Mundane Events

Big Issues

Exploring everyday life in Auckland

Edited by Cris Shore and Sarah Haggar

Social Anthropology seeks to make sense of our own and other peoples' lives, which typically entails studying small or 'local' places in a way that sheds light on the deeper processes that shape contemporary human society.

The essays in this book, written by first year anthropology students at the University of Auckland, offer unique insights into key aspects of everyday life in New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. Through a series of often highly personal ethnographic vignettes, the authors explore a range of topics, from food, sex, clothing, work and leisure, to religion, consumption, gender relations, student etiquette, and the social organisation of space. Together, they provide an extraordinary demonstration of the value of ethnography and its ability to generate new insights into the symbolism and meanings people attach to their everyday social practices.

What a great way to start the anthropological adventure! These student reports not only open up a whole world of Auckland life through a kaleidoscope of incisive observations but at the same time demonstrate the value of even a smattering of anthropological insight.

Professor Joy Hendry, Oxford Brookes University

One of the things anthropologists do is to render the familiar exotic and the exotic familiar. Nowadays, the two tend to merge, as they do in this book. These lively and varied student essays are the product of an original kind of field exercise, and they convey the magic of anthropology in a splendid way, whether the topic is lifts or buses, strip clubs or breast feeding. This collection is entertaining, enlightening and occasionally astonishing, just as anthropology should be.

Professor Thomas Hylland Eriksen, University of Oslo

**RAL-Student Publication Series,
University of Auckland**

ISBN 978-0-9582744-4-9

9 780958 274449

About RAL-S

The Research in Anthropology and Linguistics Student series (RAL-S) aims to showcase and promote the research and scholarship of anthropology students in New Zealand. The series departs from the premise that undergraduate and post-graduate students are not only the future of anthropology, but also regularly produce new knowledge and critical insights in the course of their studies that can both challenge and refresh anthropology as a discipline and practice.

About the Editors

Cris Shore is professor of social anthropology at the University of Auckland where he teaches political anthropology, social theory, the anthropology of Europe, and the stage one course called 'Human Cultures: An Introduction to Social Anthropology'. A citizen of both New Zealand and Great Britain, he became fascinated with anthropology from an early age, growing up in London's multicultural environment and witnessing the curious dynamics of the British class system.

Sarah Haggar is a postgraduate social anthropology student who fell in love with the endless variations and complexities that surround this thing we call 'humanity'. South African by birth, New Zealander by life, the differing ways of living and being have always been fascinating to her. Social anthropology is a wonderful platform for delving into these diverse issues, a way of seeing beyond the surface, and attempting to understand just what makes the world tick.

Julie Spray is a doctoral candidate at the University of Auckland, and has a background in both social and biological anthropology. Born in New Zealand, Julie appreciates the unique challenges and rewards of doing anthropology at home; her own research explores the experiences of children in Auckland. Julie sees the diversity of approaches in anthropology as a major strength of the discipline, and hopes her inter-disciplinary perspectives have rubbed off on her stage one students.

Mundane Events
Big Issues

Exploring everyday life in Auckland

Edited by Cris Shore & Sarah Haggar

First published 2015

ISBN 978-0-9582744-4-9
ISSN 2422-8915

Publisher: Research in Anthropology and Linguistics
Editors: Cris Shore and Sarah Haggar
Design/layout and cover photography: Julie Spray

Printed in New Zealand

Front Cover: Bus stop at Queen Elizabeth Square, Downtown Auckland

Table of Contents

Contributors and Comments

Shermaine Jia Min Au
Shermaine was born in Auckland, New Zealand, and has lived in this beautiful city for most of her life. Shermaine has just graduated from her Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Commerce degree majoring in Marketing and Psychology.

Amy Bedwell
Amy is an English and History major from Auckland, New Zealand in her final year of study. She chose to take Anthropology 100 because it incorporated many aspects of her chosen majors, and helped to broaden her understanding of contemporary and historical social issues.

Maryanne Clarke
Maryanne is originally from Tai Tapu, a small rural town just outside of Christchurch, and is a first year student majoring in Anthropology and History. She initially took the Anthropology 100 course because it sounded 'easy' but she ended up falling in love with anthropology! She thinks that this course and anthropology in general, definitely suit a more open-minded person who is not quick to judge others.

Caitlin Dale
Caitlin grew up in Henderson and this is her first year studying towards a Bachelor of Arts. Caitlin says that anthropology, as the study of people and culture, seems hugely relevant to how we live and the implications of this. She would encourage future students to use essays as a platform to pursue their areas of interest.

Demelza Duder

Demelza is a first year student from Auckland, planning a double major in Geography and Anthropology followed by a post-graduate degree in Secondary School Teaching.

Hazel Ellis

Hazel is in her second year of a Bachelor of Fine Arts/Bachelor of Arts conjoint degree, and is majoring in Art History. She thinks that Anthropology 100 is a great paper to take for almost any BA student, as it has a great overview of many important themes and subjects that are relevant to so many fields of interest. She says it worked well in conjunction with the other fine arts, art history and media studies papers she took this year, and she has highly recommended it as a stage one paper to friends.

Ellie Finn

Ellie is a first year student, studying a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Linguistics.

Campbell Guy

Campbell is originally from South Africa, and is currently living in Auckland. He is in his first year of a Bachelor of Health Sciences. He says that through this course, he has acquired a perceptive anthropological perspective which will allow him to understand the complexities of the human condition; something he comments is far interesting and deeper than he would have imagined. Campbell recommends Anthropology 100 to students, if they ever wish to understand more than what they see on the surface.

Logan Hamley

Logan grew up in Waiuku, just south of Auckland and is in his first year studying towards a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science conjoint, majoring in Anthropology, Linguistics and

Psychology. He chose to take Anthropology 100 due to a deep-seated fascination with humanity and human culture. Logan encourages those who share his interest in humanity to take this course and to make the most of tutorials and the course readings, which provide a plethora of insights into particular human cultures and humanity at large.

Melinda Hayes

Melinda is from Feilding, New Zealand, and has just finished her second year of study towards a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Psychology. She chose Anthropology 100 because she wanted to understand everyday things from a different perspective.

Robson Holmes

Robson is from Halifax, England, and is in his second year of study at the University of Auckland and is majoring in Psychology. He chose Anthropology 100 because it tied in nicely with his degree but it quickly became one of his favourite papers of the semester.

Zoe Zwetsloot James

Zoe describes herself as a nomad, who currently resides in Auckland, New Zealand. She is in her first year of study in Sociology and Law. Zoe says that if you are interested in people and society this is a great subject for you. In ethnographies you can write about anything you see, feel, hear and experience. It is not often in academic writing at university you have such free range in what you may write about.

Emma Eva Lattes

Emma is in her final year as an undergraduate student at Smith College in the United States, where she studies psychology and education. She studied abroad at the University of Auckland for one semester.

Oliver K Hooper

Oliver was born in Britain and moved to New Zealand ten years ago. He is currently in his second year of university, pursuing an Arts Degree with a major in Film, Television & Media Studies and a minor in Anthropology. Oliver's advice for future students is to try and research a topic that you are truly interested in, as researching something unique to you makes the project enjoyable, rather than simply picking a generic or popular subject.

Eliza Lewis-Goldsbro

Eliza is in her first year of study, studying towards a Bachelor of Arts with a double major in Anthropology and Film, Television and Media Studies. Anthropology 100 sparked her interest in social anthropology, a subject she plans to pursue.

Emma-Kate Macdonald

Emma-Kate is from Auckland, New Zealand, and currently in her second year at the University of Auckland. She is currently studying towards a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Anthropology and European Studies. She thinks that Anthropology 100 is an excellent foundation course for students interested in social anthropology. By demonstrating that humans are both social and cultural beings and how this shapes our world-view, she thinks this course will provide students with an increased awareness of diversity, in its many forms.

Shannon McDonald

Shannon is from West Auckland, and is currently in her second year of study. She is studying towards a Bachelor of Arts with a double major in English and Film, Media, and Television.

Rose Meyer

Rose is an Auckland based artist and Master of Fine Arts student who took an introductory anthropology paper out of

personal interest, and a belief that anthropology and art share a common language.

Kerry Mills

Kerry is a full-time student studying towards a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Auckland. Her current plan is to major in Psychology, and minor in Anthropology. Her advice to future students is to explore new territory – or at least, new to you. Become immersed, and use all of your senses, all the better to fully absorb your newly discovered territory. Finally, be courageous – be prepared to share something of yourself in your work.

Hannah Olds

Hannah is a third year student from Auckland, and is currently studying towards a Bachelor of Arts in Criminology and Philosophy.

Jonathan Henry Osborne

Jonathan is originally from the UK and is currently in his first year of majoring in Film, Media and Television studies, with a minor in Anthropology. For future first years taking this course Jonathan says give everything a go, you never know what you might end up liking!

Jaimini Patel

Jaimini is currently a second year Health Science student hoping to specialise in the mental health and addictions field. She was born and brought up in Auckland, and says she has always been intrigued by social anthropology. Taking Anthropology 100 enabled her to explore this, and led her to further appreciate human culture and its diversity. One thing Jaimini would like to share with future students is to do the best you can possibly do and to be the best you can possibly be.

Anne Kulukulu Purdie
Anne is originally from Popondetta, Papua New Guinea, but grew up in Rotorua. She is currently studying towards a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Politics.

Zechariah Soakai
Zech is half Samoan and half Tongan, and is currently in his first year of study, studying towards a conjoint Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Law. He chose this course because he wanted to become a social anthropologist and thought it was only logical to take the introduction to social anthropology. To future students, Zech says enjoy this course! It will be a highlight of your first year, if you allow yourself to really get into the material.

Emily Stroup
Emily lives in Napier, New Zealand. She is in her second year of studying Psychology and Anthropology at the University of Auckland.

Alice Tate
Alice is from Gisborne, New Zealand and moved to Auckland at the start of 2014 to study a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Social Science for Public Health. Alice chose this course not knowing what anthropology was and it became her favorite area of study. Her advice to future anthropology students is to relax and enjoy the content of the course as it provides incredibly interesting perspectives on the world around us.

Rita Estelle Wakefield
Rita is a 19 year old from Auckland in her first year of university. She is a Bachelor of Arts/Commerce conjoint student planning on majoring in Anthropology and International Business. Rita admits that, coming into the course, she really had no idea what anthropology was, and her decision to study it was mostly

based on her fascination with other cultures and a desire to take a 'grown up' version of social studies, since that was the only subject she actually enjoyed at high school. But by the end of the semester she was hooked! Rita found this course incredibly interesting and engaging and she can't wait to learn more about cultural anthropology. Her advice to others would simply be to keep an open mind, nothing more, nothing less.

Rebecca Wilton

Rebecca grew up in the New Zealand countryside and is currently studying first year Law and Arts at Auckland University. She chose anthropology because it was never an option to study at school. Rebecca's advice for upcoming students is to really get involved in the course, it has so much to offer and you'll be surprised at all the unbelievable things you learn!

Ling Ye

Ling is currently studying towards a Bachelor of Law conjoint with Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Sociology/Anthropology. Ling chose Anthropology because it is a course which challenges you to think critically about humans and non-humans in all their aspects. Quite often, people tend to forget that humans are social beings affected by interactions between themselves, society and culture. Ling's advice for students taking Anthropology is to come to class with an open mind and be prepared to be surprised at what you may learn!

Prologue: The Office Hour

Julie Spray

The anthropology tutor's office is not a large space, though as many as six tutors run office hours from here. It boasts three semi-functional swivel desk chairs and a saggy, threadbare couch, dubbed the sex couch, which tends to be avoided by anyone acquainted with the name. On this day, the room – and the couch – was a full house, with students draped across arm-rests and leaning against the walls. A passing tutor gave me a quizzical look from the hallway. 'Assignment due', I explain, and he nods, impressed.

Tutoring a first year paper means engaging with personalities from the apathetic to the neurotic, and there are typically a few students for whom the gravity of an assignment seems to go beyond its actual weighting in terms of course grade. These are the students who regularly turn up to office hours, email drafts for pre-review (which we don't do) and ask for reconsideration on their grades because they really need an 'A' to get into second year law. This assignment was different. I didn't have one or two, but an office full of anxious faces, drawn together in a collective search for *what the teacher is looking for*. What, exactly, is ethnographic writing expected to look like?

'Is it like travel journalism?' one student tried to clarify.

'Kind of - but you want to extrapolate from your observations to make some theoretical discussion about what you're seeing, why and how is it produced and why it matters.'

'So… is it kind of like blogging?'

I could speculate that this anxiety is at least in part produced by the current New Zealand education system, with its focus on measurable, comparable standards, or the secondary school qualification system, NCEA, which arguably trains students that questions have a single answer and a correct formulaic process through which to find it. Secondary schooling is an easy target for tertiary educators though, and equally likely here is simply that for Stage One students, what we were asking was a real challenge. Students were to select an aspect of Auckland culture and write about it from the perspective of an anthropologist conducting an ethnographic study. This seemed simple enough to us, but these students had only just learnt what an anthropologist was. Ethnography was a whole new mode of expression. Essays, if not well understood, were at least well rehearsed. Creative writing, though not everyone's forte, had been practiced since the first year of primary school. But here, we were asking them to write something most of them had very little experience of even reading. We were asking them to look at a familiar place with unfamiliar lenses, to transport the reader to another world while keeping it close to home, and to generate some new understanding of that place – all in 1500 words or less.

'I was thinking about doing mine on the people making out in Albert Park,' said one student. 'And like, the etiquette around public displays of affection?'

'There could be something in that,' I replied. 'What are you going to say about it though? It can't just be a description of what you observe. What's your angle on this – why is it important? Can we use this to tell us something about the meaning different people hold for intimacy, public and private, boundaries and transgression?'

'Maybe I'll do something else.' she said.

We had a long list of don'ts. Don't do anything too close to home – your family, your religion - you won't be objective. Don't do anything too big – your analysis will end up superficial. Don't do anything too small – you won't get enough data for analysis. Don't conduct a formal interview – we don't have ethics approval. Don't do something abstract – ground it in a place. But don't make that place the bus, because that's what everyone does when they can't think of anything else.

'Can it be funny?'

'Yes! But don't make it *only* funny.'

Some of the students who visited my office hours that day never quite got their head around the idea of writing ethnographically. But some of them went away to produce the work that now appears in this volume. Ethnographic writing is not an objective, scientific report isolated from the hand of its author. In ethnography, the experience of the researcher, and the social, subjective, and deeply personal forces that combined to generate it are an integral part of its reading. It therefore seems appropriate to begin this volume with that office hour, and those anxious questions which can be traced, along with many other pedagogic and personal processes, through the pieces in this book.

As students grappled with trying on anthropological lenses, for many this experimentation ran parallel to their induction into the world of university life. We had suggested students try to examine an aspect of New Zealand life from the perspective of an outsider, but for many of them this wasn't difficult to do – they really were newly immersed in a foreign place. Students are

a heterogeneous group, but at five weeks into the first semester, the group who met in my office were mostly first year students straight out of high school, many sharing similar life-stages and experiences. Thus these ethnographic slices of life can be read not only as analytical exposés in themselves, but also as a collective window into what new university students are seeing when they look around their world.

While the high cost of living in Auckland means many of these students would still be living in their parents' homes, the commencement of university studies often means moving past the boundaries of their local community to commute to the wider city for the first time. The eccentricities of public transport, nightlife, and the institutional and architectural structures of the university are salient; sub-cultures of people and alternative ways of being are new, and noticed. For others, semester one of university represents a first experience of living away from home, and their writing reflects their learning to navigate the social and economic politics of student hostel or flatting life. Often struggling to scrape together the cost of rent from the minimum wage earned serving coffee, beer, or ice cream, these students cast a critical eye on the power dynamics embedded in the employment relationship. Others still are International students, who didn't believe me when I said they had it the easiest of all because they really were writing about Auckland life from an etic perspective. Some of them managed to capitalise on their background to make strong and convincing comparisons. For a smaller group of older or more experienced students, the basics of university studentship and esoteric aspects of city life have long been internalised. Their attention turns back to the mundane; unpeeling hidden layers of

identity politics embedded in the hair-dressers, the sports field, the market.

The choice of analytical focus also reflects what is salient for the authors. With the transition into adulthood and independence can come a remaking of identity, and here students turn a critical eye onto their own religion, class, sexuality and gender politics. The subjectivities of age in New Zealand also create a shared experience for many. In tutorial discussions students were quick to identify university as a liminal space, and the ritual and rites of passage that have, and will mark their journey through this time. For many they and their peers were turning 18 and experiencing the social changes associated with their new legal status, perhaps most importantly, their right to buy and consume alcohol. Away from the limits of home, this time takes on particular meaning as students explore their newly acquired adult status and independence.

These ethnographies are diverse, but they also read as a kind of collective auto-ethnography. This is not only the work of young New Zealand anthropologists, but the unique views of young adults finding their voice to talk about their world. As such, this book also represents a snapshot in time of a particular group of people: their environment, social structures, culture, language, and the significance they find in their world when given the tools to look for it.

Introduction

Fieldwork Fundamentals: Ethnographic Writing and Anthropological Analysis

Cris Shore

Anthropological Fieldwork and the Study of Culture

> So, how does one go about investigating such an elusive thing as culture? Where is it and how do you find it? I find it helpful to think of culture as a mystery and the anthropologist as a detective. To me, the primary anthropological questions are as follows: Why are things the way they are and not some other ways? Do you think the way things are is natural and inevitable, and maybe even necessary? How do you feel when you realize that people elsewhere do things differently - that your way is just one among a number of possibilities? Do you assume your way is best, or does the realization create doubt about your way? If the spectre of doubt does become too unsettling, it can become the goad to anthropological investigation (Delaney 2011: 20)

The quote above from Carole Delaney's book *Investigating Culture* neatly captures both the promise of anthropology and its most daunting challenge: How does one study something as enigmatic and hard to define as the thing that we call 'culture'? It is hard enough studying people whose customs, beliefs and practices are different from our own, and whose language and way of thinking appear to us as thoroughly alien. Yet even when

we turn to investigate aspects of our own culture and society we find this is no easy task. Indeed, sometimes it is even harder as we tend to take for granted the events and processes that structure our everyday life. Often the things that seem familiar and common sense on closer inspection turn out to be quite strange and anything but common or sensible. One reason why we often struggle to make sense of our own culture is because we seldom see it objectively or externally. Like goldfish swimming in a glass bowl, our culture is like the element we breathe and move in and it is typically invisible to us. In short, we cannot easily step outside our own social worlds in order to gain critical distance on the things we experience on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, therefore, most of us grow up assuming that our cultural standards, understandings and ways of doing things are somehow natural, universal and right. That attitude is what anthropologists call 'ethnocentrism'; the tendency to view other peoples' ways of life against our own cultural assumptions, norms and values. Being ethnocentric is arguably an inevitable bi-product of being cultural. However, it is possible to overcome at least some aspects of our natural ethnocentrism. As Delaney suggests, anthropological investigation often begins with the unsettling realisation that people do things differently and that our own taken-for-granted ways of thinking and doing are quite arbitrary and even bizarre when looked at from the perspective of another culture. For example, our attitudes to animals (keeping pets in the house, the idea of animal rights, or the notion that certain animals are ancestors), our notions of hygiene (the things that we consider 'clean', 'dirty' or 'polluted'), our concepts of time and space (what we think of as 'communal', 'sacred' and 'private' etc., or what we regard as history and myth), illustrate some of the most basic

areas of cultural difference that only become visible to us when we move outside of our own social worlds. Discomfort, doubt and questioning our own assumptions are often the best catalysts for thinking like an anthropologist.

Social anthropology's broader aim is to understand what it means to be human and, more specifically, to understand what it means to live in, or be part of, a particular group or society. While these concerns are not unique to the discipline, two practices set social or cultural anthropology apart from all other disciplines: fieldwork and ethnography. That said, defining what exactly fieldwork entails or how to write or practice ethnography is not as straightforward as it may seem. At its simplest, the idea of fieldwork is based on the notion that anthropologists must leave the library, the office or the classroom and live among the peoples they wish to study - or at least try to participate in their lives and cultural worlds for extended periods of time. This entails a very different approach to knowledge production (or 'epistemology') to that of archaeology, psychology, political science or any of the physical sciences. It follows the principle that knowledge about a group or community of people is best gained through first-hand experience; that to understand other people's lives and the meanings they bring to their worlds requires not the detached, instrumental and objective approach of the natural sciences, but an altogether more personal, relational and often intimate engagement with people in their own cultural settings. As the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz memorably wrote, anthropology is 'not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning' (Geertz 1973: 5). The challenge is to find a perspective that helps us to understand the

meanings that other people bring to the events that shape their worlds and lives. To do that, we need to understand the wider social contexts in which people operate.

The anthropological approach to fieldwork therefore typically entails going into the 'field' (traditionally imagined as a bounded social and geographical space, but today increasingly seen as more fluid, trans-local and multi-sited networks and assemblages) in order to gather first-hand information about people's social relations and cultural practices. This includes details about their everyday customs, traditions, rituals, norms, values and beliefs; their language and categories of thought; how they make a living and how they interact with each other; the things they consider important and what they think, say and do on a daily basis; and the main institutions and organising principles of their society. The purpose of anthropological field notes is to capture these details as 'raw data'. This then becomes the first step in a much longer process of investigation and interpretation as that raw (or empirical) data is framed and analysed in its wider social context. This particular approach – the fieldwork method based on participant observation - was developed by the Polish-born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski in the early part of the 20th century. Malinowski had the misfortune to find himself in Australia at the outbreak of World War One. Being from Poland (which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), Malinowski was classified an enemy alien but, fortunately for him, was allowed to spend his internment living in the Trobriand Islands. This is where, as the myth has it, he set about inventing the method of intensive long-term fieldwork by participant observation, living as one with the Trobrianders (Kuper 1983:

10-12). Leaving aside this heroic image of the anthropologist as intrepid pioneer, anthropological fieldwork usually entails much more prosaic and routine activities such as attending community events, recording conversations, observing activities, charting households, mapping family networks or simply participating in people's everyday lives in order to understand how they see themselves and how they make sense of their worlds. This method of obtaining insights from empirical observation and experience is sometimes referred to irreverently as 'deep hanging out' and nowadays entails many different approaches that vary according to the field, group or problem that one is trying to study.

As a discipline and practice, social anthropology tries to understand cultures and societies from an insider's perspective, or as Malinowski put it, 'to grasp the native's point of view'. Following the work of the socio-linguist Kenneth Pike, this is often termed the 'emic' point of view and is contrasted with the 'etic' perspective, or outsider's model. This distinction is useful in that it reminds us that insider and outsider accounts may differ profoundly, and that when trying to interpret aspects of a culture it is important to keep both perspectives in focus and, where possible, try to reconcile the two.

What is Ethnography and What Makes Something 'Ethnographic'?

Closely related to anthropology's idea of fieldwork is ethnography. Etymologically the term ethnography derives from the Greek word *ethnos* (meaning 'folk/the people ') and *grapho* (meaning 'to write '). In its traditional sense ethnography refers to an in-depth, detailed description of a culture based

on the author's first-hand, personal observations having lived there for an extended period of time. Ethnographic accounts are usually descriptive and draw on participant-observation among a group or community that is different from one's own. Somewhat confusingly, some people refer to the research itself as ethnography as well as to the text or monograph the anthropologist writes after completing his or her fieldwork. Ethnography, then, refers both to a practice and a genre (Herzfeld 2001: 25): it is both a method of obtaining knowledge through fieldwork and the text produced as a result of that encounter. One of the main aims of ethnography is to reveal the assumptions that shape other people's activities and to make these comprehensible to audiences back home (i.e. in the ethnographer's own society). In this respect, part of the work of anthropology involves translating other people's cultural worlds – even if those cultural others turn out to be located in one's own city or country. And as is so often the case, it is only by trying to make sense of other people's lives that we gain insight into our own.

Besides being a method for producing descriptive accounts and translating between cultures, ethnography also entails a series of commitments (ethical and epistemological as well as practical), which give rise to a unique perspective. According to Danny Miller (1997: 16-17), ethnography is characterised by four fundamental commitments. The first is 'to be in the presence of the people one is studying, and not merely of the texts or objects they produce'. That means going beyond the textual analyses typical of disciplines such as English, Media Studies, Philosophy and Cultural Studies. The second is 'to evaluate people in terms of what they actually do - i.e. as material agents

working within a material world - and not merely what they say they do'. This distinguishes anthropology from those disciplines that rely on statistical analyses, questionnaire surveys, formal interviews or focus groups. However, it is important to note that ethnography does incorporate some of these methods, including interviews, surveys and the analysis of texts, images and other representations (see MacDonald, 2001:78). While ethnography may privilege the conventions of participant-observation and traditional fieldwork, it is not confined to them. The third entails a long-term commitment 'to an investigation that allows people to return to a daily life that one hopes goes beyond what is performed for the ethnographer'. In other words, a perspective that enables us to perceive what is going on 'back stage' and not simply in the most public arenas. Finally, the fourth commitment is to 'a holistic analysis' that considers behaviour 'within the larger framework of people's lives and cosmologies'. As Miller (1997: 17) argues, 'context matters for understanding human lives' and this 'allows us to make reasonable assumptions from what we observe about some of the things that we cannot directly observe.'

