rest of the academic community. All submissions must be original and reflective of the learning goals in the above mentioned fields and of St. Lawrence University academia. The journal will be published online once a semester. Each submission will undergo a rigorous editorial process based on series of blind peer reviews. Submissions may be subject to a series of revisions. Each submission must be solicited by a faculty sponsor. Professors can either recommend works directly to the journal, or individual authors may earn sponsorship by asking professors with whom they produced the work that they would like to submit. All submissions must reflect the critique and feedback of the faculty sponsor before they are submitted. All work must be submitted in an electronic copy. Students are limited to submitting up to 2 pieces of their work per semester. Submissions may include but are not limited to written pieces (plays, research papers, creative pieces) and visual art (photography, video of performances, etc.). It is recommended that submissions be sent in by the time determined and announced by the editorial board and should be addressed to Juraj Kittler ([jkittler@stlawu.edu](mailto:jkittler@stlawu.edu)).

## **Editorial Board**

Zachary Choquette '13  
Jonathan "JJ" Stopyra '13

Ann West '13  
Conner Eldridge '13  
Renee Lavigne '14  
Jessica Perregaux '15  
Edward "Ted" Marr '15  
Benjamin "Ben" Woodbury '15  
Tzintzun "Tzin" Aguilar Izzo '15

## **Art Editor**

Ilka Hadlock '13

## **Academic Advisers**

Juraj Kittler, PhD  
Jessica Prodi, PhD

## Letter to the Reader

Welcome reader! THE UNDERGROUND is back again this fall with its fourth volume. For those of you who may have missed our last volumes, we have decided to expand the scope of our journal beyond the PCA Department to incorporate academic discourse that pertains to issues and critical analysis of representation. We are excited with the expansion of the journal and adamantly believe its contents will embody the finest student works regarding representation, while also promoting leading academic standing within the departments of PCA, Film and Representation Studies, Art History, Fine Art, Gender and Sexualities Studies, and History. We are pleased with the diverse array of academic work we collect each semester, and hope that in the semesters to come that we continue to receive such high quality student work.

In this issue, Clara Ma provides inquiry to the historical transformation and adaptation of Eastern art form imagery through traditional paintings and sculptures of Sukhāvati. Ev Haynes explores the theoretical confines of aesthetic judgment in conceptual art interpretations. Tzintzun Aguilar Izzo discusses the function of violence as a spectacle of imagery in Hong Kong cinema. Mary Baucom examines the implications of segregation within Northern Ireland's education system. Maddy Lavelle observes the socially constructed reality of the Food Network. Stephen Cucolo concludes the fourth volume of THE UNDERGROUND with an insight into the impact of social medias influence within the United States political system.

We would like to congratulate all of our authors for their intriguing and exemplary work. On behalf of all of us at THE UNDERGROUND, we hope you find the contents of this falls journal thoroughly stimulating and enjoyable.

Sincerely,

Zach Choquette '13 & Jonathan Stopyra '13

# Table of Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Visual Transmission along the Silk Road:</b><br><b>The Influence of Gandhara Sculptures on Medieval Chinese Paintings of Sukhāvati</b><br>By Clara Ma.....   | 1  |
| <b>Liminality:</b><br><b>Economic Survival and Cultural Integrity</b><br>By Isabel Borman.....  | 11 |
| <b>The Maturing of Food Television:</b><br><b>How the Food Network Chefs Construct Our Everyday Reality</b><br>By Madeleine Lavelle.....                        | 37 |
| <b>TV Buddha as Conceptual Art/Tool:</b><br><b>An Exploration of Discourses Concerning Interpretation and Analysis in Conceptual Art</b><br>By Evan Haynes..... | 49 |
| <b>Social Media, the Internet and the Elections:</b><br><b>2008 vs. 2012</b><br>By Stephen Cucolo.....  | 65 |
| <b>Art of the Chopper:</b><br><b>Violence as both Narrative and Aesthetic in Hong Kong Cinema</b><br>By Tzintzun Aguilar Izzo.....                              | 75 |
| <b>Divisions within Divisions:</b><br><b>The Problem with Segregated Education in Northern Ireland</b><br>By Mary Baucom.....                                   | 89 |



Year of the Snake, Ilka Hadlock, Digital drawing

## Visual Transmission along the Silk Road:

### The Influence of Gandhara Sculptures on Medieval Chinese Paintings of Sukhāvātī

**Abstract:** The Buddhists in medieval China (ca. 6th- 10th century) regarded the Western Paradise (Sukhāvātī) of the Amitabha Buddha as a desirable destination for the afterlife. Buddhists meditated on the image of Sukhāvātī and tried to recreate it in their minds in the hopes of gaining entrance. Although the notion of Sukhāvātī originated in northern India, the lack of prototypical evidence leads one to question whether the northern Indian Buddhist art schools such as Gandhara influenced the development of Sukhāvātī imagery in China.

Scholars have pointed out that a series of complex steles from Gandhara share several artistic conventions with the Chinese Sukhāvātī paintings. Based on the common motifs that scholars identified from the Gandhara steles and Sukhāvātī paintings, this paper studies the use of caitya imagery and examines its iconography in the context of Gandhara art. It demonstrates that medieval Chinese artists adopted the iconography of Buddha-field from India but at the same time added contemporary motifs to represent Sukhāvātī as a realistic realm.

**Key words:** Sukhāvātī; pure land; Amitabha Buddha; Gandhara art; Dunhuang; Caitya.

The introduction of the Amitabha Buddha and his Western Paradise (*Sukhāvātī*) from India to China via the northern Silk Road inspired new artistic expression and amalgamation in medieval China. To be born in the Sukhāvātī afterlife, Buddhists have to chant the name of Amitabha and think of Sukhāvātī during meditation with the aid of sutras and imagery. With the emphasis on imagery in the cult, Sukhāvātī became a prevalent subject matter in medieval Chinese shrines. According to *Li Dai Ming Hua Ji*, an art-historiography written in the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907 C.E), royal Buddhist monasteries and shrines were constantly deco-



Fig. 1: Amitābha Sukhāvātī, South Wall, Mogao Cave 172.

rated with the wall paintings of Sukhāvātī<sup>1</sup> (e.g. Figure. 1), which represent Amitabha sitting in the centre on a lotus throne, surrounded by Bodhisattva attendants in his palace-like dwelling.

Although the notion of Sukhāvātī originated in northern India, the lack of prototypical evidence leads to the question of whether the northern Indian Buddhist art schools such as Gandhara influenced the development of Sukhāvātī imagery in China. This inquiry aims to examine the role of Indian Buddhist art on the Sukhāvātī paintings, and how medieval Chinese artists interpreted the Indian Buddhist visual culture in their images of paradise. By combining the iconography of Buddha-field from Gandhara sculptures with the motif of Tang Chinese architecture, medieval Chinese artists represented the celestial Sukhāvātī as a space anyone could aspire to enter.

### Sukhāvātī: The Pure Land of Bliss

As the home of the Amitabha Buddha, the Sukhāvātī is a desirable place to be in the Buddhist afterlife. Buddhist cosmology believes that the universe is infinite and full of world systems.<sup>2</sup> These worlds are mostly inhabited by a Buddha, and they exist contemporaneously with our earthly world<sup>3</sup>. They were also known as the

1 Ping Ting Shi., *Dunhuang shiku quan Ji: Amituo jing hua juan* 敦煌石窟全集: 阿弥陀佛经变画集 (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd, 2006), 15.

2 Paul Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 215.

3 Alexander C. Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China," *Artibus Asiae*.

Buddha-field or the Pure Land due to the presence of a Buddha. After the death of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, many Buddhists believed that it was difficult to achieve enlightenment solely through one's practice. Thus, it became important to rely on the compassion and assistance of the other existing cosmic Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. This led to the development of Mahayana Buddhism, where the belief of Sukhāvātī originates. According to the Chinese translation of Sukhāvātī sutras (*Longer Sukhavati-vyuha*, *Shorter Sukhavati-vyuha* and *Amitayurdhyana Sutra*), Sukhāvātī is described as a magnificent realm covered with "palaces and gardens, jewels, sweet sounds, delicious odors, flowering trees and crystal-clear waterways...None of the earthly things that vex the body or spirit exist there."<sup>4</sup> The pureness of the Sukhāvātī and the preaching of Amitabha would not only obliterate the sin of souls here, but also help them escape from the karmic cycle and attain enlightenment again.

Compared to the practice of a monk, the idea of being born in the Sukhāvātī opens an easy path to enlightenment for lay Buddhists. In order to attain Sukhāvātī, Buddhists only have to contemplate Amitabha and his Pure Land, and to be able to see Amitabha during meditation. Tangluan (476-542 C.E.) was the first Chinese patriarch of the belief of Sukhāvātī.<sup>5</sup> He emphasized that the merit one can gather in their life is limited. Therefore, one should rely on the salvific power of Amitabha in order to break away from the karmic cycle. With the practice of remembrance (*Nian-fō*), which includes calling and reciting the name of Amitabha with a genuine mind, one can attain Sukhāvātī after death and listen to Amitabha's teaching.<sup>6</sup> Shandao (613-681 C.E.) later extended Tangluan's ideas and emphasized that all the souls born in Sukhāvātī are lay Buddhists.<sup>7</sup> With the promotion of Tangluan and Shandao, Sukhāvātī was viewed as a place open to all Buddhists.

*Supplementum* 19 (1959): 148.

4 Soper, 141.

5 Puay-Peng Ho., "Paradise on Earth: Architectural Depiction in Pure Land Illustration of High Tang Cave at Dunhuang," *Oriental Art* 41(1995): 23.

6 Robert H. Sharf, "On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an/ Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China," *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002): 282-83.

7 Ho, 22.

### Visualization

Imagery in Buddhism often has various functions in practice. Apart from serving as the decoration of the temple, Buddhist imagery is also a reality of its own and is believed to have mystical powers.<sup>8</sup> According to the *Longer Sukhavati-vyuha Sutra*, qualified Buddhists will have a vision of Amitabha Buddha coming to guide them to Sukhāvātī. Also, in *Amitayurdhyana Sutra*, when Queen Vaidehi was imprisoned by her evil son Ajatasatru, she saw the theophany of Amitabha Buddha and followed him to Sukhāvātī. Having a vision of Amitabha and his Sukhāvātī is thus an important stage of the practice.

Due to the significance of visualizing Amitabha in the Pure Land practice, Tanluan proposed the practice of visualization (*kuan*) as a way to attain Sukhāvātī.<sup>9</sup> Meditating on the Sukhāvātī images, which are produced according to the description in the sutras, Buddhist practitioners attempt to form a “mental picture” of Sukhāvātī systematically with the aid of memories.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the painting of Sukhāvātī was not a real visual image for practitioners to look at. Instead, it is a tool or a map that guides practitioners to recreate the Sukhāvātī during meditation.<sup>11</sup>

### Indian Artistic Convention – Caitya Arch

Scholars of Indian Buddhist art have long evaluated the influence of Gandhara sculptures on Chinese Sukhāvātī paintings. By comparing the sculptures with Buddhist sutras, John C. Huntington points out the Muhammad Nari stele from Gandhara share several artistic conventions with the Chinese Sukhāvātī paintings<sup>12</sup>. Although it remains debatable if the Muhammad Nari stele (Figure. 2) represents Sukhāvātī, Paul Harrison and Christian Luczanits

8 Stanley K. Abe “Art and Practice in a Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple,” *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1991):5.

9 Ho, 23.

10 Soper, 146.

11 Ning Qiang, “Visualization Practice and the Function of the Western Paradise Images in Turfan and Dunhuang in the Sixth to Seventh Century,” *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007): 133.

12 John C. Huntington, “A Gandharan Image of Amitayus’ Sukhavati,” *Annali* 40(1980): 651-672.

identify it and other similar steles as at least representing a Buddha-field.<sup>13</sup>



Fig. 2: Amitābha preaching, Mohammed Narri, from Central Archaeological Museum, Lahore, Pakistan.

One of the common features among these steles that Harrison and Luczanits identify is the use of architectural structure to frame the figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.<sup>14</sup> It is a common motif in Gandhara art, which is known as the *caitya arch*.<sup>15</sup> Caitya hall is a common Indian form of architecture which houses the relics of Buddha. To frame this sacred space, the doorway of caitya hall is arched with projecting brackets and decorated doorjambs and the top of the doorway is pointed. According to Pia Brancaccio, such motif of caitya hall is often placed on the image of stupa (Figure.

13 Paul Harrison and Christian Luczanits, “New Light on (and from) the Muhammad Nari

Stele” (paper presented at The 15th Biennial Conference of the Int. Association of Shin Buddhist Studies (IASBS), Otani University, Kyoto, Aug 5-6)

14 Harrison and Luczanits, 87.

15 Pia Brancaccio, “Gateways to the Buddha: Figures under Arches in Early Gandhara” in *Gandhara Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Text*, ed Pia Brancaccio and Kurt A. Behrendt (Canada: UBC Press, 2006), 202.



Fig. 3: Stupa shrine with *caitya* portal, Butkara I

Fig. 4: False gable, Butkara I

3) and Buddha (Figure. 4) in Gandhara sculptures.<sup>16</sup> Together with the complex steles which represent a Buddha-field, these examples demonstrate that the *caitya arch* in Gandhara art carries a symbolic meaning of marking a sacred space.

Before the emergence of the Sukhāvātī paintings, Chinese artists seemed to be familiar with the iconography of *caitya arch*. At the same time, they combined it with Chinese architectural element. In Cave 254 (475-490 C.E) in Dunhuang, the upper section of the sidewalls has a series of small niches with Buddha sculptures within (Figure. 5). The last four Buddha figures on each side are framed with arches, which resemble the shape of *caitya arch*. But on the same wall, there is also a cross-ankle Buddha framed by a Chinese style city gate (*que*). Buddha seated with cross-ankle is a common prototype for Bodhisattva Maitreya in central Asia. Stanley Abe thus identified it as a representation of Bodhisattva Maitreya in Tusita Heaven.<sup>17</sup> The coexistence of both motif of *caitya arch* and Chinese style city gate on top of the Buddha figure here may suggest that Chinese artists are familiar with the *caitya arch*



Fig. 5 & 6: Cave 254, Mogao Caves, Dunhuang

motif, and tried to merge it with their architectural tradition.

Sukhāvātī paintings (e.g Figure 1) became a popular subject in Dunhuang Mogao cave since the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Compared to the Gandhara steles, Chinese artists continued to frame Buddha and Bodhisattva within a grandeur architectural setting. On the other hand, the architectural setting here can be explained as a direct translation of the Sukhāvātī sutras, which mentioned that Sukhāvātī consisted of palaces and gardens.<sup>19</sup> On the other, the Chinese style architecture in the Sukhāvātī paintings continued the function of signifying the figure in the centre as

<sup>16</sup> Brancaccio, 202-216.

<sup>17</sup> Abe, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Shi, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Soper, 148.

sacred. In his study of the architectures in Sukhāvātī, Puay-Peng Ho has identified these architectures as direct representations of the temporal Chinese monasteries, which have the lecture hall in the center.<sup>20</sup> And in Chinese monasteries, major worship activities usually take place in the lecture hall. Chinese artists continued the significance of *caitya arch* motif and extended it with their sacred architectures.

By representing the Tang style architecture with spatial perspective, Chinese artists not only indicate the sacredness of Sukhāvātī, but also make it a realistic space that Chinese devotees can be born into. In the Sukhāvātī paintings, the artist represents the architecture on both sides diagonally and draws devotees' attention to the Amitabha Buddha in the centre. Also, the architecture in the foreground was cropped in order to create the spatial illusion of a boundless paradise.<sup>21</sup> These arrangements create a sense of depth, which help the devotee visualize Sukhāvātī easily during meditation.

### Conclusion

The present inquiry serves as a preliminary study of iconographic origin of medieval Chinese paintings of Sukhāvātī by identifying common features in both Gandhara and Chinese artistic traditions. The primary function of Sukhāvātī painting is to aid devotee to visualize and to mentally reconstruct Sukhāvātī. Both artists from Gandhara and medieval China used the motif of *caitya arch* or Chinese monastic architecture to signify the pictorial space as sacred. But at the same time, Chinese artists modified the representation of architecture to temporal Chinese style and with a sense of depth in order to increase the credibility of Sukhāvātī.

### Bibliography

- Abe, Stanley K. "Art and Practice in a Fifth-century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple." *Ars Orientalis* 20(1991): 1-31.
- Brancaccio, Pia and Behrendt, Kurt. A. (ed.). *Gandhara Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Text*, Canada: UBC Press, 2006.
- Ho, Puay-Peng. "Paradise on Earth: Architectural Depiction in Pure Land Illustration of High Tang Cave at Dunhuang." *Orien-*

*tal Art* 41(1995): 22-32.

- Qiang, Ning. "Visualization Practice and the Function of the Western Paradise Images in Turfan and Dunhuang in the Sixth to Seventh Centuries." *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007): 133-142.
- Sharf, Robert H. "On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch'an / Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China." *T'oung Pao* 88 (2002): 282-331.
- Shi, Ping Ting. *Dunhuang shiku quan Ji: Amituo jing hua juan* 敦煌石窟全集: 阿彌陀經畫卷. Hong Kong : The Commercial Press Ltd, 2006.
- Soper, Alexander C. "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China." *Artibus Asiae Supplementa* XIX (1959).
- Williams, Paul *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations* New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Wu, Hung, "Reborn in Paradise: A Case Study of Dunhuang Sutra Painting and its Religious, Ritual and Artistic Context." *Oriental Art* 23(1992): 52-60

<sup>20</sup> Ho, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Ho, 23.

## Liminality:

### Indigenous Negotiations Between Economic Survival and Cultural Integrity

**Abstract:** Cultural expressions of indigenous cultures, in the form of cultural performances, do not simply portray the history and social experiences of a culture. They are rooted in historical, economic, and social circumstances that result in a culture's ability to portray their indigenous lifestyles in self-determining ways. There is no formula; the result is neither black nor white. Performance theory is employed to make the argument that cultural performances offer a space to challenge past colonial representations, which leads into a discussion of the cultural-historical context of the Maasai of Kenya and the Māori of New Zealand that frame the three case studies. The three case studies provide different, yet inter-relating, perspectives on cultural tourism performances by indigenous peoples. The first case study uses Edward Said's notion of the 'Other' to examine exotic stereotypes that have been proscribed unto indigenous communities. This informs the second case study that argues such representations of the Maasai commodify their indigenous culture as a consumer good utilizing Karl Marx's theory of use-value and exchange-value. Moving beyond these perspectives, to the final case study and the focus of this essay, the author uses an optimistic lens. Employing Homi Bhabha, the author challenges the pure notion of commodification for a more ambiguous approach to cultural performances, arguing they create a third space that enables Māori performers to self-determine cultural representations through their performances. She concludes that cultural performances have the potential to provide a space for indigenous agency through the creation of emergent notions of self that are contemporary and filled with cultural integrity.

**Key words:** indigenous cultures; cultural performances; stereotypes; commodification; iterative; third space; self-determination.



Soggy Start to the Work Week, Molly Simpson, Woodcut on paper

With an original intent to investigate how much of an impact tourist activities, specifically cultural performances, had on the way Western society views indigenous communities and, equally as important, what and why certain aspects of a culture are chosen to be in the performance, while other aspects are excluded, I ended up taking a different route. My research surpassed examining tourism commodification of indigenous cultures to delve into the world of a different perspective. This perspective opens up further possibilities for cultural performances besides stereotypical commodification of a culture, to look into possible notions and spaces for agency. Although I can never fully provide insight into the world of indigenous people, due to the nature of my upbringing, I can use my “not quite outsider status,” to attempt to present an indigenous perspective. I have scrutinized the reasons why indigenous people participate in commodifying cultural performances, which will not be presented in this essay, and wish to focus here on an optimistic direction, where I demonstrate and describe the spaces in which indigenous people are working within limiting and enabling boundaries of tourism to self-determine. This led me to investigate the degrees to which two indigenous communities, Maasai of Kenya and Māori of New Zealand - who have been incorporated into the globalized economy through the tourism industry - either use cultural performances as a means to make ends meet or to negotiate with each other what it means to be a member of their community.

For the purpose of this essay, I will focus on the Māori of New Zealand to exemplify my conclusions.<sup>1</sup> Combining theoretical frameworks such as cultural tourism, performance theory, commodification, post-structuralist analysis of the colonized and othered, and post-modern hybridity and field observations, lecture notes, and secondary sources, will enable me to make some

---

1 The Māori have been chosen as the example for this argument because of my lack of in-depth and hands on research on Maasai cultural performances. It is also important to note that my descriptions and cultural experiences were located in Rotorua in New Zealand. This poses possible impacts on my findings; however, my conclusions are consonant with previous studies, such as Bruner (2001), Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) and Amoamo (2011).

conclusions. From a glance I begin to assert that cultural performances commodify a culture and the performers that sell their performances. This simultaneously helps perpetuate pre-existing stereotypical representations that essentialize a desirable image of a culture for worldwide consumption. However this is a pessimistic argument that fails to look at the possibility of progressive self-affirming change. I demonstrate in this essay that within the confines and repetition of cultural performance, performers can make for themselves a space of personal and group identification. Indigenous communities can utilize cultural performances as a tool for self-determination, even if the nature of the tourist industry is to commodify those that participate in the entertainment. Cultural performances can represent this liminal phase I discuss and have the power to redress and transform past struggles into contemporary representations through the recreation of past cultural symbols and incorporating present forms of cultural symbols.

### The Space of Tourism

I need to take a moment to explain the stance through which I argue such negotiations. Tourism is not my main focus of study, but it is important in respect to the circumstances and spaces it provides for cultural performances to occur and its impact on what is performed. Thus, tourism is a site of encounter between global tourists and performers, which allows for global disbursement of cultural representations. With the increase in the ease of travel due to technology, income expansion, increased desire for leisure time, cheaper vacation options, traveling extended its luxury to include a larger percent of the global population (Mathieson & Wall 1).

