✝FRAMEWORK

#27 | SYSTEMS

We Stand With Tess

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Front cover image:
Dean Ross Harley and honours student Ruth Saveka leave the Elwyn Lynn Conference Centre, following negotiations regarding the cessation of Head of Indigenous Programs Tess Allas' contract Friday, June 21, 2019. Copyright and photographer: Framework, Anonymous

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Editorial
Jack Poppert

Systems are structures, and these structures resist confounding change. Mutations can be accommodated, so long as the integrity of the structure will not be compromised. In this way, structures are what the proverbial line is at its most basic political level; a division or boarder that separates two entities and a frame of reference in one's line of vision. If the base of a structure cannot support change collapse, cracks or leaning may result. Ultimately, exponential growth is just another perspective from which one can understand entropy; all structures will fall.

Perhaps this is an adage that can complement Simon Metcalfe's discussion of vulnerability as a psychological symptom of one's involvement in a predominantly neo-liberal world. We should ask where emotions register in political structures - which themselves can be more psychic or more related to methods of governance. Perhaps here we arrive at the conclusion that a line betrays us in suggesting that change can have only two directions.

There is no value embedded in change, and should we accept that entropy is a truth owned by our physicality, we must understand that even value systems can augment into guileless and unforeseen modes of change/collapse. What happens when our university can only deliver brief episodes of diversity? Are we not to expect that they will rarely transcend the overriding principles that give the structure its meaning? A business-oriented university will ordinarily replace ambitions such as decolonisation with marketable or consumable outcomes; which the system can only allow insofar as they exist in brief instances (a night market, a 'diversity' meeting or strategy).

Movements that criticise systems and attempt illegal construction upon, or demolition of system structures have relatively brief occasions in which to achieve their full potential. When these occasions pass a movement would seem to fall into memory as mere intellectual matter, the stuff of archives. I would suggest they are more like war museums, places in which artefacts never fully forfeit their claim for purposeful use.

In this issue then, there is the potential to claim care from the grasps of neo-liberalism, to challenge diversity and inclusion as mere signifiers in the university, to action protest through creativity, to value the hoarder's activity and much much more.

First Nations honours student, Ruth Saveka, requests answers from Dean Ross Harley, whose hand can be seen opening the door.

Ruth, following here meeting with Dean Harley.

Uncle Vic Chapman AM addresses a crowd of concerned students and staff outside the Elwyn Lynn Conference Centre. Ramesh Mario Nithiyendran, Tess Allas and Tony Albert watch; First Nations journalist Daniel Browning stands in the foreground.

Staff, students, artists and academics stand in support of Tess Allas.

Ramesh comforts Uncle Vic following an emotional address.

Posters with QR codes link to a petition calling for the renewal of Tess' employment contract

PhD candidate and Stand With Tess campaign member Aneshka Mora speaks to the assembled crowd.

Tony Albert announces a call for all First Nations and allied artists to boycott UNSW, on behalf of himself and artists Richard Bell and Daniel Boyd

Academic, educator and one half of Snack Syndicate, Andrew Brooks speaks.

Tess Allas addresses the crowd.

National Tertiary Education Union representative Sarah Gregson.

Student Council President, Jack Poppert, speaks.

The young watching over the old. Aneshka Mora listens to our Elder in Residence, Uncle Vic Chapman, speak.

Aneshka Mora
Tessy Time

Tess (main)
#standwithtess
Tess' Army (Harry Potter reference intended)
Tender troubles of institutional(ised) scale
Putting the I into institution
Putting the person back into subjectivity
Taking the token out of diversity
Stirring the sediment of accumulated bureaucracy
And refusing to settle
Catch phrase this
Colonialism 101
Meme that
Photoshop his face
(And lovingly trace hers)
Caption it
Putting the cunt back into Acknowledgement of Country
How to burst the botoxed façade
And let the baby out with the bathwater
Slippery secrets
White skin matrix mask
Hands tied hog-tied
🍼 A drop of sweat hits a necktie
You can 'decolonise' this
And resign

Aneshka Mora and Costanza Bergo
Performative Cookouts and Institutional Racism at UNSW

A few hours after the first collective action of Stand with Tess took place, I attended a focus group for fellow international students. I was hopeful that the meeting would signify a willingness from the institution to offer support to the unique challenges that migrant students encounter. Instead, I listened to the moderator stress over and over how assimilation was the condition for us to be welcome in this community: "we prefer when there are only one or two students from the same culture, because when we have more than a few they tend to stick together, and that's when we tend to have problems", he explained. Over and over, the meeting was oriented at what international students could do for the institution, and the settler colony more broadly, rather than the other way around. Any attempts to stray away from this agenda were ignored altogether: a visibly upset student shared that she was facing medical issues her Overseas Student Health Cover would not cover the costs of, leaving her in financial distress. No advice or response was given. Instead, the speaker swiftly moved along, asking for our opinions on having "a dumpling night".

It would be great to consider this as a tone-deaf isolated incident, but it seems much more akin to UNSW' modus operandi. The week before we were told that Tess Allas' contract was not being renewed on the basis of lack of funding, UNSW hosted a "cultural cookout" that aimed to break a world record for "most diverse nationalities at a barbecue".[1] Like all events, this event had a budget. Its uneven distribution speaks as to where the priorities of UNSW stand: hollow performances of diversity are clearly preferable to investing in sustaining and preserving marginalised communities.

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In recent years, perhaps the past decade or so, global calls to 'Indigenise' and 'decolonise' our pedagogical institutions have become louder than ever. While they are not new, arguably, they are only just starting to be heard and acted upon by institutions. However, as Eve

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1   https://www.edi.unsw.edu.au/diversityfest

David Garneau   17 Nov 2019, 09:51 (1 day ago) ☆ ↩ ⋮

to me ▾

Hello, Aneshka and Costanza.

I am proud to support Tess and to have my words included in this text.

In solidarity,
David

" Indigenous folks view decolonization, when it includes settlers, as a job, and with suspicion—as if it might be the colonial impulse rebranded. White decolonialism centers the colonial as the subject of critique, and White bodies in non-Native spaces. Its preferred form is the engagement of representations—texts, videos, etc.—rather than actual First Nations, Inuit, and Métis persons, and environments. When it comes to Natives under the (de)colonial gaze, representations are similes mistaken for metaphors. Deconstructive critique is the preferred style of White decolonialism because it is impersonal and defers action. Such decolonization is a perpetual being-toward a never-quite articulated future.

I prefer 'non-colonial practice'. Rather than prioritizing taking away (*de*-colonizing) and opposition (*anti*-colonial), non-colonial practice' is a productive mode. It asks us to recover and reproduce the best of Native ways of knowing and being, but also to imagine and coproduce new ways and things. Non-colonial practice requires engaging elders, cultural belongings, the land and non-human-beings—actually doing other-wise with wise others. It is a critique only in the sense that it is an alternative to the dominant, but its identity comes not from difference and opposition but from its internal consistency, beauty, and ethical rightness, its resonance with the land and natural law.

Non-colonial action begins with the agreement that is impossible to recover all that was lost, and that not every traditional thing suits the present. It recognizes the undeniable fact of global interconnectivity. It is the recognition that Native is not the opposite of European. Non-colonial action does not reject ideas, technologies, and persons as inherently unsuitable because they were produced whole, or in part, within colonial territories, institutions, minds, or bodies. Indigenous futures seek out the non-colonial even within the seeming colonial, and weeds out the colonial in the seeming Indigenous."
Garneau 2019

•••

Tuck and K Wayne Yang highlight 'decolonisation is not a metaphor' - it is the rematriation and repatriation of land[1]. Metaphorisation can be thought of as a byproduct of the recent popularity of 'decolonising' institutional rhetoric. Using the term or notion in a generalized manner – as the pragmatics of bureaucracy often demands, runs the risk of performativity, de-centring Indigeneity, or absorption into the very frames that decolonisation seeks to dismantle [see Figure 1 for David Garneau's incisive critique]. It is not uncommon for institutions to set 'decolonial' goals that are really small steps to decolonisation rather than endpoints. This means that, as la paperson says,

To take effective decolonising action, we must then have a theory of action that accounts for the permeability of the apparatuses of power and the fact that neocolonial systems inadvertently support decolonizing agendas[2].

In October last year, UNSW Art and Design launched its first Indigenous Strategy. This was developed predominantly by the Pro Vice Chancellor Indigenous, Megan Davis, appointed the year before, who is best known for her work on *The Uluru Statement from the Heart*. As the UNSW 2025 Strategy Plan summarises a part of the strategy "aims to achieve parity targets for recruitment, retention and promotion of Indigenous staff in academic and non-academic positions"[3]. Further, as Megan Davis states in the Indigenous Strategy "The strategy is not only about increasing our Indigenous student body and workforce, it is also about research excellence and growing Aboriginal researchers and

leaders who will make an impact in communities and nationally"[1]. These admirable goals are backed by the governing body and funding – for example, "a further $6 million in funding" pledged toward the Nura Gili's Student Services Team and the Winter School Program.

For anyone who knows the work of Tess Allas, then, UNSW's termination of her contract, wildly undermines the aims established in these strategies. Our director of Indigenous Programs has seen countess Indigenous and minoritised students through the institution. She is a beloved teacher, mentor and advocate, especially for those disadvantaged by the inherent coloniality of tertiary educational institutions. Her course on Aboriginal art has changed the lives of many by providing the vocabulary, relevancy and lens through which to view injustice in Australia and across the world. She is a wealth of knowledge from both professional and personal experience. And through her pedagogical, academic, curatorial and artistic practice has connected the faculty to Indigenous communities locally, nationally and internationally. In short, for the last decade, she has embodied and exceeded the criteria of UNSW's Indigenous Strategy and most importantly has done so despite and in spite of scarce institutional support.

* * *

This *mo*, of performative Indigenising or decolonising gestures, is something UNSW borrows directly from the settler colony. On October 22nd, the prime minister Scott Morrison compared Australian multiculturalism in a speech as "Garam Masala".[2] His exact words: "You have any one of them [spices, i.e. other cultures] on their own, rubbish. Doesn't leave a good taste in the mouth. But when you blend them all together you toast them, you crunch them up [*gestures energetically*]...wow". We can presume that 'wow', here, signifies the pleasurable goal of suc-

1 Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.; la paperson, *A Third Univeristy Is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), xv.

2 la paperson, *A Third Univeristy Is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), xv.

3 https://www.2025.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/UNSW_2025_Strategy_In_Action.pdf, p 31

1 https://www.nuragili.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/documents/UNSW_Indigenous_Strategy_2018_0_0.pdf, p 3

2 https://www.sbs.com.au/news/like-a-good-garam-masala-pm-hails-multiculturalism-at-gandhi-statue-unveiling

cessful multiculturalism - one where other cultures are pulverised to be rendered more digestible by the white nation.

In her seminal essay Eating the Other, Bell Hooks articulates how to the white nation sees diversity as a leisure commodity, more specifically one designed to be sprinkled atop the white nation as seasoning, heavily policing it to ensure it could never become overpowering. "White racism, imperialism, and sexist domination prevail by courageous consumption. It is by eating the Other that one asserts power and privilege", writes Hooks.[1]

This commodification is not victimless. In 2015, Scott Morrison who had just moved on from implementing a zero tolerance policy towards refugee boats as Immigration Minister, appeared on the ABC show Kitchen Cabinet. There, he learned how to cook a Sri Lankan meal. "The inane kitchen chatter that Crabb and Morrison performed", writes Andrew Brooks, "is the sound of patriarchal white sovereignty in action".[2] Morrison couldn't see, and clearly continues not to see, any contradiction in consuming and enjoying Sri Lankan culture while implementing mandatory detention of Tamil refugees.

When UNSW writes to us that they "remain committed to providing learning opportunities that embrace Indigenous knowledge" while at the same time firing the only Indigenous academic teaching on Indigenous Art at the Art and Design campus, they very well may believe the two things are not mutually exclusive.[3]

In White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society, Ghassan Hage explains how instances of racism in a multicultural society are not in opposition to but rather infrastructural to the very

1   Bell Hooks, "Eating the other/ Desire and resistance." In Black Looks/ Race and Representa-tion, pp. 21–39. Boston/ South End Press, 1992
2   Andrew Brooks, "Listening to the indefinite", Runway Journal, Issue 39, http://runway.org.au/listening-to-the-indefinite/
3   https://www.instagram.com/p/B4MOMN5A10r/

FIRST NATIONS ARTISTS AND

ALLIES ARE BOYCOTTING

UNSW

notion of tolerance. Hage writes:

> *"Where we empower an agent to be tolerant, we empower him equally to be intolerant… All statements in the range of 'I don't mind if more migrants come to this country' or 'I don't mind if people speak Arabic in the streets' are emitted by people who fantasise that it is up to them whether people speak Arabic on the streets or not, whether more migrants come or not. White racists and tolerant, white multiculturalists both see their nation structured around a white culture which they control".[1]*

If 'the Other' is a commodity, an entertainment, something to be tolerated, a snack to be consumed at leisure, 'the Other' is also, always, disposable. The implementing of this rationale is why culturally diverse students are receiving cook-outs in lieu of support. That a centre of innovative knowledge is unable to achieve anything other than a blind perpetuation of the national racist structures makes one wonder how innovative this centre can really claim to be at all.

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This slippery, covert, infrastructural violence is clearly echoed in the way that UNSW has shirked responsibility for their actions through technologies of institutional elitism and contractual laws. While Tess Allas used to be on an academic contract, changes to the requirements for academic positions, in which applicants were expected to possess Postgraduate degrees, (arguably a further strategy to extract capital within the neo-liberal model of universities) meant that Tess was demoted to a short-term contract. In short, as Sarah Gregson highlighted at the rally on Tuesday the 8th on November, this means that the University has no obligation toward renewing Tess's contract or toward providing reasons for her dismissal under the technicalities their casual contracts.

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1   Hage, Ghassan. White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society, Chapter 3: The Tolerant Society as a White Fantasy, NY: Routledge, 2000.

As Angela Mitropolous describes contracts are an "often-violent projection of a genealogy and an infrastructure of obligation or – put in simultaneously moral and economic terms – of indebtedness."[1] That is, contracts perform a legitimization of pre-ordained value-hierarchies of labour. As David Garneu wrote in his email to Dean Ross Harley, "invaluable people like Tess shoulder a great deal of physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual labour that often goes unseen and unheralded by those who are not similarly burdened"[2]. As he also wrote, this labour is a "tremendous over-load Indigenous faculty (especially female faculty) bear in non-Indigenous institutions… in order to make these places comprehensible and bearable for Indigenous students"[3]. As Garneau indicates, the personal responsibility of staff like Tess (not to mention her lengthy CV attesting to the curatorial, artistic, scholarly and advisory work Tess has done on top of her academic and professional contracts), makes it near-impossible to pursue further academic accreditation. No doubt, you will be familiar with the demographic of tenured staff in comparison to short-term contracted staff (at UNSW A&D we have one senior lecturer position occupied by a staff member who identifies as Indigenous), which evidences how contracts reproduce racialised and gendered hierarchies and reproduces narratives of inferiority, whereby one is on constant probation, and is to feel grateful (indebted) for employment at all.