What, then, distinguishes ethnography as a genre of writing? While anthropologists differ in their views about what exactly makes a book or an article 'ethnographic', most would agree that a core element in any ethnographic account is the sense that the knowledge produced arises from a personal encounter. As Sherry Ortner (2006: 42) put it, 'ethnography has always meant the attempt to understand another life world using the self—as much as it of possible—as the instrument of knowing.' Unlike most scientific writing, ethnography does not strive for objectivity

and detachment; it actually makes a virtue of knowledge based on subjective experience and personal engagement, while nonetheless insisting on the significance of empirical data (and shunning solipsism). It also encourages use of the personal pronoun 'I', 'me' and 'my'. Rather than pretending that the author is invisible and somehow outside the frame that the researcher seeks to understand, most ethnographic accounts are expected to explain how the anthropologist came to know the things that they describe. So to return to my earlier question, 'what makes a piece of writing ethnographic?' we can now answer this by saying that ethnography is based on data produced through fieldwork that aims at providing a 'realist' account of another society by drawing on the experiential and embodied practice of the anthropologist. Building on the work of Carole McGranahan and her students (2012), I suggest that as a genre, ethnography normally includes, in some combination or another, the following characteristics:

1. A narrative structure organised around an anthropological topic or problem and, ideally, one that engages with issues that are of local concern;
2. The unobtrusive presence of the author in the text and a clear account of how the knowledge was produced and the ethnographer's relationship with those about whom they write;
3. An account in which people appear as named individuals rather than as categories or roles;
4. An attempt to reflect the 'emic' perspective or local/insider's point of view;

5. A proclivity towards 'thick description' or detailed accounts of particular events and situations, where appropriate;
6. A focus on everyday life situations and events and how these might serve as case studies or exemplars of wider processes;
7. Establishing sufficient context and background (in terms of literature, history, theory etc.) for any generalisations that are made.

This last point is important to stress: context is arguably the most important aspect of any ethnographic analysis. Social anthropology is not simply limited to its fieldwork method or to the goal of producing 'thick descriptions' of other people's cultural worlds. It tries to go beyond description to explain how and why things have come to be organised in the ways that they have, and to understand the conditions that produced the present order of things. An interpretive quest in search of meaning it may be, but like science, it also aspires to have explanatory power.

Ethnographic Vignettes of Everyday Life in Auckland

This book developed from a teaching assignment for a first year university course entitled 'Human Cultures: Introduction to Social Anthropology' ('Anthro 100'). Most of the 300-odd students enrolled in the course were complete newcomers to the discipline, many admitting that they had no idea what social anthropology was about and that they had signed up largely out of curiosity, which is perhaps unsurprising as anthropology is not a subject taught in the New Zealand school curriculum. The students' first assignment was to produce a short piece of

ethnographic writing based on their personal observations of everyday culture in Auckland. The remit for the assignment was relatively simple:

> You are a social-cultural anthropologist who lives in the (fictitious) country called Ruritania, a small monarchy in central Europe. You have received funding from the 'Ruritanian Association for Social Anthropology' (RASA) to conduct one year of ethnographic fieldwork in Auckland, New Zealand. You have just completed your first month of fieldwork and RASA requires that you send a report describing your ethnographic findings so far. You can choose to cover in your report any one of a variety of different aspects of cultural life and everyday social relations in Auckland (or New Zealand), for example, economic activities, family life, food, games, pastimes and popular hobbies, rules of etiquette, sport, unruly behaviour, social taboos etc. But you must focus on one (and only one) area.

Following the tradition of the anthropologist as a kind of 'professional stranger' whose task is to familiarise the exotic, students were asked to imagine that they had taken up temporary residence in a foreign country and their goal was to make sense of some of the curious public events, social institutions and local behaviours that they encountered in the course of their fieldwork. The aim was both to understand these cultural processes from the point of view of the people themselves and to interpret and analyse them in terms of wider social theory. The assignment stressed that their report would be evaluated on the basis of both its 'ethnographic description' and its use of

anthropological concepts, emphasising that good ethnography usually contains both these elements. The students were also asked to draw upon some of the key anthropological concepts to which they had been introduced during the first half of the course. These included themes of symbolic classification, language categories, structure and agency, 'social facts', gifts and commodities, reciprocity and exchange relations, and implicit rules and meanings. Other basic terms from anthropology's analytical 'toolkit' included the concepts of culture and society, socialisation and enculturation, norms and values, ritual and symbolism, liminality and taboo and socially learned 'embodied dispositions' (or what in anthropological and sociological jargon is called '*habitus*'). They had also learned a little about the discipline's methodology including its ideas about the value of cross-cultural comparison, 'thick description', participant-observation, 'holistic' and 'interpretive' approaches, and insights gained from contrasting insiders' and outsiders' perspectives. Armed with these rudimentary ideas, they were asked to go out and apply some of these methods and perspectives to shed light on those aspects of New Zealand culture and society that they found particularly interesting or unusual.

As the essays in this book demonstrate, the result was an astonishingly rich, varied and original set of narratives documenting different aspects of everyday life in Auckland. Of course, these essays are not ethnographies in the pure sense of the term, or even by the criteria outlined earlier. After all, there is only so much depth of insight that one can gain from just five weeks of observation and fieldwork. Nonetheless, these studies are perceptive and evocative and show how effective an analysis can be when personal

observations and a keen eye for detail are successfully harnessed to key anthropological concepts. They also speak to the importance of developing within students the critical skills of social observation, reflection and conceptual analysis. Many of the authors chose to write about gender and its effects on behaviour, about rituals that they had attended, and about the often invisible rules governing the use of public and private space. Others wrote candidly about their experiences of work, employer-employee relations, student life, recreational activities and pastimes, and rites of passage. Sex, alcohol, sport and food were recurrent themes in a large number of the essays. Whether this is because these are topics of particular interest to university students or the dominant themes in New Zealand society is an open-ended question.

Although Māori-Pakeha relations have long been central to the fabric of New Zealand culture and society curiously none of the essays focus on issues pertaining to Māori. There are several possible explanations for this. One is that the topic is (or is perceived to be) too big and problematic to deal with adequately in a short ethnographic essay. Perhaps another is that in Auckland's increasingly cosmopolitan and multicultural environment, issues of biculturalism and Māori-Pakeha relations are less salient or visible to this particular demographic. Equally, another reason could because of the sensitivities among non-Māori about the politics of representation and 'othering' in New Zealand's post-colonial context. At the same time, other key themes that one might have expected to read about are also not addressed, including education, capitalism, neoliberalism, student debt, the Internet, or the environment.

We have, accordingly, grouped the essays under a series of discrete headings that try to capture the main issues they deal

with, including 'Classification and Space', 'Gender, Sexuality and the Body', 'Auckland and its Others' and 'Communication, Ritual, Community: New Patterns of Sociality'. However, perhaps inevitably, many of these themes overlap with each other (it is hard to discuss sport or alcohol or the use of space without, for example, reference to gender or symbolism). By bringing an anthropological lens to these topics, many students found themselves 'exoticising the familiar' and, in the process, seeing their world in a fresh way, or discovering aspects of their culture that they had never before questioned. Writing these ethnographic essays provided a canvas for thinking critically and reflexively about these aspects of everyday life in New Zealand.

This book is therefore addressed to undergraduate students embarking upon social anthropology, perhaps for the first time, and those seeking a better understanding of its distinctive methods and methodologies. But it is also addressed to anyone with an interest in studying their own culture and society from the critical and reflexive standpoint of the ethnographer. As Carole Delaney says, thinking anthropologically often starts with the question 'why are things the way they are and not some other way?' The essays in this book pose that question across a wide range of different areas and, in the process, offer up some surprisingly perceptive and revealing insights into everyday life in New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Sarah Haggar and Christine Dureau for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this chapter.

Part One

Classification and Space: Public and Private

1. Leftover Meanings

Caitlin Dale

There is a bustling food court adjoining Lim Chour, a small supermarket, on Karangahape Road in central Auckland. This food court is well patronised, and where there are many people purchasing food, there are many leftovers. Table-topping is the practice of swooping in on these remnants before the plates are cleared and simply helping yourself. Though this seems like a reasonably benign action, conscious or unconscious attitudes towards social hierarchy, ownership, cleanliness and order can serve to moralise, and in some cases obstruct, the acquisition of free food. Though some of the meanings attributed to table-topping remain mostly stable, much of what is culturally acceptable seems to depend on who is carrying this out, rather than on the act itself. This can be taken to be reflective of wider, often insidious and unexamined cultural values.

Walking through the tall glass doors into the hall, I pass into a slurry of aromas and warm air. Amid the clinking and scraping of cutlery and hiss of frying food, I peer over the surfaces of the tables, scouting out any recently abandoned plates. My friend Kelsie points out a table to our right, and we make our way toward the findings. Often, I'll notice others also circling the room this way; sharp gazes directed away from vendors an indication of table-topping intention. Table-toppers are, I guess, necessarily opportunistic, and if after a few rounds there is no food to be had, it is common enough to head out and return later to avoid arousing suspicion. We sink into the worn plastic

chairs and dig into a plateful of food each; fried rice and vegetable stir-fry respectively. As we munch away, I look around. One shopkeeper is openly glaring at us, but says nothing. Aside from a few sideways glances and the mildly perturbed shuffling of nearby diners, there is almost no reaction to our presence. We finish our food and leave.

I am white, young, female and from a middle-class background. These culturally constructed categories give me the privilege to transgress social norms without the consequences others, not carrying the same privilege, might suffer. I have routinely seen homeless folk, predominantly people of colour, ejected from these kinds of establishments. Ostensibly, this is for carrying out the same table-topping action I have done numerous times, without ever experiencing a strong negative response of this kind. In one such instance, an older man in a thick parka had the finger of an irate security guard repeatedly thrust into his face. I was too far away to hear the particulars of what was being said, but the security guard appeared to be disparagingly chastising the man, whose face crumpled wearily as he was manhandled outside. His resignation suggested he was all too familiar with this kind of treatment. I would argue that in this instance, racial and class-based hierarchies came into play, with the security guard automatically placing this man into categories which served to inform his behaviour, perhaps without even realising he was doing this. These categories are inscribed into our perceptions through enculturation, and constantly re-inscribed and perpetuated as we experience and in turn reenact them in everyday life. *Habitus* is the feedback loop which connects these internalised ways of being, their practice, and the way this contributes to the structure

which initially led to their internalisation (Shore, 2014a). The meanings attached to these categories form a social hierarchy which, as I have mentioned, bestows privilege on some members of this culture and withholds it from others, with profound and far-reaching consequences for those this systematically disadvantages.

Food courts are publicly accessible places, but ultimately are privately owned. Their business relies on people purchasing what is on offer, and this act of purchasing legitimises being in the space. Table-topping could then be seen as illegitimate, as it does not fit into the vendor/customer roles adopted in this context. Once food has been bought, it belongs to the person who has paid for it. The concept of owning food becomes blurry when the food is no longer wanted by the owner. Who do the leftovers belong to? Do they cease to be food that belongs to someone and become waste to be disposed of? Or do they occupy a middle-ground of sorts, neither food nor waste? Leftovers are difficult to classify; maybe this lack of neat boundaries is related to the discomfort some people seem to experience when exposed to table-topping (Eriksen 2010:236). Still, leftovers retain associations with waste, and in this culture waste definitely has connotations of being unclean and polluting; by engaging with leftovers table-toppers seem to absorb some of these.

Understanding the meanings table-toppers attribute to their behaviour helps to illuminate the underlying principles of this practice. Some table-toppers I have spoken with definitely view table-topping as a kind of symbolic protest against the intrinsic wastefulness of capitalist society; leftovers symbolise useful things which have been devalued and deemed rubbish or junk, and their consumption symbolises the will to reclaim these

things and reframe cultural conceptions of waste (Shore, 2014b). Eating leftovers, seen through this lens, can be more ethical than buying food, as the food being consumed has already been discarded; spending money, framed this way, can be seen as tacitly condoning capitalism and therefore something to be avoided. Of course, the practical value of an accessible means to gain free food is a primary reason for table-topping, whether this is driven by economic necessity, more idealistic motivations, or both.

Though table-topping is tolerated at times, it is not widely approved of. Disparity created by socially learned classifications influence where the line is drawn between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Shore, 2014c). This social stratification grants some groups more mutability in navigating social norms, and so marginalises those outside these groups, resulting in systemic oppression. *Habitus* perpetuates and reinforces these social demarcations, and its largely unconscious nature can obscure prejudiced and unfair behaviour. The fact that having the means to buy food legitimises being in a food court exemplifies how ideas about private ownership can be exclusionary. The anomalous nature of leftovers and their associations with uncleanliness disrupt the order of the food court and colour the perception of table-topping as unhygienic and distasteful (Eriksen, 2010:236). Among this, the intention and values of the table-toppers themselves often go unnoticed, as unexamined preconceptions can dissuade interest in and impede the consideration of alternate viewpoints and, ultimately, critique of the dominant culture.

2. Lift Off: Elevator Etiquette

Robson Holmes

While studying the lift I found out that it was a very interesting space. Though lifts are a very small confined space, they have a great effect on people's behaviour. They can be totally changed within an instant, and it was fascinating to see; while studying it, I found the lift to be a space where social norms act very strongly.

I walked into the building to queue for the lift. There was plenty of talking and plenty of noise. A man dressed in his best suit was discussing the weekend with another man talking about how uneventful his weekend had been. Another couple of businessmen were busy discussing the meeting they would have later that day. A young student was complaining about how many assignments she had building up. The doors of the lift then opened and then about five or six businessmen came rushing out. The queue began to shift forward as the people shuffled into the lift. When people began to cross that line between the reception and the lift the conversations began to drop off. Everyone became silent and faced the front. Everyone watched as the numbers on the screen increased: 4… 5…6… until we reached level 9. As the people stepped out of the lift, the conversations began again – some as if they had never stopped. The norm in the lift was to face the front and remain silent. The next time I entered the lift I decided that I would continue to talk to someone once I had entered the lift. Someone, though, had beaten me to it. He continues to talk as everyone enters the lift: '...he wasn't very friendly towards me... I think because people don't expect a man in their fifties

to be still having kids. So I said I don't want to see a man like that messing with my downstairs... so yeah I'm looking for a new doctor now.' People showed a bit of animosity towards him. Some people rolled their eyes. It may have been because of the type of conversation he was having but also in many cases people do not want to hear other people talking at all. Many people themselves do not want to, so they therefore expect other people not to talk. There is a significant social pressure to not talk in a lift. The same sort of behaviour is exhibited when someone's music is playing too loud and you can hear it through their headphones. Everyone does not want to hear it in the lift but when out on the street there is no issue. It was only when I obeyed the unofficial rules and did as everyone else did that everyone seemed more at ease. This seems to be the social norm for lifts and when it is not obeyed many see it as inappropriate. The behaviour that most annoyed people in the lift was when someone was talking on their phone. Something that became apparent in my research on behaviours in lifts is that people are more likely to strike up a conversation with the person they are with when a conversation is already going on. This may be because they feel there is no social pressure to remain silent or that they are simply trying not to listen to the other people's conversation so they try and drown it out with their own conversation.

Space can influence people's behaviour and when they move from one space to another it can change in an instant. The lift is a prime example of how people's behaviour totally changes as you can actually see the moment that they cross that line from reception to the lift. Lifts are an enclosed space so everyone remains quiet and faces the front. Lifts can be awkward as there

is not a lot of room so people's personal space can be jeopardised. With space comes an expectation of how people must act and behave within the context of that space. The area itself is not what is important though; it is what the space represents. The space has a value which then defines what you can and cannot do. For example when you are in a church you are expected not to run or not to talk loudly but as soon as you leave the church and step outside onto the pavement you can freely do these things. With a church, however, these rules have been explained to you from when you are young.

Space is such an interesting thing because it is never really thought of as having effects on people, but in reality it does have a huge effect on behaviour. The lift is interesting because it does not have any rules, per se, surrounding talking or which way to face but what it does have are social norms. The norm is not to talk in the lift and to face the front or with your back to the wall. There is no rule against talking or against facing the other way but there it is just normal for someone not to so it becomes ingrained in your day to day life. When you look at the objection to talking in the lift with an emic perspective it seems that people just find it rude to talk in a lift. However, with an etic perspective it looks like something more. With personal space an issue in a lift it could be that people feel that they are being forced to listen to other people's conversations and that it is invading their space. People may also worry about others listening in on their conversation in a lift as obviously this is easy to do. With people believing they would not want their conversations listened to they may feel that other people should not be doing that either. This is where the social pressure comes from.

The lift is surrounded with a set of unofficial rules which is then enforced by social pressure. People can change within an instant from loud and talkative to silent. Spaces have such a strong influence on human behaviour and most of the time it is not even conscious to people. Lifts themselves are interesting because people's behaviour changes so quickly and for such a short period it is almost natural to people.

3. Riding the Bus in Auckland, New Zealand: Notions of Private Space in Public Areas

Emma Lattes

Public transportation is an excellent site for anthropological fieldwork on societal norms as it functions as a meeting ground for many different types of people who might otherwise never cross paths, such as students, the elderly, professionals, and the homeless. It is thus on the public buses of Auckland that I have focused my first month of fieldwork, and my experiences there have encouraged me to pursue further research on notions of personal space within other public domains. My initial observations suggest that the people of Auckland prefer to retain a significant amount of private space permeated by neither physical touch nor other form of disruption; this desire for personal space within public vicinities may signify a more individualistic culture.

On my first day of riding the bus in Auckland, I became aware of a strict seating pattern: individuals entered the bus and paid their fare, either by swiping a card against a machine or through a brief monetary exchange with the bus driver, and then sat at an empty bench if one was available. Choosing a seat is not a formally proscribed act; there are no official seating charts or differently priced tickets. However, this normative social pattern was pervasive. Even if finding an empty bench required walking further towards the back of the bus, almost no one took a seat next to another person they didn't enter the bus with. Only at

a certain tipping point, when the bus becomes quite full, do strangers begin to sit together. Even in close quarters, seated directly beside one another, strangers maintain their sense of boundaries, and rarely make eye contact or speak.

These norms about where people should sit when they enter the bus are so ritualised that Hannah, a fellow bus rider and an Auckland native, explained that it would feel 'creepy' and 'uncomfortable' if a stranger sat next to her when the bus was empty. However, if this same person sat beside her when the bus was full, she said that it would be completely normal and would not make her uncomfortable, which demonstrates that it is the context of the closeness, and not the actual proximity itself, which affords the discomfort. From Hannah's intense negative reaction to the idea of a stranger randomly sitting next to her, it is reasonable to assume that a violation of personal space without reason constitutes a social taboo in Auckland culture.

Another important dimension of private space is noise control; people riding the bus are expected to use headphones when listening to music (and incur glares if they do not), and strangers typically do not address one another on the bus. Even communications with the bus driver are kept to an extreme minimum; the longest interaction I've observed between a bus driver and a rider was an argument over a fare. The exception to this would appear to be cell phone conversations, which I overheard many times at a loud volume. The nature of these phone conversations was not polite and brief like the majority of interactions between fellow bus riders; these conversations were often highly personal and lengthy. However, the contents of these phone conversations are not meant to be public knowledge, as I

discovered when I questioned a young man about some of the particulars of his conversation after he had hung up his phone. He reacted to my inquiry very angrily and told me to 'mind my own business', despite the fact that everyone seated around us had heard his entire conversation. I was evidently not at liberty to deviate from the social ritual of pretending not to have overheard sensitive information. His anger further suggests that his conception of his private space encompassed the phone call, so that he felt other riders, who would be content to remain in their own isolated bubbles, should take no notice of his conversation.

One of the most fascinating seating situations I witnessed while riding the bus was watching a previously jam-packed bus empty. As passengers began to file out the doors, some individuals remained seated next to the stranger they had sat down beside when there were few other options, whereas others immediately moved to a vacant bench. I asked one gentleman why he had moved to an empty bench, and he replied that he preferred sitting by himself. When I questioned him further, asking if he didn't think the person he had moved away from might think he was rude for moving away so quickly, he made the point that he would, in all probability, never see that person again and so was unconcerned with how they might view his behavior. From an etic perspective, this expressed lack of care about a stranger's opinion was initially surprising, as many of the people on the bus were stringent about adhering to social norms (for example, lowering the volume of their conversation/music immediately after receiving a glare). However, this disregard for the individual opinions of one stranger within the larger context of widespread faithfulness to normative behaviors indicates a

more individualistic society in which people assume that certain unspoken social norms will be accepted and followed by everyone in order to keep peace and protect privacy; this adherence to social norms thus does not equate with genuine care about the opinions held by strangers.

From my observations riding the bus in Auckland, I suggest that the widespread practice of sitting by oneself and maintaining a sense of personal space is influenced by Auckland's individualistic culture; this ritualised practice of sitting alone alters the way that people think and feel about strangers. Physically separating oneself from strangers internalises a cultural message that strangers are not worthy of concern. This disregard for outsiders might lead the people of Auckland to be less likely to engage with others in the case of an emergency. For example, had someone on the bus begun to choke, would strangers seated around them step in and help immediately, or might they wait and see if the person truly required assistance or if someone else might step in, because the idea of coming into contact with a stranger was so distressing? Clearly, more research about conceptions of personal space in public areas (and under what circumstances these barriers may be broken) is necessary, and I look forward to pursuing this line of questioning throughout the remainder of my time in Auckland.

4. Sympathy or Hostility:
Aucklanders' Response to Homeless People

Shannon McDonald

One peculiar aspect of New Zealand life is the reaction to homeless people and beggars in Auckland's central business district. It is particularly interesting that the way Aucklanders' act toward them does not reflect how they say they feel. Many people identified feeling sympathetic toward those less fortunate but the manner in which they actively avoided them contradicts this. It would appear as though there is a level of hostility regarding the situation. This influenced me to discover why many Aucklanders do not act upon their sympathy. Observation and consideration of anthropological concepts such as the gift, classifications and pollution create an understanding of this paradox.

The majority of Aucklanders I observed did not act upon their supposed sympathy and ignored the homeless people instead of helping them. I expected people to feel sympathetic and I was correct as upon being asked how they felt about the issue, everyone I talked to told me that they 'felt sorry' for those less fortunate. Many Aucklanders seem to take basic necessities such as food and shelter for granted and when it is brought to their attention that some people may be deprived of them, they appear relatively concerned and compassionate. It is a thought provoking issue that received an emotional response from many of the people I spoke to. When the Aucklanders claimed to be sensitive about the issue, they appeared sincere as only the mention of

homeless and beggars evoked emotion. I was perplexed because despite the overwhelming sympathy, very few people actually appeared to help the situation. Many people said that 'they wish they could do something to help'; however during lunchtime on a busy weekday I observed a mere two Aucklanders provide homeless people with food and money. The majority of people walked around them so as not to come into close proximity, suggesting that they felt uncomfortable in their presence. Almost everyone continued to walk by without a second thought, even though the beggars were attempting to talk to them. This behaviour seems odd for those who claim to be touched by the problem of poverty in New Zealand.

Anthropological concepts such as 'the gift' and classifications can aid in explaining the differences I observed between Aucklanders' claims and their actual actions. Aucklanders' response to homeless people can begin to be understood when Marcel Mauss' exploration of 'the gift', exchange and reciprocity (1990) is considered. Citizens are giving a 'gift' to beggars when they provide them with food or money. Gifting is considered a reciprocal action in which there is an unspoken expectation to reciprocate and return the gift. People may therefore not want to give to homeless people with the knowledge that they will not receive anything in return. Whilst observing how people behaved around homeless people, I noticed that people paid more attention to buskers. There seems to be a considerable contrast between how Aucklanders perceive beggars and buskers. When buskers are given money, an exchange takes place as the public is ultimately paying for a commodity in the form of their talent and entertainment. This suggests that people are more willing to trade money for something in return.

The fact that I witnessed a few people giving to those less fortunate demonstrates that this does not reflect all Aucklanders because some may be content with the satisfaction of helping. Whilst questioning the public, I deduced that classifications affect how they view homeless people. This is a relevant concept as classifications are 'an important part of the knowledge system of any society, and knowledge is always related to social organisation and power' (Eriksen 2010: 246). Rubbish bins are generally classified as somewhere to discard consumed items rather than somewhere to retrieve items to consume. I asked bystanders how they felt about homeless people looking through rubbish and they responded by saying that it is 'unhygienic', 'disgusting' and 'wrong'. This perception explains why Aucklanders may not want to approach homeless people, as they are sometimes witnessed encroaching their classifications of appropriate behaviour.