Tourism is defined as a short-term visit to a destination outside of a tourist's permanent place of residence and work to participate in a variety of different activities and escape the everyday life at home (Edensor 199; Mathieson & Wall 1). The tourist industry, which encompasses all aspects of tourism as a commercial sector (the advertisements, the multinational tour agencies, the tour packages, the tour operations), provides a number of different types of experiences, from spontaneous backpacking to a booked reservation at a hotel.

Within this seemingly spontaneous/relaxing/exciting experience is a mundane industry that has formed its own conventions, habits and routines (Edensor 200). This has implications on the shape and types of experiences tourists are provided. Edensor asserts that the “touristscape” provides normative experiences (Edensor 200). Such a “scape” is characterized by standardized routines and sensations that are led by informants, who habitualize the interaction. A good example of this that I experienced occurred when the Māori tour guides selected a “chief” from the group of tourists at every cultural experience I attended. This was a standardized element of the tourism experience. However, regardless of the information provided by the experience, prior representations of an experience, place, or community have already been consumed due to “the abundance of images which circulate” and continue to at the site with brochures, tours, and museums (Edensor 206). Edensor builds on his argument of the normative habits of tourism to explicate that, as continual repetition takes place - for example a cultural performance put on every day multiple times, the content becomes more recognizable and has the potential to be challenged and targeted for change (Edensor 211).

The branch of cultural tourism focuses on tourist experiences based on cultural history, heritage, and/or traditions, and one such experience is cultural performance. Cultural performances typically entail a dance or vocal performance by a group of local people in traditional dress, accompanied by local musicians. According to Bruner, “performances for tourists have local histories, change over time, and are constructed specifically to be marketed and sold to an audience” (Bruner 2005: 4). Cultural performances seek to portray the authenticity of a specific culture, but by the fact that it is a performance, the product is an entirely new representation of the culture (Bruner 2005: 5). Authenticity implies real and original in juxtaposition to fake and unoriginal, but there is no such thing as a real, fixed, single, authentic culture (Bruner 2001: 898). Cultural performance can also benefit the community performing by maintaining certain cultural practices. Cultural performances can be locally or internationally managed, affiliated with tour op-

erations, agencies, or hotels, or can be independently run by an indigenous group. Thus, it is crucial to understand the intentions and management behind each performance. It is also important to note that cultural tourism is often a side activity to the wildlife and scenic adventures that truly draw tourist to a certain tourist destination.

Edensor calls on the work of Gardiner, who explains how the everyday mundane can be “redemptive moments that point toward transfigured and liberated social existence” for those that perform the habitualized act (Edensor 212). This is the exact point on which I base my argument. Although cultural performances are located in the everyday commodification of cultural tourism, it is within these repetitive spaces that performers are able to claim their own representations, in a way that contributes to a social transformation that is located within a larger cultural movement of self-determination. It is within the disruptions to the everyday that ambiguous change can occur (Edensor 212). Cultural tourism is a space of difference within which repeated cultural performances can become varied and transformed: a location that enables a re-working of culture when examined over a long period of time.

### **Performance Theory**

The tourism industry sets up a unique space for interaction between tourists and indigenous people. The displaying of a culture in a cultural performance is a form of cultural tourism. Tourism and performance are linked: tourism providing the possibility for many tourists to interact and view indigenous culture and the performance being the form in which the interaction occurs. Using tourism as the framework that provides the opportunity for this cultural experience, I shift my focus to performance theories in my Māori case study to show how cultural performances impact identity and can act as a means for self-determination and agency. Performance theorist Richard Schechner (1988) discusses the link between tourism and performance as an entertainment tool for the tourists. He explains that for tourists to enjoy their experiences, the show must “amalgamate the qualities of ‘away’ with those of ‘home’” (Schechner 131). Combining such qualities, often in the

form of stereotypes, makes the strange familiar, yet this results in locals responding to visitors' demands (Schechner 131). This necessitates a change in what was performed for the self to suit the needs of the visitor willing to pay to view a cultural show that fits their expectations. This change does not have to be viewed as corruption or a loss of culture for something more popular/modern. Instead, one can take the perspective that "traditional performances vary greatly from generation to generation – an oral tradition is flexible, able to absorb many personal variations within set parameter" (Schechner 131). The parameters that Schechner speaks of are a mix between the tourists' expectations and the culture's desired content for the performance. This is a positive take on the effects of globalization on the cultural traditions. Schechner claims that there is no specific division between the tourist and the "authentic" by asking the question "at what moment does a tourist show become an authentic theatrical art?" (Schechner 131). This is a view I take, as nothing is unchanging or completely fixed in time. Tourism is a "two-way street" with a travelers bringing their experiences home, creating expectations by sharing, influencing culture at home and influencing culture abroad - a cross-cultural sharing (Schechner 131). Claiming that tourism influencing the way a culture is performed is a bad thing would be a mistake of imperialist nostalgia. This would be a desire to preserve the past and deny the change and intercultural sharing/contact that has happened for centuries.

Before I go on to explain the theory behind such a claim, it is important to know some key contributions to the field of Performance Studies. Victor Turner, an acclaimed anthropologist, has significantly influenced this field with his observations of ritual as a form of performance. Turner and Schechner worked together building on the field of performance studies, specifically blurring the distinctions between ritual practices and theater-based performances. It is important to note that Turner (1990: 11) is not specifically talking about cultural performances for tourists, but rather rites of passage ceremonies and divination ceremonies. I will use his theories about ritual, much like many other performance theorists, and apply them to cultural performances for tourists.

Van Gennep (1960) describes the experience of an individ-

ual during a rite of passage, explaining that they go through three phases: separation, liminality and reintegration (Van Gennep 350). Turner takes this process and applies it to a culture (Turner 1996: 511). He makes the point that if a community has faced conflict, violence, war or massacre, a "consciousness of kind" in the form of a performance can enhance and even revive a cultural image (Turner 1990: 9). The common experiences bond the community and are emphasized when "a group creates its identity by telling a story about itself," for itself (Turner 1990: 9). Stories about a fight that occurred or a local hero are passed on to future generations and start to form values and behavior by which people identify themselves and their culture. By telling the story, the group internalizes its current situation. In a performance, stories and history are relayed; values are exemplified and the identity of the community expressed. In this performance of history and identity, the performers turn their existence into an abstraction of perception, a way of viewing a past or present experience. What began as a crisis then expanded to the breaking point or breach, which is the point of liminality. In the case of performance, which seeks to actualize experiences, liminality is worked through in a slow process of negotiation where redress can occur.

Turner realizes this application through his research with the Ndembu of Zambia. During a ritual performance, specifically a rite of passage, a transformation takes place within an individual—a move—from one state to another. During this transition, the individual experiences an in-between phase, the liminal phase: "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Deflem 1991). When the performers perform together, there is communal act of negotiation. Building on this idea of a transformation, Turner argues that a performance can become an act of redress for grievances, since "society is better equipped to deal with them [grievances] concretely, having portrayed them abstractly" (Turner 1990: 11). Here I apply Turner's notion of grievances to colonial grievances that the Māori endured and apply his notion of performance to that of cultural performances. I then argue that cultural performances can act as a method to concretely express colonial

grievances or current cultural experiences for individual and/or the community. This is crucial: a performance can be used as a tool to internalize a cultural situation by allowing those performing to perform themselves into their existence. Applying this to my examples, a brief connection would be to say that the Māori realize their relationship with the colonizer or global tourists and their community through the performance of their experiences. The performance demonstrates the relation to cultural experiences through the portrayal of colonial and stereotypical imagery. With such content, each performance makes meaning out of a more tangible experience that is performed (Turner 1990: 17).

In this redressive phase of grievances, “the contents of group experiences are replicated, dismembered, remembered, re-fashioned, and mutely or vocally made meaningful” (Turner 1990: 13). This process of repetition, dislocation, transition, and re-formation link directly to a notion that Homi Bhabha deems the iterative, which is the subject of my case study. Combining Bhabha and Turner, I argue that Māori portray cultural symbols that have gone through a phase of repetition, dislocation, transition and re-formation. This not only redresses colonial images that have dominated the tourism industry, but it allows for a more contemporary expression of Māori performing arts. This form of expression is embodied in their waiata-a-ringā, or action songs, which incorporate the guitar, poi, weapons, and full body movement to combine the past into the present. It is truly a delightful and awe-inspiring site to see. Turner also contributes to the effective role of performances as a method of sharing about individuals or a community. During conferences in 1981 and 1982, he stated, “We will know one another better by entering one another’s performances and learning their grammars and vocabularies” (Schechner & Appel 1). This is the approach the Māori take to keep their culture “alive,” while also expressing the importance of cultural performances in teaching their clients about their life and history, with the hope that they share it with their friends at home.

Other theories have contributed to this field as well, arguing that emergent forms of culture can be found in performances and, with Turner, that performance has the ability to change the

way in which someone views themselves.<sup>2</sup> In particular, Richard Schechner proposes one of many definitions that views a performance as “ritualized behavior conditioned/permeated by play,” which vacillates between “the boundaries between play and ‘for real’” (Schechner 95; 100). In this definition Schechner brings the issue of a performances “authenticity” into question, by defining a performance as something that tests the divisions between real and play.

Schechner theorizes that rural and “tribal” people engage in a process called “actualizing,” which is a “special way of handling experience and jumping the gaps between past and present, individual and group, inner and outer” (Schechner 40). This is very similar to Turner’s idea of redress, yet specifies the way in which the performance turns experiences into abstract comprehensible forms as it flattens time and unifies. One example that Schechner provides discusses a National Geographic photographer from the mid-1960s, who paid villagers of Makehuku in Papua New Guinea to perform their “mudmen” dance, which was originally performed when the male villagers felt threatened by attack and performed this to frighten the enemy (Schechner 126-127). The photographer published the photos and they became world-renowned. This led to tourist demand to see this “mudman” performance that was no longer prominent due to Australian colonization.<sup>3</sup> The location of this village has made it easily accessible to tourists, who have now initiated the reworking of the originally ten-minute performance into an entire cultural showcasing: “The dancing has been augmented by a display of bow-and-arrow marksmanship, a photo session, and a ‘market’” (Schechner 127). Schechner goes on to argue that these performances have come to take on a completely new meaning than originally intended. They no longer are used in relation to warfare or spirits, but instead to “attract tourists who attend in order to be amused” (Schechner 127). Although he argues this change has “torn to shreds” the social-ritual fabric of this community, a somewhat dramatic interpretation, the importance here is the abil-

<sup>2</sup> For further Performance theories, see Austin (1962), Bauman (1992), Butler (2001), Goffman (1959), Singer (1972).

<sup>3</sup> Note that the term “mudman” was created for the tourists (Schechner 127).

ity for tourism to influence change on a performance (Schechner 128). The Māori have not wholly embraced stereotypical imagery because they have come to mix contemporary practices and representations with tourism notions of exoticism. Tourism's ability to create a space for such change leads me to argue that Māori cultural performances for tourists have nationally emergent images and practices for the Māori population that are different and new from those idealized during colonialism. In this way, the cultural performances become an act of performing cultural agency.

As Turner and Bauman allow me to argue, the actualization and redress embodied in cultural performances that are widely viewed, can express past and present experiences/cultural symbols in emergent ways that through their performance become incorporated into the identity of the performer and in turn become authentic. By transforming past stereotypes into contemporary self-determined representations, a community can redress colonial grievances and formulate their own histories.

### **Maori of New Zealand**

New Zealand, located in the Pacific Ocean, is home to the indigenous group, the Māori. Socially organized into iwi (tribes) many Māori relied on horticulture as their main subsistence strategy. New Zealand is known for its diversity of landscapes making the people just as diverse. For the Māori, diversity has always been a fundamental aspect of their indigeneity, as described by tangata whenua 'people of the land.' Māori say that their tribal identity is celebrated before a collective Māori identity, although with urbanization less emphasis is put on tribe affiliation and more emphasis is put on Māori identity (Ka'ai & Higgins 23). Complex networks of tribes, clans and families were formed through trade, marriage and conflict.

European explorers first took interest in New Zealand for its abundant seal and whale population, which ultimately led to European settlement. Contrary to what one might believe, the Māori were eager to learn the about the Europeans' technologies, which even resulted in competition between tribes for access to the Europeans (Ollsen & Reilly 143). In 1840 Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi, a controversial document to this day. By sign-

ing of the Treaty, the British gained sovereignty over New Zealand, even though the Māori chiefs believed they had kept their right to sovereignty and had only signed over the right to governance (Hayward 157-159). Parliament passed the first act to the Constitution in 1846, transferring ownership of unoccupied (uncultivated or uninhabited) Māori lands to Governor FitzRoy, relegating some Māori to reserves (The Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme).

The Native Land Court was instated in 1862, to "promote the peaceful settlement of the Colony and the advancement and civilization of the Natives" (Gilling 19). This legislation evolved into necessary individuation of land into titles. The communal lifestyle of the Māori was seen as uncivilized, so the settler government sought to eradicate it. The government deliberately sought to incorporate the Māori into the market system, one marked by individualism and economic gain. Wars against the Crown broke out in 1863, lasting until 1872. Those iwi that fought against the Government had their land confiscated, amounting to a total of four million acres (The Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme: 8). As of 1999 less than four million acres of the 66 million acres in New Zealand are under Māori title, a devastating fact since 14.6 per cent of the population is Māori (Williams 56).

Land was not the only way the Māori were assimilated into European civilization. In addition a very specific education system was formed to create a Māori working class. The Native Schools Act of 1867 put into effect the settler policy of cultural assimilation and establishing a "cultural divide between them [the young Maori] and the older generation" (Hokowhiti 191-192). The schools modeled British system of education, forcing the acceptance of British values by providing the Māori children a curriculum of the bare basics of math, reading and writing and focused on agricultural and technical labor skills. In this way the Crown Government limited Māori children's life potential to jobs in the physical labor force and subsequently, as lower class citizens that would perform the labor for the settlers. Thus, the British used the school system as a tool to pacify, mold, and control the Māori population.

The Māori were only incorporated into the production system on the large scale after the population was urbanized. Before WWII, in 1936, only 11 percent of the Māori population lived in

urban areas. In 1971, 70 percent of the population lived in urban areas, making the Māori the fastest urbanized population in the world with the majority working as unskilled laborers in the farming, forestry and manufacturing industries (Paringatai: 5 May, 2011). This extremely fast rate of change resulted in a complete dislocation of the Maori people from their cultural cores. Depletion in marae significance has resulted due the urbanization, which has led to new forms of asserting cultural roots, such as Pan-tribal organizations (Tapsell). Although New Zealand is considered a multicultural society, with many immigrants coming from Asia-Pacific region, the New Zealand Government, views the Māori as one voice (Amoamo 1259-1260). Racism permeated until the 1970s when the Māori pushed-back against their subjugation. Resistance to the Crown Government grew over the decades and culminated in the 1970s, when a wave of urban Māori protests occurred and brought about the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal to call into question the actions and processes that alienated the Māori from their resources (Hayward 161). During this time a cultural revival took place with the reawakening of the Māori language (Ka'ai 186). Māori performing arts was significantly impacted by the revival, now incorporating carving, weaving, tattooing of the face, and writing and performing songs in Māori that discuss historical and political events (Ka'ai 186). An example of this is the establishment of the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, located in Rotorua at Te Puia (one cultural center I visited).

“Unique” Māori culture has been an important aspect of New Zealand’s international tourism, fitting in right next to the country’s breathtaking scenery (Amoamo 1260). Tourism first originated in the Rotorua area on the North Island because of the beautiful White Terraces before they were destroyed in an earthquake in 1886 (Tourism New Zealand 6). Rotorua became the center for tourism. The Māori were needed during the early stages to provide accommodations and guiding services. Soon enough these services came to include “concert parties and arts and crafts... to provide a cultural experience for visitors” (Tourism New Zealand 46). Thus, Māori have become an integral symbol of tourism for New Zealand and Rotorua is the location to find the cultural experience.

Certain iwi claimed ownership of the attractions resulting

in negotiations in 1881 that required building sites to obtain a 99-year long lease from the tribe (Tourism New Zealand 49). Today, Māori regional tourism organizations act as way to organize tourism operators in specific regions. As of 2001 there are 164,000 New Zealanders that are employed by the tourism industry, 18,368 of those employed are Māori, making 11 percent of the full-time tourism employees Māori, and from 1991 to 2001 Maori employed in the industry increased by 72 percent (New Zealand Ministry of Tourism 13-14). This increase in employment corresponds with the self-determination movement of the 1980s. Cultural tourism for the Māori offers an alternative option that allows Māori an opportunity to maintain cultural practices, while making a living off their cultural traditions.

### **The Third Space of Maori Cultural Performances**

After leaving Te Puia cultural center, I was burning with unease, trying to understand the role of cultural performances for the Māori population. In my journal I wrote, “supposedly these shows are meant to teach customers about the Māori people, to keep their culture alive, but why do the Māori need tourist to keep their culture alive?” Looking back on this question, I realize how this fails to address what is actually occurring. The Māori need tourism as a source of income, not to keep their culture alive. What is sold is an idea of a cultural reality. In this way the Māori use cultural tourism to actualize their reality; a way to perform their circumstances and articulate their experience by sharing in a way they know how: performing arts. Māori Cultural performances need to be examined from the postcolonial and postmodern perspective, breaking out of the commodification argument and into one that allows for individual and group agency. The postmodern, postcolonial and feminist movements break down the limits of modern epistemologies, which are based on ethnocentric ideals that have produced specific voices, even sometimes the voice of a minority, but in such a way that is confined to the limits of dominant ideology (Bhabha 6). Here I will argue that the Māori are participating in the global tourist industry in a way that both draws in customers, but also allows for the creation of something new, beyond the colonial ideas of the Other and beyond the need for income, into something

that is hybrid. The performances for the Māori have purpose: they are a source of group-determination, and thus pride, and a forum for international interactions and sharing.

Māori performing arts exemplify the changes within the Māori community. One distinct cultural change for the Māori is the introduction of *waiata-ā-ringa* (action songs), which are “distinctly European in their sound, they are Māori in their essence and spirit, and are a modern development of traditional forms of Māori dance and song” (Mathews & Paringatai 109).<sup>4</sup> Sir Āpirana Ngata, who lived from 1874-1950, is known as the Father of *waiata-ā-ringa* because he translated hundreds of popular English songs into the Māori language and later on borrowed European tunes and added Māori lyrics (Mathews & Paringatai 109). His goal was to create modern Māori song and dance that would “have roots in the past, which could serve as an instrument for preservation of Maoritanga [Māori culture]” (Youngerman 93). The first performance of this form occurred in 1908, but was not popularized until WWII when Ngata organized concerts all over the country to fundraise for the Māori Soldiers’ Fund, making war a major focus of the songs (Mathews & Paringatai 110; Youngerman 93).<sup>5</sup>

While staging these daily cultural performances in mock villages and other tourist type locations, the Māori also perform action songs and more at their national, regional and school level competitions (Mathews & Paringatai 111). The performers form *kapa haka* groups, each member filling a very specific function, engage in highly energetic, passionate and respect-commanding shows. These competitions are performed by Māori for Māori, displaying contemporary performing arts in all its wonders, separate from tourist imagery. It is my suggestion that these competitions influence the content of the tourist cultural performances, encouraging emergent and contradictory signs that redress the colonial past and create something new, something filled with cultural integrity. In this way, the widely attended Māori competitions infiltrate new symbolism into wider society and become a major source of pride. After seeing a performance at the Tamaki Māori Village, I wrote

4 Unlike the *haka*, *waiata-ā-ringa* dance is very fluid and accompanied by a musical instrument, most often a guitar.

5 In-depth descriptions of the *haka*, *poi* and *waiata-ā-ringa* can be found in Youngerman’s (1974) article.

in my journal that the cultural performance “was a more accurate display of Māori song/dance today.” Such integration allows Māori to re-attach the performance product to the means of production by making the performance have more of a use-value element due to its productive purposes not for exchange, but for pleasure. In essence the new symbols have more significance; they redress prior subjugated representations by articulating new empowered ones.

To understand the significance of the action songs expressing cultural change in a way that allows for self-determination today, I must engage in a discussion of Homi K. Bhabha’s idea of the third space. My experience in New Zealand and reading of newspaper articles has led me to the conclusion that the Māori are considered the national identity of New Zealand, a claim that would be encouraged.<sup>6</sup> Since the Māori are the minority, yet considered the national identity, they work hard to proclaim their version of Māoridom. The cultural performances are one way they make such statements by explaining their history, culture and performing arts from their own perspective. This space and identity creation is not a clear-cut path. Homi Bhabha explains that, “Such cultures of a postcolonial contra-modernity may be contingent to modernity, discontinuous or in contention with it, resistant to its oppressive, assimilationist technologies” (Bhabha 9). He continues by empowering communities in such a situation to “deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to ‘translate’, and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity” (Bhabha 9). To interact with the borderline of culture and reinscribe it requires a “‘newness’ that is not part of the continuum of past and present,” but more of a rebellious cultural translation (Bhabha 10). This insurgent act brings new to the past in a way that depends on an “in-between” space, this space is created from disruption and also creation within the present, making the “past-present” a requirement of the living, not a source of nostalgia (Bhabha 10).

At Te Puia cultural center, they seamlessly intertwine the

6 Such a claim is informed by examples like the Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum, a place for visitors to gain “insight into New Zealand’s national identity” by viewing collections in the areas of Art, History, Pacific, Māori, and Natural Environment (Todras-Whitehill; “About Te Papa”).

past with the present, so much so that they do not fully acknowledge either. During my day at Te Puia, I got the sense that this venue, modeled after a marae, was much more commercialized than the family-run Tamaki and Mitai villages, as busloads of tourists came and went. They spent more time ensuring our comfort and entertainment than providing the guests with knowledge about the Māori. Regardless of the fact that the center has to attract business, they were able to incorporate old traditions, such as weaving and carving, into contemporary contexts. At the center they have students practicing these traditional art forms and invite the visitors to watch the students work. During the cultural performance Māori history, tales and tools are combined with contemporary actions songs. They adequately portrayed the performing arts of Māori today with their contemporary costumes and majority of action songs using only the guitar, a very contemporary instrument for the Māori. Contemporary Māori were not mentioned, yet, unlike the other performances, Te Puia seemed to make no effort to provide an ‘authentic,’ ‘traditional’ pre-colonial performance. Te Puia is able to provide the tourists with an entertaining and pleasurable experience, while also depicting contemporary performing arts, which combines colonial and contemporary practices.