As such, The Stand With Tess movement has come to embody what the Rhodes Must Fall movement embodied for UCT and Oxford, for example. It is about institutionalised racism, hypocrisy and ongoing acts of colonial violence under the protection of the very institution that claims innocence and in fact applauds itself for its decolonising action.

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1   Angela Mitropoulos, *Contract & Contagion: From Biopolitics to Oikonomia* (Brooklyn, N.Y: Minor Compositions, 2012), p22.
2   David Garneau, "Professor Ross Harley", personal letter u.p., 9 Oct 2019.
3   Ibid

Simon Metcalfe
Care in the Neo-Liberal State
A thesis excerpt

In chapter one, I presented philosophies, values and policies, that I proposed, came together to compose the neoliberal paradigm. Specifically, the role of the state, and the subsequent withdrawal of state responsibilities transferred to the citizen. Embedded in the individualisation of society as provisions of economic and market rationality, the individual became constituted as what Foucault posits as homo economicus, a rational entrepreneurial subject who bears the responsibilities of life, encapsulated in the mantra of 'self-care' in the name of 'freedom'.

The new entrepreneurial subject has emerged through the tearing of what was once a dependable social contract. In the Australia context, this is recognised as the subversion of the 'fair go' mantra, typified by the introduction of economic rationalism into the Canberra administration (see Pusey 1989). Anxiety, stress, and insecurity were seen to epitomise the New Capitalism, that had broken away from the once rigid bureaucratic structures of social capitalism, recognised as both 'a prison and a home' (Sennett 2006: 181). What ensues is the breakdown of social solidarities, corrosion of moral character, and in the Australian context (Pusey 2003), feelings of insecurity within a socially fragmented society, forcing individuals to retreat into the private sphere.

This chapter will expound these sociological analyses explicated in order to understand how the effects of neoliberalism, through labour market reform, influence the individual experience and their relations with others. More specifically, I posit that neoliberalism's diminutions have fragmented the relation between the citizen and the state, owing to the lack of care disseminated by the neoliberal state, subsequently affecting the individual's capacity to care for others, notably asylum seekers. This chapter aims to coalesce the first two chapters, to illustrate how neoliberalism provides fertile ground for rhetoric and language to take effect on the individual.

This chapter leans on the post-colonial theory developed by anthropologist Ghassan Hage (2003), who bases his analysis of contemporary Australian society on the concept of hope. Elaboration of this concept will provide a framework, to which I will substantiate with supporting sociological, feminist, and political-economic literature based on the economy of care. Hage's theory concerns the nation's inability to engender hope in citizens, within the neoliberal milieu, causing a fractured relationship between state and citizen. Consequently, as a reaction to feelings of insecurity, an attachment to the nation is represented by the protective apparatus of the state against those who are perceived as a threat to the nation.

I will firstly present the concept of risk as a unifying consequence of neoliberalism, to which I posit augments feelings of insecurity and vulnerability, aligning with literature presented in chapter 1 regarding the transfer of responsibilities towards the citizen from the states purview, within a process of individualization. I will specifically follow Ulrich Beck's (1992) analyses on today's Risk Society, outlining the respon-

sibilities and destabilizing effect of labour reform that encumbers the rationalized citizen. This first section aims to illustrate conditions that surround individual's axis of living in today's society, as a preface for the chapter.

Consequently, I will demonstrate how these risk-fraught conditions permeate today's society, specifically through the work of Polanyi, Schorlemmer, alongside the work of Beck, and Fitoussi and Rosanvallon, to focus of neoliberalism's mantra of 'individualization' as fundamental to the changing labour market reforms. Individual freedoms, is supplanted by the allure of market freedoms, whereby the process individualization, through labour market reforms, depicts the duality of freedom, and its breakdown of the socially orientated aspects of society. Under the auspices of freedom, the process of individualization will be analysed to illustrate the crisis of care, aligning with Hage's non-nurturing motherland.

Consequently, this chapter examines political feminist literature analysing the economy of care. Particularly through the work of Fraser (2016) and Shahra Razavi and Shireen Hassim (2006), I will illustrate how the changing gender composition of the labour market, aligns with the duality of freedoms under the guise of individualization, consequently tearing societies fabric of care. Women's unremunerated role is capitalism will form the basis of this argument as providing the 'social glue' in society to support both the social reproductive and economically productive spheres of life. The changing dynamics of the labour market provides women the access to the public remunerated sphere, whilst maintaining the unpaid private sphere. Within an already cold and competitive environment that is stripped of welfare and care, societies (women's) caring capabilities are stretched to the point of crisis.

Following on from this section, the chapter will conclude its analyses of contemporary society, by examining the concept of vulnerability, insecurity, and precarity, to provide a framework to understand the individual experience of the neoliberal schema. Notably through the work of Judith Butler, vulnerability as a universal experience will be presented as coerced by the neoliberal milieu, notably augment by labour market reform (Standing 2011; 2013), to result in a diminished community and social solidarities. What ensues aligns with the work of Richard Sennett presented in chapter 1, regarding the 'Corrosion of Character', presenting a fracture between feelings of empathy and competition between other members in society. The work of Carolyn Pedwell and Gary Olson demonstrate respectively how important empathy is in a good society, whilst illustrating its depletion in the neoliberal society.

These concepts will be analysed to substantiate my arguments regarding the susceptible individual who is incapable of caring for others within the neoliberal environment, thus laying fertile ground for rhetoric and language against those considered as other.
It is noted that the majority of supporting literature presented is generally American/euro-centric, as this thesis aims to analyse a particular

trend, to later be applied to the Australian context.

> *When people feel themselves forced to retreat into the private*
> *sphere, their bonds with strangers and with other citizens are put*
> *into question*
> *(Pusey 2003: 2).*

According to Tsoukalas (2012), the informal social cohesion that once underpinned society is becoming increasingly undermined whereby, in conjunction with social reproductive operations, reciprocal relations between individuals are withering away. Social relations, in this *modus,* are deprived of both internal mechanisms of moral cohesion and of external institutional responsibilities, postulating that with the approaching maturity of individualism, the general reproducibility of the system of social relations are becoming endangered (ibid: 33-34).

Polanyi's theory of *embeddedness* and *disembeddedness* is pertinent here, whereby the economy has become *disembedded,* leaving society to the demise of the self-regulating market, 'instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system' (Polanyi, 2000: 77). In today's society, characterised by *disembeddedness,* Polanyi stresses that a self-regulating market precipitates an institutional separation of society, and has furthermore created a new type of society, whereby 'the elements of the economy are here embedded in non-economic institutions' (Polanyi 1957: 70-71; 2001: 92-93). Proponents of the 'self-regulating market', to Polanyi, sought to construct society to the restraint of markets, consequently subordinating morals and ethics in the process. Social reproduction,

in Polanyi's account, aligns the disintegration of social bonds and the destruction of economic values, whereby the two are inextricably linked to the point that the *capitalist crisis* is recognised as a *social crisis* (Fraser 2016: 228).

Hage's (2003) thesis, and this chapter are primarily based on the relation between the nation and citizen, in light of the structural reorganisation, or expiration, of global capitalism towards monetarist policies, and the demise of government commitment towards public welfare, resulting in the collapse as what is recognised as the 'Marshillian theory of citizenship' (Turner 1990: 190).

Echoing pertinent themes from chapter 1 (see: Sennett 1999, 2006; Pusey 2003), Hall and O'Shea (2013) contend that the individualisation of society, the privatisation of the public and the penetration of competition, have augmented feelings of insecurity, anxiety, stress and depression (ibid: 12). Moreover, previous analyses have stipulated the nexus between the neoliberal socio-political context and a lack of concern or generosity for others, whereby people's sense of connection to the wider community has been truncated, under the auspices of individualistic ideology (Chomsky, 1999; Dutt and Kohfeldt's 2018; 2019; Opotow 1990, 2008, 2012).

What we understand society as, through the lens of Ghassan Hage, is a distributive mechanism for hope through the provision of certain social conditions internalised by individuals. What is defined as the

Motherland, the fostering of hope within the social communal space, is epitomised as the unbridled release of nurturing forces such as democracy, love, hope, affection, and notably caring. The fatherland function is the protector of hope, often unleashing aggression, hatred and mistrust at sites such as the border, characterised through the notion of *worrying* (ibid: 31). The two forces find themselves both complementing and contradicting the other in a dilemma whereby the aggressive politics, represented by an overcompensation of *worrying*, is at the expense, thus affecting the loving interior culture of caring. Hage's theory rests on the work of psychoanalyst Jeremy Holmes (2001) and his work on *attachment theory*. To this point, Holmes' analogous example of the *self*, illustrates the contradictory elements mentioned above, regarding the defences we as humans erect to protect the *self,* which act as both an encumbrance and a necessity:

> *Managing the self is always a question of being able to maintain such defences while also maintaining the self's 'loving assertive possibilities' (Hage 2003: 32).*

To this end, Hage proposes a balancing act between the internal distributor of *hope,* and the external protector of *hope,* represented by metaphorical gendered notions, that has become outweighed by the Fatherland apparatus of the state. This imbalance is set in motion by a fracture in the relation between the individual and the state prompting what I contend a 'crisis of *care*' impelled by the effects of neoliberal reform.

Risk:

The consequences and decisions related to modernisations production of hazards and insecurities constitute the essence of risks (Beck 1992: 21). In the sociological canon, these risks have consequently 'come to stand as one of the focal point of feelings of fear, anxiety and uncertainty' (Lupton 1999: 12).

Reasserting neoliberal attenuations from the first chapter, within a changing labour market and imperilled by responsibilities, society has seen a shift away from a social situation whereby political conflicts and divisions were defined by a logic of the distribution of wealth and goods by the welfare state, towards a situation in which conflicts are becoming defined by the logic of risk production and distribution (Beck 1992: 9-16).

In the old Taylorist industrial epoch an individual's axis of living was based upon wage labour, occupation, and family, providing the individual with 'inner stability' and security, connecting the continuity of life and occupation (Beck 1992: 139-140, see: Schelsky 1942). Accordingly, occupation was acknowledged as a social reality that encompassed social experiences.

Just as modernity dissolved the structure of feudal society in the nineteenth century, so to has contemporary modernisation, labelled by Beck as 'second modernity', dissolved industrial societies 'inner backbone of life' through the reduction of former assurances of protective functions (Beck 1992: 41).

This epochal shift ushered in an era defined by logic of rationalization, blurring the boundaries between work and non-work, and employment and non-employment. From the 1970's, automation, the softening of standardized full employment and the demand for 'flexibilization' of labour has affected societies supporting pillars: labour law, work site and working hours, producing a 'risk-fraught system of flexible, pluralized and decentralized underemployment' (ibid 143), resulting in new types of generalised risky employment, whilst ushering in a 'categorical shift' towards a new mode of 'societalization' regarding the relation between the individual and society (ibid: 127).

Characterised by the literature as conditional, unpredictable, uncertain and risk-filled, all spheres of life within this new era are permeated by the necessity of decision-making, satiating Michael Fine's aphorism that 'life is no longer understood to just happen' (Fine 2005: 258, see also: Beck 1992; Beck et al. 1994; Giddens 1998; Lash 1999). Instead, we are now ostensibly rational actors subjected to be responsible for decisions in all domains of life, 'in essence, the burden of risk migrates from the jurisdiction of institutions to the individualized sphere of personal decision-making' (Douglas 1992; Mythen 2005: 130).

Freedoms:

This chapter now builds off the work of Sennett, Bourdieu, Foucault, and other socio-political theorists presented in chapter 1, to posit that the freedoms that early neoliberal thinks from the MPS professed were so paramount to society, have supplanted and eroded the socially orientated freedoms epitomised by Bourdieu's (2003) social 'left hand' of the state, resulting in what Sennett (1998) describes as social dislocation and unrest in the labour market (ibid: 147).

I therefore aim to illustrate the paradox and illusion of freedoms as inextricably linked to the development of neoliberalism through the work of Polanyi, Schorlemmer, alongside the work of Beck, and Fitoussi and Rosanvallon, to focus of neoliberalism's mantra of 'individualization' as fundamental to this paradox.

Embedded in the neoliberal turn, I link the abundance of risks with the idea of freedoms and labour reform, whereby 'modernity transforms everything into 'liberties fraught with risks'' (Beck 2014: 92). What emerges undermines 'freedoms' by the increasing demands placed on the individual, resulting in insecurity.

Polanyi's (2001) analysis outlines the market economy's production of two types of freedoms: those foundational freedoms derived liberalism, and 'evil' freedoms. Polanyi claims that the liberal utopianism espoused by thinkers such as Hayek denounces the freedom that regu-

lation creates as 'unfreedom', whereby 'the justice, liberty and welfare it offers are decried as a camouflage of slavery (ibid: 257). In this light, Harvey (2007) states that 'the good freedoms are lost, the bad ones take over' (ibid: 37).

The link between neoliberal policies and an increase in individualistic discourses and values reducing concern for the collective has been previously examined in the literature (Dutt & Kohfeldt, 2018; Harvey 2007; Nafstad et al. 2013).

Schorlemmer (1993) extends Polanyi's sentiments, contending that a thesis of individualization explains the paradoxical phenomena of reform and freedom, whereby:

> *Living in a condition of freedom allowed to and having to decide for oneself, meant the breakdown of all existing institutions, the loss of all security . . . To experience the luck of freedom is simultaneously to fall into a hole . . . nothing is certain and everything is fraught with risk (Schorlemmer in Beck 2014: 91).*

This process of individualization resting on institutions, or 'institutional individualism' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), is recognised as a dual process by which, on the one hand, individuals acquire basic civil and social rights through central institutions of modern society, in order 'to realise their self-interest as the innermost core of rationality' (Beck 2014: 93). Conversely, individuals are obliged to inhabit a risk-fraught society, referring to 'the need, mediated through training and the

labour market, to develop ones own biography and to extricate oneself from collective regulation' (ibid: 93), hence distinguishing between 'institutionally individualized opportunities to make decisions and institutionally individualized obligations to make decisions' (Beck 2014: 104).

The paradoxical illusion of freedom and reform aligns with Jean-Paul Fitoussi and Pierre Rosanvallon's (1996) depiction of individualization, as emerging at the expense of security and freedom through the 'Janus-like face of the *individualization'* (Fitoussi and Rosanvallon in Bauman 2001a: 22, emphasis in original), an argument furthered by Beck, who denies the very existence of freedom as decisions are dictated towards the individuals position within the labour market (Beck 2014: 95; Mascini et al. 2013: 3).

These analyses point to the duality of individualization. Within the deregulated, rationalised, and risk-fraught society, individualization has simultaneously provided market-orientated freedoms, whilst eroding the socially orientated ones, forcing individuals to experience feelings of insecurity within an already uncertain world.

The *economy of care* will subsequently be analysed, to present this paradox of freedoms and reforms embedded in the neoliberal milieu, aligning with Ghassan Hage's gendered metaphorical analogies of the state apparatuses.