The behaviour I observed suggests that most Aucklanders are essentially selfish because they are sympathetic and aware of homeless people's undesirable living situations but continue to actively avoid helping. It appears as though many Aucklanders are using an 'out of sight, out of mind' approach, in which ignoring homeless people helps them to avoid any sense of obligation. During several discussions it became clear that there was an 'us and them' complex taking place in which the public would refer to homeless people in a way that ostracised them. My discussion with Aucklanders revealed sympathy, whereas my observation of their reactions to homeless people suggested there was hostility toward them. Mary Douglas' concept of pollution (2002, in Shore 2014a) can aid in creating an understanding of this contradiction. Pollution is relevant as it refers to 'matter out of place' (Douglas

2002: 165), and Aucklanders may feel as though homeless people should not belong in Auckland's central business district. Most people I talked to commute to Auckland city for work, education or shopping, which suggests that the area is associated with wealth and prestige. Poverty does not fit this scheme, therefore those less fortunate could be perceived as a form of pollution. This concept suggests that Aucklanders may avoid homeless people merely because they are unnerved by their presence and believe that they do not belong in the city.

Having spent a considerable amount of time observing how Aucklanders react to homeless people I became very interested in discovering more about why many seem to be uncomfortable around them. During discussions with people, most responded to the subject with sympathy whereas the way they would avoid and ignore homeless people would suggest this was not sincere. Due to the emotional nature of many of my discussions, I believe the sympathy is real; this only makes the public's contradictory actions more difficult to comprehend. Several anthropological concepts such as the gift, classifications and pollution helped me to understand the contrast between what Aucklanders say and do. These notions demonstrate how a number of factors could have contributed to why Aucklanders do not appear to act upon their sympathy.

5. Renegotiating the Public/Private Divide:
An Ethnography of the Use of Mobile Phones in Public Spaces in Auckland, New Zealand

Hannah Olds

In recent years, mobile phones and other portable communication technologies have become increasingly visible in the daily lives of people all over the globe. While once primarily a business tool, the mobile phone has evolved into a general social technology that now pervades the lives of all demographic categories. This has major implications for interpersonal relations. The purpose of this ethnography is to outline my observations of the use of mobile phones in public spaces in Auckland, New Zealand, and analyse what these behaviours may indicate about the broader social norms and values of Aucklanders. I conclude that such behaviours are ultimately influenced by cultural notions of public and private spaces and senses of self.

In order to gain an awareness of how and why Aucklanders use mobile phones in public, I conducted observational fieldwork and a small number of conversations with locals in a variety of public spaces around Auckland City. These included university grounds, parks, cafes, bars, shopping malls, transport centres, on public transport, and on the sidewalk. Throughout this process, I discerned many particularly noteworthy recurring phenomena. However, for the purposes of this ethnography I am constrained to discussing just a few of my observations.

The first of these has to do with the behaviour of individuals on their own, or situated with another person who is briefly engaged in some other exclusive activity or interaction—such as using the bathroom, receiving a phone call, or greeting a third party unknown to their companion. Those who were alone (or momentarily alone) were, from my observation, far more inclined towards mobile phone use. In fact, numerous times I witnessed groups of people parting ways only to reach for their mobile phones after mere seconds in their own company. This use of mobile phones was very seldom to initiate a call, but looked for the most part quite purposeless—the pressing of a few buttons here and there, and much time spent staring at the screen. Furthermore, this pattern of behaviour appeared almost habitual. It was also very common to see this type of conduct in individuals queuing at the supermarket, waiting for a friend or for the bus, or waiting at a bar or cafe counter for their drink. Secondly, on a number of occasions I saw individuals walking in a particular direction on the street or on university grounds who then presumably realised they had been going the wrong way and backtracked. These people almost always looked intently down at their phone as if reviewing some content while travelling in the new direction. From my etic, outsider position, it appeared to me that this was primarily a matter of embarrassment—that they were alluding to the presence of some 'new information' to anyone watching, thereby diverting attention away from their own error.

In drawing broader conclusions from the observation of these phenomena, it may be particularly helpful to conceptualise social life as being divided into front stage and back stage zones, or 'public' and 'private' spheres. We can also think of people as having

public and private 'selves'. The back stage is the realm where the individual feels relatively secure and can be their true self, whereas the front stage involves a kind of 'performance' or conscious presentation of the self. This is where individuals typically engage in 'impression management'—an awareness and manipulation of the impression one makes on others so as to be viewed more favourably (Eriksen 2010:55).

Through conversation, I gathered that the reasoning for the observed behaviour was, for many people, largely a matter of social vulnerability. Evidently, people on their own in public are thought of, and consequently treated, quite differently than those with company. Indeed, I spoke to one woman on a university campus who had recently had a man approach her, for what seemed the sole purpose of audaciously enquiring as to why she was alone: 'Do you have no friends, or are you just weird?' It would certainly appear that solitary individuals in public spaces are more vulnerable to contact from other people, and also more likely to be looked upon critically. For this reason, they are likely to be wary of the impression created by their solitude and endeavour to adjust this in some way.

Mobile phone use in public places, behaviour significantly more prevalent amongst unaccompanied individuals, may here be construed as an attempt to dispel the vulnerability and exposure of being alone in a social space. In other words, individuals engaging in these behaviours may in fact be attempting to justify or legitimate their lone presence in public, where there exists a kind of social or cultural taboo around being 'friendless'. After all, as communicative tools, mobile phones are such that they imply the existence of other social networks and relations. Thus, the use

of a mobile phone suggests to others that one's being alone need not entail friendlessness. Interestingly, many locals indicated not wanting to be approached as an additional reason for occupying (or pretending to occupy) themselves with a mobile phone. The suggestion is that engagement with a mobile phone demarcates a private sphere within the public space by removing a person mentally and socially from his or her physical surroundings and signalling their unavailability for interaction. From this arises the seeming paradox of desiring to be perceived as sociable even while simultaneously shielding oneself from social connection. I argue, however, that these two drives may not be so incompatible. Mobile phone use embodies a way of presenting oneself in accordance with the valued norm of sociability, while also enabling the avoidance of unwanted relations through the tacit establishment of private space.

From this study it can be argued that observed trends in the public use of mobile phones in Auckland city reflect the broader social norms and expectations of its inhabitants regarding sociability. My fieldwork alluded to the fact that, aside from the intended communicative function of mobile phones, they can also be seen to serve the purpose of aiding impression management on the social stage and facilitating the renegotiation of public versus private senses of space and self.

6. Class, the Politics of the Body, Social Etiquette, Trust, and Touching:

My Trip to the Hairdresser.

Rose Meyer

I thought for this ethnography I would put myself outside my comfort zone and participate in something that while quite commonplace for many, is a nerve-racking and uncomfortable experience for me, and one which invariably ends in tears. I had not visited a hairdresser in many years and am overly protective of my hair. I had ambitions to discuss ideas around the politics of the body, and trust in a social grooming experience from an etic perspective, and to make things even more interesting I decided to step out of what I perceive to be my own class and chose a very upmarket salon in Newmarket; Ossequioso[1], as well as a Senior Stylist specialising in the field of long hair. I had done some research on their website and chosen the person who I thought would best understand my needs, Sharon Laronde, a multi award winning stylist. However, my reflections did not entirely mirror my intentions.

I walked off the street and pushed through double glass doors, where a receptionist greeted me and led me to a row of couches to wait. There was a selection of elegantly arranged glossy magazines. Candles lit dark wooden shelves and reflected off shiny marble and wooden floors; neutral understated greens,

1 Business names, and names of individuals have been changed throughout this volume to protect their privacy

creams and browns mixed with natural textures like stone and wood. The largest section of the room is broken up into mirrored cubicles and from this area a low hum of conversation and multiple hairdryers mixed with the low thump of music played at a subdued level from hidden speakers.

The receptionist, who remained unnamed, introduced me to Sid, an immaculately groomed man in vintage clothing, who in turn introduced me to the very stylish Sharon, who smiled, pulled my braid loose and asked me what I wanted, after my brief description, she nodded and excused herself. Sid ushered me into the wash-room where he made sure I was comfortable in a tilted chair, covered me in a white cape and told me to lean back and relax. He started to wet down my hair and initiated small talk about things visually obvious; the length of my hair, visible tattoos and made small compliments (to put me at ease?), I asked him about himself and he told me he had been working at Servilles for three months. As he began to massage my scalp the small talk ceased and the experience became very sensual and for me, slightly uncomfortably personal, as his hands wandered like the hands of a lover in circles lightly over my forehead, over my scalp and firmly to my neck where his fingers found the tension and soothed it away. As he worked with his now familiar hands he told me about the tattoo he has been planning, how it incorporates his star sign and symbols of all the places he has travelled, how his grandmother who he feels very close to has a tattoo, and how he feels he needs to get one to fit in with his family. We spoke of a shared love of retro cardigans and a style of dress we laughingly dubbed 'Shabby Nana Chic' and shared our prized op-shop locations.

The wash over, he offered me tea or coffee, I declined and he expanded the offer to an Organic Lemon Ice block, which I accepted. He took me through to the cutting room and parked me in a comfortable white chair in front of a full-length mirror and left me to stare at myself eating an ice block in a white cape and deftly turbaned hair. I took the opportunity to look around me and here the use of multiple mirrors became interesting. Sharon my stylist was working on her previous client in the station in front of me and from my perch behind her I could see multiple views of Sharon as she worked, she seemed to be aware of this and occasionally caught my eye in one of the mirrors and smiled while I waited for her to finish.

I had planned to ask for my hair clippings at the end of the session so I could take them home and perhaps rather sentimentally dispose of them when I was ready, but after watching the clients around me, it didn't seem like an acceptable behaviour here, where hair is matter out of place and quickly swept out of sight by waiting assistants. Sharon came over and started off the cut in keeping with the character I had glimpsed in the mirrors, friendly and professional. Sharon was obviously competent and cut with small quick snips and dramatic flourishes of hair. She asked me about my 'activities' and when I told her that I taught art at a tertiary school nearby Sharon dropped her busy arms still to her sides and told me her desire to 'no bullshit' follow her passion for art.

She spoke of her dream of giving up hairdressing when her daughter was old enough, and returning to study. I asked her what she was interested in and she told me of the dream house she designed and built, the sleepless nights spent making and the notebooks full of sketches and ideas.

Slowly the professionalism returned as she reached the end of the cut and the conversation returned to topics less dear to the heart, and by the time she was applying something called a wand to turn my hair into a mass of ringlets, our conversation had slipped back into the mundane.

It was friendly but detached professionalism as she finished up and moved on to her next client who was waiting in the wings, and my time was over, although Sid waved and winked at me as he led another woman into the wash area. It left me wondering how much of the friendly bonding was real and how much is part of their ordinary working roles, a kind of emotional labour that may be expected of a hairstylist. What was intriguing to me was the reflection that both Sid and Sharon had at one point opened up about themselves, about their family lives, their goals and passions, for a while I had seen the professional façade drop but then it was reasserted and what felt like a genuine personal connection was gone. Both Sid and Sharon were at their most sharing and talkative when they had their fingers entwined through my hair, on my scalp, and as they worked their way away from my head, they became figuratively as well as literally more distant. Perhaps the intimate physical touching of another person allows us to lower barriers between us and to share information - social grooming as a kind of social bonding through touch. In a smaller society those relationships built might be more permanent, more bonding, whereas in my large metropolis the links seem delicate and fleeting. Although the experience was not as bad as I had expected and I met two fascinating people, later that night I still cried for the hair I abandoned on the cutting room floor.

7. The Homeless Population Amongst Auckland City, New Zealand

Rebecca Wilton

In areas throughout Auckland city, there are individuals or groups of homeless who congregate in many different places. They are often stigmatised as a nuisance and judged for their lack of compliance to social norms. Many people fail to recognise the complex structures of daily life within the homeless community. In my research I discovered the 'art' to being homeless has many techniques. Where you are, what you wear and how you act as a homeless person can contribute to the extent you are accepted, viewed and helped by the general public. Homeless people at first glance appear dirty, unmotivated and a burden to society. Prior to observing them I missed the intrinsic details of homeless life. When I began, I noticed patterns emerging which presented complex rules, techniques and relationships in their way of life. Firstly, when passing by a homeless person I assumed they were in this 'struggle' alone, they had been marginalised from society for being homeless. However when I took a step back I noticed frequent interactions amongst homeless throughout the day.

A homeless lady was running toward another homeless man yelling with a large grin on her face, 'Bro! Oi Bro! If you chew your cup they give you so much money! They think you're starving and just throw money at you!' Here is an example of what the anthropologist Malinowski called the 'imponderabilia of everyday life', that is, phenomena that have to be experienced first-hand in their natural setting in order to gain a more in-depth

understanding of a certain group. In Auckland many homeless people have formed loyal friendships and founded a community sphere, sharing tips and looking out for each other. This gave me insight into issues that the public is generally unware of; that the homeless people seen begging on the street are in fact very shrewd and calculating, and think up strategies to share amongst each other like any other community group. This common behaviour amongst homeless people suggests they have created a sense of cohesion and belonging. Even though they are marginalised from mainstream New Zealand society, the homeless people of Auckland have formed a sub group to satisfy a basic human need for security and companionship.

Another pattern I observed was the spatial territories that homeless people 'claim'. I discovered this by observing them returning to the same locations almost every day. Obviously the man on the footpath outside Gucci doesn't own it, but frequent returning to a particular spot suggests a proprietal sense of ownership. The notion of space in this community of homeless people is very different to my own. Public and private spaces are very distinct in most cultures, however this distinction is less evident among homeless people (who may not even have a private space and who tend to keep their belongings with them). This is seen to be very odd in my culture (which is mainstream middle-class society). In the culture of the homeless community of Auckland, sitting on the floor is an acceptable norm. This is a space my culture has categorised as 'dirty' and to sit on the floor would be defined as socially unacceptable and symbolically polluting, or a kind of 'matter out of place' (Eriksen 2010).

But is this behaviour all just part of an act? After observing homeless life over many days, the data I have collected suggests an intrinsic part of this community of homeless people involves performing or enacting a particular disposition or *habitus*. Everything from what you wear to how you sit are all part of this *habitus*. The first practice I observed was homeless people placing themselves in busy public spaces with high levels of foot traffic, meaning more chances of donations.

Secondly, I noticed how these homeless people dressed in a certain 'scruffy' manner making it easier for the general public to tell them apart from just a 'normal' man sitting on the side of the street. According to Eriksen (2010), the way that people perceive others is usually affected by forms of public performance. The significance of this performance is to signify that this person is homeless and likely needs help. Another aspect of this performance is in the way these homeless people tended to position themselves, which often entailed sitting in a way that looked as though they are struggling or in pain. Slouched down on the pavement I couldn't help but stare and feel sympathy towards them. This part of the performance is a way to draw attention to themselves and thus once again, receive more help from the public. By contrast, other homeless people that I saw bearing signs, sitting up in a normal fashion, were not getting the same level of attention or donations from passers-by. Clearly, homeless people undertake different techniques to create emotional responses from the public, suggesting they are more calculating and strategic then one might expect. The social etiquettes of my own society differ substantially from the cultural norms of homeless people. For example, they may yell or shout

at each other to communicate, with no embarrassment or even regard for the wider public. These are behaviours that others would see as inconsiderate. Many people I spoke to among the Auckland public said that they felt scared of homeless people because of their public behaviour. This shows a pattern in public thought, suggesting the disregard of social norms displayed by these homeless people is perceived as highly threatening.

When people conform to the norms and rules of our society, we feel a sense of security because their behaviour is predictable. However, when people don't behave the way society wants or expects, those people appear dangerous and threatening to our sense of social order. I believe the implications of this are people feel intimidated and scared of the homeless community and stigmatise them as dangerous. And when people perceive the homeless this way, they are less likely to offer help.

In order to gain intimacy with the homeless community I used the research method of participant observation. This requires a researcher to experience a culture as close as possible (Eriksen 2010). I sat for two hours on the pavement of Karagahape Road Bridge in central Auckland, disguised as a homeless young person. With a flannel shirt around my waist, oversized track pants drowning my legs and a beanie tight around my untamed locks I ventured into a whole new world.

Immediately I could feel the eyes of judgment from passers by burning though my head hung towards the concrete. This gave me a whole new respect for how homeless people live, and what they must endure daily. I put on a performance and I understood how difficult it is to be a homeless person; it is

almost like a job. Without experiencing first hand some degree of what it means to be homeless, the general public has no idea of the complex strategies and processes homeless people think about and put into action. I believe ethnocentrism is one of the main reasons for the lack of sympathy that people feel towards the homeless. Ethnocentrism is the tendency to judge others by your own standards and to assume those standards are right, so that when people do things differently this is seen as abnormal and unnatural (Eriksen 2010: 6). Before in-depth research I even found myself beginning to make judgments of homeless behaviour and what it said about them as people. New Zealand's systems of rules, expectations and norms are incorporated in our mainstream culture. The homeless of Auckland, however, have formed a subculture of their own, a space in which many find a sense of belonging. This has a different set of rules and norms that further marginalise homeless people from mainstream society. The nature of these norms being so different to the general public's tends to encourage people to make discriminatory assumptions. The purpose of my research was to shed light on Auckland's 'invisible' homeless community, through this exposure I hope that people will gain more understanding and sympathy for this subculture.

Part Two

Gender, Sexuality, the Body, and Boundaries

8 Implications of Gender-centric Themes at Children's Birthday Parties

Hazel Ellis

For over a year I have been working as a face painter, and over this time I have been to nearly 100 kids' parties and events. Face painting gives me an interesting insight into the ritualistic nature of throwing a birthday party for children. While I am part of the event, I am also an outsider because face painting is contracted work. This gives me both an emic and etic perspective on the occasion. I have found it interesting how gender specific children's birthday parties in New Zealand are. It is a key anthropological belief that the concept of gender is socially constructed, and as children, learning the social norms of our culture is part of the process of growing up and being incorporated into society.

The majority of the parties I attend have themes, and since the age range of parties that hire face painters is usually from the ages of 3-8 years old, I have found that the parties are quite gender specific. Children of this age, especially since starting school, prefer to share friends of their own gender. This means that the most popular party themes for girls involve princesses, butterflies, rainbows or fairies, and for boys, dinosaurs, monsters, pirates and superheroes, and children also tend to pick similar themes for their face paints. Recently I was at a seven year old girl's birthday party that was fairy themed. She had invited ten of her friends over and they engaged in activities such as a magic wand hunt, garland making and nail painting while they all took turns getting their faces painted. They all chose to be fairies, a

facepaint that involves swirls, flowers and stars. There were a few slight deviations; a couple were rainbow fairies, others fairy princesses and one was a butterfly fairy. However when it was the little brother's turn, he wanted to be a dragon. Aside from this, he joined in with most of the party activities along with the girls. Usually it's an older brother or a cousin in the minority of males at a girl's birthday party that will seem noticeably uncomfortable with the 'girlyness' of the event, however at this particular party, the father must have felt out of place. When he was assigned the hot glue gun during the garland making activity, after a while he started to refer to himself as the 'Glue Monster'. Later on in the party he was pouring 'Fairy Juice,' a rather creative mix of Sprite and dark pink food colouring, and referred to it as 'Fairy Blood', to which all the girls responded with a collective 'Eww!'

I have found that gender specific parties such as this one tend to alienate the opposite gender. It was almost amusing to observe the father at this fairy party trying to assert his masculinity into the situation at hand. Terms such as 'Glue Monster' and 'Fairy Blood' have aggressive and even violent implications, even though they were used in a humorous way to provoke the girls. Despite this, it is interesting how monsters and blood tend to correlate to the themes associated with little boy's parties, interests and toys. Seemingly harmless themes such as monsters, pirates, dinosaurs etc., all share similar implications of violence and aggression. Alternatively, the themes that are popular with small girls such as princesses, fairies and butterflies are largely decorative in nature. The implications of these typical New Zealand children's party themes relate strongly to wider societal gender roles and are

one aspect of many that have a part in conditioning young Kiwi children into their typical gender niche.

Having such strongly gender-centric themes present at children's birthday parties not only alienates the opposite gender but also strengthens the idea of gender being a binary concept. A week prior to the aforementioned fairy party, I attended a four year old girl's birthday party that was also fairy themed, but was less gender-centric. There were more boys in attendance, more parents stayed around and decorations and activities were not all fairy themed. A few of the boys were in superhero costumes, one little boy was dressed as a pirate, and another boy, was dressed in a long blue, Cinderella dress. In fact I wouldn't have even known it was a boy in the Cinderella dress until his father came over with him to get his face painted as a butterfly like all the other girls had up until this point of the party. His dad told me how 'He had been a tiger last time', but also clearly had no problem with his son wanting a butterfly design this time. However I often experience parents influencing their child's choice in face paint. One instance of this is when I was working for 4-5 hours in a shopping mall. In these situations we would paint a large number of kids who wait in line with their parents for what can be quite a long time. While at one of these jobs I witnessed a father who did not allow his son to be a butterfly, instead suggesting that he be painted as Spiderman instead.

Since gender is a social construction, themed gender-centric children's parties and entertainment would be implemental in the construction of gender roles within society. The idea of gender being non-binary is starting to become more accepted in New Zealand rather than deviant of the social norm. Gender-specific

themes tend to be more inclusive of girls than they do of boys. I have found that boy themes such as pirate or dinosaur themed parties accommodate girls more than fairy parties accommodate boys. For a girl to dress as a pirate is more socially acceptable than for a boy to wear a Cinderella dress. This trend seems to continue into adulthood and present itself in the form of fashion, where it's normal for women to wear anything men can wear, but for men to wear skirts or dresses or heels is considered abnormal or deviant. Socially it is okay for women to act and dress like men, but it is degrading for men to dress or act like women. It is obvious that the seemingly innocent nature of these party themes introduced to children from such a young age have strong correlations to adult gender roles. This cyclical nature of social conditioning is what results in gender inequality in today's society.

9. Make up Application in Auckland

Emma-Kate McDonald

Auckland culture has fixed ideas about what constitutes feminine beauty, and the female appearance is subjected to a higher degree of scrutiny than that of the male appearance. I approach the University of Auckland in the hopes of encountering a small group of close female friends in their early twenties, who are willing to let me observe them getting ready, in preparation for an evening out. I am interested in the ritualistic aspect of makeup application, which is a regular practice, performed by young Auckland females. By employing participant observation I will explore their thoughts and feelings, and what motivates this highly gendered practice.

A group of girls aged between 21 and 23 who I have been introduced to through an acquaintance, have agreed to let me conduct my fieldwork with them and it is arranged that the coming Friday evening I will meet with them at Harriet's house at 6pm. Come Friday, I purchase a bottle of sauvignon blanc wine and head to Harriet's abode which is located in an apartment complex in Auckland CBD. I am greeted at the door by Harriet, who welcomes me in and accepts my gift of wine graciously. By presenting her with a gift I hope to establish rapport with the girls (Molloy, 2014). I am shown into her bedroom where the rest of the girls are getting ready - Rose and Kerry are huddled around a mirror, while Lily lies on the bed sipping at a glass of wine. Harriet disappears into another room to fetch me a glass, leaving me to take a seat on the bed. The girls look me up and down, assessing

my outfit and my windswept hairstyle, and take note of my gift of wine, which they then smile at approvingly. I have deliberately worn a dress in order to present myself as one of them. My social positioning as a cisgendered female[1] in this instance, grants me almost immediate access to this world as the girls categorise me as one of their own (Shore 2014a).

I notice that one of the girls named Rose is ironing Kerry's hair with an electrical device. Lily upon noticing my inquisitive stare informs me that it is called a GHD hair straightener, then explains that when the hot ceramic plates are applied to hair, the kinks are straightened out, leaving the hair perfectly straight which is considered beautiful. While Rose is busy straightening Kerry's long, curly hair, Kerry gazes into a mirror positioned in front of her, applying gloopy, black fluid to her eyelashes with a spikey brush. Harriet, pouring me a glass of wine, explains that mascara is applied to eyelashes to make them appear darker, curlier and longer, thus making the eyes more alluring. We chat about makeup and the girls tell me what brands are their favourites, then I change the conversation to what each of them expects from the evening ahead.

Kerry says 'I'm excited about the party because Matt is going to be there.' She tells me how Matt is a boy she has liked for a while now and hopes that he will ask her out this evening. I ask her if she is making a special effort to look nice for him, to which she hesitates and then replies 'well, yes,' but then quickly qualifies her answer by stating she would be putting in the same amount of effort into her appearance, regardless of whether Matt was going to be at the party or not. Kerry informs me that she does not

1 Meaning I was born as a female and continue to identify as such

apply makeup or straighten her hair to impress boys, but because she feels better about herself when she looks her best. Lily, Rose and Harriet all nod their heads in agreement at Kerry's answer. I ask the group 'why don't boys wear makeup?' The girls look back at me blankly, and Lily lets out a giggle. Harriet finally replies, stating that makeup is used to enhance femininity, which is only appropriate if you are a female.