Bhabha exclaims that we need to move beyond concepts of originality and to “focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences” (Bhabha 2). It is these ‘moments’ that Bhabha refers to as the ‘in-between’ spaces and the ‘Third Space,’ a space of self-determination through an individual or collaborative effort to create new signs and symbols that are different from those that previously subjugated. This effort results in creation of a new identity. In this space where overlaps and displacements of difference occur, which Bhabha defines as interstices, an individual or community can move beyond such fixity, essentializing sources of identity (Bhabha 2). The task of the minority, and in this case the indigenous minority, is a relentless “negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybrids that emerge in moments of historical transformation” (Bhabha 3). Hybridity, in this case, is the oscillation between colonial stereotypes and contemporary cultural representations, allowing past “denied” knowledge to enter into current discourses (Bhabha 162). Hybridity pulls into

question the notions of ‘purity,’ ‘authentic’ and ‘organic,’ which dominate colonial discourse, by deeming them ‘non-sense’ and recognizing individual or group historicity. A hybrid space must accept the colonial essentialist portrayals, while combining them with contradictory classifications: such as “traditional and modern, authentic and inauthentic, civilized and uncivilized elite, popular and mass cultures” (Amoamo 1257). In effect, hybridity seeks to de-center such binaries.

In seeking a more self-determining representation, which entails a passage through a hybrid state, a required disconnect of a “primordial identity,” both cultural and psychic (Bhabha 74). Bhabha builds on Frantz Fanon’s argument of the desire for recognition “for somewhere else and for something else,” in his idea of the “in-between” space, which encourages new invention of existence (Bhabha 12). The result is an “iteration,” which is unmistakably related to Turner’s notion that a performance internalizes past humiliations and sorrows, by creating emergent cultural symbols and regaining cultural integrity. Iteration informs a movement of opposition in the most subtle of ways through means of negation, which dislodges the possibility of historical connectedness (Bhabha 38). An iterative can represent a sign in writing, which can be taken out of its original context and put into a new context countless times. The iterative is crucial in cultural performance because a certain original content is removed from its organic purpose and placed in a new context, on the stage for customers. This is then repeated everyday, multiple times a day, just like an original quote taken and inserted in many different contexts.

This is Homi Bhabha’s idea of reinscription and intervention, where the original sign is reinserted into a new context (Bhabha 274-275). By repeatedly performing emergent representations and practices in a cultural performance, the product, which is a form of self-determination, is turned into a ritual. In the case of the Māori, one can argue that they are in the process of taking the reinserted sign and returning “towards the rediscovery of truth,” whereby a modifications to symbols becomes possible (Bhabha 275). When the symbol no longer signifies its original purpose, through a “time-lag,” new and hybrid articulations and agencies are possible. The “time-lag,” also known as the temporal break,

de-centers the “tropes, ideologies, concept metaphors” that prohibit individuation (Bhabha 264). It is in this moment of liminal identification, a threshold of resemblance, creates a rebellion type strategy that allows for the Other’s agency. This is obtained through authoritative repeated ‘unpicking’ and creation of new rebellious linkages that are grounded in a goal (Bhabha 265). It seems possible that within this space, we can articulate the concept of self and others and dispel the confining dominating power relations that have previously defined notions of self, other, and culture; displacing the unwanted totalities, resulting in individuation.

Despite the overwhelmingly large number of assimilated Māori, there is a small population that continues to live in the ‘in-between.’ Part of this category is made up of the cultural performers who work at the mock villages, a location that can be a constructed project, as much as a vision. Māori reinscribing their tradition in contemporary culturally specific ways constantly face the struggle of contradictions. They live in “recognition that tradition bestows a partial form of identification. In restaging the past it introduces other, incommensurable cultural temporalities into the invention of tradition” (Bhabha 3). For example, the Māori performers wear contemporary Māori regalia, but describe pre-colonial warriorism and weapons. Although the audience perceives the shows as presenting ‘original,’ ‘traditional,’ ‘organic’ Māori life, what is actually produced is not ‘original’ identity, but a challenge of expectations by portraying something that does not play into exotic desires. I would argue that the Māori action songs do not show cultural exoticism, but instead, popular and contemporary forms of song and dance.

There is no better way to change signatory identification of the Other than to change the content of cultural performances, with continual repetition of new-found identifications. To emancipate and empower, a re-writing of history must occur that brings about a reformation of the “sign” to be inscribed in new cultural identities (Bhabha 246). This can lead to de-canonizing the discourse of social marginality and moving toward theories that “engage with culture as an uneven, incomplete production of meaning and value, often composed of incommensurable demands and practices, produced in the act of social survival” (Bhabha 247). The Māori advan-

tageously use the tourist industry to make money and teach others about their culture, making tourism a site of cultural affirmation.

It is in this tourism space that the Māori are able to enter into a liminal state where new cultural identifications for identity are possible. The Māori performers have the capability to change the content of their performances and cultural symbols to include any aspect of their life that they desire to emphasize, reaching back into the past and recreating it in the present in a way the redresses the past. The actual manifestation of reinscription requires Māori to demand a contemporary tourist representation by “deciding which symbols and markers of Māori culture are used to counter stereotypical images” (Amoamo 1261). It is important to remember that this change needs to be looked at as a human choice rather than a cultural loss (Amoamo 1261). When analyzing the cultural performances I attended, there were some obvious common trends between all three locations I visited and the following symbols we demonstrated at each location.

The most extreme example of Māori reinscription of cultural symbols is the most famous New Zealand, Māori and rugby symbol/practice: the haka, meaning performance, dance. Haka originated in pre-colonial Māori culture for its purpose of threatening enemies, conditioning the body, as well as ritual practice (Mathews & Paringatai 106-108; Paringatai: 11 Apr. 2011). Today, this cultural sign has been reinscribed with new costume and rearticulated with new words and dance to create the haka today performed by the All Blacks rugby team. The haka is not the only example of remaking cultural signs, there are countless examples of new songs, dance moves, costumes incorporating themselves into national culture (via the kapa haka) and the tourist industry! This is significant because the dances are not the organic “rituals” performed on the marae, but are a combination of traditional songs, maneuvers, props that make it a creation of today contingent on the past, but interpreted as the original sign by an outside audience. Since I have taken Māori Performing Arts, I know that the dances and songs of both the kapa haka and the performances for tourists are not the original sign, but a contemporary adaptation of the original sign.

Another cultural symbol that has been changed from its ‘traditional’ purpose to something that is used in every cultural per-

formance is the poi, which looks like a ball on the end of a string. The ‘traditional’ purpose of the poi was as a game with a chant. The poi consisted of rocks tied up with a string on the end, which men used to increase their agility as they prepared to use clubs in battle. As women were also trained in warfare, they soon overtook the poi and incorporated it into songs and dances that are highly flirtatious and sexual (I got to perform one of these songs in my the Māori Performing Arts course). Today, the poi has become “an extension of the performer’s body,” now featured in every cultural performance, and has taken on the new form of a white plastic ball stuffed with cotton type materials and a braided string attached to it (Mathews & Paringatai 109). Thus, it no longer serves the same purpose it did prior to colonization and the use of poi continues to change today: from female performers emphasizing the swinging of the poi to now focusing on the beating of the poi on body parts, such as the forearm, to make galloping horse type noises.

The emergent signs, the haka and poi, have roots in the pre-colonial, colonial, and present symbols, making culture not past or presently exclusive, but temporarily inclusive and in a constant state of change and contradiction. The concept of hybridity is embodied by the Māori in the venue of tourist cultural performances to create new forms of diversity and cultural specificity and in doing so gain agency through the repetitive performance of such symbols, while reaching a large international audience. Whereas the kapa haka performances largely remain a national/Māori form of entertainment, the tourist cultural performances entertain national and international audiences, while sharing emergent and culturally specific symbols.

As I have described above, the tourist cultural performances today are not solely ‘authentic’ and ‘traditional’ creations, instead they are a performance of evolving cultural symbols/signs. I draw the conclusion that the Māori cultural performances for tourists are influenced by the Māori kapa haka because kapa haka is a uniquely Māori creation, for a Māori audience. However, the cultural performances for tourist take these emerging signs and insert them solely into their performances, so that an international audience knows what it is like to be a Māori today. One female performer from Mitai says that performing for tourists, “Keeps our

traditions going and shows the rest of the world what we do here in New Zealand and hopefully they take it around the world.”

### Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to mention the final key aspect of the cultural performances that has yet to be discussed. The societal “purpose” of cultural performances is the dissemination of knowledge about who the Māori are. I would argue that keeping Māori culture alive (the most important purpose) is very closely related to disseminating knowledge, which was the second most important purpose of the tourist cultural performances according to the interviews I conducted. The manager and lead male performer at Te Puia explains that the goal of the cultural performances is “firstly to retain our cultures and secondly we like to think we are doing our best to promote New Zealand through the Maori culture vehicle to promote us overseas.” One male performer from Te Puia explained: “I do it not only for the passion, but it’s who I am. It’s to show people where I am from and what I am about and what our culture is about.” For the Māori, their cultural performances share knowledge about their lifestyle and their culture with the outside world, which is accomplished through entertainment, hospitality and stories shared. Within this process, the Māori perform their culture in emergent ways that become embodied in a self-determining identity.

It then comes as no surprise that tourist cultural performances allow Māori agency to reach an international and national audience, performing new hybrid forms of cultural symbols, while teaching the world who the Māori are at this point in time. Māori work within the contradictory confines of producing a show that clients want to see and teaching their own history that affirms previous knowledge about indigenous colonized people, but also reclaims their sense of identity that is separate from that of the world colonizers created. The shows portray a vacillation between what was pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, without much mention of this issue within the actual performance except to claim that the show(s) portray pre-colonial life. Thus, I ascertain that Māori cultural performers are in the process of recreating their identity, not by outwardly changing stereotypes about their culture, but by

changing the content of their performance to contain contemporary forms of performance that embody what it means to be a Māori today.

### Bibliography

- Amoamo, Maria. "Tourism and Hybridity: Re-Visiting Bhabha's Third Space." *Annals of Tourism Research* 38.4 (2011): 1254-273.
- Bauman, Richard. *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-centered Handbook*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location Of Culture*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1994.
- Bruner, Edward M. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005.
- Bruner, Edward M. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist* 28.4 (2001): 881-908.
- Bruner, Edward M., and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. "Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa." *Cultural Anthropology* 9.4 (1994): 435-70. JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/656384>>.
- Deflem, Mathieu. "Ritual, Anti-Structure, and Religion: A Discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30.1 (1991). Web. <<http://www.cas.sc.edu/socy/faculty/deflem/zturn.htm>>.
- Edensor, Tim. "Mundane Mobilities, Performances and Spaces of Tourism." *Social & Cultural Geography* 8.2 (2007): 199-215.
- Gilling, Bryan D. "The Maori Land Court In New Zealand: an His-

torical Overview." 1993. Web. <[www.brandonu.ca/library/cjns/13.1/gilling.pdf](http://www.brandonu.ca/library/cjns/13.1/gilling.pdf)>.

- Hayward, Janine. "The Treaty of Waitangi." *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tania Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P.J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. Auckland, N.Z.: Pearson Longman, 2004. 151-162.
- Hokowhitu, Brendan. "Colonisation in Education." *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tania Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P.J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. Auckland, N.Z.: Pearson Longman, 2004. 190-200.
- Ka'ai, Tānia . "Indigenous Assertions of Sovereignty." *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tania Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P.J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. Auckland, N.Z.: Pearson Longman, 2004. 181-189.
- Ka'ai, Tānia M., and Rawinia Higgins. "Māori world-view." *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tania Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P.J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. Auckland, N.Z.: Pearson Longman, 2004. 13-25.
- Mathews, Nathan W., and Karyn Paringatai. "Performing Arts." *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tānia M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. New Zealand: Pearson Education, 2004. 103-115.
- Mathieson, Alister, and Geoffrey Wall. *Tourism: Economic, Physical, and Social Impacts*. London: Longman, 1982.
- New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development. *The Tourism Strategy Group. Tourist Activity: Maori Cultural Tourism*. The Tourism Strategy Group Research Website, 2009.

Web. 23 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.tourismresearch.govt.nz/Data--Analysis/Tourism-Sector-Profiles/Tourist-Activity-Profiles/Maori-Cultural-Tourism-Profile/>>.

Paringatai, Karyn. "Haka." Māori Performing Arts. University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. 11 Apr. 2011. Lecture.

Paringatai, Karen. "Urbanization and Its Effects on Māori Society." Māori Society. Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand. 5 May 2011. Lecture.

Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1988. Print.

Schechner, Richard, and Willa Appel. *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Tapsell, Paul. "The Marae and Its Place." University of Otago, New Zealand. Web. 27 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.otago.ac.nz/profiles/themaraeanditsplace.html>>.

The Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme (2005), *The Story of the Treaty Part Two*, Wellington: State Services Commission.

Todras-Whitehill, Ethan. "Wellington, New Zealand's Flyover Capital, a Must-Stop." *NYTimes.com*. 02 Sept. 2011. Web. 13 Nov. 2011. <<http://travel.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/travel/in-wellington-new-zealand-a-new-life-for-flyover-country.html?scp=9>>.

Tourism New Zealand. "100 Years of Tourism." (2001). Web. <<http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/about-us/100percent-pure-history/>>.

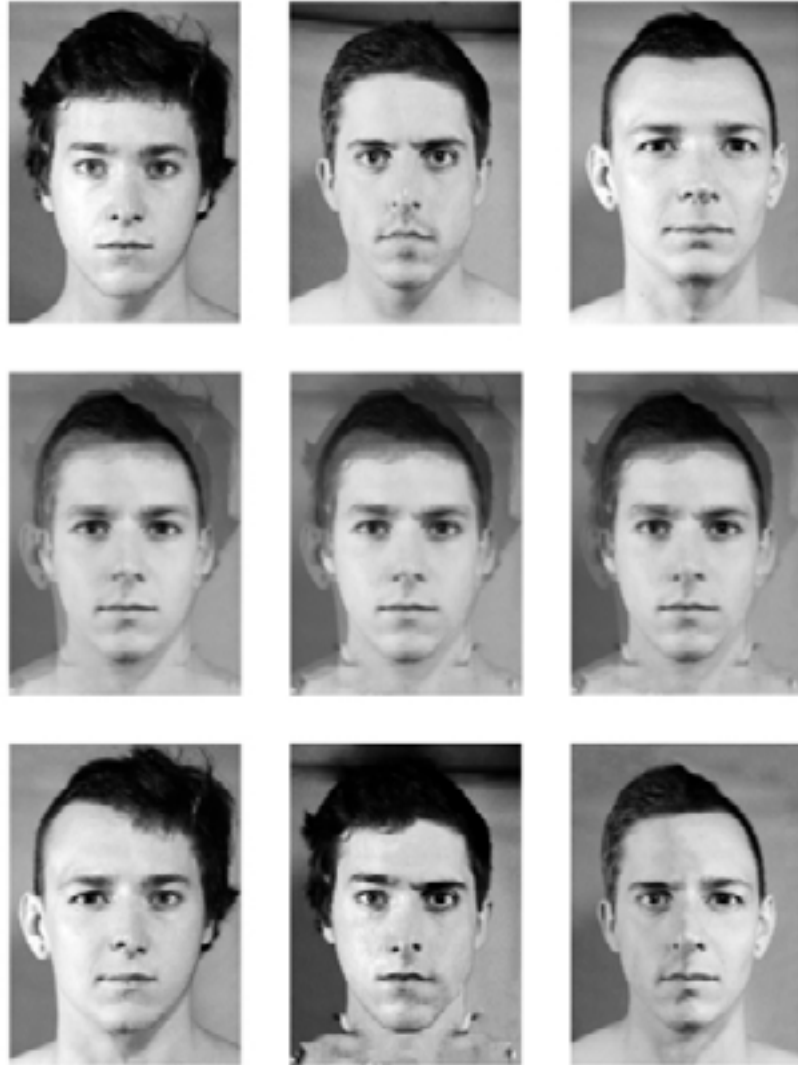
Turner, Victor W. "Are There Universals of Performance in Myth, Ritual, and Drama?" *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. Ed. Richard Schechner and Willa Appel. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 8-18.

Turner, Victor W. "Liminality and Communitas." *Readings in Ritual Studies*. By Ronald L. Grimes. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996. 511-19.

Van Gennep, Arnold. "Territorial Passage and the Classification of Rites." *Readings in Ritual Studies*. By Ronald L. Grimes. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996. 529-36.

Williams, Jim. "Attitudes to Land." *Ki Te Whaiaio: an Introduction to Māori Culture and Society*. Ed. Tania M. Ka'ai, John C. Moorfield, Michael P. J. Reilly, and Sharon Mosley. Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Longman, 2004. 50-60.

Youngerman, Suzanne. "Maori Dancing since the Eighteenth Century." *Ethnomusicology* 18 (1974): 75-100. JSTOR. Web. 20 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/850061>>.



Untitled, Sidney Dunn, Photo

## The Maturing of Food Television:

How the Food Network Television Chefs Construct Our Everyday Reality

**Abstract:** The rise of cooking shows from radio segments to television programs is an example of the media mimesis concept. The popularity of television as a medium encouraged cooking shows to go on air, which allowed visual images to match up with radio recipes. It was Julia Child's emergence on the small screen that was the turning point of food TV, as her program greatly influenced American culture. Her domestic yet entertainingly zany personality created a massive following. The development of the Food Network in 1993 was the result of this fragmented audience of food lovers. The Food Network derived several types of programs once it realized the huge amount of profit this niche could provide. These new programs were tailored to people who love to eat and were visually enticed. The new shows featured either an intimate setting, a larger-than-life host in an entertainment arena, or an adventure with an uncensored guide. The Food Network socially constructed a reality where the audience would be pulled into the program to either "hang out with a friend", learn how to be a better host, or live vicariously through the program. But at the end of the day, the audience would want to support the program's motives by either buying a product from the Chef's personal line, log onto FoodNetwork.com, or go to the destinations on the television show. Overall, the Food Network is successful in the creation of a network that effortlessly combines the advertisement of a commodity and the fantasy obtained through its usage through cross promotion.

**Key words:** social constructivism; media mimesis; Marshall McLuhan; fragmentation; convergence; hypercommercialism.

The theoretical framework behind my study of the evolution of Food Television is based on the concept of *media mimesis* exhibited through the relationship between the radio and television and *the theory of the social construction of reality*. The whole food industry gained the momentum of audiences when cooking shows were aired on television, following the success of radio shows such as Betty Crocker. Similar to “I Love Lucy’s” success story, food programming was popularized by the visual aspect of television. “Betty Crocker segued from radio to the small screen, too, finally attaching a walking, talking figure to the fictional but eminently trusted name.”<sup>1</sup> Marshall McLuhan’s concept of “the global village” is illustrated in Food TV, because as a medium it led to social effects amongst the audience.

The Food Network was developed in 1993 as a 24-hour food outlet, appealing to a *fragmented* audience of food lovers and consumers. This fragmented demographic allowed for only a specific type of advertiser to be granted space on the channel. As the Food Network rose to prominence, it reworked its mission statement and began to develop shows based on the entertainment factor as well, rather than strictly instruction. This led to the shift from domesticated Julia Child to Emeril the glamorized TV Chef. The atmosphere surrounding these TV personalities led to *the social construction of reality*, where the audience felt engaged and encouraged to buy the products on the screen. The *convergence* of FoodNetwork.com and chef’s personal lines of goods, and the TV shows maximized profits for the Food Network.

This was easily done considering the use of *hypercommercialism*. Food Network programs would decorate the kitchen space beautifully with Sherman Williams paint, and create dishes using a specially imported brand of olive oil, all which would be advertised in the next commercial break. Overall, the evolution of food television follows the emergence of television through the previously legitimized radio, and the idolized TV Chef is marketed to sustain the motives of the food network. The goal of the Food Network is to provide its audience with a niche channel that promotes a rela-

1 Kathleen Collins, *Watching What We Eat: The Evolution of Television Cooking Shows* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 32.

tionship between commodities and the fantasies the Network constructs as a result of their consumption. This is achieved though the convergence of the TV programs with FoodNetwork.com and other Food Network endorsed products.

### Camera Enters the Domestic Space of the Kitchen

The history of cooking shows begins in 1924 with the invention of Betty Crocker. She started on local stations at first, and then her following grew to a national level where she was transmitted across the country for almost thirty years! Several home economists shared the role of Betty; they shared their input on what groceries to buy, and new twists to old recipes. “For many housewives, Betty filled the role of a nonjudgmental, wise friend or a family member providing advice to those nervous or lonely in the kitchen.”<sup>2</sup> This was the first example of Marshall McLuhan’s theory of the global village, as a piece of electronic media was affecting society.<sup>3</sup> Following in line with the radio and subsequent emergence of television, “Betty Crocker segued from radio to the small screen, too, finally attaching a walking, talking figure to the fictional but eminently trusted name.”<sup>4</sup>

*Betty Crocker Magazine of the Air* was on air throughout the 1950s as an educational and instructional guide for women. “No matter what the tone of the show, the advent of television merged the public and private domains in an unprecedented way, giving rise to transformative change in the American home as well as the American public.”<sup>5</sup> The social construction of reality began with the initial introduction of the television set, according to Collins “both programming and advertisements portrayed compelling cultural models, the images people presumably wanted to see when they looked in the mirror.”<sup>6</sup>

This fantasy of the American dream was fostered in sitcoms that depicted a perfect nuclear family, and the introduction of

2 Collins, 16.

3 Collins, 15.

4 Collins, 32.

5 Collins, 43.

6 Collins, 45.

food on television only furthered this fantasy. The reason cooking shows gained popularity and momentum on television can be accredited to Marshall McLuhan's concept that "each medium works with a different radio among the senses, which creates new forms of awareness."<sup>7</sup> Television is the ideal medium for food and cooking because it is "the medium of the nonliterate...perfectly suited to cooking, both in terms of production codes and social codes."<sup>8</sup> The recipes discussed on the radio were lost on the illiterate people of America, but television gave those recipes life when TV chefs went through the motions. Television allowed food and cooking to be accessible to the inaccessible audience, giving it a public, visual image completely different from a cookbook or radio segment. McLuhan envisioned this model in 1964 with the publication of *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, exemplified in this quote "In audile-tactile Europe TV has intensified the visual sense, spurring them toward American styles of packaging and dressing. In America, the intensely visual culture, TV has opened door of audile-tactile perception to the non-visual world of spoken languages and food and the plastic arts."<sup>9</sup> The movement of cooking shows from radio to the television set followed the same path as sitcoms like *I Love Lucy*, as well as the theories and predictions of Marshall McLuhan's like the global village and importance of a visual context.