Hage Care:

Hage's employment of gendered notions symbolising the state's apparatuses, articulates the imagined dual modes of nationalist imagination. Contextually implicit elements imbricate the national *we* (fatherland) as embodying masculine qualities, in contrast to the imaginary of the motherland who is often embedded in the language of home, encapsulating the caring community, to which R.E. Paul (1991) identifies as 'a euphemism for the caring work done largely by women' (Paul in Hage 2003: 33).

The homely nation, i.e. national mothering and homeliness, are fused together to nurture and fulfil its citizens. The nations imagination of the motherland, according to Cohen, is conceived of as 'a space of absolute unity and solidarity associated with feelings of fusion and oceanic gratification' where 'our desires and needs have absolute priority' (Cohen 1993: 14). Moreover, citizens are imbued with feelings of security and familiarity, as the 'home, nation and family operate within the same mythic metaphorical field' (Bammer 1992: x).

Economy of Care:

Within Hage's scenario, the 'motherland' is positioned in a 'non-working' role, and is subjugated to societies patriarchal norms, and responsible for the dissemination of the nurturing forces of society, notably care. I posit that this role parallels with the position of women in society.

To this end, political feminist literature will be presented in order to demonstrate this reality throughout society depicting the changing gender composition of the labour market, that is both a consequence of, and further perpetuates the neoliberal machinery, consequently tearing societies fabric of care. Accordingly, the *economy of care* will be presented as analogous to Hage's *Motherland*, to reveal the traditional family model that both liberal and neoliberal political systems and economies have relied on.

Alongside the rise of capitalism saw the intensification of the division of gender. This division is demonstrated through the alienation of economic production from social reproduction, bolstered by a remuneration of cash wages for production, and, more often than not, unremunerated reproduction (care work) that was carried out by women and girls within families, households and communities (Hassim & Razavi 2006: 35). Providing cohesion for society and the effective functioning of economic production within capitalist societies this was the fundamental institutional basis for women's subordination, defined by Carole Pateman (1988) as *The Sexual Contract*.

With the emergence of individualization in the neoliberal capitalist framework, alongside changing social and labor market behaviours that are reshaping labor, the *economy of care* that society relies upon is revealed, notably by the global increase in women's labour-force participation and 'emancipation' from traditional patriarchal labour market constraints. Consequently, in accordance with neoliberal diminutions of state provisions, societies social reproductive capacities have been revealed, and put into question, pointing to a strain on societies care-giving capacities, encapsulating the phrase 'crisis of care' (Fraser 2016). To this point care has been commodified in the public sphere, performed by women, and yet has remained in the private sphere as a bedrock of the economic system, also performed by women.

This analysis will subsequently review feminist theorists, notably Nancy Fraser (2016), and, Shahra Razavi and Shireen Hassim (2006), corroborating with the demise of societies *care-giving* capabilities (Fine 2005), to which I will parallel with Hage's theories of the deteriorating Motherland apparatus of the state.

This chapter illuminates the depletion and ensuing need for care in modern society, revealing a 'fallout' at the expense of social solidarities.

Care is fundamental to human flourishing and to social and economic development (Hassim & Razavi 2016: 35), and is associated with normative understandings of family and gender roles (Held 1987; Daly and Lewis 2003).

It situates itself within a 'mixed economy' involving the state, market, and the family, establishing a foundation of social life to which all social relations and processes depend upon (Evers and Svetlik 1993; Fine 2005: 253; Powell 2007). Accordingly, care is considered to have a vital role for social reproduction in creating and maintaining social bonds, providing the 'social glue' that allows for social organisation and social cooperation on which economic production and society rely on (Fraser 2016: 30; Beasley and Bacchi 2010).

To this point, care, or social reproduction, is often gendered and is split into two parts; ties between generations (caring for children and the elderly), and sustaining horizontal ties among friends, family, neighbourhoods, and community (Fraser 2016: 30). The gendered arrangement of care is supported by Hassim and Razavi (2006) who posits that 'state social provision and protection was premised on a normative male breadwinner/female-carer-model', alluding to the economic systems reliance on feminism (and more precisely on women), towards the state-managed capitalist variant (ibid: 34; see also: Fraser 2016).

Changing dynamics:

However, the ethic of *care* has largely been associated with the private sphere, recognised as a place where one can find 'ideological support and justification in the conception of the family as an emotional refuge in a cold and competitive society' (Lasch 1976: 44). The private realm, and the family, according to Lasch (1976) was previously compensated as a 'safety net' for the deprivations experienced in the public sphere, such as the experience of unemployment and minimal state provisions in the midst of economic crisis (Hassim and Ravazi 2006: 25). This was put into question as a consequence of the cumulative effects of a series of fundamental social and economic changes, notably neoliberal diminutions of state provisions and labour market reforms (Fraser 2016: 33), which rarefied the provision and availability of *care,* prompting the move of *care* from what Mills termed a 'private issue' to a 'public issue' (Fine 2005: 248).

What ensues according to Razavi and Hassim (2006), is the further shift of the burden of social provisioning, towards unremunerated care within the private sphere, resultant of the state shedding its responsibilities (ibid: 23), to which Lasch (1976) contends, is becoming increasingly incapable of fulfilling this role on account of the very conditions that originally gave rise to the necessity of care, neoliberalism (Lasch 1976: 45).

Until the latter part of the twentieth century social researchers had largely ignored the importance of care for social life, as formal and informal sectors of care were relatively separate, sustained by dominant stereotypes of women as 'good' wives and mothers, and grounded in the division between paid and unpaid work (Daly and Lewis 2003: 284).

However, in contemporary society, Daly and Lewis (2003) argue that 'social care lies at the intersection of public and private, formal and informal; paid and unpaid; and provision in the form of cash and services (ibid: 282), to which other theorists have concurred, positing the interconnectedness and interdependence that characterise care (Tronto 1993; Bubeck 1995).

Consequently, contemporary society has been described to be experiencing a 'crisis of care' (Fraser 2016), whereby paid gender disparities have been noticeably eroded, though unpaid work is still divided by gender. Care, in this light, has been transferred and commodified into the public sphere, performed typically by women, whilst the private sphere retains the ethic of care, seen by Christopher Lasch (1976) as a *Haven in a Heartless World* (Daly and Lewis: 284).

The quintessential male breadwinner and female household spouse dynamic encapsulated in the family-wage model has been proportionately delegitimised, in lieu of both spouses participating in the labour

market under the two-earner wage model. Galvanised under the auspices of freedom, the global increase in women's labour-force participation has altered women's reality, from living 'a life for others' to seeking a 'life of one's own', demonstrating how the processes of democratic individualization link personal goals and social change (Fine 2005: 255). This transformation indicates the transfer of motherly characteristics from the home towards the work force, labelled by Adkins and Dever (2015) as the 'The Post-Fordist Sexual Contract'.

Consequently, neoliberal processes that 'casualize' work, and its laden effects, has coincided with the increasing feminisation of the workforce, diminishing the supply of care at a time in which demand for it is rising, (Daly and Lewis 2003: 288; Hassim and Ravazi 2006: 9). Fraser defines today's capital regime as an obfuscation, whereby the *caring* components of life have been stretched 'systematically depleting our capacities for sustaining social bonds' (Fraser 2016: 33). Fraser provides us with an analogy encapsulating neoliberal capitalist societies 'crisis of care', whereby the treatment of nature is equally stretched, similarly treated as an infinite reservoir, aligning the ecological crisis with the 'crisis of care' (Fraser 2016).

Investigating this transformation in the Australian context, Barbara Pocock (2003) aligns with Fraser's 'crises' invocation, identifying a collision between the changing and unchanging condition in the contemporary labor market, producing a loss of community, an erosion of relations, and a marketization of care and love, identified as the 'fall-

out'.

What becomes clear, follows on from previously articulated arguments regarding the paradox of freedoms underpinned by individualization, whereby the 'mixed economy of care' has been transformed, notably through labour market reform, and has simultaneously altered the composition of the work force, whilst retaining women's unremunerated position in the private sphere. What results is the societies ability to administer care within an already deprived neoliberal environment.

Throughout different points in the life course, in a good society, care must be administered as a necessary social response to the vulnerabilities, insecurities, incompleteness and incapacities of individual bodies. Care, in this regard, is recognised as a foundation for patterns of social solidarity that underpin society, developed in response to our vulnerabilities, and thought of as essential element of social life (Fine 2005: 253-261; Turner & Rojek 2001).

This chapter will now move onto the concept of vulnerability, as it provides a framework for understanding the social characteristics, and the individual experience of socioeconomic conditions pertinent in today's modern society.

Vulnerability:

The French theorists speak of précarité, the German of Unsicherheit and Risikogesellschaft, the Italians of incertezza and the English of insecurity – but all of them have in mind the same aspect of the human predicament . . . felt to be especially unnerving and depressing in the highly developed and affluent part of the planet -
(Bauman 2000: 160-161, emphasis in original).

Accordingly, I will now analyse vulnerability, insinuating its coercion by the neoliberal schema to produce precarity, and insecurity, aligning with the consequences of character laid out by Richard Sennett and Michael Pusey in chapter 1. Notably, a retreat into the private sphere alongside a dissolution of individual's morals, principles and values regarding their capacity to care for others.

Vulnerability will first be analysed to elicit it as a universal experience, as well as its relation to risk. Judith Butler will subsequently distinguish between our corporeal vulnerabilities, and our manufactured vulnerabilities in the form of precariousness. This experience is augmented by labour market reforms, leading to Guy Standing's analysis, which points to the susceptibility of individuals regarding a diminished moral capacity, diminishing community, and appeals to populist demagoguery.

The contemporary canon of sociology contains a range of categories that seek to convey the grounds for the experience of vulnerability, regarding neoliberal diminutions, such as: deregulation, individualiza-tion, lack of care, 'flexibilisation', and the disembedding of markets (Browne: 2013: 520).

Furthermore, the literature regarding vulnerability, has elicited the concept of risk at the centre of the discourse (see. Alwang et al. 2001; Misztal 2011; Hogan & Marandola 2005: 456), designating vulnerability as 'a unifying label for analyses of the exposure of various type of risk . . . as a condition determined by underlying political, economic, and social processes' (Misztal 2011: 7-8). Vulnerability, is not only considered an unavoidable part of today's global-risk society, but is also reinforced by the process of individualisation, considered a consequence of our failure to manage risk and fear, understood with regards to chapter 1 and Foucault's *homo economicus* as a 'entrepreneur of himself' embedded in the concept of *meliorism* (Beck 1994; Foucault 2008: 226; Misztal 2011: 41). To this end, Beck (2009) posits that 'risk and vulnerability are two sides of the same coin' (ibid: 178).

With this in mind, it would be fallacy to believe that vulnerability is a unique experience, rather, corresponding with the title of a paper given by Pierre Bourdieu (1997) *La précarité est aujourd'hui partout*, surmised as - we are all vulnerable and in need of protection. To this point, Beckett (2006) describes vulnerability as a universal experience that is employed to describe the fragile and contingent nature of personhood (ibid: 3). These views align with the perspective of Turner (2006), who argues that universal human rights unite our common

humanity, 'enjoyed by individuals by virtue of being human and as a consequence of the shared vulnerability' (ibid: 3).

Furthermore, Judith Butler (2010) supports this notion, pointing to our corporeal vulnerability as *precariousness,* that is 'coextensive with birth itself', whilst noting that two variants of vulnerability exist (ibid: 29). The other variant, defined as *precarity,* suggests a particular vulnerability imposed on the helpless and susceptible, which, in the face of particular political formations, radically exacerbates, exploits, and disavows our bodily vulnerabilities (*precariousness*), leading us on the path of insecurity (Butler 2016: 37-48).

Within the neoliberal society, augmented by: increased personal responsibilities and risks, processes of individualization, and a decrease in the protective capacities of the state (care) and social solidarities, increasing levels of vulnerability ensue, forcing the individual to handle feelings alone, alluding to the distinction between vulnerability and insecurity, and Butler's *Precariousness* and *Precarity* (Beckett 2006: 4; World Bank 1997: 2).

Transposed into feelings of insecurity, Bauman (2001b) and Altheide (2002; 2006) correspond with the prevailing literature regarding the attenuations of neoliberalism, adding that a culture of fear is precipitated by our vulnerabilities, and is requited, whereby fear makes us more vulnerable, and 'limits our intellectual and moral capacities, it turns us against each other, changes our behaviour and perspective,

and makes us vulnerable to those who would control us in order to promote their own agenda' (Altheide 2006: 210).

I will now invoke the work of Guy Standing (2011; 2013) to illustrate how neoliberalism, notably through the lens of labour market reforms, produces an insecure and precarious existence. This analysis will elicit similar finding's to the research presented above, referring to the effects on the individual and their subsequent relations with others, notably by the loss of occupation identities, stable employment, an increase in 'out-of-work' work, all leading to a corrosion of moral character, and an erosion of the community experience.

According to Standing's (2011) process of precariatisation, labour market flexibility, entrenched within the neoliberal turn, stipulates the collapse of: stable identities, rigid spheres of security, and temporal and spatial norms associated with twentieth centuries Fordist industrial capitalism. Furthermore, Standing's later work posits that people are forced to do more 'out-of-work' work, such as, 'work-in-waiting', training for labour, and emotional labour, all of which are generally unremunerated, echoing previously presented research regarding the amalgamation of work and non-work domains (2013: 14).

What ensues involves 'rising anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation from others in the community' (ibid: 24), resulting in the erosion of stable communities, and feelings of empathy and competition being caught in constant tension, whereby individuals exist 'in a diffuse, unstable inter-

national community of people struggling, usually in vain, to give their working lives an occupational identity' (Standing 2011: 23).

These consequences, to Standing, are incongruent with rational behaviour, altruism, tolerance towards others, and socially responsible behaviour (ibid: 20), constituting the precariatised mind as diminishing, enervating, and ultimately depressing, to be both fed and motivated by fear (Standing 2013: 11). To this end, Standing contends that the *precariat* becomes increasingly more prone to ugly voices, "backing populist demagoguery that plays on their fears and phobias" (Standing 2011: 6).

Understood as a unifying core human experience and rooted in risk, vulnerability, in the corporal sense, has been coerced and disavowed by the neoliberal schema, producing a society typified by fear, insecurity, and *precarity*.
The effects of labour market reform, attend to a breakdown of workplace identities and norms, and a withdrawal from social interdependencies by the demise of communities. This notion aligns with Michael Pusey's (2003) study on Middle Australian's, who label the 'breakdown of community and social life' and increasing 'financial and job insecurity' as causes of a decline in the quality of life in Australia (Pusey 2003: 118).

Accordingly, relations with others in society is put into question, whereby individual's moral capacities become eroded, increasing one's susceptibility to fear, consequently satiating Sennett's (1999) 'Corrosion

of Character' theory entailing a retreat into the private sphere alongside dissolution of individuals morals, principles and values regarding their capacity to *care* for others.