I decide it is time to enhance my own femininity and take a seat in front of the mirror. Through my participant observation I hope to gain an emic perspective of what it is like to adhere to a specific type of feminine image expected of me in Auckland (Eriksen 1995:40). The girls are excited about helping me with my makeover and Harriet gets to work taming my unkempt locks with the hair straightener. Lily pulls out a case which she unzips to reveal a large selection of bottles and tubes of various colours. She hands me a smallish, glass bottle filled with a thick, brownish liquid and tells me to paint it onto my face with a small paintbrush. This is known as concealer and is used to hide skin blemishes and even out skin tone. I do as instructed, and after, Kerry sweeps a brush with lose powder over my face which sets the foundation. Lily then pulls out a small compact case that contains a pinkish pressed powder, which she applies only to my cheeks in an upward sweeping motion. Lipstick and mascara are then applied and Rose bluntly informs me that I look much prettier than I did previously. My transformation now complete, I gaze at my painted face in the mirror and agree that while I do look nice, I cannot help but feel very artificial and as if I am wearing a mask. I think about what the girls have said - that they do not enhance their appearance for male attention or approval.

While this is true, these standards of femininity are still set by and operate within a patriarchal social system (ibid: 81). In Auckland society, girls are socialised from a young age to believe that their appearance is important and that it should conform to idealised standards of feminine beauty (ibid: 64-65).

My experience with the University of Auckland girls: Harriet, Rose, Lily and Kerry proved insightful in examining the highly feminised ritual of applying makeup prior to going out. This process of transformation is one that is time consuming, but also very social and often accompanied by alcohol. My social positioning as a female allowed for me to be able to partake in participant-observation, which granted me first-hand access to this ritual which, had I been male, I would not have had. The different standards expected of males and females are evident in how the wearing of makeup is reserved only for females, to make them appear more beautiful. Because makeup functions to accentuate feminine features such as long eyelashes, red lips and blushing cheeks, boys are not permitted to wear makeup, even if only to cover up imperfections as it blurs gender boundaries. These deeply ingrained and accepted differences and double standards are reflected by the girls' shocked reactions to my question enquiring as to why boys do not wear makeup. While I did not feel comfortable in my heavily made up appearance, the University of Auckland girls did. My findings indicate that these standards of femininity are expected of them in Auckland, and viewing their ritual experiences from a culturally relativistic perspective illuminates the importance of their actions to the way they exist within society.

10. Grace's Hen Party: A Rite of Passage Ritual

Melinda Hayes

The hen party is a rite of passage ritual performed with the bride-to-be before a marriage ritual. The female friends, family and bridal party attend. It represents a transition between girlfriend and wife and its purpose is to allow the bride to celebrate and experience her last moments of free life before she becomes a wife. It can take place a few months, weeks or days before the wedding. This is an ethnography of Grace's hen party. The analysis will explore the gender roles and symbols of the hen party and the liminal phase Grace experienced.

Grace and Jake were to get married in two weeks and I was invited to attend Grace's hen party. As I arrive at the party, I see Grace sitting covered in a 'Bride to Be' sash with a bold sequined bra over her dress, and oversized glittered sunglasses adorning her head. One of her bridesmaids hands me a tacky plastic penis necklace and I put it over my neck. The focus is on Grace and I watch as the women all make sure to take part in talking and interacting with her.

The bodily symbol of the dressing up of Grace is individual, it is to make her stand out and bring attention to her. It also shows group membership as it symbolises a camaraderie between her and the bridesmaids. It produces a type of coming together within the group in a humorous atmosphere. Group membership is also symbolised through the guests having a penis necklace. The 'Bride

to Be' sash on Grace symbolises her rank within the group, it shows the members and the public that she is the bride therefore the focus of the party.

We are all drinking and Grace tells me she is going to get wasted tonight, as we have shots of Sambuca and start talking about 'the last night of freedom', a common statement made in relation to hen parties. In everyday life, the penis accessories used at a hen party would be a taboo. It would be viewed as obscene as the genitals are the most concealed and private body part. When used at the hen party they are not taboo. The penis is a symbol of what a hen party means. The penis symbolises the last night of freedom before the bride is committed to one man and her priorities shift from herself to her husband and later on, children. The hen party is a time when women can openly and publicly objectify men and their most private, intimate body part, their penis. The social norms at the hen party are that the guests are expected to push Grace's boundaries of acceptable behaviour and the penis symbolises this pushing of the private into the public.

We go to a male stripper bar where several hen parties are taking place. We lead Grace onto the stage, Grace gently refuses by saying 'what are you lot up to - why am I sitting here?' The music is turned up and a song called 'It's Raining Men' starts belting out from the speakers and as a group of attractive men enter everyone screams and laughs. The men are dancing, doing press-ups and a fitness like routine. One man moves closer to Grace and rips off his pants; his penis is now only covered by a thin cloth. We all scream and clap. The man rubs himself on Grace, her face goes red indicating a slight embarrassment but she continues to laugh and smile. The men perform a dance with

various sexual movements and several women are invited to rub his chest, which they (and I) do hard and rough. He does a sexual gesture towards Grace, grinding his hips over her. He finishes by picking up her hands and making her rub his chest and buttocks. Grace likes this and she starts to participate more. The only men in sight are the toned, oiled and topless strippers and bar staff.

The custom of the male stripper at the hen party is part of the rite of passage. The bride to be is expected to have some male encounters before she can be considered ready to marry. The stripper is an object for the women and the performance is based around his body. He is simply a symbol of a bride to be and her guests expressing the freedom expected before her marriage. The penis necklace that showed our membership to the hen party group allowed us also to be involved in the touching of the strippers.

New Zealand is a patriarchal society. The touching of men seen at hen parties is against social norms for women in New Zealand but at a hen party it is allowed and adds to the excitement. The women are generally seen as passive and men as aggressive, therefore the women pose no threat to the stripper. The touching at male strip performances is encouraged and acceptable but the women are interested in touching abdominal and other muscles as such areas represent strength and vigour. The men actively gesture for the women to touch them reinforcing the male role of dominance as they are in control of the situation, they rub themselves over the bride to be, and they take her hands and rub them on him. The woman's gender role changes at the hen party; she can objectify men as part of the rite of passage. The male gender role of dominance and aggression remains.

The hen party shows Grace's transition between girlfriend and wife. Grace can clearly be seen to enter a liminal stage at her hen party. She is separated from all the men in her life including her husband to be. The party is the liminal stage, she is allowed to act differently, she can visit a male strip bar and touch men, and she can enjoy the sexual gestures made by the stripper. After the party she is reincorporated, having had a hen party she is suitably prepared for the marriage ritual.

Grace's hen party has many symbols that have a variety of meanings and significance not only for her guests but also for New Zealand society. The penis is the widely known symbol of a hen party and it alerts the public of the reason for party participants' behaviour. The observations made at the male strip bar allowed the exploration of the gender roles of women that are changed during this liminal phase. The gender roles of men do not change and they assert their role by showing their strength. Grace's hen party was a night where we were members of a special group of women; we could use men as our objects and show Grace what it means to be free. The next morning the penis necklaces, sequined bra and Sambuca were put away. The liminal phase had ended. Grace had awoken and it was expected now that she would take on her new status, she would became Jake's wife.

11. Ball Skills: Homoeroticism on the New Zealand Rugby Field

Amy Bedwell

In New Zealand, rugby is a man's game. However, the rugby field also seems to be one of the few realms in which men are able to transgress established gender norms without persecution. Employing both external observation and personal interview, I will endeavor to examine aspects of homoeroticism on Auckland rugby fields. Examples of this include physical displays of affection and ritual cleansing, both of which would be subject to scrutiny under other social circumstances. I will also consider the way in which the idea of hegemonic masculinity influences the way New Zealanders perceive acceptable gender roles and transgressions of these gender roles.

Rugby is the national sport of New Zealand, with the All Blacks representing the country as its premier team. The game consists of two opposing teams whose goal it is to get an egg shaped ball over marked lines in order to score a "try". The game is carefully policed with many rules such as an inability to toss the ball forward, making try scoring only feasible by running with the ball in hand or kicking it. This sport is highly physical and somewhat brutal in its absence of protective gear, despite the fact that players heartily tackle their opponents to gain possession over the ball.

Rugby players embody the ideal masculine pedigree in New Zealand. This point is supported by the presence of All Blacks

player Dan Carter's scantily clad body plastering the sexually charged advertising of Jockey underwear billboards, magazine articles and television advertisements.

The rugby match, then, can be seen to represent a battle of masculinity. Two teams compete for victory using trained skills in agility, aggression and dexterity. Masculine traits such as strength, aggression and resilience against pain are prized among the players, and it is excellence in these traits that often spell victory for a team. This point considered, one could safely assume that the more masculine a team is, the more chance they have of emerging victorious because it is these traits that are most important to the game. This 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 2005), or established norms of masculinity, seems to provide a solid ground on which players are consolidated as the ideal masculine specimen, having proved that they are virile and 'red-blooded' individuals. It is this established platform that allows these hyper masculine players freedom to transgress the boundaries of gender and sexuality within New Zealand culture without being questioned or criticised.

An example of gender transgression appears in the post-try hug. Physical contact among men in the wider New Zealand culture is largely taboo, and celebration of achievement is frequently relegated to pseudo-contact such as high fives, fist bumps and pats on the back. To see two men embrace in celebration in a setting such as a pub or university seems to inspire uneasiness in onlookers, and the act is often seen as 'going against' proper heteronormative behavior. However, physical celebration in the form of full body contact hugging between two or more men is a common occurrence on the rugby field, and does not bring into

question the masculinity or sexuality of the participants. During a match between the Wellington Hurricanes and Blue Bulls from Pretoria in South Africa, I witnessed two Hurricanes players embrace each other after scoring a try. I noted that the act only garnered a louder cheer from the fans watching, and no one in the stadium displayed uneasiness or disapproval. I believe this response could only be expected in the realm of the rugby match, where the masculinity of the transgressors cannot be called into question because they have already established themselves as quintessentially male in the contemporary New Zealand setting.

Fifteen burly men sharing a communal shower is another example of the way in which rugby allows men to transgress the usual boundaries of gender and expectations of heteronormativity in everyday New Zealand. I don't think there is much that epitomises homoeroticism (not only in New Zealand but anywhere in the world) more than two or more naked men sharing in ritual cleansing after a good ruck and toss. Despite being unable to observe this act, players from local rugby teams were happy to offer their insiders' perspective.

Whetu, prop for a local Pt. Chevalier rugby team, laughed when I posed the question of homoerotics in communal showers. 'I would get a slap on the ass every once in a while, usually after a good game' Whetu explained, unembarrassed by the admission, 'but no one ever really questioned it. If a dude slapped my ass in a club, I'd probably deck him'. Why is it that a naked man in a steamy post-match shower scene can slap another man's bottom without persecution, but the same act would receive indignation in a club setting? It seems to me that rugby players, even on the small local scale, are afforded a different set of social norms in

reference to homoerotics because they embody the masculine ideal as it has been nationally constructed and reinforced. One's gender and sexuality is fixed by this masculinity, and therefore displays of transgressive gender acts such as showering together and slapping another man's exposed backside is acceptable. The same certainty of role would not be afforded to your regular, everyday New Zealand man, and therefore makes his masculinity fluid and questionable in the eyes of observers.

In New Zealand, it is the establishment of solid and unquestionable masculinity through membership to a largely masculine realm such as a rugby team, which affords members the opportunity to transcend gender boundaries without persecution. I have examined the homoeroticism of post-try full body embraces, and also the dynamics of a local team's communal showers. The clear conclusion to this argument is that men may transgress gender boundaries, but if you have not proven yourself as intrepid and manly as the ideally masculine All Blacks, the stability of your gender and sexuality is likely to be questioned.

12. The Power of Nudity: Social Hierarchy in Strip Clubs

Maryanne Clarke

During my time in New Zealand under a grant from the Ruritanian Association for Social Anthropology (RASA) I have been studying the Western social phenomenon of 'strip clubs' with the theme of social hierarchy within the club and how that relates to social hierarchy in general society. For this study I took a job as a fully clothed waitress in a strip club and worked there for a week.

New Zealand society's obsession with concealing women's bodies has, like many other countries, led to the phenomenon of strip clubs – a building where people (mostly heterosexual, cisgendered[1] men) go to drink alcohol and stare at women as they dance on platforms and around poles wearing little clothing (which is then removed). The customers are encouraged to tip the 'strippers' with 'club money' (pieces of paper that are exchangeable at the bar for legal tender at the end of the night) and in response the women may kiss the customers on the cheek or rub the customer's face in their breasts.

In preparation for my study I surveyed 50 heterosexual, cisgendered New Zealand men to try to determine how they felt about strip clubs. Forty-three said they would visit a strip club but only five said they would date a stripper. When asked if they had any respect for strippers only three of the 50 responded yes. This suggested that women who take their clothes off for money are held in low esteem and have little status outside of a strip club. I

1 Meaning men who were born male and continue to identify as male

applied for a job as a waitress at the strip club 'Boudoir' and was asked to come in for an interview that evening.

Martin Crue, one of the billionaire brothers who own the club and two others in Auckland, interviews every job applicant himself to ensure that the applicants aren't going to harass 'his girls' – the strippers that work in the club. He is a very polite and respectful man although he is also enormously confident. After the interview Martin took me on a tour of the building and I was able to observe the Strippers for the first time and how they interacted with Martin. Every time we met a Girl in the hallway, they would partake in a ritual where they would bow slightly to Martin and step aside to let him pass. Martin would then say 'No sweetheart, you go first,' and gesture with a wave of his hand for the stripper to pass him. This ritual is one of asserting power and respect. In submitting to Martin, the stripper is showing that she respects him as her boss and social leader and in return Martin allows the stripper to proceed first, showing his respect for her but also that he has the power to make the final decision in any situation.

Ultimately, I was hired, and over the next seven nights I was able to observe how strip clubs worked and how much power the strippers had within the social hierarchy of the club – compared to the little power they have out on the street. At first the strippers were quite standoffish and the only people who would engage me in conversation were the bartender and other waitresses. However, after a few nights some of the strippers would greet me on entering the club and I was eventually able to talk with four of them. Each of the strippers has her own 'personality.' They convey this through their movement, costume and speech. Melody has her hair cut into a bob, wears 50's

inspired makeup and faux-vintage lingerie. She acts sweet, bubbly and almost innocent. Jade wears over-the-knee leather boots and thick eyeliner. Her routine involves a lot of tricks on the pole – hanging upside down, spins and flips that require a lot of strength. Baby and Katya are a double act, they dress and look much like any regular lingerie models but pretend to be in a relationship and will make out and grind against each other on stage whilst faking orgasms. When I asked them if they are actually attracted to women they said no, they're just 'good friends and great actors.' I asked why they pretended to be and Katya said 'It's just a performance, like a musical y'know? There's singing and dancing and fake orgasms and it's all for tips. Guys like to see pretty girls make out and they think if they give us lots of money that they might get to join us.'

'Men are weak and predictable.' Baby added.

Watching the strippers interact with customers, it is easy to see who is in charge. The strippers choose which customers they interact with and any customer who touches a stripper without permission is removed from the premises immediately. The strippers are confident and comfortable walking around the club and talking to customers naked. 'Nudity is completely natural, why shouldn't we be nude? Men walk down Queen Street topless all the time and no-one ever makes a fuss about that!' Jade remarked.

The dressing rooms also reflect on the social hierarchy of the club. The strippers get a spacious, well-lit room with makeup desks and lockers. The men who work for the club as bouncers and DJs have a small room with a mirror and lockers. The waitresses and bartenders change in a narrow corridor that connects the laundry

room to the alcohol fridge. We leave our bags in the corridor and hope that no one steals anything out of them.

The hierarchies are also reflected in the way employees interact. My first attempts at talking to the strippers were mostly unsuccessful as they would just nod, ignore me or glare at me. They are more likely to talk to the bouncers and DJ, but I also witnessed some of the strippers scolding the DJ when he introduced them on stage wrong. None of the strippers - or any of the other employees - ever argued with Martin.

The strippers also work the fewest hours and choose when they work. They're allowed to lean and sit down in the club – something none of the other employees are permitted to do. Bouncers, DJs and bartenders typically work a full shift (6pm-6am) but are allowed to wear flat shoes whereas waitresses must wear stiletto heels of at least four inches in height and always work a full shift, with only a single 20 minute break. My feet are in agony from 10pm every night.

In New Zealand strip clubs, the fewer clothes a women wears, the greater her power is within the club. However on the streets it is a different story. Despite women having the same legal rights to appear in public topless, even wearing clothing that reveals 'too much' of her breasts, let alone going topless, lowers the respect people have for a women, as well as her power and even her ability to find a job. A topless man however loses no power and is a normal sight in the streets in summer. Even in the strip club though it is a man who holds the most power, though I do get the feeling that Martin could have commanded just as much respect had he been born a woman.

13. Implications of Breastfeeding Within Auckland

Zoe James

Since leaving Ruritania to reside in Auckland, New Zealand for a year I have been captivated by the cultural structures surrounding the act of a mother publicly breastfeeding her biological infant. Auckland is a highly developed city with a diverse range of ethnicities living amongst each other. During the month I have been submerged in what is often referred to as 'Kiwi culture', I have noticed many unspoken rules that determine what is considered socially acceptable for a woman to breastfeed in public. To publicly breastfeed is to feed an infant in open view of other members in society; this is often done discreetly by the mother. There is major pressure from within the parenting circles and from New Zealand health professionals for a mother to breastfeed. However, media portrays breasts predominantly with a sexual connotation, using the sexuality of women to create attention towards their advertisement and product. This sexual portrayal of women hugely affects society's perception of females' breasts.

During my stay in Auckland I have breastfed in public and have been subjected to the vulgar stares and comments from strangers suggesting that I should be breastfeeding out of the public eye at home and not in a public area. My young daughter and I were travelling on Auckland's most common form of public transport; while on the bus my infant was in need of milk. In Ruritania this would have be considered common practice to breastfeed a young infant in public. While I fed my daughter I was told by a member

of the public I should have fed my child before I got on the bus or once I got home. They went on to say if my daughter was in desperate need of milk, I should have packed a bottle of formula for the bus ride home.

One woman I met during in my stay in Auckland shared her experience of breastfeeding her baby in public. Jane was at a restaurant with her family and her young infant was hungry so she decided to breastfeed the child at the table where her and her family were eating. She was approached by a woman who told her that she was 'showing off her breasts for attention from males' and that her behaviour was 'revolting' and she 'should be ashamed of herself' for exposing her breasts in public. Jane went on to say the woman demanded an apology to her and her husband for baring her breasts while they were trying to eat their dinner. On another occasion Jane was approached by an elderly woman while breastfeeding in a park who congratulated her on her perseverance to breastfeed in public and told her if more women were as strong as her there would be less discrimination towards mothers feeding their infants in public. Jane informed me that this, however, was a one off. She shared that most of the attention she receives while breastfeeding is negative and makes her feel scrutinised.

There is huge pressure from New Zealand health professionals, including doctors and midwives, for mothers to breast feed their infants. This pressure is then echoed by other mothers who promote breastfeeding as the best option for your child. This creates a negative stigma towards mothers that bottle feed their infants with substitutes for breast milk, such as formula. The motto known throughout parenting circles is 'breast is best'. This

creates huge pressure for mothers to provide the best nutritional diet to avoid the critical judgment from other mothers and health professionals if they do not breastfeed. To facilitate ongoing breastfeeding, a mother must feed her infant often. A young infant may need to feed as often as once every three hours. Many mothers will be in situations where this feeding time will be in a location out of home, and at times, in public. While each mother feels pressure to breast feed, she is then subjected to some within society who impose their beliefs that breastfeeding in public is bad.

I have witnessed in Auckland a dominant theme in how women are portrayed in the media, and come to see how the norm representation of women's breasts is through advertising. Women are commonly objectified and sexualised in adverts, to attract attention to the advertisement, and susequently, the product. As a result women, and their breasts, have become a symbol of sexual desire. Breasts have become seen more as a men's 'plaything' than acknowledged for the actual biological function of providing sustenance for an infant.

Citizens of Auckland seem to have little issue with the objectification of women's breasts and accept breasts being displayed in such a graphic manner within adverts. This could well be a contributing factor as to why public breastfeeding is seen as visual pollution (Shore 2014a). A young man I met in my travels in Auckland told me, 'seeing a woman breast feed in public is like seeing a midget walk down the street. You want to look and stare but you know you should not'. This demonstrates to me that the public view of breastfeeding within Auckland has negative connotations. Illustrated from this is the fact that the act

of breastfeeding an infant in public is seen as matter out of place; therefore, it is not seen as the norm for a sector of society within Auckland (Shore 2014a). However, I have noticed a pattern of people who have breastfed their children who are more likely to feel comfortable with public breast feeding. These people are the select few that go out of their way to commend mothers who choose to publicly breastfeed.

During the brief amount of time I have resided in Auckland it is clear to me that mothers who choose to breastfeed face many social pressures. There are conflicting pressures a breastfeeding woman faces. Mothers will face pressure to breast feed their infant to provide the best nutritional start for their child from some areas of society. Even if a mother is able to succeed in breastfeeding, she is then in a position to be exposed to negative public scrutiny while breastfeeding in public areas. It is understandable to see why the negative connotation of breastfeeding has developed in a city like Auckland with the huge objectification of women and their breasts. Media portraying breasts as sexualised objects of desire will have a drastic impact on society's belief systems around women's breasts. It is natural for women to feel they should give their infant the best start possible; it is also perhaps understandable for some people in society to feel uncomfortable to witness a woman publicly breastfeed, especially if they have not been exposed to this in previous life experiences.

Figure 1. Mother and child. Courtesy of the author.

14. Dyke or Fag?

Creating a Safe Space for the Transgendered Youth of Auckland

Jonathan Henry Osborne

Nestled in a corner of a small plaza on Karangahape Road, a road that if mentioned to most Aucklanders they would go 'oh yeah, that one' due to its reputation as the city's red light district, is the Rainbow Youth Centre. Here on the walls of the center are messages of support and advice for the youth of Auckland's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community. Here is also a safe space for these people to be who they want to be, or find out who they are, through support groups, and away from the judgment of others. I have recently been attending one of the groups, Gender Identity Quest (GIQ), held for those who are transgendered. While here I have come to realise (and question) the importance of language; how and why language is such a fundamental key to making these group sessions a success and what labels mean to both the transgender and outside community. As a trans man (though biologically female, I identify as male) I feel this is a very important topic to discuss.

To understand the necessity of this group for the individuals who attend, one must first understand the struggles transgendered people face. As those who are transgender feel they are in the wrong biological body a large amount of gender dysphoria is common, meaning this person is almost always constantly self-consciously aware of their wrong and unnatural body, feeding into

both negative self-esteem and body image. To try and combat this, many transgendered people do their best to pass as the sex they identify with. For trans women this could mean stuffing a bra, while for trans men this could result in binding down the breasts. However for some this is still not enough and a medical transition is the only way to successfully transition, via the help of hormones (oestrogen for trans women and testosterone for trans men) and even reconstructive surgeries.

I arrived outside Rainbow Youth; it being my first time, I was not completely confident walking in to this new place, and it appeared that GIQ had already begun. Not wanting to disturb what was happening I settled for looking sheepishly through the window in order to attract someone's attention. Soon I was spotted by a member of the group, Joe (who I later found out was a facilitator of GIQ), who immediately jumped up to welcome me and invited me in. Once I had sat down and briefly greeted a number of other new faces, I was quickly asked my name and preferred gender pronouns. Unlike other experiences I have had with people who do not fully understand the concepts linked to being transgendered, telling the group at GIQ that I wished to be referred to as a 'he' and 'him' was met with smiles and acceptance, not questionable looks of trying to link who I said I was with what I physically look like. Then everyone else introduced themselves and their preferred pronouns for me to familiarise myself with.

During the next meeting I attended one individual came in, having recently arrived in New Zealand, who was obviously questioning who they were. While doing the pronoun round this person (Jay) said they were reluctant to assign themselves one,

not wanting to get everyone used to a certain pronoun in case they changed it to another at a later time. At this point another facilitator, Rosie, made it clear that Jay should not be worried about this at all, that the group would respect whatever they chose, nor were they worried if the terms of address changed at a later time (Jay soon afterwards chose to be addressed using gender neutral pronouns for the meantime). I myself was even talking about the importance of my male name, as I wish to have it legally changed in the future. While I go by the name Charlie for now, I would like (when I have begun taking testosterone) to possibly be referred to as Rupert or Nicholas. In that same meeting another member of the group, Cole, interjected that the best point for him when beginning to pass on a regular basis was when people would no longer yell 'dyke' at him, but 'fag' instead.