Thanks to the new medium of television, cooking shows had the ideal platform to grow from. The emergence of Julia Child as a domesticated TV chef was the turning point in food TV, which laid the foundation for the Food Network in 1993 and its specialized programming. The reign of Julia Child was important to the maturation of televised cooking shows because she domesticated complex French dishes to American viewers while simultaneously entertaining them with her vivacious personality. Julia became a TV sensation by accident; she was promoting her cookbook *Mas-*

7 Krishnendu Ray, "Domesticating Cuisine: Food and Aesthetics on American Television," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 7, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/gfc.2007.7.1.50> (accessed April 23, 2012).

8 Ray, 59.

9 Ray, 59.

*tering the Art of French Cooking* on a local Boston station WGBH. "She was central to public television's commodification."<sup>10</sup> Her appearance was a hit and Boston's WGBH decided to pursue Julia as a personality. She shot pilot episodes demonstrating recipes from her cookbook, and the first regular show aired on February 11, 1963. "She was one of the first to present a purely food-centered cooking show as opposed to a homemaking show, and, at the same time as if by accident, a host-centered cooking show."<sup>11</sup> As she rose to fame on television, her book began to sell in large quantities. Her audience was being pulled into her persona, a result of the ability to see the person who is behind the recipes from a cookbook. Her TV show was both entertaining and educational, but it was her personality and relationship with her viewers that made her such an icon. This social construction of reality created the fantasy of Julia as a friend, confidante and source of information the viewer can access. Julia fostered this fantasy by, dropping ingredients and still using them, licking her fingers from the bowl, and drinking wine while she waited for water to boil. The intimacy she created between herself and her viewers was revolutionary as she told them tips on how to serve dishes and be a better host to dinner guests. Julia also took the sophistication of French cooking and entertaining and literally translated it to her American viewer. In one episode for example she was demonstrating how to make crepes suzette, "when you serve this you will 'epater les bourgeois,' she said, then translated that to 'excites people.' In translating 'bourgeois' to 'people' instead of 'middle class' or even 'the people,' she allows the phrase to refer to us, the viewers."<sup>12</sup> Julia also introduced Americans to different ingredients and appliances which boosted cooking equipment stores profits, like Williams Sonoma who had just opened.<sup>13</sup> Julia was not a formally trained chef, but her presence on TV with advice on entertaining and cooking led her to win the hearts of American audiences in the 1960s and impact the future of food TV. Her friend and

10 Toby Miller, *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitanism, Consumerism and Television in a Neoliberal Age*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 125.

11 Collins, 73.

12 Collins, 77.

13 Collins, 77.

colleague, Jacques Pepin, best illustrated her impact in the quote, “I learned something. I wanted to pack too much into the shows, and she made me realize that television was entertainment and that if you want to impart a message and teach people, you have to do it in a way that is light, amusing and as much fun as possible.”<sup>14</sup>

Julia Child’s revolution of cooking shows during the 1960s and 1970s generated a major audience. Also, in 1993 “food and packaged goods is the largest advertising category. Of the country’s top 100 advertisers, 45 are food related.”<sup>15</sup> With this fragmented demographic and the connection between amount of food advertisements on television, the Food Network was developed in 1993. Reese Schonfeld, the founding president of CNN worked in tandem with the Providence Journal Company to create a network devoted to food lovers. The Food Network’s audience is mostly middle-class, working women with the average age of 44. By 2003, rating increased 43% over the course of two years and viewers were 60% female with ages between 25 and 54, which is a prime demographic for advertisers.<sup>16</sup> The Food Network “epitomizes the culture of visual and psychological consumption: of cooking, of tasting, of hunger, of passion, of the familiar and the exotic, and of the television viewer’s willingness to be entertained by someone performing in the kitchen.”<sup>17</sup> The overall mission of the Food Network is “to promote itself and to get advertising money and brand value. While doing this, it does send a message to its viewers: cooking can make you happier and more loved; our product will make you whole.”<sup>18</sup> This is accomplished through convergence and cross pro-

14 Ray, 54.

15 Cheri Ketchum, “The Essence of Cooking Shows: How the Food Network Constructs Consumer Fantasies,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 29 (2005): 219, <http://jci.sagepub.com/content/29/3/217> (accessed April 23, 2012).

16 Miller, 130.

17 Pauline Adema, “Vicarious Consumption: Food, Television and the Ambiguity of Modernity,” *Journal of American Culture* 23, no. 3 (2000): 114.

18 Mahvish Shahid Khan, “Cooking Your Way to Completeness: The Food Network Phenomenon and the Creation of a New Domestic Paragon—The Ideal Hostess,” *Gnovis Journal* 8, no. 1 (Fall 2007), 69.

motion, exhibited when audience members log on to FoodNetwork.com to download recipes and are subjected to other food related ads from Food Network sponsors. Or during commercial breaks, when viewers experience commercials from companies whose products were just featured on the Food Network program they were watching. Fundamentally, the Food Network implements the social construction of reality theory to sell both the fantasy connected to their television program, and their sponsor’s product, which will help the viewer obtain that idealized fantasy.

The turning point in the Food Network was the introduction and sensation of Emeril Lagasse. In 1996, the new leadership of President and CEO Erica Gruen implanted a new plan of action for the Network. “She eliminated the ‘talking-head-behind-the-stove’ model and replaced it with chefs who could entertain while cooking.”<sup>19</sup> Starting with *Emeril Live* as the new spin on Julia Child’s model of the domestic cooking show, the Food Network was reborn. Emeril’s boisterous personality enters the kitchen first; he shakes audience’s hands as he runs down the aisle to his massive kitchen while a live band plays New Orleans jazz music. “*Emeril Live* became the emblem for the new style of cooking show—the live audience, the in-studio band, and the high energy host who come out cheering crowds like a rock star.”<sup>20</sup> Emeril’s persona attracted blue-collar workers like firefighters, policemen, and football players that brought something new to the Food Network.<sup>21</sup> His working class appeal is furthered by his New Orleans twang, obsession with spices and catchphrase, “BAM!” Emeril also incorporated his audience by asking them rhetorical questions, teasing them, and interacting with them while on display in his stadium sized kitchen.<sup>22</sup> Emeril created a community within his audience by interacting with the live audience and the viewers at home. His catchphrase “BAM!” and favorite phrase, “how am I gonna kick this up another notch?” pulled his viewers in and fostered a friendship between them. “This bond could be further extended if they buy one of his 150 endorsed products.”

19 Adema, 115.

20 Collins, 169.

21 Krishnendu, 55.

22 Adema, 115.

<sup>23</sup> This is exactly what the Food Network envisioned when they set Emeril up to be a star. Emeril also never tells his audience the exact amount of a particular ingredient he uses, how long to cook a certain component or the exact name of a product he constantly encourages them to use. All these details can be found online at FoodNetwork.com, or in his cookbooks available at any bookstore. The feeling of intimacy and friendship encourages fan logs onto the website where they are bombarded with several food related ads from Food Network sponsors. This is an example of hyper-commercialism, convergence and cross promotion. The purchase of one of Emeril's cookbooks, or a product he endorses on his show is why the Food Network has become such a huge success. Either on the website or his one of his cookbooks exact recipes can be found and products that would enhance the dish. You obtain this knowledge after you are subjected to ads on FoodNetwork.com or you purchase his book. The cross promotion, convergence and hypercommercialism of TV shows and product sales are all results of the social construction of reality that Emeril develops in his kitchen with his live audience and fans. "Emeril embodies simultaneous tensions and ambiguities prevalent throughout contemporary culture: he actively participates as a maker and marketer of commodities in the landscape of consumerism while he simultaneously empowers viewers to participate in consumerism by expanding their familiarity with food traditions emblematic of elite culture."<sup>24</sup>

### The Chef Becomes and Adventurer

The success of Emeril and his show led to the idea of a travel program. "This construction of fantasies of accessible, alluring spaces and food was also the foundation for travel programs. For those with the money, commodities and travel were used to bridge the gaps between fantasy and reality."<sup>25</sup> Anthony Bourdain provides the perfect example of a travel-food TV chef. He is a New York City Chef with a crass attitude and very tough to please. Bourdain offered a dangerous side of the culinary world; he was open about his cocaine addiction as well as his late-night parties as a young

23 Ketchum, 226.

24 Adema, 118.

25 Ketchum, 227.

chef. He travels the world in search of new exotic culinary dishes and samples unknown delicacies like bugs!<sup>26</sup> "The Chef eats the bugs for us. By doing so, he makes the steaks and frites we eat in his restaurant so much more delicious—flavored with a frisson of danger, yet completely removed from the utterly foreign stuff that Bourdain faces down on television."<sup>27</sup> This new type of Chef, the undomesticated adventurer is a radical change from Julia Child's day and age. "With Bourdain we see the other face of TV cooking, the gesture of denial against domesticity and upwardly mobile gentlemen-boys tied to the apron strings of well-bred women, which is the world Julia came to occupy."<sup>28</sup> Bourdain's antics offer his viewers the chance to live vicariously through him and his adventures, and they "eat" it right up. Often fans make a point to travel to the destinations visited on these TV shows, "making this reality-based connection to viewers was important because it provided fantasy material for people to use when thinking about some future experience to purchase."<sup>29</sup> With the stamp of approval from Anthony Bourdain, the commodities and destinations became that much more lucrative. The travel-food TV format of programs gives adventure seekers something to watch on television that is normally in movies, "the chase-this time in pursuit of authentic, exotic fare, by ranging widely across the globe, yet he does so by keeping up glued to the home entertainment center."<sup>30</sup>

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the evolution of cooking shows can be followed from the media mimesis of radio to television. This concept is an interesting format that has been proven in different situations as well. Marshall McLuhan's theory of the global village was first seen at this time, and his belief that television was the ideal platform for food was supported as well. Following the birth of cooking shows on

26 Gwen Hyman, "The Taste of Fame: Chefs, Diners, Celebrity, Class," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 8, no. 3 (Summer 2008), 50.

27 Hyman, 51.

28 Ray, 61.

29 Ketchum, 228.

30 Ray, 61.

TV, the emergence of Julia Child as the first TV chef brought about the new framework of TV cooking. Her domesticated approach to French cuisine and her vivacious attitude was entertaining to her viewers. With the avid group of food TV followers, the Food Network was confident enough to air in 1993. The overwhelming goal of the Food Network was backed up by the theory of the social construction of reality. They worked in tandem with advertisers to create a fantasy that would persuade consumers to buy products used by their TV chefs and programs. The ideas of convergence and hypercommercialism were also used to accomplish the maximum amount of profits available this is illustrated with Emeril. Emeril Lagasse was the new star of food TV and it was with his sensational personality and followers that the Food Network gained ratings and legitimacy. Emeril's energetic aura and his way of relating to the audience encouraged them to log onto FoodNetwork.com, buy his Emerilware line of products and use certain brands he endorsed in his recipes. He was a massive addition to the Food Network brand, and in turn the most important tool in the Network's implementation of the social construction of reality. "Cooking shows are especially apt examples of what sociologist first described in the 1950s as a para-social relationship—that is, a false sense of intimacy fostered by someone on the TV screen talking to us."<sup>31</sup> The audience members want to be involved with the host and the TV program, and they when they buy a product they feel like they are supporting them. "One sees the products that can be purchased to construct an idealized life of beauty and intimate social interaction and to experience culinary delights."<sup>32</sup> In future research, I would like to look at actual viewers and see how much they buy into this social construction of reality. I would look at how many times they logged onto FoodNetwork.com to find recipes and advice, as well as the purchase of cookbooks and other related products. I find this connection to be extremely compelling and would want data to back up my empirical findings. The Food Network's implementation of the social construction of reality theory is used to achieve maximum profits, supported by convergence and hypercommercialism.

---

31 Collins, 176.

32 Ketchum, 231.

## Bibliography

Adema, Pauline. "Vicarious Consumption: Food, Television and the Ambiguity of Modernity." *Journal of American Culture* 23, no. 3 (2000): 113-123.

Collins, Kathleen. *Watching What We Eat: The Evolution of Television Cooking Shows*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009.

Hyman, Gwen. "The Taste of Fame: Chefs, Diners, Celebrity, Class." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 8, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 43-52.

Ketchum, Cheri. "The Essence of Cooking Shows: How the Food Network Constructs Consumer Fantasies." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 29 (2005): 217-234.

Khan, Mahvish Shahid. "Cooking Your Way to Completeness: The Food Network Phenomenon and the Creation of a New Domestic Paragon—The Ideal Hostess." *Gnovis Journal* 8, no. 1 (Fall 2007), 64-74.

Miller, Toby. *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitanism, Consumerism and Television in a Neoliberal Age*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007.

Ray, Krishnendu. "Domesticating Cuisine: Food and Aesthetics on American Television," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 7, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 50-63.



Otherworldly, Kelsey Smith, Linolium print on paper

## TV Buddha as Conceptual Art/Tool: An Exploration of Discourses Concerning Interpretation and Analysis in Conceptual Art

**Abstract:** This Paper is split into three main segments. The first two, are spent arguing conceptual interpretations of Nam June Paik's TV Buddha. Both segments argue that the sculpture can be used as an instrument or tool to facilitate discussions of theories developed by Emanuel Kant and Jacques Lacan. They become a case study for the final section to unravel. The focus is then turned to the kind of intellectual processes used in the first to sections. How were the intellectual steps being made and what in the sculpture is actually being used to build these arguments? Theories from Martin Heidegger's work on art, equipment and things, Jacques Derrida's work on cosigning, as well as, a close look at the first two sections, is used to build a much broader argument about conceptual art in general and types of discourses attempting to explore and define it. In the end, the intellectual analysis from the first to sections are proved to be addressing, not conceptual art, but rather intellectual pieces of equipment.

**Key words:** conceptual art; Nam June Paik; Buddha; Emanuel Kant; aesthetic judgment; Jacques Lacan; Martin Heidegger; Jacques Derrida; intellectual signing.

Nam June Paik's TV Buddha (1974) is a closed circuit video installation with a bronze sculpture of Buddha. The bronze sculpture appears to be gazing at his own image on a video screen which is being captured by a camera sending a live feed to the monitor the Buddha gazes upon. The piece's composition is quite simple, but if one dwells on it, a potentially overwhelming amount of thought floods into the viewer's consciousness.

This installation can be used as a conceptual instrument that can facilitate the exploration and investigation of the philosophies of aesthetic judgment, and psychoanalytical theories in relation to visual art. The purpose is to use the installation in this way,

as well as, to investigate what we are actually using in this process.

### Seeing the Buddha as Kant through an Anti-Kantian Lens

Nam June Paik's *TV Buddha* is a simple meditative piece, however, its meditative quality is what seems to make the piece especially potent in a conceptual sense. The Buddha that gazes upon his own image in the monitor seems to refuse all simple assumptions. He is just meditating on his own image for eternity, attempting to judge something that may or may not be there. The viewer is pulled to both meditate on the piece, in a Kantian way, like the Buddha does his own image and at the same time, because of the inclusion of modern technologies and an ancient religious figure. One is pulled to judge the work using logic and conceptual thought.

Most judgments made about art would be classified as judgments of agreeableness or goodness, according to Emanuel Kant's theories of aesthetic judgment. An object or work of art that is agreeable to the viewer would, in some way, evoke sensory pleasure.<sup>1</sup> The agreeable exists right next to our most basic, natural, and instantaneous physical sensations of reality. An agreeable object "provokes a desire for similar objects".<sup>2</sup> This concept of wanting more similar objects, like the agreeable object being judged, exposes the interest in that object, in terms of its agreeableness, to be based on the physical existence of that object as being delightful. One can't conclude that something is agreeable; it is or it isn't, contrary to judgments of goodness which must be arrived at.

To come to a conclusion that a work of art is 'good', in a Kantian sense, would mean that the person judging came to that conclusion based on the way in which that object realizes its purpose or end. If an agreeable object delights through sensual pleasure than delight in a good object is caused by delight in rational and conceptual conclusions about the object. Our interest in good or agreeable objects is based on logic, having nothing to do with pure aesthetic judgment.

Viewers of art who subscribe to the Kantian understanding of pure aesthetic judgment would attempt to block themselves from

1 Immanuel Kant, excerpt from "The Critique of Judgment" (1790) in Preziosi, p. 66.

2 Kant "The Critique of Judgment," p. 66.

the agreeable and the good, in order to allow themselves to appreciate the true beauty of the object they are gazing upon. To Kant, the purest form of aesthetic judgment is a judgment of beauty. The beautiful is beyond or between judgments of the good and the agreeable and is "that which, apart from a concept, pleases universally".<sup>3</sup> If all viewers of an object could block out completely the good and the agreeable from their judgment and focus completely on the beauty, then theoretically all would experience the same beauty and come to identical judgments about the object's aesthetic caliber. Because it is arguably impossible to truly remove oneself from the good and the agreeable, a viewer attempting to judge in a Kantian way would be forced to look without perceiving the objects agreeableness and mediating on it without contemplating the objects goodness.

It is easy to imagine how the search for the beautiful in something could last for eternity. This eternal meditative search for the beautiful can be seen in the eternal gaze of Nam June Paik's Buddha. To conceive this Buddha as an embodiment of Kantian aesthetic judgment one might need to remove themselves from Kantian aesthetic judgment completely. In this case the viewer might get tangled up in conceptual references and begin to judge them in terms of goodness. If one could break free from their own judgments of goodness and agreeableness, and sense Kantian concepts existing in *TV Buddha* could they judge that presence in terms of its beauty?

The question now is a question of whether or not concepts can possess beauty in the same way an object can. Can the conceptual content of *TV Buddha*, in terms of its relationship to Kantian thought as meditative, be judged in a Kantian way? To me, the pure aesthetic judgment of a concept's beauty is even more difficult and potentially impossible to experience compared to the same judgment of a work of art, because concepts are much more tied down by their ends. In western thought concepts are more commonly associated with purposes and ends than works of art are.

Disregarding my previous conclusion that beauty cannot be expressed fully with words, lets attempt as a kind of thought experiment to explore the potential beauty of the Kantian concepts, present in *TV Buddha*. But, first we must explore the nature of the Kantian concept present in *TV Buddha* if we are going to use it as

3 Kant "The Critique of Judgment," p. 7.

an example or tool.

The Kantian concept of pure aesthetic beauty exists on a plane of theoretical philosophy. If we accept this, then the *TV Buddha* might be seen as a signifier of Kant's theoretical concept, becoming equivalent with the words "Kant's Pure Aesthetic Judgment". However, it is easy to see that these words and the Installation are not acting in the same way. *TV Buddha* relationship to Kantian thought does not exist in a simple signifier - signified relationship. The installation does not signify Kant's Pure Aesthetic judgment in a symbolic way, like the words do. Nor does it signify Kant's concepts in an indexical way, even though Kant's concepts could have directly effected Paik's thoughts. It could not have directly effected the installation's physical form and therefore the physical form does not signify Kantian theories Indexically. The piece also does not signify Kant's Pure Aesthetic Judgment in an iconic way, because the physical form of *TV Buddha* does not correspond with the concept and argument of Kant's pure Aesthetic Judgment. I am not saying here that concepts cannot be signified iconically. If *TV Buddha* is not a signifier of Kant's theories, then are we, on our own accord, lashing Kant's theories onto the installation? Using the conclusion we just arrived at (that the installation does not signify Kant's theories) as evidence I would say: Yes.

So *TV Buddha*'s conceptual relationship to Kant is applied. The question we must ask now concerns the existence of structure present, in the installation, that allows us to easily and fully lash Kant's concept to it. To see if that structure exists, we must first explore what is exposed by this strapping down. To me, what is exposed is a concept of Kantian pure Aesthetic judgment as meditative in nature. While this concept is signified iconically in the installation, it does not exist unless we wrap thoughts of Kantian Judgment into our viewing and contemplating of the installation. What is present in the installation is a structure that can be used as hard points to tie down Kantian concepts. Once this lashing is done, the viewer can explore a different way of thinking about Kant's theory of pure aesthetic judgment, and it being meditative in nature.

Now that this conceptual structure in *TV Buddha* is understood <sup>4</sup> we can discuss if it can be judged in terms of its beauty.

4 This structure can be imagined as a series of of pulleys used to

My first argument here is that it cannot, because an understanding of Kantian theory is necessary to examine the conceptual presence. This is contradictory to Kant's statement that beauty pleases universally.<sup>5</sup> If all cannot perceive this concept, because most do not have an understanding of Kant's theories, then it cannot be sensed in terms of its pure aesthetic beauty.

This is my second argument on this matter, which contradicts the first. If the beauty of a work of art, or a flower, can be experienced universally, excluding only the blind, and the beauty of a piece of music can be experience universally excluding only the deaf, then the beauty of the Kantian concepts in *TV Buddha* can be experienced universally, except for individuals lacking a knowledge of Kant's theories. So having an understanding of Kantian theory, which potentially allows you to judge the Kantian concept's beauty in *TV Buddha*, is equivalent to having the ability to see a visual work of art. So Kant's statement that beauty can be experienced universally might not exclude the possibility of judging concepts in terms of their beauty.