On the contrary to the work of Standing, aligning with the research of Pusey, Zygmunt Bauman, and Amitai Etzioni highlight community as an entity for social bonds, at the forefront of what defines a *good* society. Etzioni states that the 'values of love, loyalty, caring, and compassion, all find their roots' in the 'social bonds that are essential for human wellbeing' (2002: 84). 'Bonded by ties of affection and commitment, rather than as employees, traders, consumers, or even fellow citizens' a *good* society finds balance between: the state, the market, and the community (2000: 11-12).

Employing the work of Zygmunt Bauman, conjures up the alternative to the *precariat's* insecurity. Bauman defines security as 'the enemy of walled-up and fenced off community' which 'makes the fearsome ocean separating 'us' from 'them' seem more like an inviting swimming pool' (Bauman 2001a: 142), for when there is insecurity 'little time is left for caring for values that hover above the level of daily concerns' (Bauman 2001b: 159-160).

Revisiting the work of Standing, the tension between competition and empathy is leading to a deterioration of empathetic processes in society, whereby 'a good society needs people to have empathy' (Standing 2013: 22). To this end, literature regarding the relation between em-

pathetic processes and neoliberalism will be presented to coalesce the nexus insinuating a decrease in empathy in the face of neoliberalism's deteriorating effects, satiating Hage's avowals: whereby in a world saturated with insecurity, 'to be able to give *hope* one has to have it' (Hage 2003: 9)

The cultural effects of neoliberalism will be expressed through the concept of empathy, to expand on Hage's theory of *paranoid nationalism,* specifically the inability to *care* for others through a deficiency of *hope* within the neoliberal milieu. The emotions of hope and empathy are linked as both encompassing 'wish feelings'. Pedwell contends that hope is a wishful future orientation towards a perceived good, whilst positing that empathy could be conceptualised as a wish that one could know, see, and feel another's experience from their perspective (Pedwell 2011: 290).

Empathetic processes do not unfold in a moral or political vacuum; rather, differing contexts either augment or inhibit these processes (Hollan & Throop 2008: 385). To this point, I follow the work of Melissa May Racho's (2017) study: *Assessing the Cultural Effects of Neoliberalism on Empathy,* in that individualism, competition, anxiety, and vulnerability, 'have coalesced to undermine a genuine sense of social connectedness, civility, and empathy under the auspices of a socioeconomic milieu with little to no conscience' (Racho 2017: 28).

Generally understood as a 'humanising' emotion, linked to other emotions such as sympathy and compassion which denote 'an orientation of care of concern towards others' (Pedwell 2011:282), empathetic processes may allow greater understandings and compassion of 'the other'. For example, in her analysis of African-American literature and 'the politics of cross-racial empathy', Chabot Davis states that:

> *Empathetic experiences of seeing from the vantage point of another can lead to a recognition of that person's subjecthood and agency and can lead the white empathizer to not only become critically aware of racial hierarchy, but to desire to work against the structures of inequality wherein her own power resides (Davis 2004: 405).*

The 'genuine' nature of empathy implored by Racho, can be understood through the work of Carolyn Pedwell (2011) who states that the rhetoric of neoliberal processes, invoked specifically by former President Barack Obama, is closely linked with the rhetoric of the business-orientated 'empathy economy'. Pedwell argues that this form of empathy is rather 'a tool for increasing multinational corporations' competitiveness and profits' (ibid: 287). With this lens, empathy is used as an effective tool to 'know the other' for capitalist inclinations, rather than valuing care, ethics, or morality (ibid: 287; see also: Patnaik and Mortensen 2009).

Gary Olson's research on empathy, predicated on the work of neuroscientist Marco Iacoboni (2011), applies neuroscience theory to propose that empathy, in the caring sense of the word, is an evolutionary process that is being diminished by contemporary neoliberalism. It is

argued that empathetic motivations, in the face of neoliberal doctrines such as commodification, privatization, and the deregulation of morals, become reduced to market logic and are perceived as irrational, in that care for the other breeds dependency and destabilisation (Olson 2013: 48).

Alluding to the desensitization of people's empathetic capacity, Olson deduces that experiences of anxiety and vulnerability become attached to feelings of dependency and shame (ibid: 38). In turn, these feelings exacerbate narcissistic and individualistic qualities, fracturing social interdependencies, (Layton, 2014: 164, see also: Twenge, 2006; Twenge et al. 2018), which further influences a decrease in empathy towards the dissolution of social interdependence (Konrath et al. 2011).

According to Hage, the dual politics of the Motherland and Fatherland articulated as private and public, as caring and as instrumental, as home and as nation, entrenches two modes of imagining the nation within nationalist discourses. Firstly, the socio-geographic *container-like space* whereby the bodily national subject is individualised in society to enjoy the hope and goodness on offer, encapsulating 'a culture, a polity, an economy and a bounded social group' (Wimmer and Schiller 2002: 225, see: Taylor 1996). The second mode is imagined as a national will of a unified non-bodily entity, that protects and regulates the nation, personified as a collective we (Hage 2003: 33). In his earlier work (1998), Hage depicts this duality as reflecting an imagined

dual mode of inhabiting or belonging to the nation, eliciting the phrase *this is my nation*.

Within the first mode, the spatial-container image represents a homely belonging to the nation, encapsulating the enjoyment and the right to national life, regarded as passive belonging. The second mode refers to governmental belonging, whereby 'the nation belongs to me', entailing the expectation to contribute to the defences of national life (ibid: 46). Whether in the form of persons (asylum seekers) or situations (crises), within the nationalist imaginary a form of otherness is always present, either in the national body or outside of it.

These threats substantiate the nations endemic nervousness or paranoia, which, rather than imposed by a threat, is instead produced by the fractured relationship between the national subject and the motherland function of the nation, resultant of the deterioration of the nurturing apparatus of the state, ensuing an over-dominant presence by the defensive apparatus of the state.

The fragility of the relationship between the motherland and its citizens, is the impetus of fear that is projected onto anything classified as alien, overriding a matter of will or wanting to help marginalized members of society (Hage 2003: 21).

To this end, 'the attachment to such a 'non-feeding' apparatus of the state generates a specific form of *paranoid nationalism* (Hage 2003:

21), and the over-defensiveness exemplified by the fatherland, only augments the deterioration *a posteriori* to the motherland, therefore further disabling significant forms of sociality (Beasley and Bacchi 2010: 56).

Hage posits that the culmination of insecurity towards the nation, affirms defences, which reduces the individuals capability to exhibit their vulnerability, characterising what Holmes describes as avoidant types of people. These avoidant types do not fully trust their source of security out of fear of rejection, therefore maintaining hope of the nurturing motherland (Hage 2003: 41).

To this extent the avoidant nationalist develops an attachment to an ideal motherland, which is diminished by the continuation of neoliberal policy, drifting *hope* further away from reality, and providing the impetus for the defensive mechanisms of the avoidant nationalist. It is here whereby the fatherland shifts its focus from protecting the nurturing apparatus from internal and external threats, towards protecting against anything that may threaten the nationalist fantasy of the motherland (ibid: 43).

Conclusion:

What this chapter has attained is the ability to reconcile the depleting social interdependencies, the encroaching permeating effects of neoliberalism into the private spheres, notably through labour market reform, and, the resultant state of being with which deprived individuals are experiencing.

The concept of *risk* has been presented to depict the evolving societal conditions that saturate the socio-political realm, intruding the public and private spheres through the processes of *individualization,* under the auspices of *freedom*. In the amalgamation of *individualization* and the changing composition of gender in the labour market, as an outcome of women's liberation from the Breadwinner/family-wage model, the reduction of care-giving capabilities fuses with the increased desire for the motherland in a world destitute of the state's internal care-giving apparatus, generating a *crisis of care*. This *crisis* is composed of a socially disorientated society that is destitute of community ties which support the foundations of a *good* society.

Feelings of vulnerability and insecurity emerge increasingly prevalent, positioning individuals into a state of *precarity* that strips their empathetic processes towards others, and instead, decreases moral capacities, presenting the individual as susceptible, thus laying fertile ground for *rhetoric* and *language* (presented in chapter 2) against those considered *other*.

Sarah Josie
Is Art More Powerful Than Protest?

Last Trimester I did an essay on both Marina Abramovic and Guillermo Gomez Pena. I'm inspired by both artists but I discovered something new with Gomez Pena; the notion that my art could be a more elaborate form of protest. In this day and age protests are conducted frequently but I wonder if protest actually works or is it merely traditional forms of protests that don't work? I remember when I took part in March against March when Tony Abbott was Prime minister. It took place on St Patrick's Day when there was also a St Patrick's Day parade. When Tony Abbott was asked about this protest he looked the other way and played ignorant saying that he thought it was part of St Patrick's Day. Tony Abbott caused a lot of controversy that day by his response, but maybe putting a political march on an already festive day led to the protest blending in to the day's festivities and possibly muted the action to a degree.

But still protests can go ignored even when it's the biggest thing to happen that day. Take for example the recent trimester protests. It was a huge turnout with several universities joining in and supporting the cause and yet we still have trimesters, despite overwhelming complaints. In the Hawkesbury, where I live, there was a protest that went for several years setting up camp in Thompson square, protesting a new bridge being made because the local community wanted to preserve the towns heritage by keeping the old bridge. All they wanted was a third bridge so that their historical bridge would not be destroyed and yet the government has still gone along with their plans and the protest has stopped. This was a protest that required enormous dedication. There was a little tent set up and people took over in shifts trying to get as many signatures as possible. The tent was never left unattended, even during the night.

So it makes me wonder, do we need to rethink the traditional protest and is art a more powerful approach to protest? Gomez Pena says it's the job of the artist to pose questions and critique society and also describes art as resistance. He makes the protest form comedic at times, beautiful, radical and

deliberate. His work is evocative and also heartfelt. His voice is loud and he uses the naked body as an aspect of activism that effectively gets people's attention. As beautiful as the human form is it can still easily shock people even in the 21st century. So are we going about protest all wrong? Has the government/society become desensitised to placards and profanities? Violence clearly doesn't help people create change and essentially criminalises the protestor but also gives the government regime reason not to listen.

But Banksy formulates his protest in street art and stickers. Others have tried to take his lead posting their stickers wherever they can even when street art gets approved from council, they still have the power to take it down and when it is not approved by council it is delegitimised, labelled as vandalism and can even be painted over by someone employed by council. But still attempts to be heard do not cease. Protests can be immortalised in art and protest in the form of writing and can be passed down to generations. Take for example Margaret Atwood's The Handmaids Tale is essentially a form of feminist protest adapted into movies and television series today. When the latest tv series adaptation was released, it became a movement of its own because it debuted when Donald Trump became president.

It is possible that timeless acts of protest can slowly chip away at progress. Marina Abramovic could possibly be seen as a timeless act of protest in the realm of the art world. Abramovic's endurance pieces have a kind of protest quality to them concerned as they are with the body's limitations. It's not too farfetched an idea as people have stretched out the limitations of the human body before and during protest such as hunger strikes and events like 40 hour famine. While protests promote solidarity and bring socially and economically marginalized groups to the foreground protests alone do not evoke change. As it states in a perspective article on whether protests work:

Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech bookended the Civil Rights Movement's march on Washington, yet the march itself cannot be credited for

the civil rights legislation that followed it. Protest was just one part of a layered nonviolent resistance tactic employed by the movement for a decade before any legislation was signed.

This leads me to believe that art as protest can peacefully raise awareness of a movement and help to lead change. A survey was done in March of 2017 by 50 artists to elaborate how important it is that art be a form of protest. One particular artist who goes by the name of Daniel G Andujar said this as part of this particular survey:

Art must be a sign of resistance to a political model that is increasingly hierarchical, diffuse, global and standardized. The public stage has become a sort of orchestrated video game – a frivolous, ridiculous operetta with a few recited parts that are performed daily before a people overwhelmed by the consequences of the crisis. The audience is immediately prescribed by the mass media and, therefore, defused before its fellow citizens dare 'boo' from the stands. This is the criminalization of protest, which leads to the brutalization of audiences implemented by refined political techniques – in short, to audiences that dare practise disobedience to the rules imposed by the institution, such as transgression, insubordination, the creation of new political experiences or the rehearsal of new voices. Democracy has become an aesthetic matter. I want to get away from unilateral, closed discourses affording no possibility for response, participation or interaction. We artists have a political function that requires clear ethical positions. Language can change the world – or should. This is one of the artist's most effective tools.

Artists from over 30 different countries took part in this survey and they all had lots to say on the topic, some even created artworks in response to the survey. John Gerrard also took part in this survey, he said:

Protest in art is particularly powerful when it engages the poetic. Less a call to arms than a challenge to feel.

A whispered reminder of what may be lost. And what may yet be discovered. In some ways official protest can be a form of performance art or can be carried out in daily life as I learned personally from Emer 'O' Toole's book Girls will be Girls. Challenging peoples gender schema's is something I am interested in doing with my own work as I did earlier this year with a video work I created called Challenging my Script where I put lipstick on my cling wrapped face while a robotic voice expresses a feminist inner dialogue. I was protesting the gender script society constitutes as female. I also became inspired by the typical feminist act of growing out arm pit hair but I decided to challenge that script too by shaving my right arm pit and growing out my left arm pitt hair, than dying it purple. This was my way of challenging what it means to be feminist and also challenging body hair shaming on women and what constitutes as decorum as every person has a right to their own individuality and their body however they like it to be. This is a daily act of protest/ritual I have been carrying out for several weeks now. I also have a bright purple undercut while the rest of my hair is classic long blond hair and a fringe. This is a daily act of expressing that identity is fluid and I am also making a statement against gender stereotyping as I can be both masculine and feminine whenever I like. I can mix it up and be androgenous or I can be either but both the masculine and feminine exists in me constantly. All humans have both oestrogen and testosterone and to deny any human being to express themselves in whatever way they please is a breach of human rights.

Most people have their own causes they are passionate about and art gives us a bigger platform to express these points of view. Change can be made in numerous ways but it can't be made with one particular action. Change can be exhausting and arduous but the more people engaged with it the better the chances are that good change will happen. Still art can be very powerful in its own right so why not see it as a very important tool for change? Guerilla girls have been using art as a protest since 1985 and continue to work as agents of change today. They are an anonymous group of female artists who fight

against racism and sexism. They use street art as part of their protest, they research statistics, they are exhibited in many galleries and they still remain big today which means that people are still listening to them. Their movement started in the UK and is now used all over the world. Their original protest posters are now highly valued works of art. Their rare and unusual methods of protest have been successful in making progress. They are accepted into the white cube institutions of the art world but their techniques still remain radical. Their success typically lies in their imitation of advertising campaigns, their humour and their multiple acts of protest which not only include posters, installation and performance art but they also do lectures which is a very effective tool as some people might not support a cause due to their limited knowledge on the cause. Education is a very effective tool in empowerment.