As the purpose of the group is to provide a place for people to either be who they are, or figure out who that is, to use the wrong pronouns would be considered a breach of etiquette and social taboo. If this rule (of which there appears to be few in GIQ) is repeatedly broken one may even be asked to leave. This is when I began to see the vital role of not only language in the form of pronouns and names in this group, but also in the form of labels from the outside world.

Society always exhibits the need to assign labels, making anything and everything easier to identify. However as many who are cisgendered (meaning someone whose gender matches how they were biologically born) have not experienced issues such as gender dysphoria, they are often not so understanding of the process involved in a transgendered individual finding their identity. This then gives the search for identity the appearance of

an anomaly to those who are already comfortable with who they are. If not fully understood this can even lead to nastiness, an example of which could be derogatory terms. While one would not usually appreciate being called either a dyke or a fag, for Cole the latter was still an improvement on the former, as he was now recognised as male, which for him is of paramount importance. At Rainbow Youth while Cole was describing this experience, we all laughed and joked about the incident, but it also illustrated to me how much of a safe and shielding environment the centre can be from the darker and less understanding sides of the world.

My experiences at GIQ has highlighted to me what a vital role language plays in the lives of Auckland's transgendered youth, in order to make them feel safe and accepted for who they are. It has also shown me the lack of understanding there is in wider society about the issues and problems those who are transgendered regularly face. However, the friends and ties I have made there so far give me hope, as many from the center are working on getting the community more positive attention and even fighting for transgendered rights in the political forum (again, language is always in use to achieve this). One day there may not even be a need for groups like GIQ; complete acceptance and a non-segregated society may be an inevitable at some point in our future.

15. Law of the Ladies Room

Margaret Strode

One Tuesday afternoon I went into a public ladies bathroom while passing time at Auckland University. It was a smaller, more hidden public bathroom on an upper floor of the Human Sciences Building. There were only two stalls, so I took the one that was swung open. I went about my business as I usual, but something felt strange. I felt that same feeling when you know someone is watching you, but you can't see anyone looking at you. To investigate, I bent over and looked under the stall. I saw two feet firmly pressed to the ground, not moving one bit. There was a girl in the stall next to me, but she was in complete silence. I couldn't even hear an indication that she was breathing.

She clearly didn't want to be bothered so I quickly flushed the toilet and washed my hands. As I was shuffling out, trying to get out unnoticed, I heard the dreaded 'plop' sound come from her stall. Again, she sat in utter silence. I couldn't even hear the sound of the shuffling of toilet paper or the sound of someone readjusting in the seat. I quickly fled, feeling embarrassed that I had clearly ruined a private moment in her day, and broken some type of girl code.

Later I asked my Kiwi girl friends what they thought about girls pooping in public bathroom stalls. At first they gave all gave me dirty looks, claiming it was taboo to talk about pooping. After some more prodding, they all shared that they would never want to poop while in the presence of another person. They too, would wait for everyone to clear out the bathroom before making a

sound. They also speculated that if they were in my situation they would have cleared out of the bathroom as soon as possible as to give the girl pooping more privacy.

Later I invited over two of my guy friends. It took me a few minutes to build up the courage to ask about the 'norms' for males pooping in public bathrooms. They told me, 'if you gotta poop, you gotta poop'. They both agreed they would not prefer pooping in a public stall, but no one's presence would affect whether or not they would go. They mentioned that guys burp and fart in front of each other with no problem.

The irony is that bathrooms are made for human waste. The bathrooms in New Zealand even include two buttons depending on what the user is flushing. Public bathrooms are a designated place for people to poop in. Women do poop in public bathrooms. It would be absurd to think that women only go at home because it would be extremely uncomfortable, and women would never be able to travel anywhere. Pooping in ladies' public bathrooms becomes taboo when other people are present. It's not the act of pooping that makes women uncomfortable, but the fact that other people know they are doing it. As the famous tee-shirt slogan says, 'girls don't poop'.

I believe it is taboo for girls to poop in public bathrooms, because pooping in front of other people pollutes the feminine space in the bathroom. Typically it is labeled 'masculine' behavior to burp, fart, or talk about one's poop. Women's restrooms literally have a picture of a woman with a skirt depicting that it is 'women's space'. Pooping is a biological fact that many women ignore. The stereotypical women's bathroom generally portrayed in

the media includes many women doing makeup and dolling up in front of the mirror. This has become the bathroom 'norm'. When I go into the bathroom I tend to see people redoing their makeup and fixing their hair. It has moved away from being practical, and moves towards being a lavish, feminine space.

Even amongst other girls, women do not want to show any signs of masculinity. Even speaking of pooping in public bathrooms makes me cringe a bit. After the awkward conversations I had with all of my friends about the topic, it seems that this taboo is very deeply ingrained in people's minds. Acting ladylike has become many women's *habitus*. People learn to be human, and learning masculine and feminine values start at a very young age. Many Kiwi girls I talked to about the topic agreed that it would be hard to imagine talking openly and comfortably about the subject of pooping.

Cross-culturally comparing these feminine values are the same. Burping, farting, and pooping are also considered masculine in Ruritania. I know this because my own experience examining the taboo of pooping in the bathroom makes me uncomfortable. I agree with what many of the Kiwis (native people of New Zealand) have said about the topic. I also spent about 20 years in America, and after speaking to some American friends, I would say all three countries have the same behavioural culture regarding women pooping in public bathrooms.

It is interesting to look at how women deal with two contradicting messages. On one hand, behavioural culture tells girls to be ladylike, which prohibits burping, farting or talking about poop. On the other hand, it is a normal biological function to poop,

and everyone does it. People can't control their bodily functions. Being 'lady like' can actually be physically uncomfortable.

In essence, the ladies, public bathrooms in New Zealand have some unspoken rules attached. The ideas regarding the behaviours expected in women are *habitus*, and therefore are second nature to the women of New Zealand (and arguably America and Ruritania). Women's bathrooms have become a lavish, feminised space. It would be out of the norm to be open about one's bodily functions in a ladies' room. Depending on the person, conversations about farting, pooping, and burping can be extremely uncomfortable. People will talk about the subject, but will usually not admit to doing it themselves. Admitting to any of these acts would be generally awkward and unladylike. Women are very private about these matters and everyone appears to like it that way.

16. Dressing up the Issue of Gender Inequality: Looking at Gender Inequality in Societal Standards for Clothing

Emily Stroup

It was a warm afternoon and I was sitting in the Information Commons[1] at university, trying to brainstorm an idea for the focus of my ethnography, when a girl sitting next to me at the table made a comment about a couple walking past. I looked up from my scrawled notes to find who she was referring to. The couple consisted of a man and a woman, both clearly dressed for the hot sunny weather outside. The man wore a loose-fitting, low-hanging singlet paired with a pair of mid-thigh shorts. The woman with him was wearing a close-fitting tank top and a pair of shorts that ended just above her fingertips. The comment had been aimed at the girl. 'Man, what is she wearing?' The girl at my table had asked. 'Doesn't she know she's in public?' This statement became the foundation on which my ethnographic study was formed. It was interesting that nothing had been said about what the man was wearing, despite the fact that he was showing off slightly more skin than his counterpart was. This ethnography will look at societal standards for 'appropriate' clothing and how people react when these expectations are not met, specifically examining how these standards and reactions vary between genders in modern Western society, and attempt to offer some insight into the gender inequality that seems to be at play in these instances.

1 Communal study space

I began my study the next day, observing people in the Information Commons and various other places around university which drew large crowds of students. After a few hours of casual behaviour observation and little applicable data, I decided to take my research a step further and move myself closer to a few conversation groups in the hopes that someone would make a comment similar to the girl in the Information Commons the previous afternoon. During my observation, I learned a few things. Firstly, women seem to be held to different standards of dress than men of the same age and occupation (in this case, student). Women would walk through the Quad[2] wearing low-cut tops and tight jeans and would be met with either distasteful stares, whispered comments, or in some more extreme circumstances, lewd remarks from the people around them. Conversely, a man could walk through the same area wearing skin-tight pants and a loose-fitting shirt that exposed a large portion of his chest and the presence of these reactions was largely diminished.

Secondly, a high percentage of people seemed to make judgments about a person based on their clothing choice. Yet this too seemed to have a severe gender bias, with women being called things like 'slut' and 'whore' and 'easy' or muttered conversations about 'women not valuing themselves enough' or 'women being unintelligent' being thrown around when women wore certain types of clothing with no real equivalent things being said about men who dressed similarly. One conversation I overheard involved a group of people discussing what type of degree they believed a certain girl to be capable of achieving based solely on how she was dressed. They decided based on the

2 Communal space at the centre of the university

fact that she was wearing a short skirt and knitted cardigan that she 'could only be taking an arts degree, probably one of those pretentious ones.' I happened to approach this girl later in the day and found out that she was actually studying law with an 8.0 GPA at the end of her second year, something that only a very small percentage of students at the University of Auckland are able to achieve. Yet when scrutinised by her peers solely based on what she was wearing, she was seen to possess a lower intellect and viewed as somewhat conceited. It is perhaps in human nature to try and discern things about people such as intelligence or personality based on appearance but what I found more and more of was the almost complete disregard of gender equality when it came to judging people.

Because of this, I decided to shift my focus to the reactions people had to female clothing choices in particular. Not only were there many more verbal comments made, both by men and women, about women who wore clothing which was deemed 'inappropriate' (this included tight pants, low-cut tops, tight shirts, short shorts, or anything which exposed any part of their stomach), but there also seemed to be an inordinate amount of non-verbal reactions as well. I observed curled lips, rolled eyes, and sneers, in addition to the somewhat verbal reaction of wolf-whistling. At one point, two girls wearing similarly 'inappropriate' clothing had visible non-verbal reactions to each other as they passed by. I found this curious. Were females simultaneously perpetuating societal standards for clothing while also breaking those same standards themselves?

These societal standards are set and supported in a plethora of ways. Modern Western society is saturated with mass media and popular culture, both of which are in turn saturated themselves

with images of what is expected of us to wear. Models, mannequins, and magazines show an impossible standard which we are left striving after, and since we are unable to look as digitally manipulated as the images we are shown, we are seen as falling short of society's expectations for appearance. Yet this did not seem to line up with all of the behaviour I was seeing. What I was observing, in both verbal and non-verbal behaviour, seemed to illustrate yet another facet of gender inequality. Not only in the fact that males seemed to be held to different societal standards than females in their choices of clothing, but also in the fact that females were turned against themselves and set into a pattern of judging each other while wearing things that would in turn make other females judge them. The score sat at: males, having very little judgment by others on appearance, females being, sometimes quite harshly, judged by both genders on appearance. If the only force at play in this equation was the influence of popular culture and media expectations, should we not predict the societal expectations for both men and women to be equal? This was not the case, however, and demonstrates that we must look at this more critically in order to understand what other factors are involved.

Unfortunately, in situations like this, there are generally a large number of influencing issues to take into consideration when trying to discern why there is gender inequality in the standards of clothing and appearance people are held to in society. Historical beliefs that a woman's place is to be attractive but not intelligent may be partially carried over into the present, through ideas that women should be more responsible for how they look than men. This could account for some of the inequality. Opinions

that women are 'the fairer sex' and should consequently look more delicate and put together and are therefore held to higher standards when it comes to appearance may also be part of this situation. This raises another question: While these factors might be at play in modern Western society, do they also similarly affect other types of cultures? Are cultures that already have a large gender inequality more susceptible to gender bias in judging appearance? Do societies that do not have such a reliance on mass media experience less dependence on socially defined expectations of clothing? The reactions to clothing choices that I observed throughout university help to illustrate the fact that despite New Zealand being a modern Western society that strives towards gender equality, we have yet to reach the goal.

17. Gender-roles in a Dental Clinic Context

Shermaine Jia Min Au

In every society, there are power differentials between individuals. There isn't a society where every individual possesses exactly the same rights and obligations. Social inequality and difference is a widespread phenomenon. One such inequality often discussed is gender. Gender differences are socially constructed and institutionalised. Every society constructs differences between males and females, and acknowledges these differences to be significant to some extent. Thus my ethnography will focus on gendered occupational roles in a dental clinic context.

Pushing through a wide glass door I step into a spacious room furnished with teal colored chairs, and wooden tables dressed in piles of magazines. I am instantly greeted with a warm smile by one of the receptionists. Letting them know of my appointment, she sweetly replies 'lovely, please take a seat'. The waiting room is clean and paintings of scenic trees are framed by white walls.

The two front desk ladies continue with their office duties, making and answering calls; all customers are politely greeted and asked about their wellbeing. Warm tones characterise the receptionists' voices as they speak gently into the receiver - 'Oh dear, that must have been awful... Give my best to Margaret will you' - and take time to show concern for each recipient on the other end of the line.

Both ladies are dressed in crisp short-sleeved business shirts and black skirts over stockings. One of them has her blonde hair

down, not a curl out of place and kept neatly. The other has her brunette hair short and brushed straight. Their faces polished with flints of makeup accentuating their features.

Soft music plays in the background to calm nervous patients. The male dentist suddenly appears, and approaches the brunette receptionist typing frantically on her computer. 'Could you pull up the inquiry that I sent to you yesterday.' Although clearly interrupted from her task, she conforms to his request, bringing up the documents onto the screen. She patiently waits for his departure before resuming her task. He is clearly the person in charge.

Finally, I am summoned by the male dentist. Looking in his late 50s, wrinkles filled with experience and a balding hair line, he politely welcomes me to the room; but his tone is cold unlike the two ladies at the front. His room is sterile-looking, metal instruments and crane-like structures surround a centerpiece chair. The female dental assistant inside greets me with a kind smile. She has her hair tied up, is make-up free and wears black pants. Her neat uniform is identical to the male dentist's except for its colour. While the male dentist's uniform is green, the assistant's is purple-pink.

As the male dentist scrutinises my teeth the assistant stands nearby waiting on his commands. 'Pliers please', he dictates with his palm wide open. She searches the drawers, and places pliers carefully in his gloved hand.

After thirty minutes he is finished with my mouth. The kind assistant attends to the post- treatment. 'Would you like some water to rinse...here's a tissue?' The male dentist leaves the room. In the absence of her employer, the assistant engages in

conversation with me; she asks about my work, my holidays, difficulties with maintaining teeth cleanliness, and the time she walked bare foot on the burning Piha black sands. When the dentist returns, the assistant finishes her sentence and falls silent. The room is still for a few seconds before he shares with me the uninteresting prospects of my teeth.

From this observation, we can see that jobs at a dental clinic are distributed differently between the sexes. The females tend to have jobs that involve caring for others. This is evidenced by such acts as the receptionist asking clients how they've been and the dental assistant asking whether patients would like water to rinse. We can also see that the female role involves submitting to a higher male authority. The dental assistant fetches the pliers when asked, and falls silent when the male dentist enters. The female employees know their place - one that is below the male figure. They conform to his request even if that means sacrificing time from their current pursuits to fulfill it. For example, the assistant obeys him even though it interrupts her task. The female work life revolves around the male dentist.

The male dentist is the head of the clinic. His duties involve delegating tasks for lower-ranking female workers to execute, for example, when he requests pliers, he expects pliers to be fetched.

Stereotypical traits generally describe females as 'taking care' of people while describing males as 'taking charge'. Gender stereotypes assign characteristics like sensitivity and emotionality to females, while assigning characteristics like aggression and rationality to males. Female stereotypes are recognised as less critical to leadership. Thus females are often assessed less

positively than males for leader-type roles; and more positively in service roles entailing female subordination to male positions.

However gender inequality is not always undesirable. Eriksen (2010) suggests that it shouldn't be equal but instead complementary. As women stereotypically possess greater emotional intelligence than men, they are strategically placed at the forefront of the company (the receptionist), to network and retain existing customers by forming meaningful relationships. Women are also stereotypically more harmony-oriented, thus more suited in an assistant role-that entails constantly taking orders by a superior. As men are stereotypically more aggressive and individualistic they are better suited as leaders than as assistants or receptionists. Thus these stereotypical roles complement one another to facilitate an environment that minimises conflict and optimises productivity.

Moreover, clothing serves as a powerful symbol, a mental cue in determining one's gender, authority, and occupation. For example, the female assistant uniform is pink-purple perhaps to symbolise her femininity; men wear green to symbolise their medical/dental expertise (surgical scrubs are often green). The difference in colours may also signify differences in status in a patriarchal hierarchy where males rule because of their expertise and require females' submission because of their caring qualities.

Even within each gender, differences in dressing have symbolic meaning. While the female receptionist wears skirts, the female dentist assistant wears pants. As the receptionist is at the forefront of the firm, where first impressions are made, she has a greater obligation to adhere to female-stereotypical norms (applying

makeup, wearing skirts, letting her hair down), as customers and the general public are generally more trusting of people who conform to norms than those who deviate from them. Conformity may not apply to the same extent to the assistant, who is hidden from first impressionable judgments made by prying new customers seeking information.

In many societies, women are overrepresented in public-service roles and males in leadership positions. This was obvious at the dental clinic I visited. However, this patriarchal relationship between gendered occupational roles is not always undesirable and negative. In some cases they serve to work for, rather than against, a harmonious productive world devoid of conflicting personalities and attitudes. Moreover, we can see that clothes/uniforms are symbols that help to reinforce gender stereotypical expectations. These dress codes may be used to capitalise on peoples' trust of gender-stereotypical norms. That also serves to reinforce their gender-stereotypical beliefs of the type of clothing females and males should be wearing. Gender roles continue to be an interesting social construct that transcends time and national borders.

Part Three

Auckland and its Others: Ethnicity and Diversity

18. Mormons vs. Society: The Irony of Hypocrisy

Anne Purdie

I have never been a church-going person despite the influence of my family. In fact, I have somewhat resented religion for the wars and conflicts it has created in the world. People's compelling loyalty and faith to their own particular religion sparks conflicts of indifference and as a result, throughout history it seems, whole communities have been ostracised or persecuted solely because they believe in something different.

Since moving to Auckland seven weeks ago I have started living with some friends who are all devoted Mormons. Mormons belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The church is broken up into wards, and every Sunday members attend the ward designated to the area in which they live. My prior knowledge of Mormons and their Church was very little, consisting of only what I had heard either from friends, family, and movies or from generalisations and stereotypes. Personally, I always thought that Mormons were very strange and strict people who viewed themselves separately to the rest of the world. Whenever I would think about Mormons, words and ideas around Utah, polygamy and floor length skirts would pop into my mind. Regardless of whether these views were accurate or just naïve, this is a common perception held not only by myself but also by many other members of society.

Because of my uneducated perceptions and the increased presence of Mormons around me, I saw an opportunity to find out for myself what a service at a Mormon church was really like. I was particularly interested in how members would respond to my presence, as a non-member, at the service. I hoped to embark on participant observation, with the aim of entering as deeply as possible into the social and cultural field that is the Mormon Church.

Every Sunday over the past seven weeks, I have attended church with my flatmates and in doing so I have come to learn a little bit about their practices, routines and beliefs. Their primary worship service is called a Sacrament meeting. The service is held every Sunday in their chapels and is approximately seventy minutes long. Preparing for church takes time; boys dress in a suit and tie, with a white shirt and black pants. Girls on the other hand must dress modestly, in dresses or skirts covering their shoulders, backs, and cleavage as well as hem lines reaching the knee. The first time I attended with my flatmates, I found I owned nothing that was modest enough so I had to borrow an appropriate dress from my friend, with a hem line that fell to my knees. This was completely foreign to me.

The ward I attended began at one o'clock, which was a surprising change compared to any other service I had previously attended. Before Sacrament, the meeting where members renew their baptism or covenants, an opening hymn and prayer is carried out amongst the congregation. Following this, the Ward Bishop makes some opening remarks, announcing any notices or Ward business. I noticed that they didn't pass a plate around and ask for donations throughout the service. The congregation then sings the

Sacrament hymn, during which the Priests, young men between sixteen to eighteen years of age, break the bread in preparation for the Sacrament. The Sacrament prayer is then performed, allowing the Priests to bless the bread and water. The Deacons, young men aged twelve to thirteen, and Priests administer the Sacrament whist the congregation remains reverent and relatively quiet. As I look around the room, I notice the seriousness and importance members hold towards this ritual. Many of the members, particularly the elders and missionaries have their heads bowed in what I believe to be personal reflections. For the members, the partaking of the Sacrament is a process where covenants are renewed, and where those individuals who wish to do so, take the prepared bread and water in remembrance of the sacrifice made by Jesus, who atoned for their sins.

Any two members then have the opportunity to stand before the congregation and speak on an inspired topic or on a theme unique to that week. This occurs ritually every week at the same time, with the exception of fast Sundays where members have the opportunity to stand up and bear their personal testimonies instead. The congregation then sings an interlude hymn, prior to the third and final speech. The service then starts to conclude with the Bishop giving the closing remarks, followed by a closing hymn and finally a closing prayer.

The period after the Sacrament service consisted of what I believe to be a time of salutation, where members engaged into conversations with each other. During this time, my flatmates and I, being new to the Ward quickly stuck out as fresh faces. We were instantly approached by three ladies, one after the other. Despite having never met us, each lady greeted us with a hug and a kiss,

introducing themselves then inquiring about us. We were asked not only our names, but where we were from, what we were doing in Auckland and even where we lived. Initially, I expected to be asked whether I was a member or not at the outset, however this did not happen till the end of the conversation. When she did inquire about my status in the Church, my flatmate stepped in and introduced herself as 'a member - new to this ward', and me as 'non-member'. This left me feeling vulnerable and nervous for her reaction to my label, however her response was oddly joyful and she continued to embrace us. This occurred pretty similarly with each of the three ladies. I was also greeted by a few of the missionaries and young men of the congregation. To my surprise, this simple salutation ritual, held every Sunday following the sacrament meeting, began to undermine and dissolve all of the misconceptions I had previously held towards Mormons.

Sunday school was carried out following the Sacrament meeting. The church splits up and for the first hour the kids under 12 attend primary class and nursery, members under the age of eighteen attend youth, and members between the ages of eighteen and thirty attend Young Single Adults ('YSA'). Older members attend Temple class, which teaches and prepares for the Temple, or Gospel Doctrine. The second hour is then divided by gender, with all the women of the congregation attending Relief Society and all the men attending Priesthood.

When I first started attending, I felt uncomfortable, like an outsider or intruder. Despite my own assumptions, following the service I can honestly say I have never been more kissed and hugged in my life. When I embarked on the Mormon Church as my ethnographic topic, I expected to be acknowledged as

an outsider and subjected to the awkwardness and discomfort throughout the service that came along with that label. Like many people in society, I held judgements and preconceptions against the Mormons and their church, despite not having attended a service. However through partaking in and observing the ritual of the Sacrament meeting and Sunday school for the last seven weeks, I was given the opportunity to see for myself whether these perceptions society held towards Mormons were accurate.

Through this fieldwork I aimed to achieve insights into both an emic perspective (i.e. intrinsic distinctions that are meaningful to members of a group), and an etic perspective, (i.e. those categories that are meaningful for researchers). I believe my own personal misconceptions and that of society stem from the very basic 'us' and 'them' dualisms, which divide society and create barriers or conflicts. Because I didn't understand or know what Mormons believe or practice, I chose to take the societal stereotypes as fact. However, having attended the Sacrament meeting and Sunday schools for seven weeks now, I have dismissed these stereotypes. Despite popular beliefs, I have found Mormons not at all snobbish or resentful towards people who are not members of their faith.

In fact, I was greeted in a completely non-judgmental way and after interviewing a couple of the members and listening to the speakers, I learnt that embracing non-members was a fundamental aspect of their faith. As one member put it to me: 'Our main purpose as members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is to teach and preach the gospel unto all. So when I see visitors or unfamiliar faces, I feel joy because in my eyes that is like another soul coming into the fold which we

refer to as the Gospel. When we have visitors it is our chance to hasten the work of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by making them feel welcome and like a Member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at peace.' I learned that very often what we take as truth are simply society's stereotypes. Our society seems to be guilty of the same prejudice and discrimination that it accuses Mormons of.

19. The Avondale Sunday Market as a Space for Cultural Exchange

Kerry Mills

Every Sunday, the space that is otherwise defined as the Avondale Racecourse transforms into the Avondale Sunday Market. Between the hours of 7am until 1pm, a flow of market-goers streams across the road and along the footpaths leading to and from the marketplace entrance on Ash Street, Avondale. These market-goers are remarkable in that they predominantly represent immigrant ethnic groups. During my first visit to this market, I explore the Avondale Sunday Market as a space for cultural exchange for these ethnic groups.