My third argument on this question is reached by looking closely at concepts in general. Concepts exist only in our minds and are understood through intellectual structures that have been developed throughout our lives, and because of this, our experience of a concept are completely individual. A concept in ones mind might be referred linguistically in the same way as concept in an others mind, but they are not the same concept. Concepts cannot exist in exactly the same way in two minds, because no two minds can behold and experience thought in the same way. Therefore, a universal judging of a concepts beauty cannot be achieved, because people cannot experience the same concept. So concepts cannot be judged in terms of their beauty and the Kantian concepts in *TV Buddha* cannot be judged in a Kantian purely Aesthetic fashion.

---

hoist loads. Pulleys always exists like the structure we are exploring in *TV Buddha*, but both can't realize their ends on their own. Pulleys need a rope to be feed through them and an load fastened to one end, and this structure in *TV Buddha* needs Kantian thought to be bound to it and to the viewers thinking in order to reach its end. Therefore, this structure is, in a way, like a tool.

5 Kant "The Critique of Judgment," p. 7.

Here is an additional point supporting this claim. This structure needs to be used in order to be experienced.<sup>6</sup> To me, if a viewer senses something functioning than it would be impossible to ignore that goodness of that functioning or the goodness of the object in terms of its functioning.

A hammer could possibly be judged in terms of pure beauty if the ‘toolness’ of it was ignored or not known, but if a hammer could not exist physically without knowing its use, than, judging the beauty of its physical form would be impossible. The structure in *TV Buddha* onto which Kantian meanings is fastened cannot be experienced unless we understand it, and understand it to be something that happens or functions like a tool. You cannot see this structure unless you are using it your self. Could you really swing a hammer without contemplating its goodness?

This is where we now stand: While the Paik’s piece seems to be wrapped up in Kantian concepts of pure aesthetic judgment, there is no actual signifier of it in the piece. What is present is a structure that allows us to bind Kantian thought onto the piece. This structure cannot be judged in terms of its beauty in a Kantian sense, because use of this structure is necessary to contemplate it and therefore it would be impossible to not judge is goodness. So attempting to judge *TV Buddha* beauty, as a whole is not possible, because the viewer would need to ignore structures present in piece’s composition that cannot be seen without contemplating those structures in terms of goodness. To me, attempts to explore *TV Buddha* in a purely Kantian way, by viewers, critics, and historians, would be avoiding the true power and importance of the work.

### **Attempting to Grab the Real, Tied into the Imaginary, and Tangled in the Symbolic**

With attempts of a pure Kantian reading of the work of art untied and left aside from our line of thought, the presence of an iconic reference to the religious figure Gautama Buddha is unavoidable. The Buddha among many things connotes and symbolizes meditation, enlightenment, transcendence, and most importantly for my purposes a loss of self. Jacques Lacan, French psychoana-

<sup>6</sup> The structure discussed earlier that allows us to bind Kantian theories to *TV Buddha*.

lyst and philosopher might call this loss of self a return to the *Real*, and a departure from, what he calls the *Imaginary* and the *Symbolic*. Lacan’s *Real* cannot truly be comprehended, for attempting to gather an understanding of it would need to be done with the use of systems that are products of the Imaginary and the Symbolic. A human might only truly experience the *Real* in their mother’s womb. The *Real* is human consciousness connected completely with the world; there would be no concept of the self, language, time, or life in the *Real*. This Lacanian *Real* might seem like it inhabits the same space as pure Kantian aesthetic judgment, but it doesn’t. In the *Real* nothing could be judged, not even in a pure Kantian way, because nothing could be single out as a thing. Existence in the *Real* is oneness completely whole and undividable.

Paik’s Buddha sits meditatively focusing on his own image as if it were a mandala, attempting to achieve a return to the *Real*. If one is looking for Lacanian structures in Paik’s *TV Buddha* it is quite easy to see that concepts of the *Real* are present, because of the inclusion of the iconic reference to the Buddha. The presence of the monitor and the camera seem to make the projection of the *Real* onto the entire composition of *TV Buddha* poorly fastened. The monitor and the camera pull the Lacanian reader to see other concepts that are present in the piece.

The camera and monitor that Buddha stares upon can be comprehended as constituting a single mirror. The camera collects and the monitor sends; together they become one electric mirror. This mirror is different from a glass mirror in that it transfers light information through wires and projects that information on a screen. A glass mirror just reflects the light waves. These differences aside, the electric mirror in many ways is exactly the same as a glass mirror or even a pool of water. All these mirrors transfer our light information back to us in extremely short periods of time. Granted the electric mirror does take longer to transfer light information, but I would argue that both mirrors transfer information at speeds fast enough that our judgment of time would deem them both to be working instantaneously. Mirrors and our interactions with them are very important to a Lacanian understanding of life.

Lacan’s mirror stage begins with an infant’s first experience interacting with his or her reflected image. Animals will inter-

act with their reflections and seem interested, but not to the extent that a human infant does; the infant seems delighted and obsessed with discovery his own image.<sup>7</sup> This interaction marks the creation of the individual's concept of a self.<sup>8</sup> To Lacan, the image the infant sees is an illusion, a gestalt, in that it truly does not represent the individual.<sup>9</sup> The infant identifies with this seemingly whole and complete image and wants to become it. The mirage in the mirror becomes his Ideal I, and the individual spends the rest of his life trying to align him or herself with it. The infant entrance to the mirror stage also marks the entry into the Imaginary.

The Buddha is transfixed and obsessed with the illusion of himself that is created by wires, electricity, and light. The illusion of the electric mirror is just as false as the illusion of the glass mirror or the water mirror; all create an opportunity for the individual to contemplate his or her self as a physical whole, not a flowing existence of thoughts, needs, and pains. The Buddha in Nam June Paik's piece is attempting to find the *Real*, meditating on his Television mandala for eternity. And, at the same time, stuck in the mirror stage that blocks him from the *Real*.

The ending of the mirror stage is marked by the ideal I, no longer solely representing the concept of self. The linguistic concept of I takes over when the individual begins to learn language.<sup>10</sup> "Language and its structure exist prior to the moment at which each subject at a certain point in his mental development makes entry into it."<sup>11</sup> Language dominates and controls our development and conception of self. This linguistically dominated part of our consciousness is, to Lacan, the Symbolic. Without language there is no I, no right and wrong, no up and down, we truly do not know a world without language.

Language can be thought of like a machine. Sounds or their symbolic counterparts fitted together into specific alignments create meanings new to that moment in time, in the same way a

7 Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage" (1937/49) and "The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious, Or Reason Since Freud" (1958), p. 734.

8 Lacan, "The Mirror Stage," p. 734.

9 Lacan, "The Mirror Stage," p. 735.

10 Lacan, "The Mirror Stage," p. 737.

11 Lacan, "The Mirror Stage," p. 739.

collection of cogs or pulleys organized properly create new physical changes to matter and space. The base units of these languages are sounds, cogs, or, in the case of computers, binary codes. Computers, monitors and cameras are entirely linguistic. To contradict my statement earlier that the electric mirror is identical to the glass mirror, the electric mirror is linguistic whereas the glass mirror is not. The light information collected by the video camera is being broken down and reformatted in order for it to be computable or readable by the monitor and viewer, much like the way language is constantly reformatting our thoughts and consciousness. It is interesting that we often take our linguistically controlled conception of the world as truth in the same way that we believe a TV screen to truly represent perception of light. The image that the Buddha sees of himself is linguistic in that it has been formed by a language and is made of small squares of different colored light on a grid that together create meaning. The language of the electric computerized screen is all the Buddha has to comprehend his self.

The language of today or the symbolic order of today is becoming more and more based on the transfer of information electrically through screens<sup>12</sup>. The Buddha's world is dominated and controlled by this new Symbolic order. So we might conclude that the presence of the *Real* and the Imaginary in *TV Buddha* are just as much an illusion as the Symbolic and the Imaginary are to the human psyche.

But, are we not just utilizing a series of pulleys present in *TV Buddha* to hoist the Symbolic into our consciousness? Couldn't we at this point restring our thoughts to our first set of pulleys and rehoist the *Real* into view? Can we not carry the lines of our thought through all three sets of pulleys hoisting up the entire Lacanian psyche.

### **Mere Things, Made-things, and Intellectual Signing**

In the two previous sections we have been discussing the way in which structures are present in works of art, specifically Nam

12 This new iconic-Symbolic order (Piercean's Iconic and Lacan's Symbolic) would obviously function differently than the symbolic-linguistic-Symbolic order. But, as far as my understanding of Lacan goes, they both would function in the same way in terms of how they can create systems of thoughts in are consciousness that dictate our perceptions of reality.

June Paik's *TV Buddha*, and how they can be used to apply aspects of both Kantian and Lacanian theories onto the art work. We have been using these elements like one would use a series of pulleys to hoist a heavy load. Because our thinking has been guided by thoughts of pulleys, which are pieces of equipment, I think it is necessary to now turn our attention fully and solely to pieces of equipment and to the nature of equipment.

The most fundamentally simple aspect of the nature of a piece of equipment is that it is a thing. To attempt to understand things and equipment further we should turn to our attention to Martin Heidegger's *The Origin of the Work of Art*.

Heidegger begins his investigation into the nature of art by identifying a cyclical relationship between art, works of art, and artists. He argues that we cannot come to know one of these without knowing all of them because they are interconnected, and yet we cannot come to know the whole without knowing all the parts (artists, works of art, and art).<sup>13</sup> This cyclical relationship is more complicated and intricate than I have just explained, but for our purposes it will suffice. Heidegger's next move is to ignore this illogical circle and focus solely on works of art. His reasoning for starting with works of Art is that they are "familiar to everyone".<sup>14</sup> Unlike artist, who not all know, and art in general which is arguably impossible to fully know.

He begins his discussion by proving that all works of art have a thingly character,<sup>15</sup> because "what would they be without it."<sup>16</sup> With works of art now known to be things, he turns to focus on the nature of things.<sup>17</sup> Heidegger, who has now become our temporary guide (or rope manager), then investigates three different interpretations of things in order to understand things further.<sup>18</sup>

13 Martin Heidegger, "The Origin of the Work of Art" (1935). In Preziosi, p. 284.

14 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 285.

15 What I mean here is that works of art are, at least in part, a thing.

16 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 285.

17 "Our aim is to come to know the thing-being (thingness) of the thing." (Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art" 286)

18 The three interpretations that Heidegger provides are attempting to define the true nature of what he calls a mere-thing, which is different

The first of these interpretations can be understood in terms of our grammatical sentence structures, which Heidegger alludes to be the source of this interpretation<sup>19</sup>. Here the core of the thing serves as the subject and the traits of the thing serve as the predicate. Heidegger believes this interpretation of the thing to "an assault upon it,"<sup>20</sup> because, within the interpretation, we are taking the traits of the object to be at the core of the nature of the thing, but we are really assigning those traits onto it.<sup>21</sup>

If this first interpretation is an assault, then the second is more like an attempted capture. In this interpretation things send light, sound and touch to us, and these elements move us bodily.<sup>22</sup> We capture these elements and use them to facilitate imagining of the thing in our minds. To Heidegger, both of these interpretations do not fully connect with the true nature of a thing, because they do not allow the thing to "remain in its self-containment".<sup>23</sup> The true nature of the thing exists without us assigning traits to it or collecting sensory information from it.

Form and matter are the concepts in which the third interpretation is based. A thing has to be matter in order to exist physically, and matter has to have form (space, size, shape) in order to not fill up the entire universe. Therefore, according to this interpretation, "Things are formed matter".<sup>24</sup>

Heidegger then argues that this form-matter interpretation of a thing has its origin in the nature of equipment not in the true nature of things or in the nature of artwork.<sup>25</sup> This is because the form-matter relationship implies a kind of purpose. Matter is irrational

---

from an ultimate-thing like life or death or a use-thing like a hammer or a saw. Mere-things are the most basic and physical kind of thing. When I use "thing" I am referring to Heidegger's "mere-thing).

19 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 288.

20 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 289.

21 This is a good example for Lacanian theory, because a linguistic structure is controlling our understanding of reality.

22 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 289.

23 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 289.

24 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 289.

25 Heidegger "The Origin of the Work of Art," p. 291.

and form is rational.<sup>26</sup> This irrational-rational relationship connotes another concept, that of creation. If matter is irrational and form is rational, then matter must be rationalized into something useful by our changing (creating) of it. Therefore, the creation of something useful is at the heart of the form-matter interpretation of things, according to Heidegger, and a useful thing is a piece of equipment or a tool.

Heidegger believes the origin of this third interpretation to be biblical in nature, and therefore considers it just as much of an encroachment, as the first two, onto things.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, he continues his investigation into equipment. I believe the reasoning for this continued investigation to be based on his belief that the form-matter interpretation is most closely related to artwork, because he believes that they both need to be created by the “human hand.”<sup>28</sup> Heidegger then states: “Thus the piece of equipment is half thing, because characterize by thingliness, and yet it is something more; at the same time it is half art work and yet something less.”<sup>29</sup>

My understanding of Heidegger’s intentions here is to also say that, not only is equipment in part artwork, but also that artwork has an equipmentalness to it.<sup>30</sup>

Theses last two points are where I begin to disagree with Heidegger. The first being that equipment and art works need to be made. The second being that art works and equipment are separate yet simultaneously inhabiting each other. I will now reclaim the reigns.

The first: Do equipment and artwork need to be made by human hands? Are all made-things either art works or tools? If a young boy rips a hunk of clay from a riverbank and holds it in his hands, is that a tool or a work of art? I would say neither. All made things are not always either artwork or tool. But this does not answer

26 Heidegger “The Origin of the Work of Art,” p. 290.

27 Heidegger “The Origin of the Work of Art,” p. 292.

28 Heidegger “The Origin of the Work of Art,” p. 291.

29 Heidegger “The Origin of the Work of Art,” p. 291.

30 Denaci, Mark. “Phenomenology and Hermeneutics “ FA 430A SYE: Critical Theory and the Visual Arts. St. Lawrence University. Canton, NY. April 11, 2012.

our question exactly. Is being made at the natural core of artwork or tools?

Lets start with tools.<sup>31</sup> A pre-language man contemplates a stone, it is a mere thing, but when he decides that he will pick it up and hurl it is at his prey, it becomes a tool. A tool is not a tool unless it is intellectually signed to be one. A mere thing can become a tool the moment it is signed to be one by its potential user. Even unmade things can be signed to be tools (like the stone). What makes a tool a tool is not its being made as Heidegger suggests<sup>32</sup>. Specific tools, most at that, need to be made, but it is this intellectual signing that is at the heart of the *toolness* of tools. Let me provide another example.

Picture a pulley that has not been used for years and has lost its ability to work, or its reliability, but this loss of reliability is not known. The pulley will continue to be a tool because we sign it to be one. If the user/viewer discovers that when used, the pulley breaks, then he might unsign it. Another user might have unsigned it the moment the pulley began to rust and yet another user would continue to sign it as tool after it had broken. The tool ceases to be a tool the moment it is unsigned. The signing and unsigneding of tools are related to the tools reliability, but the reliability is secondary, subjective and overridden by the signings. This is a similarity between tools and art works; they become so when we decide that they are, not when they are created. Creation is not at the essence of tool or artwork.

To argue that creation is not an essential aspect of artwork, I will rely on Derrida’s concept of countersigning. A countersignature is the act of a culture, society, or nation legitimizing a made-thing, so that it may become a work of art. The countersignature exists before the signature in that a signed made-thing is just that and not until it is countersigned does it become a work of art.<sup>33</sup> “Without that political and social countersignature it would not be

31 I am using “tools” and “equipment” interchangeable.

32 Heidegger “The Origin of the Work of Art,” p. 291.

33 Peter Brunette and David Wills, “The Spatial Arts: An Interview with Jacques Derrida,” in *Deconstruction and the Visual Arts: Art, Media, Architecture*, Eds. Brunette and Wills (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 18;

a work of art.”<sup>34</sup> So if matter is formed into a made-thing, even if done rationally, it is not a work of art. An example that exhibits the power of the countersignature is Marcel Duchamp’s fountain. The sculpture consists of an upturned urinal. The urinal that was originally intended to be a piece of equipment, and had been signed as a piece of equipment, but when this established artist brought it into a gallery the art world was forced to either countersign the artist’s signature turning it into a work of art or decline to countersign, rejecting it as non-artwork.<sup>35</sup>

What gives a work of art its *artness* is not its being made, nor does the *madeness* of a tool give it its *toolness*. In both cases what gives them their *artness* or *toolness* is an intellectual signing, in the case of artwork a cosigning and in the case of tools a separate form of signing.

The second: My argument against Heidegger’s claim, that equipment has an element of artwork in its nature and that artwork has an element of *toolness* in its nature, is based on the separate signing systems of artwork and equipment I have just laid out. If a tool seems to have an *artworkness* to it, it is not because tools in essence have an *artworkness* to them, but is because this tool is being signed as a tool and as artwork simultaneously.

I would like to pause here and argue that Derrida’s countersigning applies only to high art which is controlled socio-politically. Art can be signed by an individual, but this signing will only exist within that individual consciousness. Just like the countersigning of one culture only hold strong within it. So when a tool seems have an *artworkness* to it, it is due to a kind of double signing. It is just a made, or mere thing, but the signings can make it both. This does not mean that a tool is both. A tool does not need to be signed as artwork to be at tool. A thing can be signed as a tool without a hint of an artwork’s signing on it. So the essence of equipment has no *artworkness* in it, as Heidegger suggests.

The same goes for artwork. It does not need to be tool-signed in order to be an artwork. It needs to be signed as artwork.

34 Brunette, and Wills “Spatial Arts,” p. 18.

35 So both a mere-thing or a made-thing can be signed to be both a tool or an artwork.

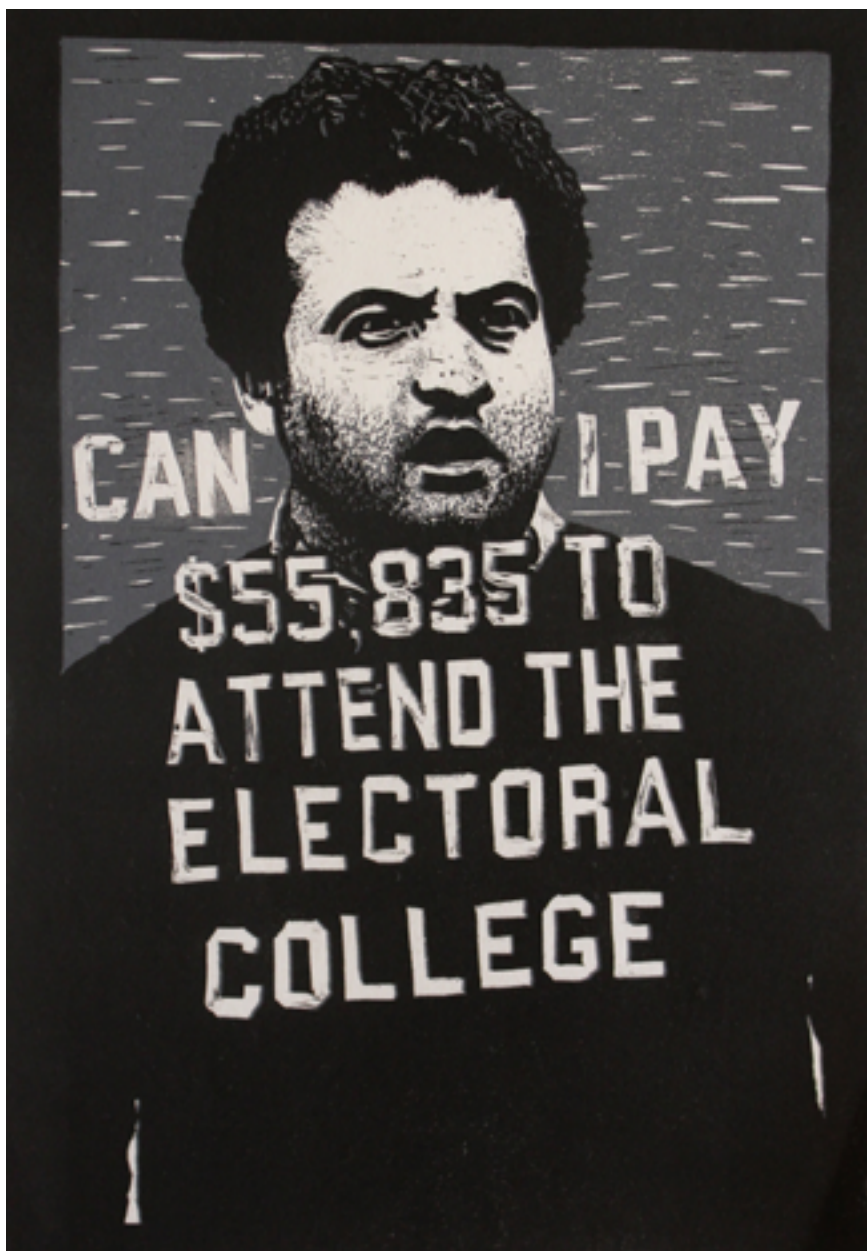
But it can have a tool-signing as well. Artwork and equipment are completely different. They both involve process, in which a thing is signed. They appear to have elements in each other’s nature to Heidegger, but only because he is dual signing them.

## Conclusion

We started our search into things and equipment, because we wanted to further understand the pulleys present in *TV Buddha* that we have been using to tie in and hoist around Lacanian and Kantian concepts. These pulleys only come to our attention because we have been tool-signing the installation this whole time. Yes, they are conceptual tools, but tools nonetheless. These conceptual pulleys have an intended end, a purpose, which is to allow an investigation into Lacanian and Kantian theories. Have we once discussed, *TV Buddha* without having tool signed it even a little? No, because artwork has no end and it scares us. We always dual sign it, so that we can handle it, give it some purpose, and pull it out of the void.