When activism is used in art depending on the success of that artist or the fact that most artists hold onto their successful works in preparation for further exhibition and archival purposes, Visual Art and other forms of the like have more staying power and can be played, read, performed and reperformed time and time again. Whether they are successful the first time or whether they are presented to the public or not, they have a staying power that draws in people who share these passions and those who just enjoy art. They encapsulate humanity at its highest point and create unity with people who share the same views.
Not every protest is successful and especially if it is always done in traditional ways. Activism always needs innovation whether it is art or not. As art constantly changes with time so should activism methods evolve and change with the demands of progress.

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Sarah Josie

Interview: Kieran Butler

What is your favourite song that you feel is most empowering to you and why?

This is a hard question because there are so many songs that I find empowering at different times. They're always changing. A few songs at the moment that have been resonating with me are MUNA's "Number one fan", Whitney Houston's "How will I know", (the Glee cover), and Cascada's cover of Savage Garden's "Truly Madly Deeply". These songs in particular have inspired recent and upcoming works of mine. I find them empowering because they give me a way to begin discussions around homesickness, self-love and the experience of wanting to have conversations with your loved ones around non-binary and queer experience.

What inspired your study choices and tell us more about what you have studied?

I did my undergraduate degree in Fine Arts with a major in photography. Other than my intuition directing me I found that I became obsessed with photography and critical theory surrounding it. I was definitely inspired by photography itself. There is something extra seductive, romantic and enigmatic about photography. The more I reflect on studying photography the more I realised how multifaceted its histories are. For example, photography was invented around the same time as automatic hand guns, which is why we use the term 'shoot' when referring to photography, and that initially film was created to create the image of people with light skin tones. Some people would suggest that's just physics and the way light interacts with surface. I would say that photography is inherently racist. Furthermore, photography is a material caught between image and object, always being not really one or another. It's almost like the perfect queer/non-binary medium – in my opinion at least, haha.

Have you read any feminist books, essays, or theory? If so what have you read and/or would recommend?

I wouldn't say that I have necessarily explicitly read much feminist theory, books or essays per say because I approach my research and practice from a direction of queer theory, photography and identity politics. However, I would say that these all play a part in the broader scope of feminist theory. At the moment I haven't been reading much. I've been focussing more on developing new technical skills, and learning my personal and familial narratives. Although I would recommend: Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity by José Esteban Muñoz, Photography is magic by Charlotte Cotton, and Not Gay, Sex Between Straight White Men by Jane Ward.

Recently you had a group exhibition at the Hawkesbury Regional Gallery called What we have to say. Could you walk us through that experience?

What we have to say was a really lovely experience from start to finish. I was approached by the curator of the exhibition, Diana Robson, to include my work in the exhibition. From there it was very little effort on my part. I was so privileged and am grateful to have been invited for this exhibition because once I had packaged and sent my work off I didn't have to do anything else. The gallery very thoughtfully had everything taken care of for me. The exhibition was about "contemporary Australian artists, who's creative practice questions and disrupts a traditional and conservative art discourse. The exhibition more broadly asks the viewer to question the impact of these disruptions to the centre, from the margins. How they shape the ways in which we understand and navigate the increasingly dynamic and complex spaces we occupy". The most exciting part of the exhibition was having my work recognised as being disruptive – I'm not always sure that it's read or treated in that way, particularly in a group setting.

What does sexism look like for you and how do you transform oppression into something that is empowering through your work?

I find describing sexism tricky because the majority of the population would think of sexism in a binary way i.e. female – male. The word sex in reference to gender diverse identities also refers to a person's biological features i.e. the limbs on their bodies. There's far more to sexism than just those two-dimensional points. When referring to sexism in that way it doesn't take into account inter-sexism, it doesn't take into account trans and non-binary bodies/identities, it essentially doesn't take into account any diversity among people or allow room for fluidity. – Oh, also, sexism as a binary, is a very western construct and I think that this binary doesn't take into account culturally diverse histories or perspectives on sex and gender.

Sexism to me looks like prejudice against gender diverse identities where cisgender hetero-normative male identities and bodies are the most privileged and least affected by sexism, usually the ones who are the oppressors. That's a very general statement for me to say, but if we look through history those are the voices and the people we see over and over again in positions of power. On a personal level this sexism for me happens every day. People always make a fuss about my pronouns if they get it wrong, or completely disregard that knowledge. Also from within the LGBTQI+ community I find people are a bit funny when tell them I am non-binary because I present in a typically cis-masc way. I understand that my presentation is inherently privileged, but it is something I am slowly unlearning and working through to more greatly understand my non-binary identity.

I take these experiences and oppression and transform them through my work by making queer/non-binary stories visible. There is something very empowering about having visibility. This is particularly true for people who are gender diverse because our bodies are inherently political. Historically being rendered invisible has granted us a great strength and power in being seen and heard.

What is a feminist issue that you feel most passionate about?

Trans and non-binary exclusion in feminist discourse. I'm not a fan of TERF's (trans exclusionary radical feminists).

What are your thoughts on the waves of feminism?

To first and second wave feminism can I just say OK boomer and leave

Kieran Butler, Installation view of *Rainbow Bois and Magical Girls* from *What We have To Say*, 2019.
Hawklesbury Regional Gallery. Image Courtesy of the Artist.

it there? Being in the third wave of feminism we can see the short fallings of the first and second wave because we have the ability of retrospect, higher education and a capacity for more immediate communication and access to information. However, I do recognise the work that our forebears have done in these waves, but let's get over that, move on, and be more inclusive of gender diverse perspectives in the history of feminism.

Who is your favourite feminist activist/writer/celebrity?

Honestly, it's no secret that I love Charli XCX #gayrights. I also really admire the cast of Pose – Indya Moore, MJ Rodriguez and Billy Porter - and Zendaya. I also love Alok Vaid-Menon who is a gender non-conforming activist, writer, artist and educator. If you haven't look up their work. I could just keep listing more and more and more, but they're the first few who come to mind. I think I only really admire people who are feminists. To be quite honest if you're not then I'd probably unfollow you.

Your activism in the use of pronouns and your visibility as a non-binary person is truly inspiring. Has anyone ever come up to you and told you how your work and activism has helped them in their life?

Thank you! that's so nice to hear. I've had a few online experiences where people have let me know that they feel seen and validated as a person because of some of my work. I'm really grateful and thankful that my work can have a positive impact.

Do you feel that your work helps people question their gender biases and stereotyping?

In short yes, I know that it does. In a

similar fashion to the previous question, I have had experiences where people approach me to say thank you for sharing my work and that they found it informative. I had one experience where a parent was very grateful for the education my work provided them and how it has improved the way they use language with their non-binary child. I've also found at work that my colleagues who follow me online are more proactive in correcting their use of pronouns and they check themselves a lot more than they used to. It's small impact, but overall it contributes to changing culture which makes a difference.

Do you think Art can be protest?

Yes 110% art can be protest, especially when a work aims to be disruptive. Considering art in this way is very nuanced. Ultimately however, especially at the present time, I see art as a reactionary process. The majority of artists I know reflect on the world around them and respond to their histories, experiences and contexts in different ways. Some forms of art as protest are more literal and explicit like Carolee Shneemann's work Interior Scroll (albeit from second wave feminism). While other forms are more abstract and implicit for example a trans-woman of colour artist working in the field of abstract painting can be seen as a form of protest by taking up space in that field – a field historically dominated by white cis-het men. In Feminism's third wave I think we see a diverse mix of both approaches. I think that art inherently has a protest quality because of the way artists consider their histories. Art is also about communication and education. If art is not making you think or consider your surroundings and history then what value does it have?

Kieran Butler, Pride in Pronouns Poster, 2019. Digital image file. 1080 px x 1920px. Image Courtesy of the artist.
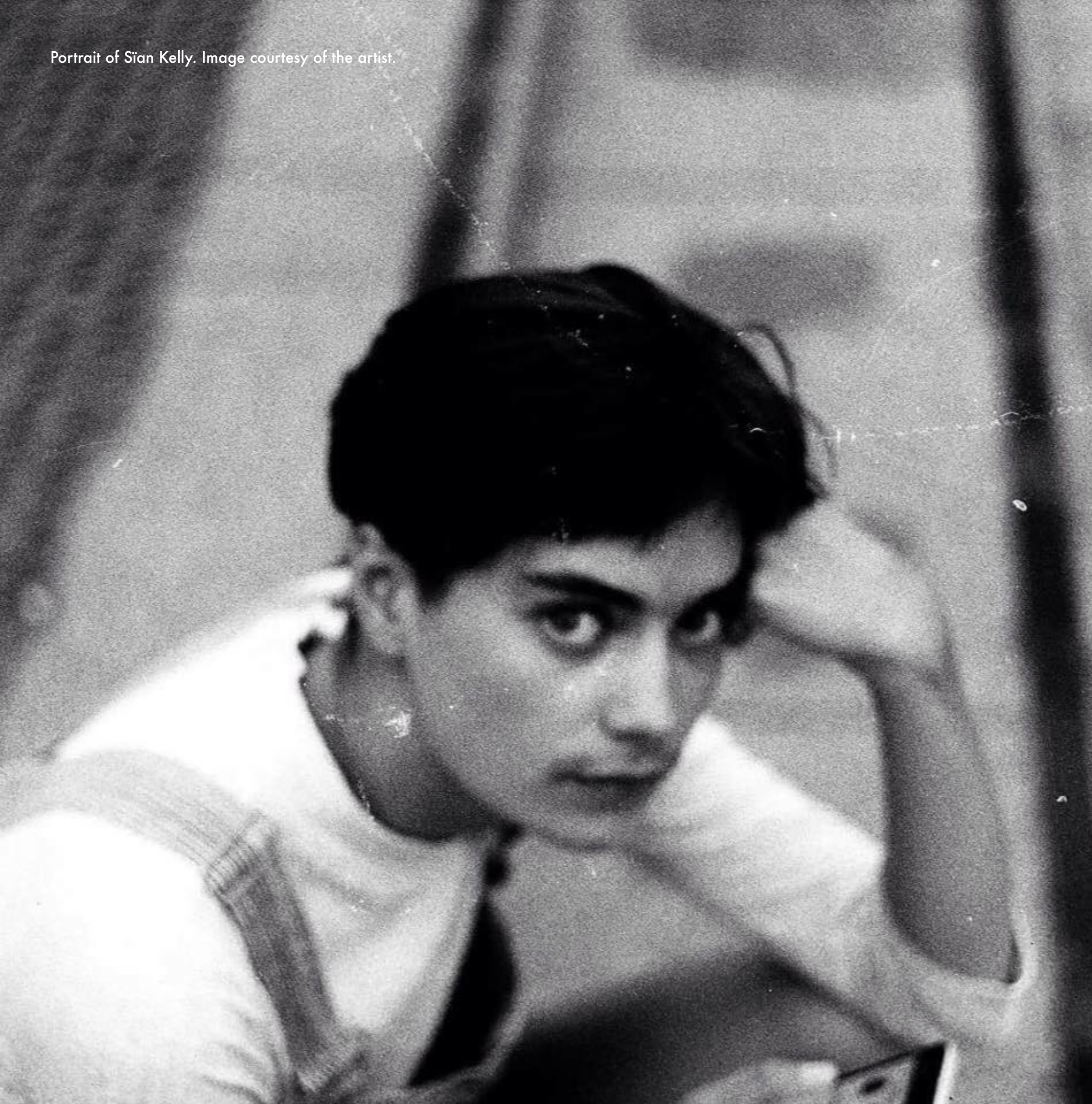
Sarah Josie
Interview: Sïan Kelly

What inspired your study choices and tell us more about what you have studied?

I'm currently completing my Honours year at UNSW Art and Design. My original motivations for studying at A&D were prompted by their inclusion of drawing as an independent medium available for major streams, and their balance of focus between the conceptual/theoretic and practical elements of art making. The experimental and theoretic push of art making that has been encouraged by my tutors at A&D has expanded the scope of my practice significantly. Through the lens of expanded drawing my practice has become highly multi-disciplinary, utilising mediums such as- and predominantly- sculpture, performance, installation, ceramics, sound, writing, and set design.

I have also found a rigorous and supportive creative community through my time at A&D which has encouraged and supported both my professional and personal life to no ends and to all of whom I am eternally grateful.

However, there are several very serious issues stemming from within UNSW as an institution that, outside of the enormous efforts of tutors and students, has halted any pride that I had in being a part of its student body. One of these issues, namely, is UNSW's decision not to renew the contract of Tess Allas, Director of Indigenous Programs at UNSW A&D. Tess is an integral part of the A&D community, providing endless academic and personal support to students, and a crucial support to indigenous students on A&D campus. The dismissal of Tess, in an institution which is already significantly lacking in First Nations staff, is

unquestionably the result of a larger atmosphere of racism, misogyny, and a reinforcement of colonial attitudes within UNSW. I encourage all readers to inform themselves on the issue through the Instagram @standwithtess1, or Facebook 'Stand With Tess1', and take part in speaking out in solidarity with Tess.

Have you read any feminist books, essays, or theory? If so what have you read and/or would recommend?

Engaging with texts and theoretic research is a huge part of my practice, and mostly revolves around theoretic texts about gender and feminism. As my honours body of work, "Body Language", has been preoccupied with the readability of the non-binary body, I have been interacting namely with key gender theorists such as Judith Butler and Jack Halberstam, as well as Brett Suemnicht's MFA dissertation "GenderFail", and anything and everything written by Spence Messih and Dr. Astrid Lorange. None of these are particularly 'light reading', but if anyone is looking for a really expansive understanding of intersectional feminism, I think this is a good place to start.

I'm also obsessed with reading old interviews of artists who motivate my practice, and have been diving deep into Eva Hesse's eloquent and intimate descriptions of practice and critiques of the masculine dominance of abstraction.

Recently you took part in a group exhibition as part of Reclaim the Night called Still

We Rise. Could you walk us through that experience?

Still We Rise was such a fun and exciting opportunity for me as a trans/non-binary artist. Prior to this event I had been hesitant to engage with Reclaim the Night's activism as, while it is a phenomenal cause and public safety is a huge issue, it has historically aligned itself exclusively with a Cis-female experience of gendered violence. As a feminist issue, it is crucial to acknowledge that gendered public violence is not exclusively a cis-female issue, and that gendered violence can often become more excessive, consistent and extreme when other social and political identities such as race, [queer] gender, sexuality and disability are also present.

I was asked to be a part of Still We Rise by long-term colleague/peer/friend Mia Carey, convener of Reclaim the Night, and agreed to participate in encouragement of Reclaim the Night Sydney to actively move into an intersectional stance on gendered public violence. As this is a relatively new transition for them, I was the only trans/non-binary artist present. It is an interesting and odd experience to be an unintentional 'token' of a community in an exhibition. However, I went into the exhibition aware of my position within its context, in the hope that it opens a door for trans/non-binary artists in Reclaim the Night's future events and within their activism. I strongly encourage Reclaim the Night to involve themselves further with trans issues of public safety, and extend these issues not only to AFAB/vulva-bearing

people but to all bodies across the gender spectrum who are victim of oppression and violence at the hands of cis-men.

What does sexism look like for you and how do you transform oppression into something that can be empowering through your work?