As I merge with the stream of market-goers, many of whom arrive in small groups of family and neighbours, the Asian market-goers wheeling tartan shopping trundlers, I am conscious of my state of otherness. Within the social milieu of mainly Asian market-goers, and a number of Pacific Islander groups, I represent an ethnic minority. On the grass verge near the market entrance, a Chinese man carefully lays out his stall - two pairs of running shoes, a trundler and small bags of home grown beans, propping his bicycle against the nearby fence. Further along, a couple display a bundle of the free uncensored Chinese newspaper, The Epoch Times, from their bicycle basket. They greet my inquiry about the newspaper with enthusiastic smiles and gestures, and a stream of utterances which sound nonsensical to me. At most stalls, my attempts at conversation are met with either blank expressions, complete disregard for my presence, or overzealous

enthusiasm to meet my inquiry; many market-goers and stall owners here speak little or no English.

A native New Zealand stall owner and his Thai immigrant wife sell vegetables from their Helensville gardens. 'We are here every Sunday and we see the same faces every week, the same stall owners, the same shoppers.' So what draws market-goers back here every Sunday? As a marketplace, the Avondale Sunday Market is most overtly a space for economic exchange. As one Fijian Indian stall owner explains to me, rubbing his forefinger and thumb together in the universal gesture of money, 'We sell here because we can cut out the middleman.' If economics is a factor for stall owners, does this translate to cheaper produce for market-goers? A Malaysian stall owner sweeps his upturned palm over packet products laid out on a trestle. 'Our coffee, imported directly from Malaysia. Customers come back each week, some buy one packet, some buy whole box. Very good price.' he explains, pointing over his shoulder to the cartons stacked in the back of his parked van, which acts as a supply bay on market-day. Perusal of price tags displayed on produce cartons does indicate lower prices when compared with supermarket chains. With direct importing of products by stall owners, this market may offer access to products at lower prices, as well as maintenance of transnational economic relationships between immigrant sellers and their homeland.

Whilst a trickle of browsers sidles along the bric-a-brac stalls and car-boot sales, the throng of the market weaves between the fresh produce stalls. Jostling in the warm air of the crowd and the pungent aroma of freshly picked chillies, the vibrancy of colour and aroma of fresh produce is palpable. I ask a Fijian Indian

woman stall owner about her bounty. 'We import directly from Fiji every second day. Everything you see here today arrived at the airport this morning. It's all very fresh.' she announces proudly, her sari-covered arm casting over her goods. At a nearby stall, a young Tongan boy perches in the open door of a van parked in the cool shade of a tree, ethnic Hawaiian guitar music pours from the speakers while out front, family members display taro and fresh coconuts. As I cradle a coconut in my hand, sloshing the fresh milk inside, a Rarotongan woman shopping beside me beams a gap-toothed smile, nostalgically sighing, 'Very fresh coconut.' Market-goers may be drawn to fresh, inexpensive produce which connects them with their country of origin.

Some of the produce at this market differs from what I would find at my local greengrocer, yet these stalls are buzzing with activity. A Chinese woman sells long twisty beans like overgrown fingernails, large white turnips and freshly fallen chestnuts. Further along, the pungent aroma of warm earth wafts from crates of brown fungi in many shapes. It seems that people come here to source produce which they identify as culturally significant. Anderson (2005:125) defines food as a social marker of cultural identity, which connects us with our concept of home. Consumption of fresh produce which has just arrived from the airport that morning, or the coconut cut from the palm only hours ago, conceivably offers immigrant people a tangible continuity with their homeland. Ray (2004:132) describes the practice of food which connects people to their homeland and for this reason '… immigrants crave some of the distinctive products of their homeland.' For many market-goers, market produce is a memory of home, a whisper on the nostalgic sigh of the woman

at the coconut stall. As such market produce becomes a cultural signifier connecting people to their homeland.

As I move amongst the market-goers, I sense the predictable rhythm of their movement of arrival, shopping and departure. The act of market-going is inscribed in the *habitus* of many of the immigrant groups who frequent this market. The Sunday ritual of market-going may be a signifying social practice which provides continuity with an aspect of a known way of life from their country of origin. Furthermore, market-going is a social practice that differs from the dominant modality of shopping in suburban Auckland. On that basis, the marketplace may provide a space for the affirmation of ethnic identities that are culturally distinctive from the dominant culture.

Immersed in the heady cultural sway of the produce stalls, I observe that market-goers appear more likely to shop from stall owners from their own ethnic group. The market is a place where immigrant groups share greetings, language and cultural exchanges. As such, the marketplace may provide a space for the enactment of ethnic networks, as described by Handelman (1998). Near the market gateway, two women park their trundlers to pause and exchange convivial conversation. Strolling back to my parked car, my shoulder bag now laden with leafy produce, I pass an Indian family of two young boys and their father selling bagged feijoas from their backyard fence. While market-goers of other ethnicities walk by, an Indian man stops to purchase a small bag. For a moment, the fence which divides their backyard from the public footpath melts to become an extension of the market down the road. Their brief exchange of greetings, shared language and the exchange of a bag of feijoas for coins, seems to affirm

their social connection within a wider ethnic network, arising from the human need for social belonging.

Anderson (2005:201) observes the connection between food and ethnic identity, stating that '… ethnic groups are characterised by, and often defined by, their foodways.' For immigrant ethnic groups living in Auckland, the social practice of market-going connects people with their ethnic foodways. This market offers more than access to fresh produce reminiscent of the homeland. In the context of increasing cultural diversity within polyethnic Auckland city, the Avondale Sunday Market provides a space for the enactment of ethnic networks through cultural exchange, thereby affirming ethnic identity and facilitating a sense of social belonging.

20. Daddy, I Want Another Pony: The Changing Face of Wealth in Show Jumping

Rita Estelle Wakefield

I don't think it would come as a surprise to anyone if the first response to admitting you're a show jumper is, 'Oh, so you're rich'. How many sports have events with names like Gucci Masters or The Cartier World Cup? The equestrian scene is undoubtedly historically steeped in wealth and opulence. Racing has long been touted as the 'sport of kings'; while polo is notoriously synonymous with the likes of those who attend Oxford, winter in Biarritz and summer in Windsor. Consequently, it presents an interesting area to study in regards to the societies' classification of wealth and status. So naturally I jumped at the chance to get a glimpse of this enigmatic world courtesy of a woman I had recently met in Auckland called Lex.

I arrived at the show, which was being held over the entire weekend at a large, purpose built equestrian center in one of the far corners of Auckland, just in time to catch Lex before her big class. She was competing in the Grand Prix, the highest and most prestigious class in New Zealand show jumping, reserved for elite-level riders. Immediately I felt as if my prior suspicions about show jumping were being confirmed as I was greeted by Lex's horse truck and the immaculate animal tied to it. Yet Lex waved her hand pointedly in the general direction of the truck, obviously noting my likely comically dumbfounded face.

'It's far from the nicest truck in the world, but it does the job,' she proclaims, 'I've only just managed to buy it this season.'

The vehicle in question was easily the biggest thing on four wheels I had ever seen and would certainly dwarf anything we had in Ruritania. With a full kitchen, space to sleep four adults, TV and room for three horses in the back I struggled to understand how anything could be 'nicer'. But looking around at the gleaming vehicles surrounding it I realised she was right. Many of them could transport six plus horses and the living area had extendable parts called 'pop outs' on the sides to further increase living space, as well as bathrooms and a whole host of other luxuries.

'They're houses on wheels and a lot of them cost more than most people's houses, but they're a necessary evil.' Lex informs me as she dons an expensive looking jacket and mounts up.

As I stand at the side of the warm-up arena gazing in awe as the riders performing an intricate dance around one another, conscious of the limited space I note that most of the other riders seemed a lot younger than Lex and were being aided by a formidable support crew consisting of private grooms and coaches. A number of them appeared to have multiple horses all decked out in gorgeous matching gear. One girl sporting a crystal accented helmet, who looked not much older than 19 and with a team of almost the same number, stood out in particular. I waved Lex over and enquired about her as she entered the competition ring.

'That's Camilla,' she shrugs dismissively, 'Her family has more money than sense…'

She's interrupted by an almighty crash coming from the arena and we jerk our heads up just in time to catch Camilla landing an unplanned dismount at the first jump, the horse awkwardly picking his way through the scattered poles. A collective gasp emanates from the crowd.

'I think we can all guess where he's going,' the woman beside me whispers, miming a can opening motion. Her companion covers her smile. I turned to Lex shocked. She responds with a sigh, 'The ultimate goal is to win. That horse came from Germany and if he doesn't deliver, he's not worth the hassle for those types.'

From the corner of my eye I see the scarlet-faced rider, storming over to her support crew, who clamour around her, nervously offering condolences. The shamed horse's reins are tossed to someone, anyone, before she vaults onto one of three waiting steeds. She rides off without even so much as a glance over her shoulder.

Lex ends up placing sixth in the class and she informs me that she is pleased with the result as her horse is new to this level of competition and she produced him herself over the last five years.

'He wasn't much to look at when I first got him, but he has a big heart and that was all I could afford at the time. He means the world to me and that's what really counts.' She smiles fondly at the animal and tickles his nose. She's also not bothered by Camilla winning both first and second or by any of the placing recipients.

'Won't stop me from doing it all again next weekend. The work never ends!' Lex laughs and I can't help but admire her stoicism.

As I drove away from Lex late that evening, I began to ponder all that had transpired over the course of the day. I had come in

to the day somewhat expecting to see overt displays of wealth, perhaps everyone gathering together at the end of the day to share champagne and caviar, united in their sameness. Instead I found a far more complex and divided, self-constructed hierarchal system amongst the riders. The complexity lay in my discovery through Lex that many of the top level riders weren't inherently wealthy, instead a surprisingly large number of them came from humble backgrounds. Their current social standing within the show jumping community and economic status was the result of decades of exceedingly hard work combined with an apparent element of luck. Furthermore, they relied on a carefully constructed public image with the use of subtle symbolism in order to assimilate particularly with the brands of gear they used and clothing they chose to wear. Such as was the case with Lex and her expensive Animo jacket that was, by her own admission, just for show and was really no better than something she could have bought for half the price.

Yet it was also clear to me that there was the beginning of a marked shift in class origins and the values of the elite competitors. It seemed now that numerous riders had been able to move up 'through the grades', as Lex called it, far quicker than their predecessors and were reaching the elite level by comparatively far younger ages. Though generally these young men and women were undoubtedly very good riders and certainly still had to possess all the mental and emotional qualities of an elite athlete, they were also backed by the historical guarantee of success in this sport. Money. It seems that now, riders who had the desire to win and were lucky enough to come from families already possessing considerable wealth, could simply buy their

way to the top. These riders could easily seek and enlist the best coaching, training facilities, and most importantly, horses, with many resorting to importing them to ensure they got the best. These horses are generally already competing at an elite level and require no further training from their new jockeys, meaning almost as soon as they are hooves down in New Zealand they can go straight out at the elite level with a fraction the usual time and effort. Meanwhile, their less privileged peers are relegated to spending years producing their horse from zero to hero. It seemed to me that the skill factor had been largely been diminished and now the greatest value was placed in the win itself as opposed to how it was achieved. The wealthy minority encompasses a huge sector of the competitors, and therefore the economies of show jumping continually played a disproportionate role in influencing all aspects of the sport.

This interesting change in the dynamic suggests that class and social status likely play an even greater role in show jumping than it ever has done in the past. While from my etic perspective this struck me as totally unfair and I was constantly on the brink of asking why they didn't introduce rules to prevent it, I realised that to Lex and her kind, these disparities and the extreme economic demands of show jumping had been normalised and internalised to the point where they had become part of her *habitus*. This group had been enculturated into these values and expectations and didn't see it as anything unusual; instead, it had become an expected social norm. Those who didn't come from money entirely accepted that they would consistently be somewhat disadvantaged but still continued to compete and relished in the feeling of success and accomplishment they received from putting in the effort and achieving.

I felt that so much of what I saw at the show jumping event mimicked the trend of increased economic polarisation in wider New Zealand society and it is all too clear that neither have plans to makes moves towards more evenhanded systems any time soon. This is a reflection of both groups' increasing enculturation into the norms and values of money, to wealth and status.

21. Understanding the Localisation of Chinese Ethnic Cuisine

Ling Ye

Auckland, I've found, is a city of multiple ethnicities. It is hard to find yourself walking in central Auckland for more than a few minutes without coming across a variety of people of different ethnicities. To this end, restaurants in Auckland are equally multicultural, catering for the growing number of different ethnicities within Auckland. Although ethnic food is a global phenomenon shared by restaurants worldwide, I decided to observe how Auckland's ethnic restaurants are localised to accommodate the locals.

Walking along the city on a chilly Auckland night, I came across Queen Street, a street buzzing with restaurants of all kinds, reflecting the wide range of different languages and cultures in the city. The restaurant I was drawn to specialised in Chinese ethnic cuisine, and is called Taste of China.

As I walked in, I was immediately struck by the décor and feel of the restaurant. The restaurant itself was relatively small, with a simple colour scheme of red and black – traditional Chinese colours. Its layout was separated into booths that could seat as many as 10 people or as few as two. Black bamboo ran up the walls and intricate Asian style patterned walls served both as décor and a separator for the booths. Soft Chinese music whispered over the room, adding to the sense of authenticity of the restaurant. The lack of anything remotely related to

Auckland tradition told me I wasn't on Queen Street anymore; instead I felt as though I was transported into a traditional small restaurant in China.

Despite its high-class interior, the customers at Taste of China all looked like they came from middle class socioeconomic backgrounds. During my stay, the hostess at the door did not seem to turn down anyone based on race or attire. Most of the customers were Asian - the very few Caucasians sat with their Asian companions. Scanning the room, I could identify families, couples on dates, and large groups of friends among the customers that patronised this restaurant. No business looking meetings were held here – Taste of China seemed to cater for occasions of the more intimate relations.

As the waitress approached a Caucasian customer, I observed the extra care she took in assisting with the customer's order. I overheard her say, 'would you like to eat with a knife and fork?' and 'Do you need any special recommendations on what to order?' This, I perceived, was also an extra step taken to accommodate locals. I, however, was given no such special treatment, which reinforces the restaurant's direct hybridisation of its ethnic culture to suit local needs. When I asked the waitress why she took such care with the Caucasian customer, she told that from years of working experience, those are the types of questions customers not of Asian ethnicity tend to ask more. This emic perspective reinforced my initial hypothesis. It seems that although Chinese cuisine is a global culture phenomenon, when it is translated into a local setting, it must be interpreted locally.

Looking at the menu, I found that the dish names further added to the authenticity of the whole dining experience. Names such as 'Chinese Crab' and 'Shanghai Pot-au-feu Soup' give the food its personality, telling the customer that you are eating the 'real deal'. However, this is also where I noticed the hybridisation and localisation of ethnic foods. Taste of China deliberately adapts its menu to shape the locals' perceptions of Chinese authenticity. This can be seen in its use of pictures so that locals who are unfamiliar with Chinese culture can get a sense of what they're ordering. The symbol of a red pepper next to a dish name indicates to the local the intensity of the dishes' spiciness. Also, simple globally recognised dishes are renamed. For example, the pancake is named 'Chinese pancake', and buffalo wings 'Chinese buffalo wings'. The vegetarian section also caters for Aucklanders who have particular dietary requirements. Taste of China, therefore, not only provides an authentic dining experience for locals, but by mixing traditional ethnic foods with adaptations to Auckland culture it will make customers feel more at ease with the uncomfortable.

Certain aspects of the décor are also hybridised to accommodate to the locals. Large, oversized canvas art is hung on the walls displaying traditional Chinese painting, a constant reminder to the locals of the authenticity Taste of China is offering. Other symbols associated with China can be easily recognised too. The Lucky Cat sits prettily next to the cash register, the waitress tells me that it attracts wealth and protection for the restaurant. Utensils such as knives and forks are readily available to locals less accustomed to using chopsticks, despite being their traditional utensils used when dining. On the windows are advertisements targeting the upcoming Easter holiday specials. This does not fall

into the classification of traditional Chinese rituals. Classification is the process of assigning a thing to a particular category, and Easter, or any Christian holiday for that matter, is not celebrated in China as it is officially an atheist state. Amidst the exotic cultural decorations in the restaurant, small but significant things stand apart as anomalies so that locals are able to still feel attached to the recognisable aspects of their surroundings while simultaneously maintaining the perception of enjoying an exotic, authentic Chinese dining experience.

In localising and hybridising its food and interior, Taste of China is able to create authenticity for customers who appreciate the exotic. It is this aura of exoticness that encourages customers to adapt their mannerisms according to their dining experience in ways that they would not normally display in a more local restaurant setting. I can identify the slight reserved body language of the few Caucasian customers looking to their Asian friends for signs of normal behaviour in the restaurant. Asian friend picks up chopsticks, white friend picks up chopsticks. The former dips their dumplings in soy sauce, while the latter does the exact same thing. The roles could be reversed if they were in, say, the Italian restaurant just down the road.

This was particularly interesting. Globalisation has simultaneously made our world smaller and larger. Our world has become smaller as Asians are able to sustain part of their culture by choosing to eat at restaurants of the same ethnic food group. Our world has also become larger as locals who are not accustomed to their surroundings in a different ethnic setting can easily recognise their differences. From my observations at Taste of China, I was able to identify the mechanisms that the

restaurant used to bring hybridisation and localisation to an otherwise authentic dining experience. The restaurant combines local adaptation in food and décor to create an environment which seems to combine an authentic traditional Chinese style with the trappings of a more globally recognised one. At the same time, the locals seemed satisfied with its authenticity and exoticness and were at ease with the sense of unfamiliarity that comes with dining at an ethnic cuisine.

I know that I certainly was.

Figure 2. Inside the Taste of China restaurant. Courtesy of the author.

22. Skating Culture at Victoria Park

Campbell Guy

One of the most prominent teenage subcultures in New Zealand is the skateboarder culture which has been a dominant trend for the last few years. I have spent my time studying the imponderabilia and social interaction in skate parks, in particular Victoria Skate Park, with the help of various interviewees. All societies and cultures have their own rituals and social norms which people must abide by, and Victoria Skate Park is no exception. The term norm refers to the common guidelines or invisible rules about expected behaviour which are enforced or just followed by tacit consent (Eriksen 2010). Other prevalent anthropological concepts which are visible within this subculture seem to be hierarchy, rituals and taboo. I was initially unaware of the importance of these concepts to the skaters but hoped to find out through my fieldwork. For convenience I will refer to BMX bikers, skateboarders and scooter riders all as skaters throughout this ethnographic account.

Victoria Skate Park is located close to the centre of Auckland city at the side of Victoria Park under the motorway. It has various concrete pools (called bowls) as well as a half pipe and a flat concrete run. The smooth concrete of the new skate park along with its convenient location in the city has resulted in popular usage of these facilities. Due to the abundance of facilities the new skate park attracts a variety of different users such as scooter riders, BMXers and skaters of all levels. This has led to a unique interaction between age groups and sectors of society.

From the outside the skate park may look like kids aimlessly going back and forth most of the time but beneath that there is a system in place. This is in order to allow 50 or more people to use the facilities without bumping into each other. Skaters and bikers usually wait in lines next to the section that they want to use and take turns going through it instead of all going in at different sides and risk bumping into each other. For example a skater would drop into a bowl (basically an empty pool) and carve around it trying any tricks they want until they fail (which doesn't take long) then the next in line would drop in. I also learnt the hard way that anyone who is waiting or watching shouldn't go near the pool as it affects the skater's ability to drop out. Sitting and stopping at the side of the bowl will also get you reprimanded usually by one of the senior skaters. These rules are widely abided by the majority of the users of the skate park without much enforcement and are considered essential social norms by regular users of the park.

The term 'snakes' is used to describe someone who cuts another person off and is seen as one of the most taboo actions in this environment, as a skater could have been waiting for a long time for a turn to skate his line. Snaking someone could also result in serious injury as well as disrupting the routine. I noted a widespread resentment between certain factions within the skate park society on this issue.

Me: Why do you keep calling those kids over there scooter fags?

Luke (Biker): They're fuckin' snakes and keep jumping into my line... I almost rammed right into one before.

Me: So they're breaking certain skate park etiquette by doing that?

Luke: Like everyone else knows not to cut into someone else's line but they do it anyway...

This blatant disregard for the rules by scooter riders has led to almost a blind hatred of anyone on a scooter by many of the other users of the park.

Another interesting observation is the strong presence of rituals as skaters are about to do a difficult trick. These rituals vary from skater to skater but amongst the more senior professional skaters these rituals play a big part in allowing them to 'perform'. For example Casey Marks, one of the older skaters, taps the sidewalk three times before attempting a trick, and he will also walk up and down the ramp many times. Skaters walk up and down the ramp 'testing' tricks by doing hand gestures or flipping their board around in their hands. The inclusion of waxing slabs of concrete is also common among the skaters. These rituals may seem obscure to pedestrians walking by but they play an essential role in allowing skaters to perform their tricks and seem to act as a kind of lucky charm. Casey pointed out how his favorite skater, Andrew Reynolds, like many others, is afflicted by this pre-trick 'madness'. He also noted that this ritualistic behaviour has spread, not just through the need to pre-test tricks, but also to imitate professional skaters in the hierarchy of skater culture.

Victor Turner describes a ritual as a process that entails moving people between states to adjust to internal changes and adapt to their environment. After questioning some riders about their 'madness' it seems that these forms of OCD act as a ritual of transformation. This takes place in their state of mind, from being scared or anxious to being calm and collected before going

in to do the trick. Professional skater Andrew Reynolds in an interview with Vice Magazine says, 'I get all this little bullshit stuff out of the way (Madness), and then I'm just clear to go forward and jump down the thing'. Within Victoria Skate Park the ritualisation of such habits before doing a trick plays a deeper role than just a lucky charm or tic. It allows the skaters to clear their mind and mentally collect themselves by moving between two different states of mind, which according to Turner is a fundamental feature of the ritual process.

The Victoria Skate Park etiquette I described earlier also plays a more complex role in the skating environment than the park users realise. Most of them perceive the rules as functioning to maintain order; as Luke said, 'to not be a dick to other skaters' and to allow multiple people to use the facilities. The risk of injury in skating is high enough as it is, especially when using the ramps and half-pipes; with the enforcement of these skate park rules the risk of injury is substantially decreased. Also pulling off a good trick requires focus and space, both of which are provided when there are no crowds or other people around to distract you from pulling off the trick. The unofficial enforcers of these rules are usually senior skater ages 17+ who tend to look out for the young skaters; this unofficial policing of activities creates a hierarchy system within the skating community. There is also clear correspondence between skating skill and position within the hierarchy, with the lowest being 'grom' (new skaters), then your average skater, then your highly skilled professional looking skaters. This means that hierarchy positions are usually parallel to age, however there are some exceptions of young but highly skilled skaters and they tend to associate themselves with

the older skaters showing the increase in their position within the hierarchy.

I have found that social norms within society which we blindly follow have a deeper purpose which may be hidden to us who are directly involved. When I first approached the skate park I stayed detached and simply observed, and then got involved and interacted with the skaters.

These different methods combined allowed me to apply both an outsider's (etic) and insider's (emic) perspective and locate the reality between them (Shore 2014d). The skaters experience an altered sense of view of the world within the park and where most people would see stairs or railings skaters see all the possible tricks and manoeuvres they could use it for. The social dynamics within the park are also a lot more complex than one would initially expect and their advancement within the hierarchy of the park seems to be a huge part of the Victoria skate park user. Returning to a place I used to spend a lot of time as a child armed with anthropological concepts I am able to place the concepts of rituals and social norms into the webs of significance of the skater culture of Victoria Park.

Part Four

Communication, Ritual, Community: New Patterns of Sociality

23. The Beautiful People:
An Ethnographic Look at Tattooing in New Zealand

Oliver Hooper

Tattoos are one of the oldest forms of body modification in human history, and play a large part in a number of customs and rituals in different cultures all over the globe. Despite their long and varied history it is only in the last twenty or so years that the practice of tattooing has started to become socially acceptable to mainstream Western society. This ethnography looks at the ever changing views concerning the art form, as well as how those bearing such marks use them as a form of expression and communication. In order to gain a better understanding of tattoo culture I spent the day at a local tattoo studio observing the company's owner and head tattooist, Aaron.

I first met Aaron a year and a half ago when he designed and 'inked' my first tattoo, and after establishing a friendly rapport, have gone back to him for each subsequent addition. Aaron, being half Samoan, explained that his first piece was a *Taulima*, a modern take on a traditional armband at the age of fifteen, before receiving a *Pe'a*, which is a lower body tattoo, created with sharpened pig's teeth as part of a Samoan manhood ceremony. Before undergoing the observational research I was of the mind that tattoos could be seen as a form of communication, each one a signifier with its own meanings that can be used to express certain ideas or beliefs. Aaron acknowledged and expressed a similar

idea; however he placed a greater emphasis on the concept of 'adornment' and the aesthetic. He claimed that 'it is basic instinct for humans to adorn their bodies; we do this every day with clothes and jewelry etcetera. People are always trying to decorate or improve themselves - communication comes after that initial need for adornment.' He then went on to express the belief that 'in essence tattooists are the ultimate stylists, whereas hairdressers or tailors allow people to express themselves in the short-term, tattoos are a permanent aesthetic.'