## Bibliography

- Immanuel Kant, excerpt from “The Critique of Judgment” (1790). In Donald Preziosi (ed.). *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 62-79.
- Jacques Lacan, “The Mirror Stage” (1937/1949) and “The Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious, Or Reason Since Freud” (1958). In Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle (eds.), *Critical Theory Since 1965*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 1986, pp. 733-756.
- Martin Heidegger, “The Origin of the Work of Art” (1935). In Donald Preziosi (ed.). *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 284-295.
- Preziosi, Donald (ed.) *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Peter Brunette and David Wills, “The Spatial Arts: An Interview with Jacques Derrida.” In Brunette and Wills (eds.). *Deconstruction and the Visual Arts: Art, Media, Architecture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 9-32.
- Denaci, Mark. “Phenomenology and Hermeneutics “ FA 430A - SYE: Critical Theory and the Visual Arts. St. Lawrence University. Canton, NY. April 11, 2012.



Untitled, Samuel Hecklau, Woodcut on paper

## Social Media, the Internet and the Elections: 2008 vs. 2012

**Abstract:** The Internet and especially social media has taken hold of every aspect of our society. In 2008 the Obama Campaign was able to harness the power of the Internet to break records for online fundraising and shift the way political strategists utilize the Internet. In the current 2012 presidential race both campaigns are increasingly using the Internet to tailor their messages to specific groups and are spending money in ways that the 2008 campaign could never have accomplished with social media. Social media especially has become a public forum for political discussion and as such I used quotes from my own 'Facebook friends' to illustrate the way social media is a forum for political discussion. This paper also utilizes interviews with two political insiders, one who crafts legislation for the House of Representatives of Texas and the other a fund raiser at the forefront of the progressive movement in Washington DC. This entire inquiry, however, can only be truly answered in the wake of the election, when we will see the true effect of these new means of reaching voters.

**Keywords:** social media; Web 2.0; residential campaign; online Advertising; blog; Ask Me Anything.

In 2008 Barak Obama's campaign reshaped the way presidential campaigns are run in the United States. Through extensive use of the Internet Obama was able to create a previously unknown system for messaging, collecting money and getting in touch with young and underrepresented voters. While his opponent, John McCain, who had much more political experience having run for president previously, fell behind in the polls largely due to web based shortcomings. The Obama Campaign in 2008 raised more than half a billion dollars through the Internet over the course of 20 months leading up to the election.<sup>1</sup> This half billion dollars raised online

<sup>1</sup> Vargas, Jose Antonio. "44 - Obama Raised Half a Billion Online ." *Blogs & Columns, Blog Directory - The Washington Post*. Washington

allowed the now President Obama to run away with the election and caused the Republicans to scramble to fill the technology gap before 2012.

The technological differences between the presidential election in 2012 and the last one in 2008 are not earth shattering. What is earth shattering are the small tweaks in the way that campaigns are using the internet and the increases in availability, or the ease at which campaigns can use the technology. From iPhone apps, to social media, to targeted advertising, the campaigns have stepped up their online presence in ways that the average citizen may not have even realized. It is reported that by 2015 the number of Wi-Fi enabled devices will reach 3.7 billion units globally, with much of the increase being seen in the mobile phone market.<sup>2</sup> The ability for a candidate to connect with a voter is expanding in accordance with this trend. To win this election each campaign will have to strive to creatively use these small tweaks and new social media forums and stay a step ahead.

Social media above all has changed the way in which candidates can communicate with their supporters and introduce new ideas to their opponents. Every YouTube video posted to the popular social media site Twitter generates about seven views per retweet.<sup>3</sup> Facebook, Twitter, MySpace and even sites like Reddit have enormous potential for quickly spreading information and as such they are en-route to becoming the new standard platform for political outreach in the future.

### Context:

In 2003 Tim O'Reilly coined the term Web 2.0 to describe the change in the Internet from a "model of static pages toward a means of enabling a wide range of goals to be achieved through networked software services."<sup>4</sup> The Internet, when first released to

---

Post, 20 Nov. 2008. Web. 1 Oct. 2012.

2 "Global WiFi Enabled Consumer Electronic Products Market to Reach 3.7 Billion Units by 2015, According to New Report by Global Industry Analysts ." PRWeb. N.p., 23 Mar. 2010. Web. 1 Oct. 2012.

3 *The Internet Presidential Campaign of 2012*. Dir. Not Available. Perf. Stephen Geer, Kate Kaye. Broad Band Breakfast Club, 2012. Film

4 Chadwick, Andrew, and Phillip N. Howard. "Introduction: New

the public in 1995, was clunky and could only be accessed through rigid service providers that limited the ease of access to the net.<sup>5</sup> Web 2.0 can be best illustrated by the advent of search engines and other networking technologies like Google. As a member of the networked generation it is hard to imagine what the web was like pre-Google because the amount of freedom and the number of new services that arose after the shift to Web 2.0 was so greatly increased. These seemingly novel changes, like the ability to use an algorithm to search through the massive archives and databases of the Internet, led to the Internet developing as the premier means to create and share information globally.

The Web 2.0 era has lowered costs of producing, sharing and finding new sources of information and media. It allows for anyone to become an artist, pundit, journalist or celebrity; likewise it has caused major media outlets to significantly reconsider long held traditions of producing, marketing and releasing content. YouTube, a video sharing website that started in 2005, has allowed anyone with a camera or even a cellphone to post content to their website. Social media, including but not limited to YouTube, Facebook and MySpace has allowed for "an information environment of practically infinite size, from the point of view of the individual."<sup>6</sup> News can now be shared by individuals instantly; however, this news is in the form of raw footage, photographs, or commentary on events that are happening in real time and being spread not by news anchors but by the average citizen. Thus, the control of what the average person sees and hears about has been wrenched from the government and large corporations and been placed in the hands of the networked citizens. According to media mogul Rupert Murdoch, "Power is moving away from those who own and manage the media to a new and demanding generation of consumers- consumers who are better educated, unwilling to be led and who know that in a competitive world they can get what they want when they want

---

directions in internet politics and research ." In *The Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 4.

5 Vidanage, Harinda Class notes 9/11

6 McNair, Brian . "The Internet and the Changing Global Media Environment." In *The Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 222.

it.”<sup>7</sup> It is in this context that the political campaigns of 2008 were forced to foray. Now in 2012, with a more concrete grasp on the benefits of social media and the Internet, campaigns as well as the social media outlets have retooled their approach to try to extract as much money and diffuse as much information as they can through the web.

### Facebook, Twitter and beyond:

Facebook, another development of Web 2.0, is a forum where people go to interact; it is the world’s largest social media site. When someone logs onto Facebook whether they intend to or not, they are being influenced by their peers. In the wake of the first Presidential debate of 2012 people in my network had the following to say:

Want to see a better debate? Don’t think the choice

between Coke or Pepsi is a real choice? Democracy

Now! is showing the current Coke-Pepsi debate, while

hosting the Green party and Justice party candidates

to add and rebut to the debate.<sup>8</sup> [http://www.democracynow.org/2012/10/4/expanding\\_the\\_debate\\_exclusive\\_third\\_party](http://www.democracynow.org/2012/10/4/expanding_the_debate_exclusive_third_party)

What Romney’s and Obama’s body language says to voters  
<http://t.co/nBQCHztz><sup>9</sup>

Whenever Mitt Romney opens his mouth I want to gag.<sup>10</sup>

These three posts are illustrative of how political information and sentiments towards the candidates are expressed over social media. From these posts we can draw two important conclusions. The first is that Facebook has not evolved in any revolutionary way on the part of the users since 2008, people still just post their opinions in whatever manner they feel and it is viewed only by the people who are within their network. The second is that it is

7 McNair “The Internet and the Changing Global Media Environment.” p. 225.

8 Facebook October 3 2012

9 Facebook October 3 2012

10 Facebook October 3 2012

not hard to extract political affiliations from the posts or activities of any individuals on Facebook.

This second conclusion is important in illustrating how Facebook and all social media sites have evolved during the four year gap between this presidential election and the last. Each person’s interaction with the website provides feedback about their likes, dislikes, political/cultural affiliations and more importantly their own network. Facebook, Google and other website have the ability to track what individual do on the Internet. Our interactions with the web leave behind parts of our identity that can be used by the companies to create algorithms that can predict your future interests. These algorithms are a means to get greater web traffic for advertisers and thus bring in more money to the website itself. However, similar algorithms have been created that are able to identify political affiliations and use those beliefs to place political ads that will appeal to that specific person.

In August, Facebook began experimenting with putting advertisements directly into news feeds even if the person had not previously liked something related to that advertisement. According to Facebook spokesperson Annie Ta, “Until now, marketers could only target users or their friends in their news feeds if they had “liked” a product or service.”<sup>11</sup> This allows advertisers new access to all Facebook users and Ta hopes that most users will barely even notice the difference. This change is a response to Facebook’s declining stock prices after investors had concerns about how valuable Facebook was for advertisers. This solution more than anything helps Facebook to increase the number of ads that are viewed on the mobile versions of the site because it injects advertising right into the main interface, rather than on the side bar which is cut off when using a mobile app.<sup>12</sup> This is significant because according to socialbakers.com, a blog that monitors social media sites to provide analytics to marketing firms, Facebook has over 488 million mobile users (about 54% of their total 901 million users worldwide).<sup>13</sup> This opens up a new advertising market to campaigns that want to

11 Guynn, Jessica . “Facebook experimenting with putting more ads in users’ News Feeds.”

12 IBID

13 “Facebook Hits 488 Million Mobile Users .” SocialBakers.com.

reach the social media users who primarily connect through their cell phones or tablets.

Candidates have increasingly begun to employ targeted advertisements, thanks to improvements in tracking technology. According to Katie Kaye, Senior Editor at ClickZ, these persuasive Internet ads started during the 2010 midterm elections and were very successful.<sup>14</sup> She points out that in 2011 Obama launched his campaign online, well before he began campaigning in person or setting up a non-digital campaign. The Internet provides much more space for advertising and cuts down on the costs of advertising when compared to traditional media, which is why Internet advertising is increasingly taking up more of the campaign budgets from 10% in 2008 to upwards of 20% in 2012.<sup>15</sup>

Craig Auster, currently the deputy political director at the Fair Share Alliance and who has worked on four national campaigns including the Clinton 2008 presidential bid, claims that this election cycle is not that different from the 2008 cycle except for the fact that people are more connected now. Today, with everyone getting news from the Internet “things stay on our consciousness for shorter periods of time,”<sup>16</sup> that’s part of why this new form of advertising is so important. According to Craig, political groups can match IP addresses with the national Voter File and use that to select who they want to see specific advertisements.<sup>17</sup> Craig also added that when a candidate flubs or says something inflammatory the Internet is always there to catch them. One example being, in the wake of Rep. Todd Akin’s gaffe about rape victims, his opponent was able to capitalize and use social media to raise \$5.8 million dollars.<sup>18</sup>

Twitter has become integrated with America’s everyday life. Every website, TV channel, politician etc. has not only an account but also creative ways to get new members into groups through the use of the (#). When I called Ricco Garcia, currently the

14 *The Internet Presidential Campaign of 2012*. Dir. Not Available. Perf. Stephen Geer, Kate Kaye. Broad Band Breakfast Club, 2012. Film

15 IBID

16 Auster, Craig. Interview by author. Phone interview. Canton, New York, October 2, 2012.

17 IBID

18 IBID

Legislative Director for 15<sup>th</sup> district Texas, he pointed out that Twitter was used extensively at both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. According to Ricco, Bill Clinton’s speech on the second night of the DNC generated 22 thousand tweets per minute.<sup>19</sup> Both Craig and Ricco agree that Twitter usage has significantly increased since 2008. Craig praised social media for its ability to connect politicians to communities that generally do not turn out to the polls.<sup>20</sup> In 2008 Obama’s campaign motivated young people, African Americans, and Latinos to the polls. Lower income communities benefit from social media advertising because prices of networked technology has come down and reduced economic barriers to social media. This year targeted advertising should be able to bump the amount of contact that these nontraditional voters receive.

The 2012 elections mark the first presidential election since the social news website Reddit boomed and became one of the most popular websites on the web. While Reddit played a part in the last election, “in 2008, the site became the Web’s most pro-Obama destination that wasn’t funded by the campaign itself,”<sup>21</sup> still it was not getting the same media attention or traffic as it does now. Reddit is a virtual bulletin board where anyone can post to various topics or categories called sub-Reddits. The site made national media attention earlier this year when they participated in a ‘blackout’ to protest the widely unpopular anti-piracy bills: The Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and its Senate companion, the Protect IP Act (PIPA). The site launched in 2005 but it wasn’t until 2011 that the site really took off. Reddit’s growth was the result of an internal shift among the website’s users, “Reddit’s traffic has exploded over the last few years—in 2011, visits doubled, and in December the site recorded 2 billion page views. It did so by turning inward, and by becoming more than just a place that amasses

19 Garcia, Ricco. Interview by author. Phone interview. Canton, New York, October 4, 2012.

20 Craig Auster Interview

21 Manjoo, Farhad. “The Great and Powerful Reddit: How the site went from a second-tier aggregator to the Web’s unstoppable force.” *Slate Magazine* .

links to outside sites.”<sup>22</sup> The difference is that the sites users began producing original content and posting things that were specific to the Reddit community. Reddit has since taken on a life of its own. According to Mike Schiraldi, one of the sites administrators, and Google Analytics the site in July 2010 the site received more than 8 million unique visitors over the course of 30 days.<sup>23</sup>

What makes the rise of Reddit so intriguing is how it differs from other social media sites. Reddit, unlike Facebook or Twitter is a forum for complete strangers. It allows people from all walks of life to discuss ideas, share stories, pictures and videos. More traditional forms of social media are based in networking and connecting with people you already know. The idea behind Reddit is that if you like something you “upvote” that post which pushes that post to the top of the page and if you dislike something you “downvote” and that post is buried underneath the thousands of more popular posts. This leads to an aggregate consciousness of the group on what should and should not be seen or discussed on the website.

Reddit also provides a forum for direct communication with the rich, famous and powerful through their “Ask Me Anything” (AMA) sessions. The site allows anyone with an account to start an AMA where the person who created the post is supposed to answer any question posted. AMA started as a way for people to get to know other Redditors but the websites popularity has led to celebrities and politicians to get in on the action. President Obama has participated in an AMA just last month and it generated more than 500,000 votes and touched on questions ranging from his views on campaign finance reform, Internet freedom and the revolving door problem in Washington.<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusion

Social media has no doubt changed electoral politics greatly. Since 2008, through small changes to their tracking of people as well as new forms of advertising, candidates and social

22 *ibid.*

23 Schiraldi, Mike. ““Experts” underestimate our traffic, and we don’t know why.” *Whats New on Reddit?*

24 “I am Barak Obama, President of the United States-- AMA.” *Reddit.*

media sights have greatly improved their usefulness in campaigning. These new social media formats increase the people’s access to candidates as well as increasing how much contact a candidate can have with their constituents.

There is still debate about how effective it is as a means for getting people to the polls. President Obama has 30 million likes on Facebook while Romney has a mere 8 Million; how significant will this gap actually be on Election Day? It all depends on the young people who dominate social media break tradition and turn out to the polls. If the candidates fail to motivate the young on social media to actually get out and vote it would seem that the candidate’s money would have been better spent on traditional media to entice the more concrete traditional voting blocs.

The Kony 2012 movement is an illustrative example of this problem with social media. The video was released on March 5, 2012 and had 100 million views and generated 5 million tweets in the first week of its existence. Over the next month the Internet was a buzz of information about the movement. But on April 20<sup>th</sup>, the day of Kony 2012’s big event ‘cover the night,’ there was nothing. The event never took off. The momentum of the video had fallen off quickly and the young people who were supposed to drive the movement lost interest. This seems to be the biggest problem facing the candidates in the 2012 election; they need to address how they will follow up the success of 2008’s social media magic and get voters to the polls.

### Bibliography

Auster, Craig. Interview by author. Phone interview. Canton, New York, October 2, 2012.

Garcia, Ricco. Interview by author. Phone interview. Canton, New York, October 4, 2012.

Chadwick, Andrew, and Phillip N. Howard. “Introduction: New directions in Internet politics and research .” In *The Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York, New York: Routledge, 2009. 1-11.

“Facebook Hits 488 Million Mobile Users.” *SocialBakers.com*. <http://www.socialbakers.com/blog/554-facebook-hits-488-million-mobile-users> infographic (accessed October

3, 2012).

“Global WiFi Enabled Consumer Electronic Products Market to Reach 3.7 Billion Units by 2015, According to New Report by Global Industry Analysts .” PRWeb. [http://www.prweb.com/releases/wifi\\_enabled\\_electronics/mobile\\_phones/prweb373494.htm](http://www.prweb.com/releases/wifi_enabled_electronics/mobile_phones/prweb373494.htm) (accessed October 1, 2012).

Guynn, Jessica . “Facebook experimenting with putting more ads in users’ News Feeds.” <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/15/business/la-fi-t-facebook-advertising-20120815> (accessed October 2, 2012).

“I am Barak Obama, President of the United States - AMA.” Reddit. [http://www.reddit.com/r/IAMa/comments/z1c9z/iam\\_barack\\_obama\\_president\\_of\\_the\\_united\\_states/sort=new](http://www.reddit.com/r/IAMa/comments/z1c9z/iam_barack_obama_president_of_the_united_states/sort=new) (accessed October 4, 2012).

Manjoo, Farhad. “The Great and Powerful Reddit: How the site went from a second-tier aggregator to the Web’s unstoppable force. - Slate Magazine.” Slate Magazine . [http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/technology/2012/01/reddit\\_how\\_the\\_site\\_went\\_from\\_a\\_second\\_tier\\_aggregator\\_to\\_the\\_web\\_s\\_unstoppable\\_force\\_.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/technology/2012/01/reddit_how_the_site_went_from_a_second_tier_aggregator_to_the_web_s_unstoppable_force_.html) (accessed October 3, 2012).

McNair, Brian . “The Internet and the Changing Global Media Environment.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York, New York: Routledge, 2009. 217-230.

Schiraldi, Mike. “‘Experts’ underestimate our traffic, and we don’t know why.” Whats New on Reddit?. <http://blog.reddit.com/2010/07/experts-misunderestimate-our-traffic.html> (accessed October 4, 2012).

*The Internet Presidential Campaign of 2012*. Film. Directed by Not Available. Washington DC: Broad Band Breakfast Club, 2012.

Vargas, Jose Antonio. “44 - Obama Raised Half a Billion Online.” Blogs & Columns, Blog Directory - The Washington Post. <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/11/obama-raised-half-a-billion-on.html> (accessed October 1, 2012).

## Art of the Chopper: Violence as both Narrative and Aesthetic in Hong Kong Cinema

**Abstract:** The use of violent images in Hong Kong Cinema has strong cultural, semiotic and aesthetic connotations. These images have become spectacles as directors employ violent or emotional images to shock or influence the audience. The spectacle in Hong Kong cinema is created through a mixture of both narrative and cinematic techniques and it is through these diverse techniques, that various traditional or pop culture elements come into play. While violent images are used mainly for narrative purposes to manipulate the audience’s perception of the story, there is also another side to these scenes of violence. The use of violent images isn’t one dimensional, for though they play a strong narrative role, one can also appreciate them for their aesthetic. If one looks beyond the spectacle of violent images, could they be considered works of art?

**Keywords:** Hong Kong cinema, spectacle, Triad Films, visual aesthetic, martial arts, constructive editing.

In our contemporary world, the regional is disappearing and traditional values are constantly being challenged. While the production of Hong Kong triad films is primarily regional, with the use of images closely developed and studied to appeal to a Hong Kong based audience, these images are also representative of a globalized reality, a reality in which the individual is caught in a universal diaspora.<sup>1</sup> Images have become spectacles in Hong Kong cinema as directors employ violent or emotional images to shock or

---

<sup>1</sup> Being once a European colony, the population of Hong Kong “is diverse and heterogeneous, made of immigrants (mostly from China), ex-patriots (from the UK), transnational business men and ‘workers’. As a consequence the population of Hong Kong is always in flux, transient, with multiple cultures and national identities, sharing communication in the same ‘always open’ spaces” (Redmond 25).

influence the audience. The spectacle in Hong Kong cinema is created through a mixture of both narrative and cinematic techniques, and it is through these diverse techniques that various traditional or pop culture elements come into play. I intend to analyze the ways violence is read by the Hong Kong audience in order to consider if their perception of violent action has changed over the course of globalization. I will also consider the way various modern or traditional images, with strong emotional ties, have been used to manipulate or to distract the audience. I will finally reflect if violent and shocking images in Hong Kong Cinema should be seen as narrative tools, media spectacles, or if even the most graphic and shocking images have their own aesthetic.

Film industries all over the world have the tendency to make movies spectacles, which appeal to people's base emotions and distract them from considering the social and historical context in which the images occur (Kellner 1). Paradoxically, these images are often perceived to be real and faithful reproductions of reality. Photographic and moving images have often been automatically associated with realism, for they create an illusion of objectivity. While "camera images have often been associated with truth-value in everyday settings" we often forget that "images are ambiguous and can be easily manipulated and altered" (Sturken, Cartwright 17). This becomes even more evident in movies and moving images, where the editing and juxtaposition of images is subject to the manipulation of an external influence. The audience is often unaware of the invisible intervention of this third party and is left suspended in a cinematic illusion.

Classic or Hollywood filmmaking is designed to prevent the "threatening possibility that the spectator becomes aware of the frame, of the fact that the camera is hiding certain things," for "then the spectator could realize that something is being kept away from him, a feeling that could destroy his fascinating, imaginary relation to the screen" (Hesling 186). In director Jonnie To's film, *The Mission* (1999), we witness an example of this illusion, for the audience is suspended in the deception of the moving images. In a crucial sequence of the movie, Boss Lung comes under enemy fire, while his four bodyguards transport him down an escalator (0:41:19). This sequence is shot to exaggerate the efficiency of Lung's bodyguards,

with open shots delimited with strict boundaries and creates the sense that the bodyguards are resourceful and completely in control of their surroundings. The clean editing and camera movement support the thematic conclusion in which the good guys prevail while helping create a technical illusion of unmistakable verisimilitude. The audience can't escape from this captivating deception, as they are unable to stop watching the screen. We are coerced to believe in the characters and the sequence of events that To, the director, creates. When the movie finally ends, we long to jump back into the illusion.