This is a huge question. I think, for me, sexism has many masks and shows its face in every possible crowd. Sexism is avoiding riding trains in peak-hour traffic for fear of facing the reality of thousands of men in suits. Sexism is profit over product. Sexism is capitalism. Sexism is exercising silence and etiquette to become more socially palatable. Sexism is the habit of saying "sorry" too much. Sexism is the very notion of stable moods, and the structure of every work place and institution not to accommodate for chronic illnesses such as menstrual complications. Sexism is the proportion of cis-men to other people in my university cohort, versus the proportion of successful cis-men to other people in the arts industry.

Sexism is so inherent to my Western cultural context that it manifests itself in the way we are taught to behave, present and perceive others. Rejecting this is a perpetual act of unlearning internalised misogyny. I think this is what my work strives to achieve, and why the body is so important to my practice. The body is a site whose reception has been dominated and crafted by the aesthetic criteria of sexist attitudes, which extends to the phallocentric enforcement of binary symbolism.

My practice becomes a personal ritual in situating the body outside of this mode of perception, rejecting sexist and transphobic reception to reposition the readability of the body to an expanded and liberated experience of gender.

What is a feminist issue that you feel most passionate about?

There are so many.. I think what troubles me most in my Western context is the division between White Feminism and Intersectional Feminism. Feminism unquestionably overlaps with other social identities (race, [queer] gender, sexual orientation, disability, financial position, etc.) and has within itself a hierarchy of privilege. The shift to intersectional feminism is crucial in achieving genuine social equality, and it troubles me that there is so much active complacency and/or dismissal within feminism to accommodate for, and raise up, those who suffer most from sexism.

Again, it is important to note that I speak to this issue from within my own cultural context. Feminist issues change depending on cultural expressions of sexism and misogyny.

What are your thoughts on the waves of feminism?

I owe a lot to all each wave of feminism. The waves of feminism built the foundation of rights and achievements from which we can stand to reach higher, and I am indebted to that. In saying that, political movements change over time, and the Patriarchy doesn't

shift quickly. What feminism was is at odds with what feminism is now. This contrast presents its progress. The most important thing is to move and change with this flux. Progress and development require constant reflection and critique, and this should be exercised, celebrated and honoured.

Your activism in the use of pronouns and your visibility as a non-binary person is truly inspiring. Has anyone ever come up to you and told you how your work and activism has helped them in their life?

Thank you so much for these kind words! They are truly heart-warming.

Certainly, in my personal life, these conversations are joyously frequent and reciprocated. However, I haven't found yet that this extends to my professional life.

Issues of gender that I address in my work are sensitive and personal, and it can be difficult to feel comfortable in creating these dialogues, particularly in social settings. While my work addresses my own experience with gender, it is my hope that it can contribute to a shift in the arts industry that creates a more accommodating atmosphere for all trans/non-binary artists. I would be overjoyed if my practice were to encourage, bring solace to, or comfort other people who experience some of the same trials I address, or are beginning the process learning about their gender identity.

Do you feel that your work helps people question their gender biases and stereotyping?

Objectification and misgendering that is borne from binary stereotyping of the body is a very personal topic for me, and something that I am actively trying to critique and deconstruct through my practice. As a cis-passing, thin, white artist, my experience of body stereotyping is simultaneously privileged and ostracising. The reception of my body as 'feminine' and 'cis-female' due to the presence of breasts and vulva presents a disparity that separates the visual readability of the body from contemporary philosophies of gender- as something which is not dictated by, or restricted to, assets of the body. It is the intention of my practice to encourage its audience to critique gender biases and binary symbolism, and I certainly hope that I achieve this even in a small way. We are taught how to impose judgement on bodies from day dot, and it is a long and challenging task to unlearn- or relearn- how to receive the visual presence of a body, particularly in relation to gender stereotypes.

Do you think art can be protest?

Art is a practice of self-expression and, by extension, a practice of communication. In this way, I believe art can absolutely be a mode of protest, and has historically played a pivotal and influential role in politics. But I would hesitate to go so far as

that 'art is protest', as I have often heard people claim. Art is a vibrant and rigorous tool through which communication of ideas can be achieved, and is especially important where language can no longer appropriately accommodate for these ideas. Art becomes protest where the artist intends it to be.

Sïan Kelly is an interdisciplinary emerging artist based on Gadigal land of the Eora Nation (Sydney), Australia. Working with such key mediums as drawing, performance, sculpture, installation, ceramics, and set design, Kelly's practice engages with gender, identity and the body. Kelly is currently completing their Honours program at UNSW Art & Design, and has exhibited in such spaces as Hazelhurst Gallery, the Art Gallery of NSW, Kudos Gallery, and A & D Space.

Sïan Kelly's practice is situated on Gadigal land of the Eora Nation. Kelly pays their respects to Elders past, present and emerging, and acknowledges this land as a historical site of learning, sharing, and art making. Sovereignty never ceded. This land always was, and always will be Aboriginal land.

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Matthew Harkness

Concerning 3D Printing, Plastic Waste is not the Only Concern

The digital transformation of making stuff is doing more than simply making existing manufacturing more efficient. It's also extending manufacturing to a hugely expanded population of producers – the existing manufactures plus a lot of regular folk who are becoming entrepreneurs. We will all just be a click away from getting factories to work for us.
Chris Anderson - Makers: The New Industrial Revolution 2013, pg. 41

Since the mid-2000s, maker practice and the increasing affordability of 3D printers has supported the popularity and mainstream appeal of self-sufficiency through do-it-yourself (DIY) and making activities. Founded through the DIY publication Make: Magazine, the proliferation of this idea has resulted in the organization of like-minded do-it-yourselfers (DIYers) and technology enthusiasts into the 'maker movement' (Dougherty, 2012). Despite the optimistic outlook of Make and supporters of 3D printing, negative consequences of domestic 3D printing and making activities are often overlooked (Kohtala & Hyysalo, 2015). This essay will critique the flagship technology of the maker movement, 3D printing; uncovering problems with plastic waste, production timescales, emissions, exclusion, and regulatory issues surrounding these devices. As DIY and maker practice has become more mainstream via the maker movement, access to low-cost, small-scale digital fabrication devices has also increased. Using these devices has amplified maker practice, and makers self-reliance by enabling them to shift away from traditional forms of consumption, toward small batch production within their home or a local makerspace (Anderson, 2013). Like Anderson (2013) and other proponents of the

'new industrial revolution' brought on by 3D printing, they assume that widespread domestic production using these devices will support distributed manufacturing networks. For example, through distributed manufacturing the shipping of goods will be minimized; objects can be designed in one location and digitally transferred to a 3D printer closer to the end user (Huang et al., 2012). Through local networks of additive manufacturers, they expect that warehouses overflowing with products will shortly become unnecessary. Yet even with the range of benefits 3D printing technology offers to makers, the contingencies associated with distributed manufacturing and making via home 3D printing are still largely unknown.

In San Francisco in 2005, DIYers begun rallying around a new publication that promoted the idea that individuals should become makers. The first issue of Make: Magazine began to attract widespread appeal in the United States as it aimed to bring together digital technology, electronics, and DIY enthusiasts (Make: Magazine, Vol. 01, 2005). As maker practice became popular through Make: Magazine, so too did the number of 'makerspace' workshop facilities along with machinery, tools, and technologies to support makers creativity. Since then, the benefits of maker practice and 3D printing has extended into schools, libraries, community centers (Dondlinger, McLeod & Bigenho, 2017) and even the home (France, 2013). Because of the maker movement, the domestication of DIY and making is supported further through low cost, 'plug-and-play' desktop-scale 3D printers that are now widely available (Richardson, Elliott, & Haylock, 2013).

Additive manufacturing technology – colloquially known as 3D printing – involves software that digitally 'slices' a 3D computer model into horizontal layers. The 3D printer reads this information then creates the model by simultaneously melting thermoplastic filament and depositing it into thin layers to consecutively build up a 3D form (Prince, 2014). The popularity of 3D printing stems from these device's ability to rapidly manufacture complex, tangible objects easily (3D Printing Industry, 2017). Whereas producing the same component using traditional manufacturing processes would take longer and be a much more involved process; it would require larger, more expensive, and more complex machinery (3D Printing Industry, 2017). Additive manufacturing devices not only create intricate three-dimensional forms that would be difficult to produce with traditional technology, but they can also produce components made of multiple different materials during a single print process (Wohlers & Gornet, 2016). Another benefit of additive manufacturing versus traditional subtractive manufacturing – a process that involves cutting away from a piece of material into a desired form – is that subtractive manufacturing not only wastes more material during cutting but also requires substantial room for storing stock materials before being used (3D Printing Industry, 2017). Unlike 3D printing where the stock material comprises of small spools of filament. Subtractive manufacturing also requires the cutter heads and other machine components to be changed throughout the manufacturing process (Mota, 2011). In 3D printing, this step is unnecessary, apart from the occasional replacement of a hot-end nozzle. For these production advantages, manufacturing is said

to be on the verge of changing from large-scale centralized locations such as factories, to small-scale and distributed home desktops. Major supporters of this idea believe that the 3D printed revolution has, in some ways, already begun (Anderson, 2013; Bowyer, 2009; Gershenfield, 2008; Hatch, 2013; Prince, 2014). It has even been posited, that 3D printing will be utilized in domestic food production, home construction, biotechnology, and the manufacturing of household objects. Although these are often depicted as speculative visions of the future, contemporary 3D printers are accomplishing many of these tasks. 3D printers can already produce confectionary products (Lipton, Cutler, Nigl, Cohen, & Lipson, 2015), rapidly constructing houses in a concrete-like material (Apis Cor, 2018), and are being used to print biological tissue in medical research applications (Pîrjan & Petrosanu, 2013; Prince, 2014; Vermeulen et al., 2017). Envisioned in this techno-utopian future, we can produce nearly anything either at home or at a local makerspace. Mass-production will give way to mass-customization and the creation of more relevant and made-to-order products (Lipson & Kurman, 2013).

While 3D printing technology has an extensive list of manufacturing advantages, the clear issue with it is the plastic material these devices use and how this might impact the environment. Academics Cindy Kohtala and Sampsa Hysallo's (2015) investigation of the future of sustainable personal fabrication found that few makers were eco-oriented and those that were, were not the ones basing their practice around new forms of digital manufacturing technology. They maintain that "there is a clear need for targeted research on the environmental impacts of personal

fabrication technologies and materials, and real-life maker practices" (Kohtala & Hyssalo, 2015, pg. 343). Meaning that there is a clear gap in the perceived versus the actual environmental effects and sustainability narratives of the maker movement., Architectural Review writer Rachel Armstrong (2014) maintains "3-D printing is not a revolution in making until it addresses the fundamental issue of 21st-century materiality" (Para. 11). As these devices rely on plastic filament material, critics of 3D printing are concerned about how these devices might impact the environment by creating exponential amounts of plastic waste (Armstrong, 2014). For example, the two materials most often used in 3D printing are thermoplastic filaments known as polylactic acid (PLA) and acrylonitrile butadiene styrene (ABS) (Holst, 2018). Both standard in low-cost additive manufacturing devices, PLA filament is made from fermented corn starch or sugarcane (Ebnesajjad, 2012) whereas ABS filament is a petroleum-based plastic (Boustead, 2005). Although 3D printer enthusiasts maintain that PLA is an environmentally friendly material because it is not petroleum-based and is biodegradable (Carlota, 2019), it still requires an industrial composting facility to break it down (Australasian Bioplastics Association, 2018). Like biodegradable food containers, the public often perceives new bioplastics as compostable in domestic compost bins (Mannix, 2017). However, this is a common misunderstanding and conflation of the terms 'biodegradable' and 'compostable' (Mannix, 2017). Biodegradable can refer to a bioplastic material that decomposes through a specific treatment often involving temperatures much higher than in a domestic compost bin (Mannix, 2017). Whereas compostable refers to organic matter that breaks down into biomass easily on its own;

for example, kitchen food scraps (Ebnesajjad, 2012).

Taking matters into their own hands, makers using both PLA and ABS when 3D printing have investigated closed loop 3D printing. Derived from thermoplastic recycling, makers created a series of open-source machines, processes, and online tutorials for reusing plastic to divert plastic waste from both household and makerspace waste streams by grinding, melting, and re-extruding plastics into recycled filament (Hakkens 2013). Machines ranging from large-scale granulators to modified kitchen blenders are available and re-extrusion machines, recycled filament cooling fans, and filament re-spooling devices (Filabot, 2018; Filastruder, 2018). However, attempts at plastic waste diversion inevitably lead to introducing virgin plastic material into the recycling process because of the nature of thermoplastic polymers (Plastics New Zealand, 2019). During thermoplastic recycling the plastic polymers degrade as the material is repeatedly heated and cooled (O'Farrell, Allan, & A'Vard, 2016; Zink & Geyer, 2018) and, therefore, failed 3D prints are not reusable indefinitely. Recognizing this, users of DIY filament recycling devices also emphasize the use of virgin plastic material during the recycling of 3D printer waste to ensure the recycled plastic maintains its material properties (Filastruder, 2018).

Extending beyond the plastic material used in 3D printing, the rapid production capabilities of additive manufacturing devices also have the potential to shift our perception of the value of 3D printed objects. Because of these devices heuristic production method and the low material

quality of the resulting objects, another contingency attributed to 3D printing is the seemingly effortless making process and quick production time (Kohtala & Hyssalo, 2015). For example, in the time to power on a 3D printer and let it come up to temperature, a maker can slice their 3D model and be creating tangible objects.

Once the printing process has begun, makers need only return once their digital design has become a physical object. This efficiency and ease of use, combined with the rampant uptake of 3D printing technology, may lead to drastic increases in the production and resulting disposal of plastic 3D printed goods. Despite 3D printing's transformation of manufacturing into a customizable and on-demand process, this push-button process encourages a heuristic or trial-and-error process; although characterized as a simple fabrication method, it can waste materials. What is omitted in 3D printing is the careful consideration involved during the making process. Such as the attentiveness needed when cutting and joining material in a subtractive manufacturing process like woodworking. When moving from digital model to physical component, design using 3D printing technology has finality to it. Meaning tangible prototypes are often printed out to verify their correctness. Contrary to the assumption that 3D printing using PLA filament is environmentally friendly, it is easy to create waste during the design process in the form of several unusable prototypes before reaching the physical specifications of the desired object (Lipsom & Kurman, 2013). It is thought that widespread 3D printing will undo the abatement of unnecessary plastic use such as the recent reduction in plastic grocery bags in a "reverse environmental offset"

(Arieff, 2014, para. 10).