Even though many of those who are tattooed share Aaron's belief that the aesthetic nature of tattoos comes before the messages behind them, they are still symbols that elicit strong reactions from others, be they positive or negative. I can personally attest to this fact. Shortly after receiving my first 'piece' I had a number of casual acquaintances, some of whom I never really spoke to, strike up conversations regarding it. Some of these people expressed admiration and a general interest in the process, whilst others offered up scorn or sarcasm. During my time in his studio, Aaron shared that although he often received compliments about his body art he had also been the victim of discrimination. He recalled being denied entry into clubs for looking 'too intimidating', and in Japan was told to leave a public swimming pool due to its anti-tattoo rules. 'In Japan tattoos are deeply connected to the Yakuza, and to crime in general,' he explained.

It seems that this sentiment is not just restricted to the Far East either. A number of people I have spoken to expressed negative reactions regarding tattoos, the most common being in response to the forearms, neck or face. It seems that such tattoos are regarded as 'pollution' to the average middle-class Westerner.

Something about these types of tattoos seems taboo, they appear to inspire fear or some form of disgust in certain people, and one can only assume that such reactions are a result of the tattoo culture of the 1960s through to the 1980s, where they almost exclusively linked to either 'the natives' or rough niches such as gang members, bikers, sailors or convicts. One patron at the studio explained these stigmas, saying 'many jobs wouldn't hire someone with visible tats back in the day, so if you had one that was visible people would assume you had no job, and if you had no job, you obviously could not be on the straight and narrow.'

Although the correlation between 'thug' and tattoo still exists, it is slowly being phased out as society begins to view them more as 'body art'. These days the majority of tattoo studios cater to individual, one off designs, many of which have personal meanings to the client. Examples I saw during my observation included traditional ancestor tattoos, and a poem that helped its owner through depression amongst many others. My own tattoo is an expression of my identity, being linked to my home country of England, and its pre-Christian Pagan origins, a subject that greatly interests me.

Another reason for this gradual acceptance can be seen by the fact that tattoos are now prevalent in pop-culture more than ever. Because of their widespread usage the image of the tattoo is seen as less threatening, less 'other' to the average person. In recent years (i.e. the 1980's to the present) it has not been uncommon to see tattoos on sports stars or musicians or actors. This means that over the last twenty years, youths (now aged 40/30 and below) would have and will grow up with tattoos as an everyday part of life. Hence, it is likely that the previously held social stigmas

surrounding the process will become increasingly less relevant, almost to the point of obsolescence, resulting in the quickening of their transition into mainstream culture.

Another, localised, example regarding this acceptance came once again from Aaron, who explained that 'here in New Zealand we are a multicultural nation. We have a large Pacifica population, and that means that cultural tattoos are a common sight. Because of this work, different places, including New Zealand society as a whole, have become more accepting of our cultural identity, and that includes our tattoos. I feel that this has helped New Zealand in becoming more accepting of other types of tattoos; they are not uncommon, and can be found in a range of different occupations.'

The general attitude towards the tattooing culture in New Zealand can be seen as undergoing a gradual change as the practice becomes more widely accepted as a form of adornment and as a celebration of art as opposed to previously held views of a link to 'thuggishness' and crime. The art of tattooing is clearly becoming less taboo to mainstream culture, but as with any text, they are signs, and their meanings can be open to individual interpretation.

24. Stand Up Poetry: Poetry Standing Up to Societal Norms

Zech Soakai

Over the past month I have found myself becoming a regular at live poetry 'open mic' nights and live poetry performances around Auckland, New Zealand. I have become an avid fan of the dynamic and eccentric community of spoken word artists and their equally important audience. Indeed, I think I have caught the infectious disease of speaking in finger clicks and over-zealous smiles.

Thus I have come to realise that poetry open mic nights allow audience members to be more than passive observers. Clearly, spoken word poetry is as much a vehicle for self-expression and liberation for audience members as it is for the poet. So far, I have found that spoken word poetry removes the spatial boundaries that traditionally exist between performer and audience member and encourages instantaneous feedback from audience members to poets. In doing so, spoken word poetry progressively works towards redefining the all-important relationship that exists between performer and audience. It allows both audience and performer to break down the norms, statuses and roles that usually apply in social settings. Ultimately, both audience and performer simultaneously switch and play each other's roles seamlessly.

Space and its place in Performance Poetry

My first poetry open mic night had me wide-eyed and ready to experience this part theatre, part poetry and socially conscious

hybrid form of entertainment. Walking in to the warmly lit café with charcoal walls and a rustic vinyl floor, this was a far call from the epic and sweaty night filled mosh pits that pop music fans seem to flock to.

Indeed while there were only thirty or so people, from pubescent teens to those who wore fine lines in the corners of their eyes, everyone knew everyone and generously gave sincere smiles to one another. They seemed to pass along an 'inside joke' with every smug grin given. I would later carry this same 'inside joke' grin across my own face. That would become my badge of initiation.

Chairs were laid out in a semi-circle leaving a scant piece of the floor to be the 'stage'. With no rise, no platform or separate lighting to spotlight the poets and with just a microphone on a stand, the set up was minimal and the stage ground level Immediately I picked up that people liked to see eye to eye here.

The idea was that there should be no elaborate lights, no fancy smoke machines or rise in the platform on the floor to distinguish between where the stage ended and where the audience began. This was a very foreign and unusual concept for me to grasp. However in the absence of such luxuries, poets were able to establish an intimate connection between artist and audience, blurring and redefining the lines that existed between the traditional 'captivating performer' and the 'passive audience member'. With each poet emerging out of the audience one after the other, politely carrying on where the other left off, in the narrative of self-expression and self-identification – the lack of space between audience and poet was a unique experience. Knowing that the performance poets were one of us and that

they were a part of the audience just as much as we were a part of their performance created a deep intimate connection between them and us. They were speaking to us. They were sharing with us. Opening up rich conversations, spoken in metaphor-laden tongues and creating vivid images on the mic. In doing so, performance poets were able to blur their status as performers and as audience members – *because they were both*.

Traditionally a status is an aspect of a person that defines a social relationship and entails certain rights and duties in relation to others (Eriksen 2010:53). However because performers were audience members just as much as they were performers in that open mic setting, they played both roles in the relationship at different times; thus blurring the normally very distinct separation between the achieved status of being a performer and the ascribed status of being an audience member.

Snapping Fingers: The New Hand Clap

Another noticeable feature of spoken word poetry events is the privilege audience members have in actively and instantaneously responding to the poet performing. In other performance settings like dance recitals, operas or even modern theatre shows it would be considered rude to clap, holler or respond at any time that you felt like it and may even get you escorted out of the building! But performances of spoken word are something of a phenomenon, in that they encourage audience members to express however they feel in that particular moment and in the process, abandon the normal audience etiquette norms. A prime example of this would be when one poet was reciting her poem about identifying herself as 'gender-liminal' and exploring the idea that one doesn't necessarily

have to identify themselves as male or female. The reaction from the crowd was interestingly mixed and had one lady hollering and snapping at every second syllable the poet said, while a gentleman two rows behind her was shaking his head furiously throughout the performance, and even I held myself in awe of the gusto and charisma she was able to conjure with every enunciated word.

It was then that I realised that spoken word poetry was able to remove the behavioural norms that an audience must personify. Thomas Eriksen (2010:63) defines norms as rules that state what is permitted and what is not inside a social system. In defining a performance setting as a social system, we're able to see that Spoken Word Poetry creates a space for audience members to freely be and resist against the norms and etiquette they're expected to play as social actors. With the constant and natural 'call and response' type conversation between poet and audience – audience members took more than just a passive role watching a story unfold. They created those moments with the poet, collaborating together to create an unforgettably intimate experience.

My first month in Auckland closely analysing poetry open mic nights has highlighted how Spoken Word Poetry breaks down and removes statuses, roles and norms that exist in the traditional performance poetry setting. In the coming months I hope to dig deeper to get to the reason as to why that is – investigating why is it that a spoken word poetry open mic night is able to open audiences up and allow them freedom to express themselves and respond to the artists' work.

Figure 3. An audience enjoying spoken word poetry at an open mic night. Courtesy of the author.

25. The Best Social Lubricant:
Drinking Practices of Auckland University First Year Students

Alice Tate

Following the completion of one month of ethnographic fieldwork in Auckland, New Zealand, my subject of particular interest, which I will analyse in this report, is the drinking culture of first year Auckland University students. From my observations I will describe the rituals of pre-drinking and drinking games and the social norms grounded in gender classification involved in this drinking culture. I will argue that a highly gendered nature, with hegemonic masculine tendencies, and sexualised nature of university drinking culture can be identified through these examples.

The most prominent aspect of university drinking culture is the ritualised concept of 'pre-loading'. This involves a group of students gathering at a private residence in the hours prior to an event or larger gathering to drink large amounts of alcohol. These rituals are most commonly undertaken on a Friday or Saturday evening but are not restricted to these times. On my first night in Auckland I was invited to one of these 'pre-drinks' at a friend's flat in an apartment complex. You are required to bring your own alcoholic drinks and arrive between the hours of 6pm and 11pm. Close friends of the hosts often come during the earlier hours of the night and often uninvited guests arrive in the later hours of the night in the hope that the host will be too intoxicated to

care about their presence or ask them to leave. The atmosphere on arrival can vary between relaxed and awkward and the conventional setup involves sitting around a table drinking and talking. These events play an important role in the social practices of this group. They are structured in order to encourage a social and friendly atmosphere and provide opportunity for students to interact with each other openly because of the strong involvement of alcohol which decreases social inhibitions.

Drinking games play a vital role in these events and are often played from the start of the night to break the ice and/or get the participants drunk and therefore more open and sociable. There are a variety of different drinking games played by students but the most frequent in these social circles is most commonly known as 'Circle of Death' or 'Four Kings'. This game often has many variations but the basic concept and most of the rules remain the same between different groups. The game is played using basic playing cards, where participants take turns picking a card from a circle and enforcing the rule dictated by the card. These rules were structured to dictate that at least one person has to drink every time a card is picked up through word games, reaction speed, nomination and other methods.

The gendered nature of student drinking rituals can be identified in this game. A common rule used is 'four for the whores' and 'six for the dicks', meaning that if a four is drawn all the women present must drink and if a six is drawn all the men present must drink. During my first encounter with this rule I questioned the derogatory term used to define all the women in the room but I was told that it was 'just a game and this was no time for a feminist debate.' Despite dropping the matter and

following the rule, a stigma towards women causing conflict was apparent and my comment did not reflect favourably on me. I believe that this rule works to categorise the participants and reinforce gender lines within the social setting.

Another popular game played in these situations is known as 'Never have I ever'. This game speaks to the sexualised nature of student drinking rituals; the game is played by each participant taking turn to state something they have never done before. If any of the other players present have done it, they must take a drink. The object of the game is to get as many people to drink as often as you can; but it is more commonly seen as an effective way to learn revealing sexual information about the participants. Both these games take advantage of the decreased inhibitions of the students caused by consumption of large amounts of alcohol, making participants more willing to share personal information. I believe these games emphasise an idea embedded in modern culture; that gender and sexual orientation are at the center of an individual's identity. Also as a corollary to this, most people within this society believe that it is necessary to use an individual's sexual identity in order to draw conclusions surrounding character and morality.

Another way that gendered categorisation can be observed in student drinking culture is through the drinks that men and women are expected to drink. There is a very apparent stigma surrounding 'girly drinks' in this culture; straight males are often taunted for drinking these kinds of drinks. There is a clear system of classifications used in this concept: 'girly drinks' can be categorised by high amounts of sugar, bright colours, low volume of alcohol, garnishes, fruity and sweet flavours, and tools used to

drink them, such as wine glasses or straws. Drinks such as RTD's (ready to drink), wine, cocktails, and liqueurs are often viewed as 'girly drinks'. When it comes to drinking it is believed that 'real men' can 'handle' large amounts of strong liquor and people who can do this are often referred to as 'heavyweights'. I find hegemonic masculinity to be an important concept identifiable in New Zealand culture and believe this system of classification strongly demonstrates this. Hegemonic masculinity is the concept that certain practices within a society are followed in order to ensure that men hold the dominant social position in society. A dominant idea in Kiwi culture is that femininity represents weakness and inferiority, consistent with the idea that women hold the subordinate position. This classification of appropriate gendered drinks signifies the concept in Kiwi society that men are expected to display their masculinity through their social practices, such as drinking.

Through my month of ethnographic fieldwork in Auckland, New Zealand, I have been able to analyse first year university student drinking culture and apply a number of anthropological concepts to the behaviour of this group. It is my belief that drinking games can be classified as a ritual that serves the social purpose of allowing participants to get to know and categorise others based on the important concepts in this society of gender roles and sexual identity. I have also been able to identify hegemonic masculine ideas in the categorisation of 'girly' drinks and how upholding these social norms helps to define male dominated power structures and conceptions of weakness.

26. Mobile Phones: A Developing Paradox

Logan Hamley

Since their advent in the late twentieth century, mobile phones have revolutionised communication, providing a portable communication device that allows for the maintenance of relationships irrespective of distance. However, I have noticed more and more a paradox within public spaces surrounding mobile phones. In every train and bus there is a sea of faces lit up with the glow of mobile phones, each face intent on ignoring the surrounding people. Any attempt at conversation is treated suspiciously, as if it were socially incongruous to want to talk to people. This inspired me to consider the evolution of the mobile phone, from a tool inspiring communication to one that simultaneously encourages and discourages sociability.

This subtle use of technology is used emphatically at the University of Auckland, especially during the intervals between lectures. In a seemingly formal setting this informal period of time could be considered almost liminal in that it disconnects one from the physical world for a moment, leaving them sitting within an undefined frame of time. This gives insight into the culture of University. All those who are alone, myself included at times, automatically use their phones instead of interacting with the surrounding students, many of whom will continue alongside us in our scholarship. Mobile phones in this situation have become symbolic of friendship and sociability; the user in question is perceived to be communicating with someone via their mobile phone, but

more often than not they are simply playing a game on their phone or some other banal task.

Clark, a friend of mine, recounted that when his lecturer told the students in pairs to discuss their own viewpoints on the subject matter, he turned to talk to the student to his left and found him to be intently unlocking his phone and flicking between the folders, rather than having to talk with Clark. As someone who has grown up with mobile phones, from an emic perspective it is better to pretend to be sociable than to be sociable with strangers. Fake phone calls and text messages have become normalised as an excuse to avoid conversations and interaction. My friend Jack sent me a message recently which read: 'I am going to call you, play along.' He then proceeded to call me and make a few mumbled utterances before saying, 'So you need me there now? OK, I'll be right over'. End of conversation. He later appeared to thank me for helping him escape from a conversation that he could no longer stand.

Another liminal phase at university is lunch time. While not a strict period of time, many students find themselves alone and so inevitably turn to their mobile phones as a way of interacting with someone or something. The thought of going up to someone and asking to sit next to them is so deeply ingrained as an unacceptable and even socially gauche question that they would rather turn to a perceived form of sociability, their mobile phones, than overcome the social embarrassment of being alone and going up to someone.

However, the defining experience for mobile phones and unsociability is on public transport. Nowhere else is there such a

saturation of people engrossed in mobile phones. My perception of appropriate behaviours on public transport is not exclusive, yet those who try to interact with strangers, predominantly older people, are nearly always met with mistrust and judgment. I remember watching an older lady having a conversation with two teenagers on the train. As soon as she got off, the two teens started laughing, calling her 'crazy' and a 'weirdo'. I later talked to my grandmother about it and she lamented 'how little people really talked to each other these days'. Thus there has been a change in appropriate behaviours on public transport that has become ingrained within the span of few short generations, from acceptable behaviour to unacceptable behaviour.

While not the cause of this deep social mistrust, mobile phones have given us a tool to reinforce this social norm, perhaps best summed up by the colloquial term 'never talk to strangers'. There is an enculturation from early childhood that 'outgroups' are to be feared and mistrusted within every culture (Banaji et al. 2005). Ergo, this anti-social behaviour is a learned one that becomes a part of our *habitus*. However there is also this deep human desire for interaction that needs to be satisfied; as social beings we need social interaction in our lives. Going for extended periods of time without significant interaction is linked to depression (Aneshensel & Stone 1982), alongside a variety of other negative conditions. There is therefore a dichotomy between these two psychological constructs; the fear of 'other' and the need for social interactions. These two social constructs are felt most deeply in abnormal situations, such as public transport, where we are often alone while simultaneously surrounded by people, and unwilling to overcome the socially ingrained behaviours – that which make up our *habitus*.

This paradox of choice, to be mistrusting of 'others' while wishing to be sociable has ultimately been satisfied through mobile phones, where we can be both fearful of 'others' while feeling sociable, or at least being perceived to be sociable.

Mobile phones offer the opportunity to avoid external social interaction in favour of a more internalised form of social communication - there is the benefit of interaction, or perceived interaction in some cases, without the need to defy social norms. Mobile phones have reinforced social norms surrounding 'others' through their usage, and thus reduced the sociability of users in public spaces. This has been entrenched in my generation's *habitus*; that mobile phones represent sociability, while discouraging it at the same time. Mobile phones are now an essential part of everyday life, as many rely on them for long-distance communication and information. Yet they are increasingly becoming a tool for anti-sociability.

Through their usage our behaviour is being irrevocably changed. In a relatively short period of time, our social norms have changed from one where public sociability was normal and expected, to one where it is abnormal, even 'crazy', to talk to strangers without an excuse. Mobile phones have been a sort of catalyst in the change, providing a legitimate reason for this antisocial behaviour. Consequently, mobile phones and people's attitude surrounding them in public can show deeply ingrained social norms and the enculturation of our society, and how they have changed in a relatively short period of time.

27. The Institution of Godparenthood in Auckland

Eliza Lewis-Goldsbro

Godparenthood entered my life unexpectedly at sixteen years old when family friends asked me to be their baby, Christopher's, godmother. At first I thought this was strange considering my age, and that while these family friends identified as Catholic, I very strongly identified as an atheist. However I still felt honoured to be asked, and accepted the role and all it entails.

This was the first time I had been involved in the ritual of a baptism and not just a guest. My personal emic experience of becoming a godparent was peculiar to me as I myself do not have godparents, and have an etic view of Catholicism (Shore 2014d). Being an atheist, with parents who are also atheists, my experiences with religious ceremonies were rather limited. I understood that traditionally godparents were supposed to be spiritual guides to the child, and help them on their path to salvation. In early Christendom a godparent was termed a 'sponsor', whose role according to the Code of Canon Law was to assist in 'Christian initiation' and then guide the baptised person to 'lead a Christian life'(1983: c 872). They were also supposed to be baptised themselves and a practicing Christian. I certainly did not fit the traditional role of being a godparent.

On the day of the ceremony I adhered to the formal dress code expected when going to Church. The baptism took place outside of a normal mass, and three other children were present with

their families to also be baptised. Christopher, in his traditional white baptism gown, was fast asleep. When the priest entered the congregation stood and any murmurings subsided. The priest, wearing a red and white robe and holding the Bible, asked us to sit. He then began a brief introductory service involving a few common prayers. When it was our turn, Christopher, his mother Kate, father James, the other godparent and I were asked to come to the front of the church where the priest was standing. There was a large clear bowl of water on top of a wooden block that sat about waist high termed the 'baptismal font'. Once the name of the baby had been announced the ritual began. The priest addressed the parents and asked if they accepted the duty of raising their child in accordance with the Catholic faith to which they replied 'we do'. The priest then addressed the godparents, and asked if we accepted the responsibility of assisting the parents in this duty to which we replied, 'We do'. Kate was asked to hold the baby, who was still fast asleep, over the baptismal font. The priest using his right hand dipped a small silver cup into the baptismal font and gently poured some water on the baby's forehead three times. While doing this the priest pronounced 'I baptise you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'. Finally the priest, putting oil on his thumb to draw the sign of the cross on Christopher's forehead, anointed the baby. The ritual was complete, Christopher had been baptised into the Catholic Church, and had slept through the entire process completely unaware of this transformation.

A ritual can be defined by Hendry as 'behaviours prescribed by society in which individuals have little choice about their actions' (2008:75 quoted in Shore 2014f). This is true in the

case of a baptism as in order for the ritual to be completed I adhered to formalities such as standing by the baptismal font and replying 'we do' to the priest's question. The religious ceremony of a baptism can be understood through Victor Turner's theory of rituals 'as a process that entails moving people between states' (Shore 2014f). Christopher had been transformed from an un-baptised state to a baptised state. Simultaneously, I was transformed from the state of a family friend with no particularly special connection to this child, to the state of a godmother where I was expected to be a moral and spiritual guide to this child. As Eriksen (2010: 227) explains, 'symbols are central to rituals'. The ritual of a baptism contains many symbols and within different Catholic parishes or sectors of Christianity these symbols can have varying meanings, or 'multivocality' (Eriksen 2010: 231) - just as not all baptisms are the same as the one that I was part of. From my understanding in this baptism the white gown the baby wore symbolised purity and being given over to Christ. While the water poured over the child's head represents original sin being washed away, just as Jesus had when he asked John the Baptist to baptise him in the river Jordan. The cross marked on the baby's forehead by the priest's thumb symbolised the baby being anointed and becoming part of the Catholic faith.

While there are no legal obligations to fulfill as a godparent, there are certainly expectations. I was asked to be a godparent to this child because Kate was forty-five years of age when she had Christopher. She wanted someone closer in age to her child who would be a support in his life for many years to come. She trusted me and valued me and my family's presence in her life and wanted to honour that by asking me to be a godparent. In

our society today you could equate being asked to be a godparent with a gift. As Ralph Emerson said 'the only gift is a portion of thyself' and Kate and James gifted to me a special connection with their child (quoted in Molloy, 2014). As ever with a gift, reciprocity is expected, and I am expected to play a supportive role in Christopher's life. This expresses how the role of a godparent has transformed in a modern society. Religion is not as important as it formerly was in Auckland society with only 59.6 percent of those living in Auckland associating with a religion in 2013, falling from 63.5 percent in 2006 (Statistics NZ 2013). Therefore being a godparent has taken on a different meaning, at least for me personally. I regard this role as one of support. I am someone outside of Christopher's family that he will have a connection with and be able to rely upon. Whether he is questioning his religion, needs a place to stay, or just wants to talk to someone, I will be there for him, honouring the role of a godparent.

Although the institution of godparenthood has diversified in contemporary Auckland society from being a spiritual guide who will endeavour to ensure the godchild is raised as a good Catholic, to a role of support and honour, I believe it is still an important institution. Traditions and rituals are key in maintaining relationships and holding society together. Therefore even though there are fewer people identifying as Christian in Auckland, many still have their children baptised out of respect for tradition.

28. Ballin' at the Ball

Jaimini Patel

Attending the ball is a milestone, a big night, for many senior high-school students in New Zealand. This cultural phenomenon is a social gathering of senior high-school goers where the night is dedicated to enjoying themselves and creating life-long memories. This is the one night that stays with them forever. A month prior to Auckland Girls' Grammar School's annual ball, I examined their preparation leading up to their big day. I analysed these using anthropological concepts: norms, rules, enculturation and values to better understand my observations.

It was a glorious day without a single cloud in sight outside, but Year 12 human biology students were trapped in the library completing an internal assignment. 'It's due on Wednesday,' Taylor informed me. Yet when I glanced over I saw more ball dresses and makeup products on their computer screens than the heart anatomy. 'I have to start making appointments for my hair, makeup and nails *and* look for my ball dress. Not to mention a date! So much to do, so little time,' Danielle sighed. Tension was in the air and I could almost see it!

While seated in the Dorothy Winstone Centre, lovingly referred to as 'the DWC', we listened to Mrs. Thompson, the principal, making her usual announcements. I noticed many were happily conversing with friends, others searched for split-ends on the tips of their hair while some snapchatted silly 'selfies'. At the mere mention of the word 'ball', everyone stopped what they were

doing, attentively listening. I gathered from Mrs Thompson's ball announcement that alcohol, cigarettes and drugs were prohibited and there were to be no late arrivals after 7.30pm or leaving before 12am on the night. She emphasised that the school would not be held responsible nor condone after-ball functions. Emails were sent to parents informing them.