While one can simply observe the superficial characteristic of images, they are hardly ever two-dimensional. They almost always imply hidden connotations. According to Barthes, images can have denotative and connotative meaning. The denotative meaning can refer to the "literal and descriptive," while the connotative meaning usually refers to the "cultural and historical context" (Sturken, Cartwright 19). Images don't usually work independently. There is usually a subtext that the viewer picks up unconsciously. We, as viewers, are "dependent on the larger cultural meaning the images invoke" and use many tools to interpret images in order to create meaning for them. We employ most of these tools "automatically, without giving them much thought" (25).

We witness the manipulation of images in the film by Andrew Lau Wai-Keung, *Young and Dangerous: the Prequel* (1998), within its introductory sequence, as the character of Chan Ho-Nam plays his guitar on top of one of the hills overlooking Hong Kong (0:06:10). The scene is shot with a handheld camera, following Ho-Nam as if he were a rock star looking over the audience. Ho-Nam is a character that the Hong Kong audience is familiar with and has a strong affinity for. He appeared in the "Young and Dangerous" franchise since its inception. The sequence is shot as if it were a music video and it focuses on Ho-Nam as if he were a celebrity. While an objective viewer may not recognize the connection, the Hong Kong audience would immediately associate this sequence with the legacy of the popular "Young and Dangerous" franchise and Ho-Nam's power as a super-star. Thus the filmmakers have capitalized on the spectators' association with the film's "particular cognitive operations, which appear less active for being cognitive and famil-

iar” (Bordwell 164).

One of the many ways directors influence their audiences, is through the use of particular movie stars or stereotypical characters. These characters can help create diverse connotations, at times enhancing or distracting the viewer’s connection with the true meaning of the images on screen. For the actor or the characters in a movie to have such power and cultural significance, they would have had to be previously established or elevated to the status of a “cultural icon.” This process does not occur immediately, for “those who declare this sign status are in fact setting up a specific interpretation of their own reception of their conditions” (Tomasseli and Spepperson 26). But the task of giving the “icon” meaning is not attributed to the icons actual creators, “but for generations still to come” (26). Actors have the capacity to become cultural icons. What they signify is not determined by them or by their directors, but by their impact on popular culture and by aggressive advertising campaigns. This star power is a massive advantage for movies and can determine the success of the film.

For an actor to gain this immense appeal, he or she must not only have super human qualities, but must also be connected to the audience on a human level. In this way, a star can be seen as a commodity that “asks us to see ourselves in them” (Struken and Cartwright 203). We can see how a movie star can become a cultural icon in the movie by Wilson Yip Wai-Shun, *Mongkok Story*. In the movie, Roy Chong, a movie star who is well known to the Hong Kong audience, plays the character of Boss Ching. Roy Chong himself can be seen as a Cultural Icon, for he usually plays the role of a competent triad member, a lethal killer who also respects the values of the triad and of society. The audience can relate to Roy Chong, for while he has almost supernatural martial arts ability, he is also compassionate and subject to the human emotions of love and pain. We see this in Ching’s relationship with his wife, whom he tenderly cares for despite being part of the triad (0:27:02).

In its essence, *Mongkok Story* can be seen as an example of both the creation and destruction of cultural icons, a phenomenon that could be considered the birth and death of “media spectacles.” The narrator of the movie is Leung-Ping, a waiter of the “most busy” restaurant in Hong Kong. Many triad members,

who Leung-Ping considers celebrities, frequent the restaurant. The most mysterious and mythical character of all is Ching. At first, he is merely mentioned as a superhero, a myth (0:02:04). In these initial sequences, we can see the narrator Leung as the spectator, and the triad members as film stars or “media spectacles.” Leung greatly admires all of the triad members and has “spectatorial fantasies” of one day becoming inducted into a triad (Feng 11). The film delves deeper into this predicament when Leung-Ping finally becomes part of the triad, and he is forced to confront the cultural icon that before only occupied a fantastic dimension, Ching (0:13:45). In this film, the director Yip, associates us with Leung, for just as he aspired to become a triad member, we “aspire to become images: celebrities” (Sontag 109). As Leung Ping eventually loses faith in Ching, the movie’s director presents us with the dilemma of the spectacle/spectator relationship, breaking down the illusion of the cultural icon (1:13:48). He demonstrates the falsehood of the media spectacle, by presenting a world in which “reality has been abdicated,” and we are left with “only representations: media” (109).

Besides the iconizing of movie stars, classical canon films also use violence and excessive action to shock and influence the audience. In Hollywood there is a tendency to use images that are at times gruesome or gory to distract the audience from the true setting in which the events take place. Classical Hollywood cinema presents us with images that “thrill us – that is to startle shock and scare” (Bordwell, Thompson 323). While in Hollywood they use violence to shock, yet spare us the most gruesome details, in Hong Kong, violence has evolved into a whole new realm, a realm which strives to reach the point of exaggeration. This form of violence can be seen in itself as a form of rebellion against Hollywood and “attracts attention chiefly because it shows things that lie outside Hollywood’s range of tolerance: torture, dismemberment, disemboweling, gouged out eyes, jets of blood” (Bordwell 2000: 199).

While the excess of violence in Hong Kong films can be seen as experimental, it can also be considered a form of spectacle, for “our capacity to respond to our experiences with emotional freshness and ethical pertinence is being sapped by the relentless diffusion of vulgar and appalling images” (Sontag 109). We can see this in the movie by Herman Yau Lai-To, *On the Edge*, when

the character of Mini-B slashes the man who chopped up his arm. Mini-B is ruthless and the images that follow make the audience and the other characters in the shot recoil. We are impacted by the intensity of Mini-B's rage and are relieved when the character of Harry-boy finally kills the (suffering) victim (0:51:53). This excess of violence is not necessary for the development of the narrative, but was instead included in order to leave a lasting effect on the spectator. In this day and age when violent images are popular culture, "each situation...is turned into a spectacle to be real" (109). Yau capitalizes on this trend in order to impress on the viewer the escalation of violence in triad society.

Media spectacles are used in countries throughout the world to control the viewer's impressions regarding specific ideas and concepts, presenting them with a false or exaggerated version of reality. Since the sixties there has been a new, more cautious way of thinking of the media, "that of manipulation" (Handhart 101). Still images are framed; moving images are edited to the point that we don't trust what we see. It has come to the point that we consider digital media to be "dirty," for as technology advances, so do the extreme methods by which we are capable of manipulating images (Struken and Cartwright 131). Images can be twisted, edited to serve as propaganda; this is what is meant "by the use of images as politics" (131). Movies are also susceptible to this malady of mass media, for in this "kingdom of shadows" that is cinema; the "fixing of cinematic energies" can be directed to a "particular end" (Polan 132).

We can see this "manipulation" in the Hong Kong triad films as well, especially when the narrative and special effects control the audience's reaction regarding triad lifestyle. In the movie by Wong-Ching Po, *Hong Kong History X*, we witness the way a director uses the influence of spectacles to convince the viewer of the evils of Triad society. In this movie, the character Boss Fly can be considered a "spectacle." Fly's actions are so repulsive and the consequences are so destructive that the audience is conditioned to have an aversion to Fly. In the final scene, when he laughs after the destruction of Fifteen and Bee, he becomes the epitome of evil, representing the dark side of organized crime (1:31:35). While his actions are horrific, it is only when the audience witnesses the

consequences of those actions that we realize the true extent of the Triad's destructiveness (1:32:25). The visual and emotional impact is so strong that one leaves the theater detesting anything that has to do with triads.

We can see this effect in the movie by Billy Chung Siu-Hung, *Killer* (2000). In one of the most graphic scenes of the film, the character is allowed to be gang raped by her boyfriend. He was committing revenge on her for having an affair with Mantis, but he also wanted to provoke a conflict with Po and Tung (0:43:00). The visuals for this shot are extremely explicit. We see the expressions on the actress, Claire Yiu Ka-Nei's, face intercut with reactions of her attackers, all shot in blue filter. The shot is also filmed in slow motion with the passing of an action sequence. The scene appears otherworldly, horrific to the point of subhuman. While the filmmakers could have easily omitted this scene, we are forced to sit through it, identifying with the suffering of the character played by Yiu. The filmmakers leave us no doubt regarding the villainy of the boyfriend and his gang members by manipulating our perception of who are the heroes and the villains of the film. While this movie's theme and values may seem sincere, once we understand the Hong Kong's film industries unique dynamic, we can begin to unearth its hidden subtext.

The Hong Kong movie industry has been constantly subjected to external influences, which in many cases affect the content of the films. The triads themselves became involved in the film industry. Initially their involvement was limited to extortion rackets, forcing the production crews to pay rent for the use of streets that fell under their domain. Triad members were also used as actors and stuntmen in Kung Fu and action movies. Their experience added verisimilitude to the action sequences. While at first the Triads were only superficially involved in the film industry, as the Hong Kong film complex grew to be the third largest in the world, the Triads were "no longer satisfied in taking protection fees" and "many groups sought to be involved in production and distribution" (Booth 148). The Hong Kong film industry became incredibly lucrative, making 300 percent more profit in ticket sales alone. Thus, it was no surprise the Triads wanted a larger "piece of the action" (148). The Triads even reached the point of attempting "to corral

top stars such as Anita Mui, Jackie Chan, Leslie Cheung or Chou Yun-Fat” to accept specific roles (148). While many actors cautiously accepted the Triad’s involvement, that was not always the case. When an actor or director turned down a Triad film, the Triads usually “resorted to violence” (149).

We can see a literal representation of concrete consequences of Triad intervention in the film industry, through the lens of *Mongkok Story*. The character, Lui Lone, is making a movie of his own “heroic feats.” In his movie, Lui Lone is a horrible actor, but is able to control the entire production crew and bullies the director into making crucial decisions. In this scene’s self-reflexive structure of a movie-within-a-movie, we see the depths of triad involvement in the film industry and its repercussions. We witness the resentment felt by the filmmakers and actors. When Lui Lone calls for help after being attacked by Leung Ping, the director simply switches off his walky-talky. The narrative stance of *Mongkok Story* is analogous to the public outcry in 1992 when filmmakers and stars rose up to protest the “triad infiltration in their business” (Booth 150). While the manifestation received widespread media attention, it did not stop the violence. Triad money was too far imbedded in the local film industry.

The triads not only profited economically from their involvement, they also used film and other media as a means of communication in order to promote specific bosses or the “triad ways” (Whitehead 88). In the movies they bankrolled, triad producers used star power and shocking visuals in order to impress on the audience their version of reality and distract the public from the true implication of the triad’s action. In short, they created a media spectacle. We can see the way this plays out in another scene of *Mongkok Story*, when Ching and his gang yell insults at an actor as they watch a movie in the theater (0:35:26). The character on the theater screen is killing all of his enemies, shooting them down one by one. The scene is unrealistic to the point that it becomes comic. Ching’s gang begins to laugh at actions portrayed on the screen. What they don’t realize is that the actor playing the action hero is actually in the movie theater with them. He is a Red Pole from a rival triad, and he had both bankrolled and acted in the movie they are viewing. The actor comes down and confronts Ching. In per-

son, Lui Long is a coward, a person who avoids physical conflict whenever possible. He is the complete opposite of Ching, yet in his film he is portrayed as the hero. Once again, the director uses the structure of a movie-within-a-movie to emphasize how triads use films to impress on the viewer a different reality than the one occurring off camera. These images can be seen as a form of extortion, a continuation not much different than the exploitation of the actors by the triads, for these images exploit the audience, influencing their perception of reality through visual violence.

While Triads are a quintessential element of the Hong Kong film industry, they are not the only authority using movies as an exploitative tool. David Clark enumerates the different steps taken by the ICAC (Independent Commission against Corruption)<sup>2</sup> in combating general corruption and triad influence in the public and private sector. One of these methods is to “exert influence through the media” (Clark 124). An example of this would be the government’s financing of certain films that promote an anti-triad or pro-government agenda. While the influence of the ICAC in the Hong Kong film industry is not as “spectacular” or visually extreme as the triad influence, their presence is significant. The film *Hong Kong History X* can be seen as an example of a film partly financed by the government. In this movie we can see how, just as shocking images were used by the triads to influence the audience, government sponsored films also use “spectacles” to present a negative version of the triad life style. In this scene, Bee’s girlfriend is thrown off a bridge and later dies from the impact. We are clearly shown the blood spilling out from under the blanket in which she is tied (1:14:00). This scene was calibrated to leave a negative impression with the audience, for the violence was clearly unmotivated, and the victim was an innocent civilian.

Throughout *Hong Kong History X*, we see the triad as a negative influence on Bee’s character. He transforms into a criminal with no respect for traditional and social values. This is ex-

---

2 The Independent Commission Against Corruption was founded in 1977 to “investigate rampant police corruption” and to stop the police involvement in Triad activity (Stokes, Hoover 74). While at first they were involved in prosecuting corruption cases in the police force, they then commenced tackling corruption on all levels of Hong Kong society.

aggerated when Fifteen returns from prison, claiming that he has converted to Buddhism (1:00:00). *Hong Kong History X* visually compares the violent lifestyle of Bee with the peaceful path lead by his brother. Through this comparison, the movie clearly delineates the paths of good and evil. Yet in its attempt to “sway the masses,” *Hong Kong History X* walks the fine line between entertainment and “propaganda” (Sturken, Cartwrite 131). While we may consider the values presented in *Hong Kong History X* as morally acceptable, it is more difficult for us to accept the fact that our perception of reality has been manipulated to vilify a segment of society. It is here where we see the essence of spectacle; these images were designed, calculated for us to think negatively about the triads. In the West, media manipulation has developed a negative connotation and we are forced to acknowledge that almost all the images surrounding us are manipulated to “promote a particular idea” in an attempt to “persuade people to believe in certain concepts” (131). The ICAC itself was conscious of how controversial their actions had become. They were aware that their use of media as propaganda would “most likely produce a *political cause* in a western country” (Clark 124).

While at times the use of action in triad films appears as simply a narrative tool promoting a pro-triad agenda, action in Hong Kong cinema can also be seen as a form of aesthetic. This is one of the greatest differences between Hong Kong and Hollywood cinema, in which violence is usually associated with conservative realism. On the one hand, it can be said that Hong Kong action “attracts attention chiefly because it shows things that lie outside Hollywood’s range of tolerance: torture, dismemberment, disemboweling, gouged out eyes, jets of blood” (Bordwell 2000:199). This made Hong Kong films “stand out in the international market,” for they went further than mere spectacular violence “pushing the boundaries of taste” (199). On the other hand, beyond these gruesome extremes, there is a “kinetic precision” in Hong Kong films that “arises partly from the stringent codes governing Asian fighting traditions” (“Planet Hong Kong” 200). We can see this affect in the movie by Winston Wip, *Killzone* (2005). In one of the initial sequences of *Killzone*, the police attempt to arrest the crime lord, Po. While Po appears to be an old and frail individual,

he has unnatural martial arts skills, and the police subdue him with difficulty (0:29:00). In this sequence, the characters move with abnormal speed, and the camera language accentuates the aesthetics of the fight. When the other characters leap on top of Po, they are shot in slow motion. The movements remind the audience of a gymnast flying with agility through the air. When they actually clash in combat, their motions flow together like those of partners in an excessively complicated dance. While this fight sequence is unrealistic and exaggerated, it is choreographed with precision and possesses a beauty that is not found in Hollywood fight sequences. This beauty can be traced back to traditional Chinese opera, in which the movement and rhythm corresponding to predominantly “operatic features” (Sheppard 2). This unexpected and intrinsic appeal in martial art movies exists in the place “between the ‘operatic’ and ‘cinematic’ in musical, dramatic, and visual terms” (2). This combination of different genres, leads the cinematographers of the Hong Kong films to focus on the aesthetic rather than the narrative representation of action sequences.

In *Killzone*, we also witness a style of editing unique to Hong Kong’s aesthetic in the succession of images put together by constructive editing, a technique “which builds up the sense of the entire action by showing only parts of it” (Bordwell 2000: 210). Constructive editing does not give the audience the entire view, but instead cuts between a variety of shots, which together create the fluidity of motion. We see this editing technique in *Killzone* where the choreographed movements are edited together to create an aesthetic, an impression of violence that resembles dance. This is obvious in the sequence when one of Po’s henchmen kills a cop in a parking garage (0:52:24). Po’s Red Pole is extremely deadly and moves with superhuman speed. The fight scene is shot in order to make the action aesthetically pleasing to the viewer. We don’t see the entirety of the action. Most of the time, the movements happen too fast to be distinguished one from the other. The sequence is edited to capture only the essential parts of the action sequence by exaggerating the most impressive feats, such as right before the cop is going to be “chopped”. We as an audience are left to fill in the blanks, to lose ourselves in the visual appeal of the fighting. In Hong Kong cinema, this editing technique was “ideal for scenes demanding fantastic or

supernatural feats,” (Bordwell 2000: 212) but goes beyond those demands. Constructive editing, the sense of choreography and the representation of fantastic physical elements, all lead to the hypothesis that it is the aesthetics of action in Hong Kong films, “the spurting blood and gruesome details, sustained by the mastery of an internal film language,” that makes these action film so “radically different from those on offer elsewhere” (Bordwell 2000: 217).

In conclusion, though action and violence in Hong Kong Triad films may be used for narrative purposes, serving as manipulative propaganda, it is in the aesthetic components that one finds the most enduring cinematic contribution. It is this intrinsic element that prevents Hong Kong’s violent action from becoming a mere media spectacle, simply intended to shock a specific audience. It is in this creation of an art form that Hong Kong Triad films stand apart from the classical Hollywood canon. Through all the blood and carnage, there is a conscious attempt to arrive at a perception of beauty. In this day and age it is common to analyze cinema as just a tool, a commodity that pushes a certain agenda. While this is also true for Hong Kong cinema, in triad films the tools that are used to shock the audience are exaggerated to the point of absurdity. These over the top images create the aesthetic of violence unique to Hong Kong cinema and place it “among the glories of popular art” (Planet Hong Kong” 199).

### Bibliography

- Booth, Martin. *The Dragon Syndicates: The Global Phenomenon of the Triads*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999.
- Bordwell, David. *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment*. Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2000.
- Bordwell, David, and Kristin Thompson. *Film art: An Introduction*. 5th ed. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997.
- Borwell, David. *Narration In Film Fiction*. Madison: University Press of Wisconsin, 1985.
- Clark, David. “Ten years after: Corruption and Anticorruption in Hong Kong”. *Asian Journal of Public Administration*. 8.1 (1986): 13-32.

- Hanhardt, John G.. *Video culture: a Critical Investigation*. Layton, Utah: G.M. Smith, Peregrine Smith Books, in association with Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1986.
- Hesling, W. . “Classical Cinema and the Spectator.” *Literature Film Quarterly* 15.3 (1987): 181.
- Morris , Meaghan . “ Transnational Imagination in Action Cinema: Hong Kong and the Making of a Global Popular Culture.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5.2 (2004): 181-199.
- Kellner, Spiel. ”Social Memory and Representation of 9/11 in Contemporary Hollywood Film.” *Spiel* 24 (2005): 1.
- Polan, Dana. “‘Above all else to make you see’: Cinema and the Ideology of Spectacle.” *Boundary* 2. 11.1/2 (1983): 129-144.
- Sheppard W. Anthony. “Tan Dun and Zhang Yimou Between Film and Opera.” *Journal of Musicological Research* 29.1 (2010).
- Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.
- Stokes, Lisa Odham, and Michael Hoover. *City on Fire: Hong Kong Cinema*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Sturken, Marita, and Lisa Cartwright. *Practices of Looking: an Introduction to Visual Culture*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Tomaselli, Keyan G., and David H. T. Scott. *Cultural Icons*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2009.



Tzintzun Aguilar Izzo, Migrant I & II, Video Stills

## Divisions within Divisions: The Problem with Segregated Education in Northern Ireland

**Abstract:** Schools in Northern Ireland are divided into five categories: Controlled Schools, Catholic Maintained Schools, Other Maintained Schools, Voluntary Grammar Schools, and Grant Maintained Integrated Schools. Dividing Ireland's school system into five separate strands reinforces the conflict with the Republic of Ireland as it directs children at a young age into a specific ideology or category; segregated education also leads to a disparity between what is taught at Protestant schools versus Catholic schools. Segregated education affects students inside schools walls as well as outside of the classroom as children carry these rigid viewpoints with them through their everyday lives. It can be argued, therefore, that the segregated school system is further perpetuating the long-standing Irish conflict. Although the integrated school movement is gaining momentum, it would be impossible to funnel these five school systems into one strand. Because the basic framework of the five-strand system is too complex, it is necessary for some of these divisions to merge in order to overcome conflict.

**Keywords:** Northern Ireland; Catholic; Protestant; education; segregated school; integrated school movement; conflict.

“Segregated education is one of the most important ways in which the boundary is maintained in Northern Ireland. Not only does it deprive schoolchildren of significant social contact with those of a different religion, but it can also add to the perception that the divide is religious in nature.”

Claire Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief*

Comprising only six of Ireland's thirty-two counties, Northern Ireland's main division stems from religion, and defining oneself as either Protestant or Catholic "acts as a boundary marker both in terms of personal identities and social structures" (Mitchell 60). Since religion plays a major factor in one's identity, children are raised on the principles of their family's faith and beliefs. And because the school system is religiously segregated, children believe that the conflict occurring in Northern Ireland was solely caused by religious differences; however, parents understand that other factors, including ethnic and political distinctions, also contributed to the North's current situation (Mitchell 60-1). Schools in Northern Ireland are divided into five categories: Controlled Schools (Protestant schools controlled by a Board of Governors); Catholic Maintained Schools (Catholic schools controlled by a Board of Governors); Other Maintained Schools (Protestant schools that receive funding from Education and Library Boards); Voluntary Grammar Schools (secondary grammar schools owned by trustees and managed by a Board of Governors); and Grant Maintained Integrated Schools (mixed schools for both Protestant and Catholic students managed by a Board of Governors) (McKenna). However, there is a large disparity in terms of the number of students who attend each school, as over 90% of elementary and secondary schoolchildren in 2005 attended either a Protestant or Catholic school (Niens 337). This being said, the school system simply creates more divisions within an already religiously divided North, which is the other half of the partitioned Ireland—a confusing framework for such a small nation with only 300,000 school-age students (Knox 2).