Even as an alternative to mass-production the concept of distributed manufacturing may yet prove detrimental to the environment and to human health. When compared to a traditional manufacturing method such as injection molding, 3D printers use 50 to 100 times more energy to produce the same sized object (Arieff, 2014). Therefore, when scaled up to the level of mass-production in an industrial production facility, individual 3D printers operating at the same high-volume capacity will be more energy intensive (Gebler, Schoot Uiterkamp & Visser, 2014). Multiply the energy needed by the number of producers of 3D printed goods and the resulting energy usage will be substantial (De Decker, 2012, 2009). Besides the energy required to 3D print objects on a mass scale are the hazardous, odorants, irritants, particles and compounds also emitted by these devices. Recent studies have shown that many low-cost 3D printers emit these kinds particles into the air (Kwon et al., 2017) and their inhalation may lead to cancer and other illnesses (Azimi et al., 2016). These volatile-organic compounds have adverse health effects on humans that may lead to asthma, cardiovascular problems, and other respiratory-related hospitalizations (Donaldson et al., 2001). Not only were several notable 3D printer companies' devices found to emit these particles, but various brands of thermoplastic filament did as well (Azimi et al., 2016). As filaments melt and are extruded by a 3D printer, considerable rates of particle emissions are detected from both PLA and ABS filament samples (Azimi et al., 2016). Using proper ventilation or operating one's 3D printer inside an enclosure with a filter can mitigate a maker's risks while using this technology (Azimi et al., 2016), however,

that does not account for the wider ecological ramifications these emissions may have once released into the environment.

In maker culture it is thought that making fosters inclusive and diverse community of makers from all backgrounds while providing access to emerging maker technologies. Questioning this assumption, academics Morgan Ames, Jeffrey Bardzell, Shaowen Bardzell, Silvia Lindtner, David Mellis, and Daniela Rosner (2014) contend that maker culture is homogenous and caters to a specific audience. In a recent survey conducted by Make, 81% of Make's readership is 44-year-old males with a household income of $107,000 U.S. dollars (Make Media Kit, 2016). Nearly all of Make's readers are university or college educated and 73% of them own their own home or apartment (Make Media Kit, 2016). As the 3D printers that Make showcases in their magazine are often developed by men, the gender disparity of tech culture is ingrained (Chachra, 2015). Artist, engineer, and researcher Liam Grace-Flood (2018) questions whether digital fabrication tools have increased accessibility to making or if they have reinforced the status quo for the people who have traditionally been excluded. Academic Ellen Kathleen Foster (2017) concurs with this perspective in Grace-Flood's (2018) consideration of how making, and by extension, maker technologies, can further marginalize individuals, such as women, who are typically excluded from tech culture (Bean, Farmer, & Kerr, 2015). Academics and feminist hackerspace researchers Sarah Fox, Rachel Rose Ulgado, and Daniela K. Rosner (2015) posit that who is visible or invisible within the context of making is an important consideration for expanding maker

culture beyond its current status as a 3D printing hobby for wealthy middle-aged men.

Another widely discussed concern with democratized 3D printing is the uncontrolled production of firearms (Berkowitz, 2018). In 2013, the first digital model for a 3D printed, plastic handgun (Figure 2) was made open-source and both its material composition and the regulation of similar designs have become problematic since (Berkowitz, 2018). Not limited to furtive plastic as a material, metal firearms have been produced and tested and companies selling 3D printed weapons and their design files are becoming more commonplace (Berkowitz, 2018). Examples like this have troubled the notion of how to regulate this technology and the implications regulation will have for security and crime and for creativity and personal freedom (Berkowitz, 2018). Similarly, the notion of weaponized 3D printers and the vulnerability of 3D printed components has also become an issue. Particularly susceptible are the increasingly standard machine parts made through additive manufacturing processes (Yampolskiy et al., 2016). Exploiting these computerized electronic devices, 3D printers are hackable and accessible through security 'backdoors' (Gewirtz, 2017). Once breached, the 3D printers' settings are altered to compromise the mechanical integrity of the components they manufacture (Yampolskiy et al., 2016). For example, safety-critical infrastructures can be undermined such as 3D printed components for commercial aircraft (Yampolskiy et al., 2016).

According to Make: Magazine and other key proponents of 3D printing

technology, if everyone were to adopt maker values then they could enjoy a greater knowledge, understanding, and control of the technology in their lives (Make Magazine, 2005, Volume 01). By becoming a maker, individuals could enhance their creative abilities through technology use and could support a more environmentally friendly shift in the production of physical objects by producing things in their own home (Anderson, 2013). However, opposing the maker movement's original values, the current idea of making and 3D printer use centers on affluent male hobbyists tinkering with technology. Although makers, the materials, and the technologies they use are often perceived as environmentally friendly, the resulting distributed manufacturing networks they might establish are not a problem-free alternative to industrial manufacturing. The use and recycling of the bioplastic filaments in these networks present unique challenges of their own. Like Armstrong (2014) asserts:

> If 3-D printing does not fully take on this responsibility then the sustainability of our current highly 'customised' objects is likely to be under scrutiny, as the unit cost of printers falls and hobbyists make legions of white elephants out of toxic plastics [...] it is likely that most will simply clutter up our rubbish dumps and precipitate our plastic marine continents as indestructible rubbish icebergs. (Para. 14)

Reiterating Armstrong's anxiety about widespread 3D printer use and how this form of maker practice is poised to promote exorbitant overproduction and overconsumption of plastic objects, this essay argues that there are a multitude of additional contingencies surrounding this technology. While the long-term effects of 3D printed plastic waste are high on the list of concerns, we also need a significant reevaluation of the broader implications of democratized 3D printing technology.

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Madeleine Martin
Tracing the Line Between Textile and Text

Line.

A horizontal row of written words broken for poetic effect. A sequence of notes forming an instrumental or vocal melody. A direct course. A branch or route of a railway system. A queue. A thin weave of colour which cuts the ground of a tartan.

Tartans are bearers of many kinds of lines: lines of thread; bloodlines; border lines; story lines. While its semiotic system references cultural entitlement and social structures, the significance of tartan in the 20th and 21st Centuries is as an aesthetic trope rather than a symbol of heritage. Now, tartans have both subcultural connotations (as constitutive to the iconography of punk) and mass cultural implications (for example, the trademarked Burberry plaid).

But the lines of tartan run more deeply than these contemporary connotations. Called breacan in Scottish Gaelic, this textile form is a an example of cultural authorship, emblematic of Gaelic life since at least the 3rd Century. The Dress Act of 1746, enforced by colonial English rule in Scotland as a precursor to the Highland Clearances (Fuadaichean nan Gàidheal in Scottish Gaelic), prohibited both the wearing of tartan and the use of spoken and written Gaelic language, two fundamental cultural signifiers. Prior to the mid-19th Century, setts were used to distinguish the inhabitants of different regions, with borderlines, but from the mid-19th Century onwards, tartans have been associated with clans, with bloodlines.

The weft of a tartan is woven in a simple twill — two over, two under the warp — at a right angle, advancing one thread at each pass. Diagonals emerge and traverse the woven landscape. In, say, the MacDonald tartan, only four colours of thread are used. Red and black lines intersect green and blue ground, but the resulting sett is not tetra-colour: true red lines appear crimson or vermillion depending on the ground; black line creates tonal gradation and serves to punctuate the plaid with dense squares.

My use of the verb punctuate to describe the sett of the tartan is conscious. Both text and textile have their derivation in the Latin texere, to weave. This etymological relationship poses the question: could the future of sustainable writing practice have equivalence with sustainable textiles practice?

Culture is underpinned by language and practice, and when one of these

foundations crumble, so too does the culture itself. Veronica Mitchell in Stitching with Metonymy proposes a new verb — to textile — which should be used "to indicate a way of knowing that emphasises textile as an activity of becoming rather than textile as technique or as a realm of objects."

As Karl Marx theorised in 1867, a coat holds twice the value of the fabric from which it is made. This is as a result of the human intervention which transforms a primary good into a commodity. Just as industrial power-loom weaving hastened the commodity production, with the industrialisation of printing came greater access to information. Both the loom and the press industrialised 'line' (be they lines of letters or lines of thread), but in industrialising reproduction, these technologies have threatened to sever the line between story and practice.

Take for example the production of Harris Tweed. Produced entirely using traditional hand-weaving practices by island communities in Scotland's Outer Hebrides, Harris Tweed is a cloth made from hand-dyed pure virgin wool. The clò-mòr is dyed and woven, the result naturally reflecting the tones of the sweeping landscapes embellished with blanket peat and the craggy Hebridean seascapes. The production of this historic cloth was

significantly affected by the mass industrialisation of textiles, a resulting paradox being that as increased consumer demand raised the 'value' of the material, the 'cost' was at the expense of Hebridean culture. The turn of the 21st Century saw the loss of skilled Hebridean weavers due to retirement and industrial restructure, which hindered the transfer of knowledge of practice.

The decline in production of Harris Tweed in the 1990s and 2000s echoes the decline of Gaelic speakers in the Outer Hebrides. More recently, the relationship between language and textiles practice has been acknowledged as a way of reconnecting these severed lines. Reinvigoration of Harris Tweed production has focussed not only on the knowledge of weaving itself, but also passing down the working songs connected with weaving and following the rhythms of the land.

As is evident in Hebridean cultural practice, tacit knowledge is rarely transmitted in written form alone. Art collective Pacific Sisters, formed in Auckland in the early 1990s, draw lines between the fabrics of language and praxis. The collective's works are garments that exist as documentation of an interweaving of art, fashion, history and culture. Pacific Sister Rosanna Raymond recounts that prohibition of the importing

of traditional fibres into Aotearoa New Zealand from other Pacific nations in the 1990s meant that the group began to substitute these with new cultural materials in their textile practice. Their 1997 fashion object 21st Sentry Cyber Sister is an example of this: the work comprises twenty-seven components, including a hula skirt made from shells and videotape. The constituting linear strips of magnetic tape are both medium, and message. Pacific Sister Lisa Reihana explains: "The old tapes of course would have had a whole lot of material on them, whakapapa [genealogy] in them that you never saw, but was part of it [the final work]."

Pacific Sisters' practice focusses on the telling and retelling of significant stories. Their performances blur the line between past and future, for example, Ina and Tuna: an interpretation of the "pan-Pacific but Island-specific story" of Ina and Tuna. Developed in 1994, this work saw the Pacific Sisters retell a story drawn from oral history through contemporary costuming. Ina and Tuna foregrounds the importance of oral and tactile teaching as embodied narrative practice.

Returning to Marx: "The labour of a tailor and weaving, although they are qualitatively different productive activities, are both productive expenditure of human brain, muscle, nerve, hand, etc., and are both

in this sense human labour. They are merely two different forms of expending human labour power." Writing is another form of human labour. Concurrent with the development of fast fashion has been what I would term 'fast publishing', where writing is referred to as 'content'. Caroline Bergval asserts that "new media and communication technologies can help to identify the complex hold-ups to the renewal of the role of writing in culture."

As Veronica Mitchell expresses:

> "Each word is a stitch, each sentence a chain of discourse. Between words, the hyphen, the dash, and the slash punctuate the gap that is also the suture. … As with each stitch, each sentence is concluded with a mark of punctuation which makes sense of the syntactical action of the preceding articulation".

What I draw from this is that writers should practice their craft with as much attention as the weaver. Just as the haptic quality of a well-made fabric is apparent to us in contrast to the textiles that feed fast fashion, written 'content' based in the commerce of writing rather than its craft is an unsustainable practice. Of course, the practice of writing predates the culture of printing and publishing, and will continue after it. Our challenge

Rhys Rushton
A Brief Note on Systems

A system aims toward its perpetuation. Any form of 'other' will inevitably become subsumed within whatever system it arises within. Counter-culture is situated within a culture. Rebellion requires its antithesis. Any permutation within a system still contains the genes of that system within it, it is always fashioned in the image of its source, no matter how grotesque or ostensibly alien. Systems do not change, they are replaced. Revolution is non-recursive. 'Progress' is perpetuation.

This is a short essay, and as such it will only be concerned with only one couple example. This is: the recent climate strikes. What is the premise clearly stated? That any apparent change within a system is precisely that: apparent. Not actual, not substantiated, but still real in the way that illusions are. A system perpetuates itself by providing the illusion of change, when in fact the status quo is maintained. Perhaps not identically, but at least functionally. I'm being vague so let me provide an example.

Climate change is a worthy cause, an important and urgent one, and yet the way in which the cause is championed, in general, is ineffectual and deliberately so. Notice 'deliberate' and 'conscious' are not to be taken to mean the same thing. A system is not necessarily conscious, but it is deliberate, it serves a function: perpetuation. But this deliberate movement toward existence is not done knowingly, there is no motive.

The September climate strikes in Sydney were sound and fury, nothing more. I do not make this statement because I think that climate change isn't worth fighting for, rather it is in fact the opposite. Climate change along with income inequality is the greatest threat facing society right now. This point is being made in support of the cause. But I still hold that the manner of protest and the general perusal of climate action is vapid, inconsequential and serves to allow governments and non-state actors involved in the fossil fuel industry to continue unabated.

There was a mass of people gathered together more concerned with appearance rather than substance. The event recorded on their iPhones. Phones' whose circuitry is practically impossible to recycle. Phones made by poorly paid, and poorly treated workers, who have killed themselves in significant numbers as a result of their work conditions.[1] Phones made by a company with an aggressive tax minimisation strategy. Then the photos were shared on sites who fracture our already fragile sense of self on a daily basis, and sell this disorientation to the highest bidder in the form of targeted advertising.

It is not surprising then that a large part of the protesters were children. Indeed the tone of the marches was facile and naive. Meaningless slogans, a day off school. People were given 'permission' to strike. I myself received one of those emails from UNSW. Resistance becomes something different when it is sanctioned.

The event signified nothing other than itself. It was a simulacra.[2] Tangible events are ignored. Where was the outcry for the proposed removal of the Djup Wurrung trees in Victoria? Of course there was outcry from the community to whom these trees have a special meaning, but our society as a whole was silent about it. Instead it was written about on 'progressive' news sites like the Guardian, who simultaneously bombarded me with advertisements from Porsche and Westpac. The truth is that people currently do not have the strength of their convictions, and because climate change will not be real to most of us until the ocean is at the foot of our beds, meaningless parades and pretend strikes will be the order of the day.

1   https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/jun/18/foxconn-life-death-forbidden-city-longhua-suicide-apple-iphone-brian-merchant-one-device-extract Accesed: 01/11/2019
2   Baudrillard, Jean 'The Precession of Simulacra' in Simulacra and Simulation. trans, Glaser, Sheiler. The University of Michigan Press, 1994.

As such, the system continues. People can release tension and frustration through coordinated marches and chanting, and mines can continue to be built, fuel burnt and oil pumped. Rebellion and protest are but caricatures, a Spectacle as Debord would say.[3]

We live in a system, this being society. Systems are not inherently bad. But we have come to an impasse in our own. That is that the dialectic has become weakened, and the antithesis subsumed into the greater, dominant mode of society. A system is fundamentally hostile to anything that threatens it. One that prizes rapacity, short-sightedness and superficiality will be aversive to anything that threatens it.

Opposition to a system begins as an error. But if it is to succeed and successfully implement its agenda, it must move beyond a definition of opposition. Rather it must become itself. Otherwise it becomes incorporated into the apparatus of the system. It is possible to bastardise most things given the right tools and enough time.

There is of course the problem of entropy. Will a system not just wither on its own? Of course it will. But after how long? After how much suffering. As such entropy should be seen as a consequence of a system's existence, not a legitimate feature. It should not be relied upon in the pursuit of our ideals.

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3   Debord, Guy 'The Society of the Spectacle'. Black & Red, Detroit, 1983.

Does it... Spark Joy?
Rumpa Paweenpongpat

I find myself struggling to cut down words on Xavier – essentially to Kondo[1] my own archive. Guilt creeps up on me as I highlight these texts in pink – Xavier's story poses as a clutter of words that does not make the cut of the thesis word count hierarchy. As I write ironically about inevitably condensing down Xavier, I add more words – a butterfly effect of decluttering (essentially 'Thing Power' Karma if you are a Buddhist that reads Jane Bennett.) And thanks to Jane and Spinoza for rejecting this form of hierarchical discrimination, Xavier made the cut. Can a thesis about hoarding be written in an ornamental style? Can it be a sentimental diary of what to collect and how to collect? A digital hoard of texts and screenshots. Because art is life, ironically.

Contents

The thought of allowing the text to move freely within this document was strongest at 12:27 AM. Letters are liveliest after midnight.

Btw Comic Sans' not that comical…

Xavier

Naughty corners started on the night of September 11th 2019 on Selwyn Street when I came home and spotted a white metal chair sitting in the corner of the road, glancing outwards under a warm streetlight. Originally thought to be an Ikea, the chair appeared to be a Xavier Pauchard Tolix replica. I ran towards the chair while my boyfriend feared for a new addition to my chair collection. I sat on Xavier for a few minutes, then picked him up, freaking my boyfriend out a little more. I placed Xavier down, face to face in front of a tree. We laughed because Xavier was in the naughty corner!!!!

A day later I came home to find, sitting in front of our apartment building, Xavier!
These are a few possible scenarios:

Xavier is haunted.
Xavier is following me.
Someone saw Xavier moved around the block a few times and decided to participate.
     (A collaborative work between Xavier's ex-owner, Xavier, an unknown stranger, myself, and possibly audiences who noticed but did not intervene)
Someone wanted to take Xavier home but changed their mind.
     (Xavier didn't want to go?)
Xavier convinced someone else to carry him places just like he convinced me.

Do chairs *actually* have autonomy? Is Xavier as vibrant as Jane Bennett claims? Does Xavier spark Marie's joy?

Xavier could be a travelling chair with great tales to tell. Either way, Xavier has more autonomy than HK.

2. Rumpa Paweenpongpat, *Xavier*, 2019, Sydney.

4. Rumpa Paweenpongpat, *Jane Bennett's Face on a fan*, 2019.

I picked up Xavier hoping the next person that noticed his whereabouts might have a bit of a laugh. I placed him facing an old green wooden pole and took a photo of the naughty corner. As I walked through the road the same day I found a blue chair in a condition nowhere near mint next to a bin that you could easily mistaken for a robot if you were born yesterday. I took a before photo and then faced it to the bin and took an after photo. And I thought I must be entertaining those white office people lining up for South Dowling Sandwiches while they stereotype me as a Chinese girl taking bin photos and I laugh, if only I had a matching blue selfie stick. **"Is rice your favourite food? Am I being racist for asking that?"** As I walk away I came up with a naughty corner Instagram idea – a digital archive of naughty chairs *sitting* in naughty corners. Bitch I

probably love rice as much as you love bread.

9. Rumpa Paweenpongpat, *Blue Chair with a Matching Blue Selfie Stick*, 2019

This was page 17 out of 40

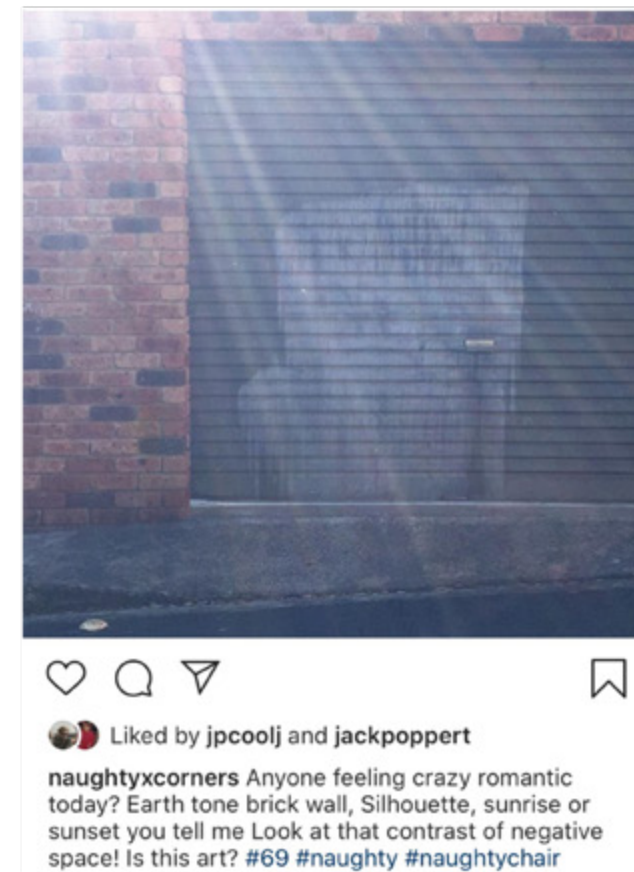I   want   to   keep

talking about myself and my hoard and my art

(This page did not exist in my thesis but I wish it did now - I will also have about 3 copies of this page on my laptop once I'm done with editing this for framework.

Too much information?)

but I know you don't want to know lol

but if you do search naughtyxcorners on Instagram

Naughty chairs in naughty corners is an ornamental concept to me because it tells a story. The narrative of Xavier brings me (and hopefully the readers) to relive the holy moment of an intimate encounter between the

non-human object and us. An analogy of experiencing the holy moment where joy has been sparked: imagine you are walking and you get to a crossing and the light goes from red to green and even if you don't believe in God, you thank god. The world is on your side. Naughty corner has a potential to be an analogy of things on the side of the road, looking sad and lonely. It is an example of how humans become mesmerized/ manipulated by objects. Naughty chairs in naughty corners explores chairs beyond their functional purpose - sitting chairs, Get it? Chairs are meant for sitting. Do chairs have pronouns? I do not want to assume. Can chairs play musical chairs? Maybe chairs choose us. Maybe those with skid marks (aka poo stains on underwear) don't get chosen, or get favoured! Chairs removed each round can curse at you from a far. Bad luck for 7 chair years? Chairs can write a Chair thesis to show fellow chairs how to achieve chairtomocracy[2]!!!!

♡ ○ ⊿   ⊟

Liked by **jpcoolj** and **jackpoppert**

naughtyxcorners Anyone feeling crazy romantic today? Earth tone brick wall, Silhouette, sunrise or sunset you tell me Look at that contrast of negative space! Is this art? #69 #naughty #naughtychair

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20. Rumpa Paweenpongpat, *Romantic Naughty Chair in Romanic Naughty Corner*, 2019.

[2] (chair + autonomy + democracy)

XAVIER, happily ever after // p38

While writing this, I felt an itch in my heart, an itch I can't scratch and only Xavier that can. Its been two days and things don't get left out for too long. I looked out my window and

Joy was sparked when we locked eyes three floors apart

(˳ ✧ ‿ ✧˳)

A chair you can always rely on.
Chairs always have your back,
if not, it's a fucking stool.

Xavier is coming home.

I went downstairs and took Xavier where I found him, sat down on him, reminisced and pondered if our relationship is platonic. We came upstairs and Xavier left himself outside facing our apartment door giggling out loud to ourselves about this new naughty corner. When my human boyfriend comes home to find Xavier in the front door, despite jealousy he might have a bit of a laugh and freak out a little. Next, he will sit facing the kitchen wall in front of a world map poster. I might even lower the map to his eye level. I should. I'll also give him some eyes.

Xavier made his way into my home, with the rest of my hoard. He made my thesis his home, with the rest of my hoard. ✿ ✿ ✿

But What's NExt?

Am I guilted into keeping Xavier for the rest of my life?

This is a exert from the infamous abstract
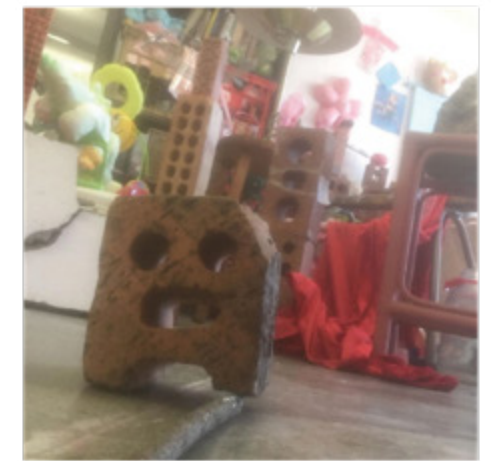
Is salvaging found objects to use in temporal assemblages, in fact, an added trauma to their life? Does what was once banal return to banal once again post-art? Should I ship my trash home to Thailand? So, they can take on an expat status whilst waiting for the next big art thing? **My trashes are expats but I'm an immigrant.**

Last but not the least I'd like to 'acknowledge' the life of salvaged objects pre and post encounter. And by acknowledge I really mean for a truly and whole-hearted acknowledgement – unlike an acknowledgement of country at the bottom of an email by you know who(s).

Conclusion: found object installation practice is the perfect disguise for a hoarder.

31. Rumpa Paweenpongpat, Xavier Having a Bath and a Glass of cleanskin Shiraz, 2019.

Rebecca Hall

A Reference List in Response to Poetics of the Line
curated by Tim Marvin, Kudos Gallery 5th Nov - 23 Nov

Claudia Rankine Interviewed for The Guardian (2015)

When thinking of lines, I most frequently think of poetry, and when I think of poetry I think of Claudia Rankine. This interview explores her reflections on anti-black racism in American popular culture and everyday experience, which she tracked in her 2014 book, Citizen: An American Lyric. It contains a really accessible account of what lines in Rankine's poetry can do. In the eighteenth paragraph of this interview, the analysis turns to the 'you' of Rankine's Citizen: 'Its referent changes from line to line. It telescopes in and out, singularises, pluralises, reverses, and its shifts keep the reader mobile, continually asking: Which one am I? Where do I fit in? It is impossible to read without questioning your own part in the racist social structures it recounts.'

Slim Smith - The Bread Line Blues (1932)

The Bread Line Blues is a 1932 folk song that captures the social and affective impacts of the 1929 stock market crash that led to The Great Depression. Nearing a hundred years since this time, these records provide valuable insight into the deep suffering people endured through this period of history, but also of the fracturing between the working class or those below the poverty line, and the wealthy.

Harun Farocki - Workers Leaving the Factory (1995)

This video essay chronicles a history of workers on film, beginning with the earliest recorded film footage, which is of workers leaving the Lumière factory in Lyon, France in 1895. Across a hundred years of film, again and again, workers are shown running away from the factory at the end of the work day. The streams of people fleeing the workplace is, to my mind, a line of sorts that tells us a great deal about the world under capitalism.

Andrew Brooks and Tom Melick - The New Learning Centre (2019)

This text from Andrew Brooks and Tom Mellick explores the troubling development in UNSW's systems whereby the extracurricular tutoring presently available through The Learning Centre, or that which a student might be able to access independently, are intended to be replaced by a new, for-profit, external provider called Smarthinking. In order to mobilise this system, the university will amend its definition of plagiarism to include accessing all forms of tutoring outside of Smarthinking. It concerns our capacity to draw lines

of our own, the line fed to us by the institution, and circumnavigating neoliberal modes of abstraction (where here independent study becomes a matter of business/policy/commodification).

Honi Soit - Food Fault Lines

This piece from University of Sydney's student publication, lays out the oft-cited concept of The Red Line — connecting the eastern-most Red Rooster franchises from north to south — that maps very accurately onto the discursive points at which Western Sydney begins. It highlights differentiations of culture and class in Sydney's landscape, but also points to the arbitrariness of externally imposed (colonial) borders.

Rachel O'Reilly - The Gas Imaginary, talk at IMA (2016)

Rachel O'Reilly's work on fracking conceptualises fracking not just for the environmental degradation, and dispossession of Indigenous land from its custodians, but also as an aesthetic regime. This podcast in which O'Reilly discusses her ongoing project, The Gas Imaginary (2011—) includes an explanation of the directionality of fracking, which is installed first in a vertical direction, and then 'radically horizontal'. To follow the various

but interlinked fights to protect the land against fracking, follow Seed Mob, Don't Frack the NT, and Knitting Nannas Against Gas (KNAG) and donate resources or your efforts where you can.

Cog•nate Collective - A Nuestro Pueblo Migrante: A Sonic Limpia (2019)

This piece tracks the imagined migration journey from south to north in the Americas by thinking through and with the aspirations of and precarity under which the decision to migrate is made. It is written by a collective of experimental researchers whose own families made this journey, and conceptualises the border as a crossing and a barrier as well as a site of instability and vulnerability. The text takes the form of a love letter with an attached playlist (a digital mixtape) dedicated to Central and South American migrants.

Map from Kudos to MCA

This is a map that takes us from Kudos Gallery to Lucina Lane's work, Self Modern (2019), at MCA for Primavera 2019. The work, in pencil on canvas, declares 'The critic can't write fiction' Then, turned upside down, as if speaking more softly, 'I really do wish for a more beautiful world'. The work illuminates something about the tension between artist and critic, while at

the same time forming an interesting exploration of the line in contemporary art.

Blood Orange - On The Line (2013)

This song deviates a bit from the themes in the other items on this reference list. However, it has been included because it situates the line as a site of anxiety, repeatedly asking, "baby, are we on the line?" Hynes imagines the line as a narrow terrain where two people struggle to remain stable, threatening to fall away from one another. I thought I'd end on this personal note, because this text is, in its broadest sense, a consideration of the line outside the realm of visual art, and because the understanding of the line presented here is one of the most accessible discursive constructions of the line.

Eleanor Zurowski
Where Does a Body Lie: Who is Keeping Score?

Systems are seamlessly disruptive. Monitoring, surveilling, controlling, tracking, extracting, automating, replicating, recognising, connecting, supporting, assisting, whirring and humming. As bodies we are always implicated.

▶
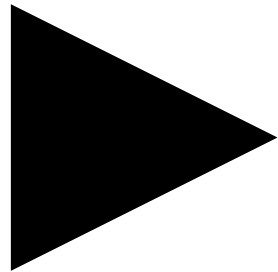
Listen to the sound work

eflux Journal #72 - April 2016, Hito Steyerl
A Sea of Data: Apophenia and Pattern (Mis-)Recognition
https://www.e-flux.com/journal/72/60480/a-sea-of-data-apophenia-and-pattern-mis-recognition/
Image from the Snowden files captioned: "A single frame of scrambled video imagery."

Journal #72 - Hito Steyerl - A Sea of Data: Apophenia and Pattern (Mis-)Recognition

This image from the Snowden files was captioned: "A single frame of scrambled video imagery."

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#STANDWITHTESS