Dividing Ireland's school system into five separate strands only reinforces the conflict as it directs children at a young age into a specific ideology or category; the basic framework of the five-strand system is too complex, and with the understanding that it would be impossible to funnel these strands into one due to the North's history, it is necessary for some of these divisions to merge in order to overcome conflict.

*Background: A History of Segregated Education in Northern Ireland*

The original goal of the National School system estab-

lished in 1831 was to create a "non-denominational structure" (Morgan 365). It soon became apparent, though, that individual schools were controlled by the local religion of that particular community, as clergy were reluctant to the integrated system proposed by Lord Londonderry, the first minister of education (Morgan 365). By the late 1800s, a de facto religiously segregated education system was recognized throughout Ireland. Not only did this system create conflict and controversy between Nationalists and Unionists, but it also led to a dual system of "controlled" and "maintained" schools with the latter owned by the Catholic Church and the former owned by the Protestant Church (Morgan 366).

Change in the segregated system did not occur until the early 1970s as individuals were looking for answers in regards to the ongoing conflict: "Despite continuing controversy, by the mid-1970s the view was growing that schools should become involved in efforts to improve community relations" (Morgan 366). This new philosophy was partially a result of the 1954 United States Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education*, which declared segregated schools as unconstitutional, and eventually led to new outlook on the social role of education worldwide (Hayes 454). With this court case in mind, academic researchers and parents in Northern Ireland voiced their concerns as they deemed that the current segregated education system was only perpetuating the conflict, and therefore wanted schools to be a means for joining the two diverging communities. Establishing integrated education would not be easy though, especially with the administration of direct rule from Westminster beginning in 1974. Nevertheless, with the belief that integration would foster peace, the first integrated school, Lagan College in south Belfast, opened in September 1981 with 27 students in attendance (Morgan 368).

With the addition of ten more integrated schools and plans for more on the rise, an Education Reform Bill was implemented in 1988 (Morgan 372). This bill introduced a new national curriculum, which "includes a common curriculum for those subjects that are often associated with community relations, such as history and religious education" (Niens 339). But more importantly, "all schools are required to incorporate community relations into their teaching through the introduction of the statutory and cross-curricular

themes known as Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) and Cultural Heritage (CH)” (Niens 339). The central focus of EMU is understanding, reacting, and reducing conflict all while promoting respect for oneself and for others (Pritchard 398). CH encourages students to appreciate their own cultural heritage in addition to developing an awareness of international and national aspects of society (Pritchard 398). The coexistence of these two programs allows for students to comprehend the differences between Protestants and Catholics, while the Reform Bill as a whole “restructured the financing of education, management of schools, the curriculum and the relationships between teachers, parents, administrators and politicians” (Morgan 371). In addition, the bill provided two categories of integrated schools: grant maintained integrated (GMI) and transforming (Donnelly 189). Both of these schools require a maintained 70:30 ratio with 30% of the students practicing the minority religion in the area (Knox 2). In 2007, there were a total of 61 integrated schools in Northern Ireland, educating only 5-6% of school-age children (Donnelly 189).

### **What’s Wrong with Segregated Education?**

With the majority of children in Northern Ireland attending segregated schools, two different hypotheses present the major impacts of religiously segregated education. First, the social hypothesis states that segregated education “initiates conflict by emphasizing group differences and encouraging mutual ignorance and suspicion” (McClenahan 550). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that children are directed to a particular school by their parents and have little say in their own education. Second, the cultural hypothesis looks at curriculum differences and proposes that children are “introduced to differing and potentially opposing cultural environments” (McClenahan 550). Because a Protestant school teaches and emphasizes different subjects from a Catholic school, the result is two distinct groups of children living in Northern Ireland. These two hypotheses suggest that children develop negative attitudes in regards to the opposing side, which leads to a continued divided society.

The act of categorizing children into a specific ideology in relation to the school a child attends is a negative impact of segre-

gated education and thus, “the dual education system has come to be seen by many as, if not the cause of division in Northern Irish society at least a major perpetuating factor” (Cairns 120). School is not only a place for children to learn how to read and write, but it is also a social institution where ideas and beliefs are discussed and shared between students and teachers and amongst students themselves (Cairns 142). Not only does segregated education affect students inside school walls, but also outside the classroom as children carry these rigid viewpoints with them through their everyday lives. Moreover, segregated education leads to two different perspectives on the current conflict: one from a British standpoint and the other from an Irish standpoint. This stance is confirmed through research conducted by Brian Lambkin whose report “shows that knowledge of the other community’s religion is weak, and that many religious and historical myths fill in gaps of knowledge about the ‘other side’” (Mitchell 61). And since parents make the final decision of which school their children will attend, children are more than likely going to attend the school in which their family practices that religion. This creates a child who is unaware and oblivious of the opposing viewpoint—a detrimental impact for a region that is trying to achieve peace.

In addition to being harmful socially, segregated schooling is also harmful educationally as significant curriculum differences exist between Protestant and Catholic schools. Researchers Denis P. Barritt and Charles Frederick Carter establish the historical differences in *The Northern Ireland Problem: A Study in Group Relations*:

The Catholic community gathers to itself the memories of an oppressed nation, the pride of a remote Celtic past before the Norman invaders came, the bitterness of a people leaderless and dispossessed at the time of the plantations. The Protestant community has its own proud memories of the struggle for freedom of conscience at Derry and Boyne, of high principles successfully maintained, of ordered and productive agriculture and industry brought to an undeveloped land, and of an ascendancy held by constant vigilance, enterprise and hard work (as quoted

in Pritchard 388).

These historical differences lead to varying curriculums and therefore, Catholics are more apt to teach Irish history in terms of heroism, while Protestants teach their students about the struggles associated with maintaining their faith (Pritchard 390). Also, because Catholics highlight the importance of learning about Irish culture, more emphasis is placed on the study of history, language, and literature; in contrast, Protestant students are better educated in the study of science. Likewise, the Irish language is taught in Catholic schools as it is associated with cultural identity, but is absent in Protestant schools (Pritchard 391). One of the more sensitive subjects, religious education, is required by the Department of Education Northern Ireland (DENI) to be taught from both a Catholic and Protestant perspective. The Department acknowledges, however, that each school is unique and the requirement is only a common core “that schools are free to build upon in a way that suits the needs of their pupils and the ethos of that school” (*Department*). As is evident, these differences only prosper the continuation of conflict in Northern Ireland as the young generation is categorized into a specific ideology at a young age and is educated on the basis of a particular religion. More integrated schools are needed in order to resolve this dilemma.

### **Picking up Speed: The Rise of the Integrated School Movement**

In September 2008, 831 applicants who wished to enroll in integrated schools were turned away simply due to the lack of space (*Northern*). While this fact is unfortunate, it only proves that there is community support for integrated schools and an increasing number of parents want their children to receive a more unbiased education. Yet, the expansion of the movement would not be possible without the government’s support, which began with a promise to “facilitate and encourage the development of integrated education where there is parental demand” in the 1988 Education Reform Bill (Morgan 371). While this clause may seem insignificant or trivial, the mere fact that the government included it meant that integrated education was part of official policy. Established

one year prior to the Reform Bill, the Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education (NICIE) is a voluntary organization that seeks to promote the spread of integrated schools. It is from NICIE’s website that the true meaning of integrated education is manifested: “The underpinning principle of Integrated Education is the belief that by bringing Catholics, Protestants and children of other faiths, and none, together in a shared learning environment, they can learn to understand, respect and accept each other” (*Northern*). Furthermore, “integrated education means bringing children up to live as adults in a pluralist society, teaching them to recognize what they hold in common with each and to accept and enjoy any differences” (*Northern*).

As is evident from visiting Northern Ireland, the conflict today is a result of not only religious tensions, but also historical, political, economic, and psychological elements. In order to achieve a more unified society, the contact hypothesis, which “proposes that bringing together individuals from opposing groups can reduce intergroup conflict ‘under optimal conditions,’” has been the main underlying influence of cross-community programs in Northern Ireland (Niens 338). These optimal conditions, first suggested by American psychologist Gordon Allport in 1954, include equal status among the opposing groups, avoidance of social competition, cooperation between groups, and contact legitimized through institutional support (Niens 338). Further research has been conducted in regards to the contact hypothesis, including an extensive literature review done by Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp in 2000. Their findings supported Allport’s suggestions as they discovered the power of including these four optimal conditions:

Provided a number of interrelated and sequential process are achieved under these optimal conditions, not only may intergroup contact mediate positive attitudinal change and reduce intergroup conflict but it can also result in the development of an overarching identity in which participants perceive themselves as sharing common or singular identity with out-group members (Hayes 461-2).

This finding verifies the very reason why integrated education is promoted in Northern Ireland as it confirms that peace can begin with children through schooling. Still, including these four conditions does not mean that peace between the two opposing groups is automatic; rather, recent research suggests that problems can still arise that can affect, and even elevate, intergroup conflict, as most of these problems revolve around majority and minority relations with the latter forming conflicting perceptions of the former) (Hayes 462). For the most part, however, the majority of research has found that cross-community contact has had a positive impact in terms of reducing negative attitudes of the opposing group (Niens 339). And while the contact hypothesis is not a new phenomenon, it has provided to be a suitable focus for the North's current need for integrated education.

One of the benefits of integrated schools is that it provides an alternative for parents who want their children to understand both sides of the conflict, ensuring they develop a well-rounded sense of the situation around them. This following map taken from NICIE's website, shows the current locations for every primary and



As one can see, integrated schools orbit around large cities, such as Belfast, and are scattered throughout the rest of the North, with only a few located in the western region. Since the government will promote integrated schools in areas only demanded by parents, it can be implied that the western region of Northern Ireland, which includes parts of County Londonderry in addition to County Tyrone and County Fermanagh, simply does not see a need for integrated education. Because approximately a quarter of the population that lives in Dublin resides in these counties, this deficiency can be blamed on the region's smaller population. Yet, in order for the movement to be successful throughout the North, there is a need for integrated schools in these western counties; additionally, due to the increasing pattern of residential segregation, integrated education is needed because it will force children, as well as their parents, to form relationships and come in contact with those from the opposing religion on an everyday basis (McClenahan 550). What is even more striking is the realization that some cities have either an integrated primary or secondary school, not both. While some may immediately argue that children can simply attend an integrated secondary school in a nearby city after completing an integrated primary school, many cities do not have this luxury as the closest secondary school is miles away. For example, children in Fivemiletown, Limavady, Garvagh, Cookstown, Ballymoney, Ballycastle, Carnlough, or Larne who attended a primary integrated school would have to travel to an outside city to attend a secondary integrated school. How are children able to successfully move from one level of education to another if they are obliged to attend a segregated secondary school after seven years of integrated education? This insight proves that there is a greater need for more integrated schools in order to maintain the function of integrated education.

As already revealed, the establishment of integrated schools begins with parents who want their children to be educated amongst children from the other religion (Dunn 122). Because the government first wants to see that there is an interest before supporting an integrated school in a particular area, NICIE can assist parents to form a Parent Steering Group who will help institute a

future integrated school in their community (*Northern*). This bottom-up grassroots operation allows parents from both religions to work together and achieve a common goal. While this is a significant step, in order to retain the same integrated concept throughout the North, Seamus Dunn asserts that a common definition of “integration” is needed and outlines the three common aims for all integrated schools (123). Dunn first asserts that membership needs to be consistent and notes that all the existing integrated schools define themselves as Christian, with the intention that the curriculum teaches children about other religions (123). Second, in terms of ethos, integrated schools should be pluralist, and therefore the schools can recognize and respect both Protestants and Catholics (Dunn 124). Lastly, concerning the management of the school, it is obvious that the principle and faculty administer the institution, but parental involvement is equally important as they are responsible for instituting the integrated school. As noted by Hazelwood Integrated College in 1985, “parents have the primary responsibility for the education and welfare of their children and this should involve them in the planning and content of the education of their children, structurally as well as in the curriculum” (qtd. in Dunn 125). So while the rise of integrated education in Northern Ireland is promising, it is also critical to keep in mind the definition of integration and not to lose sight of its primary function—to create a positive learning experience for both Protestant and Catholic students.

### Mending the Problem: A Proposal for Streamlining the Education System

In order to ease the tension present between Catholics and Protestants, the education system needs to be reorganized and consolidated because a five-part education system only adds to the confusion and turmoil found within the six counties. Yet, eliminating the main Protestant and Catholic sectors would be ruthless and detrimental to the progressing peace process. Therefore, the best solution to the current problem is to condense the education system from five to three strands by removing the Other Maintained and Voluntary Grammar sectors. Just as the memories of the past are still engrained into the minds of the North, this minor tweak to the current education system would require the support of both parties

and would take time to be fully addressed.

As mentioned, Other Maintained schools refer to those owned by the Protestant Church and receive funding through Library and Education boards (McKenna). The only difference between Other Maintained schools and Controlled schools is that the Education and Library Boards own the later (“Schools”). Voluntary Grammar refer to those owned by school trustees while Catholic Maintained are owned by the Catholic Church (“Schools”). So while Controlled schools are still overwhelmingly Protestant, they are owned outside of the Protestant church while the Catholic Church directly owns Catholic Maintained schools. The following diagram taken from DENI shows the breakdown of schools



(“Schools”):

As can be seen with the pie chart, and noted by researcher Seamus Dunn, the Other Maintained and Voluntary Grammar branches are irrelevant, and the existing school system can be essentially divided into two main groups: controlled schools and maintained schools (Dunn 121). This being said, many researchers and authors leave out Other Maintained and Voluntary Grammar sectors when describing the current education system. However, their presence creates confusion and the small number of students who attend these schools could be relocated to attend either a Controlled, Catholic Maintained, or Integrated school as can be seen from the

**Pupils by Management Type and Religion 2009-2010**

|   | Protestant | Catholic     | Others | Total  |
|---|------------|--------------|--------|--------|
| <b>Primary schools</b>                      |            |              |        |        |
| Controlled                                  | 52,520     | <u>3,645</u> | 14,915 | 71,080 |
| Catholic Maintained (includes Irish medium) | <u>761</u> | 71,399       | 1,207  | 73,367 |

|   |                |                |               |                |
|---|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Integrated                                  | 3,220          | 2,974          | 1,911         | 8,105          |
| <b>Secondary schools (non grammar)</b>      |                |                |               |                |
| Controlled                                  | 26,161         | <u>563</u>     | 4,977         | 31,701         |
| Catholic Maintained (includes Irish medium) | <u>240</u>     | 40,923         | 352           | 41,515         |
| Integrated                                  | 5,671          | 4,495          | 1,933         | 12,099         |
| <b>Secondary schools (grammar)</b>          |                |                |               |                |
| Controlled                                  | 11,412         | 1,035          | 2,438         | 14,885         |
| Voluntary Catholic                          | 253            | 27,051         | 241           | 27,545         |
| Voluntary other                             | 13,108         | 2,072          | 4834          | 20,014         |
| <b>Total</b>                                | <b>113,346</b> | <b>154,157</b> | <b>32,808</b> | <b>300,311</b> |

In addition to making it known that Voluntary schools are only found in Secondary grammar schools, this table further proves that a majority of students attend either a Controlled or Catholic Maintained school. Another interesting aspect to highlight is the informal integration that is occurring with Protestant students attending Catholic Maintained schools and Catholic students attending Protestant Controlled schools (see underlined figures in chart). Although the numbers are small in relation to the entire school population, 1,001 and 4,208 respectfully, the mere fact that parents are encouraging their children to receive their education from the opposite side only demonstrates their personal efforts in contributing to the peace process.

Additionally, a five-strand configuration is costly in both a financial manner and in the long-term. According to Jon McCourt, a Catholic born and raised in Derry-Londonderry who has made a career on instituting peace in both his hometown and the North, it costs over \$1 billion per year to maintain segregated

schools (McCourt). While DENI does not publicly disclose this information, it is without doubt expensive to run five distinctive school systems. In contrast, the government acknowledges that it has spent millions of dollars on peace related measures (Niens 337). This being said, these five strands also put a strain on the North’s efforts of establishing peace as citizens lose sight of the big picture and instead “focus on the more immediate and local issues which impinge directly on their lives” (Morgan 376). Likewise, children are brought up with a predisposed disposition of the opposing religion simply because all the children in their class practice their same religion. This occurrence further segregates the community and is reiterated through newspaper articles and news broadcasts, many of which promote the idea that Protestants and Catholics cannot get along. However, research conducted by Carol McClenahan, Ed Cairns, Seamus Dunn, and Valerie Morgan show that children look beyond, and almost ignore, the current division when establishing friendships. Their study looked at 226 11- to 12-year-old students and 150 14- to 15-year-old students in Northern Ireland who attended a Protestant Controlled school, a Catholic Maintained school, or an integrated school (Morgan 549). Every student answered a questionnaire regarding their friends inside their class and outside of school (Morgan 552). Their findings suggest that in general “in-group bias in friendship choices was the exception rather than the rule for all three schools” (Morgan 554). This study highlights that children do not necessarily gravitate towards other children who share their same religion, and therefore it can be implied that it is really parents, community members, teachers, and church leaders that are fortifying the local and regional divisions. Segregated schools force children into a specific ideology, making them believe that separation is necessary between the two religions, and trying to undo the bonds, connections, and friendships that children are forming by nature.

**Conclusion: The Future of the Education System**

Similar to the way William B. Yeats questioned the worth of his life in “Among School Children,” one cannot help but question the role of the current education system in Northern Ireland when watching young children participate in hostile events (Yeats 215-6). As is evident from attending the Belfast parade, young people actually perpetuate and encourage conflict. Whether this is demonstrated by helping build large bonfires or wearing the

British flag and banging on a steel drum, this one event shows that the education children are receiving, both at home and at school, is a negative impact in regards to the peace process (Baucom). Although some may argue that these children are merely celebrating their Protestant roots, their patriotic demeanor can also be viewed as sole partisanship to their religion and ignorance towards the Catholic Church. The real question that arises is if these future generations will continue down this contending path or if they will change directions and promote a unified North.

While many were skeptical of the integrated school movement at the beginning, including Jon McCourt who had reservations because integrated schools were only being implemented in “well-hidden, well-tailored areas” that were not directly impacted by the conflict, today about 60-65% of pupils attending integrated schools come from the working class, which offers an optimistic future for the region (McCourt). The main problem associated with segregated education is that “the two sides to a long-standing and violent social conflict are being educated separately in schools which are either managed by, or are closely associated with, churches” (Dunn 121). Unfortunately, deciding whether integrated education is best for the North is not the only dilemma for DENI to solve as an article titled “While education staff lose their jobs, bosses get bonuses” appeared on the front page of *The Irish Times* in the midst of the Protestant parade season in July 2011. The mere title of the article reveals the exploitation of the education system as “twenty of Northern Ireland’s top education officials have been paid tens of thousands of pounds in bonuses while their staff are being laid off or are struggling with pay freezes” (Doyle 1). So while organizations such as NICIE are trying to develop more integrated schools in order to attain peace, the education system itself is preoccupied with money scandals. Northern Ireland’s segregated education system is problematic because it demonstrates that religious divisions are still apparent in the westernized world. The westernized world should set an example of peace and unity for the non-westernized world, but instead the segregated education system is only highlighting and perpetuating the country’s internal division. While it will be a challenge for Northern Ireland to instill peace through the establishment of more integrated schools and condensation of the five-strand system, the region has a history of persistence and overcoming obstacles, and this hurdle will prove to be no different.

## Bibliography

Cairns, Ed. “Schools in Northern Ireland.” Chapter 6 in *Caught in Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Belfast: Appletree Press, 1987. 118-143.

Department of Education. NI Direct, 2005.

Donnelly, Caitlin. “The integrated school in a conflict society: a comparative analysis of two integrated primary schools in Northern Ireland.” *Cambridge Journal of Education* 38.2 (2008): 187-198.

Doyle, Simon. “While education staff lose their jobs, bosses get bonuses.” *The Irish Times* 12 July 2011: 1.

Dunn, Seamus. “Integrated Schools in Northern Ireland.” *Oxford Review of Education* 15.2 (1989): 121-128.

Hayes, Bernadette C., Ian McAllister, Lizanne Dowds. “Integrated Education, Intergroup Relations, and Political Identities in Northern Ireland.” *Social Problems* 54.4 (2007): 454-482.

Knox, Colin. “Sharing Education in Northern Ireland: Draft Policy Briefing.” University of Ulster. University of Ulster School of Criminology, Politics and Social Policy, 2 Aug. 2010.

McClenahan, Carol, Ed Cairns, Seamus Dunn, and Valerie Morgan. “Intergroup Friendships: Integrated and Desegregated Schools in Northern Ireland.” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 136.5 (1996): 549-558.

McCourt, Jon. Personal interview. 15 July 2011.

McKenna, Fionnuala, and Martin Melaugh, eds. “Background Information on Northern Ireland Society- Education.” CAIN. CAIN, 14 March 2011.

Mitchell, Claire. *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief*. England: Ashgate

Publishing Limited, 2006.

Morgan, Valerie and Grace Fraser. "When does 'good news' become 'bad news'? Relationships between government and the integrated schools in Northern Ireland." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 47.4 (1999): 364-379.

Niens, Ulrike and Ed Cairns. "Conflict, Contact, and Education in Northern Ireland." *Theory into Practice* 44.4 (2005): 337-344.

Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education. NICIE. Web. 20 July 2011.

Pritchard, Roslind M.O., and Rafik Loulidi. "Some Attitudinal Aspects of Foreign Language Learning in Northern Ireland: Focus on Gender and Religious Affiliation." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 42.4 (1994): 388-401.

"Schools." CAIN. CAIN, n.d. Web. 4 Aug. 2011.

Yeats, W.B. *The Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats*. Ed. Richard J. Finneran. 2nd ed. New York: Scribner Paperback Poetry, 1996.