Later that day, the Study Hall, where not a single student studying was in sight, was the site of receiving ball tickets along with the ball packs. These contained essential goods to keep one 'informed' and 'safe' for the ball night. Some raised their eyebrows, while others laughed out loud (LOL'ed as the girls put it). Just two short school weeks away from ball and it seemed as though nobody could wait. I overhead, 'just a sec, I'm instagramming our ball tickets. Hash-tag 'cannot wait', hash-tag 'time to partaaay', hash-tag '@JasonBradley'.' Many, I suspect spent the rest of their lunch posting similar things.

One week before the ball while in a Year 13 statistics class, when asked by the teacher to 'discuss the bootstrapping confidence intervals with your neighbour' I heard anything but discussions on bootstrapping confidence intervals in the computer lab. On my right Samantha said 'I know right! I really want Ryan's tie to be the same shade as my ball gown.' It is evident that the girls attending their ball had their outfits decided upon. I could almost feel the excitement in the air. Samantha was 'hyped', not about the bootstrap confidence intervals but the school ball, of course!

Eriksen (2010: 63) explains 'norms' are culturally learned social rules present in society declaring what is deemed socially acceptable versus what is not. A classic example from this mini

ethnography is the case of Danielle. It is almost expected of her to attend her ball with a date (whether it is her boyfriend or simply a boy friend). Much less importance is placed on whether or not she actually has a boyfriend (I am unaware of this information) as long as she has a date and is 'good looking'. 'Good looks' are important partly because taking a ball date enables one to fit in and having a 'good looking' date is a bonus as her friends will be eyeing him. Teenagers especially feel that they are perceived as 'uncool' or 'unpopular' if they are found without a ball date. This is seen as the 'normal' thing to do as 'everyone' takes a ball date. Most people give in to societal norms precisely because conforming comes so naturally that it is often overlooked. Danielle is no different.

A rule, by definition, is a set of explicit principles of what one is permitted to do or has to follow through with (Oxford Dictionary 2014). Recalling Mrs. Thompson's information regarding prohibitions on alcohol, cigarettes and drugs, arrival and departure times and the school's responsibilities and non-condoning of after-ball functions, we can see the examples of formal rules for this occasion. Only one with authority can set rules that must be respected. Rules are often created to govern misconduct or undesirable behaviour or to prevent unwanted situations which is crucial at an event such as a high-school ball where the school staff is held responsible. It takes into account the students' best interests. The fact that emails were sent to parents emphasises the importance of informing and adhering to these rules. By conforming to these rules students are portrayed as mature, having self-control and indicates a responsibility for their personal actions.

Enculturation refers to the process of social learning and gaining one's sense of place in the world. It includes acquiring the habits and competences of speaking, thinking and feeling (Shore 2014c). Values are 'culturally defined standards or ideas held by people about what is ethical or appropriate behaviour, what is... right or wrong, good or bad that serve as broad guidelines for social life' (Shore 2014c). In the statistics class I witnessed girls placing more value on the ball rather than their learning of statistical concepts. The human biology students, likewise, were more worried about what they would look like at the ball rather than the grade they were going to receive for their internal exam. This undoubtedly highlighted the value and importance students placed on their ball preparation in comparison to their schoolwork. I learned Samantha wanted every bit of detail to be as she wished: Ryan's tie *had* to be the exact same colour as her dress because this would be considered 'right' whereas a nonmatching tie would be considered 'wrong'. It is behaviours like this that serve as social guidelines for many teenagers who conform.

The anthropological concepts I have drawn on above assisted me in analysing the importance students placed in the preparation of their ball and some reasoning behind this. Auckland Girls' Grammar School students proved to be similar to other teenagers preparing for their ball. Every effort was made to ensure the night would run smoothly.

29. Customer–Worker Relations at Dando's Ice Cream Parlour

Ellie Finn

Dando's Ice Cream Parlour is a fast-food chain store found in New Zealand and Australia, serving ice cream and ice cream related dairy products. During my time there, I learned about the very specific rules that govern customer-worker relations and the functions they serve, in the most general sense to keep the business running smoothly. I found that the customer-worker relations and the social processes made for and caused by them can be applied to many businesses and stores all over Auckland.

Of first and foremost importance is the 'Seven Step Rule' used for every customer at Dando's:

1. Greet them
2. Give them a sample of ice cream (not a question: 'would you like a sample, but a statement: 'try our flavour of the week!')
3. Take their order
4. Processes (small or large – if small then try to upsell)
5. Make friendly conversation
6. Transaction (till/would you like your receipt)
7. Farewell (not 'goodbye' or 'see you' as these indicate finality, as if it's the last time they'll come to the store. Must be 'enjoy', or 'have a good day').

The Dando's process is rigid and based on an intense yet entirely superficial involvement with each customer. Anyone who should dare not to ask customers if they would like a sample, say goodbye to them or give even the slightest notion of not being interested and intensely happy to serve a customer was subject to severe scrutiny by a senior staff member. For example, while working in the establishment, I received my first warning towards getting fired because I walked away from my customer to check that the recipe I used for their product was correct. The subsequent lecture, in which I was told in various ways to 'use my common sense', was later followed by a staff meeting during which my habits and work ethic were picked apart and examined and I was threatened with the loss of my job. Fear and humiliation appears to be an important part of the management of Dando's.

An important rule that governs these seven steps, which must be discussed in order to understand the workings of the worker-customer relations, is that they must be done with an appearance of utmost happiness. From steps 1-7 the worker must appear delighted to be in the presence of the customer, no matter how unbearable or irrationally angry the customer may be. The premise behind this rule is that should the worker stop smiling, or appear not to be excited at all moments during the transaction, the customer may feel that the worker is not pleased to be serving dairy products to a multitude of customers like them for hours, on minimum wage minus tax, minus whatever else those in charge see fit to take out of their wages. Overall, this will give the customer a negative experience in the store, and they will not want to come back.

Amidst all the negativity of the atmosphere found at Dando's Ice Cream Parlour, workers must find an outlet for their

frustration, in order to continue with their jobs, unwarned, unfired and unscrutinised. This takes the form of gossip and crude jokes amongst the workers. The use of jokes and gossip is a social norm in the business, exclusive to and kept secretly amongst those on the shop floor, and directed against senior staff members, head office and customers. However, seen in a more positive light, this denigration of the negative aspects of Dando's organisational culture seems to elicit camaraderie among the workers.

On a more significant note, though, the coping mechanisms displayed by the workers and the constant mask of happiness expected from them – a performance creating the illusion of genuine care for the people they're serving – exposes the underlying element of the customer-worker relationship at Dando's, or indeed in any shop. Neither the customer nor the worker sees the other person as a human, in the sense that the customer and worker's relationship shares a purely functional purpose. To the customer, the worker is simply a somewhat two-dimensional being that makes ice cream and ice cream related products. Added to this, in New Zealand and elsewhere working in a fast-food store is often seen as indicative of low social class, and therefore many customers are inclined to feel superior to the worker whether they consciously acknowledge it or not. From the perspective of the worker, the customer is a two-dimensional being as well, an element of their job that they have to deal with to earn money.

The longer I worked at Dando's, and the more times I used the seven steps, the more the customers began to blur together into an ambiguous lump of people, all of whom believed they were superior and felt they had the right behave so. Of course, if looking at individual customers this would not be the case, but in the thick of

the lunchtime rush, serving a constant stream of pushy people and wondering when your break will be, this rational notion is lost. This is where the purpose of the ever-constant smile and politeness come in: more than just a way to make the customer feel welcome, these provide a barrier separating the frustration and animosity felt by the worker from the superiority and/or frustration of the customer. If both parties in the relationship were allowed to express their feelings, the business could probably not function. No customer wants to go to a fast-food store only to be told that their socially defined disposition to believe they are superior to someone who works in a fast-food store is, quite frankly, offensive. A lot of the workers are students with part time jobs, therefore people working in what is deemed to be a place of 'low social status' and using it as a stepping stone. The necessity to prevent such an event from happening is also compounded by the fear of the senior management. This is linked to the frustration outlet the workers share – complaining, mocking and laughing at everyone else together to get through the day.

The processes and rules that govern the Dando's workers appear to be normal rules in a normal business, albeit one that is run by particularly dictatoresque senior managers and bosses. However, when analysed at a deeper level, we see the social norms and processes associated with these: the jokes and mockery shared complicity amongst the workers, the fake smiles and politeness, and the methods of humiliation and fear used should the worker stray from the spoken and unspoken rules. These processes interact in a way that makes the customer-worker relationship successfully functional, protecting the customers' feelings which for Dando's managers, is the most important element in keeping the business running.

30. When the Boss is Away, the Workers Will Play:

An Ethnographic Analysis of Power and Behaviour in the Workplace

Demelza Duder

While the hospitality industry is often conceived as easy-going, casual and lacking any real discipline, there most certainly are power relationships and tensions in operation in the café industry that go unseen or un-discussed by outsiders. The subculture I have studied - the staff at the Vulcan Coffee House in the Auckland CBD - is extremely diverse, with the small team of employees representing different ethnic groups, ages, genders and socio-economic backgrounds. Through my participant observation in the workplace as a dishwasher, I became particularly interested in how the behavior and attitudes of staff changes in the presence of senior management and how this relates to the anthropological concepts of status, norms, roles and classifications. In my study I also looked at how my participant-observation in the environment I was studying, as well as my status as simultaneously an 'insider' and an 'outsider', allowed me to look objectively at the social phenomenon of power and authority in the workplace.

It is late afternoon at the beginning of the week and Vulcan Coffee House has been open since 7am. Three hundred plus coffees have been served, 30 hot meals cooked, and countless

dishes have been washed by myself. I have been working at the café for around three weeks now and have settled into the place quite nicely. On this particular afternoon, the sounds of customers chatting, music playing softly and, from where I am standing in the kitchen, bacon frying, fill the long, industrial style room. Sunlight pours through the multiple windows at the front of the café, illuminating the coffee machine and warming the polished concrete floors, and the customers. Pastries, cakes and muffins are stacked high on the counter to the left of the room where Cam chatters away to Simon, a regular. They are debating the merits of a Hario machine over the Chemex, when the conversation suddenly turns to 'have you heard the new James Drake track? It's sick!' Upon hearing this, I place the clean plates on the stack and move away quickly, so as not to be drawn into the discussion.

Wandering back to the kitchen, where more dishes await me, I see a look of concern flicker across Tom's face as he whispers 'The eagle has landed', before hastily turning and heading into the office - no doubt to finish double-checking people's clock-ins. Shamika and I turn around just in time to see a familiar blue Ute heading down the driveway. 'Oh shit,' he mutters under his breath. Suddenly, everything is happening faster - food is being delivered as soon as the docket hits the no-longer sticky double sided tape, milk is poured at lightning speed, and whilst still adopting a friendly tone, 'Will that be to have here or take away' and 'So a flat white with one sugar and an extra shot?' are the only things Molly hears as she rearranges the food on the counter. The volume is lowered even further and the milk wand is whistling as Jocelyn walks through the door at the back of the café and smiles at all of us, her eyes darting around the room as she assesses how we have managed without her.

The staff members seem to collectively hold their breath, waiting to be told that something is wrong or out of place which, to our relief, it seems there is not, as Jocelyn nods silently and proceeds through to the office.

With the arrival of senior management came a noticeable change in dynamics at the café, and until Jocelyn leaves an hour or two later, it stays this way. This is not the first time I have observed this in my short three weeks at the business, with the arrival of anyone from Mark (business manager) to Ella (sales manager), bringing an obvious change in behavior of the café staff. Commenting on it later in the afternoon, Tom chuckled saying 'I don't know man, it's hard because I know I'm good at what I do, and I have experience, so when she comes in and observes us, checking in, it makes me second guess myself and every decision I am making. It puts everyone on edge and I think it changes the atmosphere for the worst.'

The way in which someone who is deemed to have more power and authority, can shape peoples actions and decisions, is something discussed quite readily in academic circles. It is a topic of particular interest to economists as, in order to discover how a business can run effectively, it pays to understand power relationships and perceptions of authority in the work place. The change in the work environment at Vulcan Coffee House can be examined and explained through the anthropological concepts of statuses, roles and ideas of power and authority.

The concept of status is a socially defined idea that comes with certain rights and certain duties towards others. An achieved status, such as that held by Jocelyn as 'café manager' means that

she has earned the authority and respect that comes with the title and as such, subscribes to certain expectations of behaviour that are not always explicitly explained. According to Marx's theory, 'power differences embedded in the fabric of society are, in fact, constitutive of those very social relationships' (cited in Birx 2006). This is evident in the behaviour of staff at Vulcan Coffee House. From the way Jocelyn walks into the room, to the way in which Mark (business manager) doesn't enter into discussion about the staff's personal life, and how Ella (sales manager) very rarely comes into the café, the separation that Marx described is reinforced. In the workplace, the boss commands the most authority, and those in senior management positions follow closely behind, in terms of the power they hold over others. As Eriksen (2010: 57) states:

> The distribution of statuses and roles in society contribute to systematic differences in power. Some actors are able to exert considerable power over others, some have very limited control of their own lives, let alone other people's.

The stratification and hierarchy of power in the workplace results in differences in behaviour when certain people, namely those deemed to have more or less power and authority, are present. The effect of roles and status hierarchies extends beyond the workplace to society in general, with people altering their behaviour to fit the people they are with, multiple times in a day. People act differently depending on the situation they are in, For example, a teenager hanging out with their friends will act differently to when they are with their parents. That is just one example of how the phenomenon observed at Vulcan Coffee House occurs not just in the workplace, but all around us, on a daily basis.

A social hierarchy is certainly present at Vulcan Coffee House, with myself as 'dishwasher' essentially situated at the very bottom. My role in the café as someone whose decisions and actions had almost no effect on how others did their jobs and behaved, allowed for my ongoing participant observation, which afforded me certain, valuable insights. Participant observation has been described in (Birx 2006: 1830) as:

> Immersion in a culture… The researcher watches people and their activities in the social situation under study, gradually increasing participation in the culture as a check on observations. In turn, continuing observation allows for greater and more accurate participation.

As an Aucklander who until three weeks ago had no connection to the people I have studied, my ethnography of Vulcan Coffee House was conducted from an emic, as well as an etic perspective. An emic perspective is described in (Shore 2014e) as 'the view of the insider… intrinsic distinctions that are meaningful to members of the group,' while an etic perspective is described as 'distinctions that are meaningful to the researcher… the outsider's view'. The balance of both emic and etic perspectives means that I may look more objectively and holistically at the subculture and social phenomenon that I have observed during my time at Vulcan Coffee House.

The anthropological concepts of status, roles and power and authority are evident in the way Vulcan Coffee House's staff change their behaviour when managers are present. The dramatic shift in behaviour that I observed occurs as a result of power relationships and ideas of authority that are at work in the café

and in society more generally. People alter their behaviour to accommodate those around them. We see this phenomenon not only in the workplace, but in all areas of social life in Auckland; it is something that everyone experiences on a daily basis.

31. That One Time on Tinder

Nicola Tickner

Tinder is an online smart phone and tablet social networking dating app that is increasingly popular for young people between the ages of 18-30 of all genders. It is a platform that is designed to make spilt second decisions based entirely on how a person looks. This is because you have a primary image and fifteen characters or less to describe yourself which is known as your 'tagline'. Users of Tinder make a profile, browse who lives close by and decide if they like someone or not. If two users like each other they match, and can start chatting. I wanted to test how important image was to the users of Tinder, and if the notion of physically looking different in others' minds to what I actually looked like in real life would impact on the way I was treated. Ultimately it was a test to discover if personality could really prevail over looks and instant charm. I replaced the image of myself with a seemly obscure and inanimate object - donuts - that became symbolic to the users, and went about gauging the users' reactions.

As an outsider looking in, my etic views (Eriksen 2010:40) were towards observations of what users chose as their profile pictures. The popular choices were 'selfies' which are self-portraits taken with a camera, pictures showing people's sporting hobbies, and photos that displayed ripped physiques. It was all about showing the best side of the user's life to impress and encourage as many connections with other users as possible. The majority of users were of European descent, and as far as I was told had a university

education, a promising career and what could only be described as a middle-class life. The language that was used was surprisingly formal, and no users resorted to texting language. This may have been because the users I was connected with were between the ages of 20-30 and using texting language lowered the expectations of each other. Although there were specialised understandings by this particular society about how users communicated and acted, people were open to alternative behaviours. This was seen when I did not have an image of a person.

My need not to take the online dating scene seriously meant that my profile ended up being four images of donuts. I had a tagline that said I liked long romantic walks to Dunkin Donuts and I had little, to no expectations about who I would be connected with. It did not take long before I understood the 'native's point of view' and developed an emic perspective of the society I was trying to become a part of (Eriksen 2010:40). It was to my surprise that within less than 10 minutes I had more than 12 matches. It seemed at first that users really did like donuts. It was thrilling and exhilarating; liking users' profiles, waiting for my matches to contact me. The experience was hilarious at first considering the image. However, after chatting to the users, it did not entirely make sense why they were matched with me. Some of the users told me that they did not like donuts, another told me eating donuts amounted to 'carb' loading. It was not good for their regime of working out. It seemed there was still a level of narcissism. It appeared at first that choosing me was based on thinking I had some sort of vulnerability that these individuals could use in their favour.

The donut became a defined social symbolic image in which users made assumptions about what I looked like. One particular

user, Brendan, even made a point about it. The casual nature and anonymity of being able to hide behind a screen meant the bitter truth came out in users more often than not. One of the first users I connected with proceeded to ask if I was round like a donut, and later went on to explain that if I was not white, skinny and had 'a bit of an attitude' that they were not interested. In one fell swoop Brendan had informed me of the ugly side of the internet with blatant racism and prejudice towards anything other than physical perfection. As if to redeem himself, Brendan later said that he liked my level of wit and explained that he would love to be friends. This was quite the contrast to other users who found the idea of chatting to a donut slightly uncomfortable, yet humorous.

There is an acknowledgement that in human communication people usually like to see who it is that they are talking to, and the levels of trust that are built upon particular personal images. The internet gave some leniency towards this and for the most part users ignored the image in favour of trying to get to know who the real person was. It was because of this I was still able to learn where people were from, what they did as an occupation, where they lived, what their hobbies were, the list could go on. Most people were open to conversation. It was always rather informal in nature, although a few people reported to me, that chatting to people on Tinder felt like being at an interview. There were one too many questions, one after another. The majority of people using Tinder had busy lives and liked the fun interactive platform to easily chat to other like-minded individuals who may share common interests and want to go on a date.

According to Eriksen (2010:55), 'the person is a social product, but society is created by acting persons.' I had made this role for

myself, without thinking about what the consequences would be. This is because becoming an 'acting person' is not merely the art of portraying a character; rather it is when the character becomes part of you. I was the person who the people that chatted to me thought I was. For that reason I became defensive on behalf of that persona, it was automatically assumed that I was an overweight, insecure person, who possibly worked for the police. I guess asking strange questions led people to that conclusion that something suspicious was going on. I also could not deny that although I had become this character, much of whom that character was, was still fundamentally me. I still felt somewhat let down that without being given a proper opportunity to prove myself to Brendan, that they had totally disregarded the potential to be more than friends.

I learnt some invaluable lessons from my short time on Tinder, the most important of which is that social reality is often what we create for ourselves. The online dating community is a microcosm of the real world of interactions and relationships. This is that we are initially judged by how we look, but personality and persistence do pay off: people are displayed in their best light but if you want the blunt truth most people on the internet are not afraid to give it. Even if we play or act in life, we cannot separate this entirely from who we are in reality. Identity is as much about how others see us, as it is how we see ourselves and we must develop thick skin so that individuals learn they cannot take advantage of our insecurities.

Epilogue: Following Future Feet

Sarah Haggar

Understanding the difficulties within the ambiguities of the word 'culture' is one of the first things that young anthropologists are taught. Learning to confront their own enculturated ways of living, and to mystify their own ways of being are necessary steps to understanding the role and use of anthropology as a discipline in our contemporary world. This collection of student works highlights an early confrontation with these issues. As insiders to a particular society, students are shown that it is conducive to look at their own society from the perspective of outsiders, thus allowing them to make the familiar strange, and opening them up to the possibility of making the strange familiar.

One of the lessons that always made an impact on me as a young undergraduate anthropologist was one from Malinowski, where he tells us to not just listen to what they say, but watch their feet. Not only do we need to pay attention to what people say they do, but we need to try and discern the various cycles and modes of behaviour that are so embedded within them that they do not see them as being anything special. In fact, to anthropologists, everything is special. We learn to take a step back and stand outside ourselves to see not only how others act, but how we act in ways that are embedded and normalised. As Cris Shore mentions in the introduction to this volume, our culture, habits, and general ways of living are like the water in a goldfish bowl, they are the air that surrounds us – we do not feel like we have them until we take that crucial step back. Clifford Geertz

once said that we learn things through people's expressions, that 'it's all a matter of scratching surfaces' (1986:373). That is what the students have done in this collection. They have taken that first step back, to scratch the surface of other's lives.

The purpose of this assignment was to get students thinking like social anthropologists, questioning their own social world. Some decided to focus upon behaviours that are self-monitored – things that turn from 'normal' to incongruous when placed in a mystified context. Catching the lift, riding the bus, using a mobile phone, getting a haircut, and merely wearing clothes (Holmes, Lattes, Hamley, Meyer, and Stroup respectively) are all activities that people participate in every day, which many might say have no special implications surrounding them. Quite the opposite is true, as these student ethnographers identify in their depictions of the rules, practices, and expectations surrounding such normalised activities. Others attempted a more risqué exposé of Auckland culture, looking at attitudes towards homeless people (Wilton), the politics, power, and taboos surrounding breast feeding (James), the strategic management of gender rules, roles, and boundaries within strip clubs (Clarke), the taboo surrounding ladies' toilet etiquette (Strode), and the enthralling practice of 'table-topping' in public food places (Dale). These insights into Auckland dissect what some might see as 'bizarre' behaviour, and look at dismantling exactly why such behaviours are presumed to be so.

Some students analysed what to them was a portion of their everyday life, such as their workplace or their hobbies, focusing the lens on themselves and how they participate in and perpetuate certain modes of structure and sociality. Duder's and

Finn's respective pieces exposing the student worker experience display how the relationships within the workplace are directed by feelings of solidarity, and largely by status. Guy's piece on skateboarding culture and Wakefield's on show jumping highlight the complex inner workings of people's hobbies and passions, and how they are ruled by underlying preconceptions and expectations as to how people should act.

Issues of prejudice, social hierarchical roles, inequality, gender norms, class relations, and taboos seem to have been the most popular topics, letting students question their own uncomfortable roles in the world – things they had before perhaps seen as the norm, they now see as socially marked, ingrained, created, constructed ways of being. Confronting yourself through the anthropological process is a refreshing and insightful way to question and critique the problematics within your society, and this compilation addresses an array of social issues that students (and others) are confronted with on a daily basis. There is a depth of empathetic connection to people that runs as an undercurrent throughout these works as well, which speaks to the capacity for understanding our fellow humans.

An exercise such as this allows students to dip their toes in the pond of ethnography, letting them be slowly exposed to methods of fieldwork and participant observation, leading them into anthropology by a mode of practice. This lets them actually engage with the theory they are taught in a first-hand, personal way. The aim was to use personal experience to gain a better understanding of the theory they are working with. Looking more closely at small pockets or aspects of society, and then drawing these back to wider contexts and concepts, fosters an engagement

with anthropological theory and fieldwork that, ideally, sets them up for future anthropological studies.

It is largely when we see the things we are taught being acted out in our everyday lives that we are confronted with the usefulness of social anthropology in understanding just what it means to be human. How and why do people act as they do? What is this thing we call 'culture' and how does it both guide and impact how people live? What does it actually mean to be human? Why are some people considered in different ways to others? These are some of the profound questions that flare up in budding social anthropologists, that the discipline seeks to answer.

References Cited

Anderson, E.N. 2005. *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture*. New York: New York University Press.

Aneshensel, C.S., and J.D. Stone 1982. Stress and Depression: A Test of the Buffering Model of Social Support. *Arch Gen Psychiatry* 39(12):1392-1396.

Banaji, M.R., Ebert, J.P., Olsson, A. and E.A. Phelps. The Role of Social Groups in the Persistence of Learned Fear. *Science* 309:785-787.

Birx, James H. 2006. *Encyclopedia of Anthropology.* California: Sage Publications.

Code of Canon Law. 1983. Latin-English Edition. Washington, DC:Canon Law Society of America.

Connell, R.W. 2005. Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. Gender & Society, 19:829-859.

Delaney, Carol. 2011. *Investigating Culture: An Experiential Introduction to Anthropology.*West Sussex :Wiley Blackwell.

Dictionary, Oxford. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/rule (accessed 6 April 2014)

Douglas, Mary. (2002). *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* New York: Routledge.

Eriksen, Thomas H. 2010. *Small Places, Large Issues: An introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology.* 3rd edition. London: Pluto Press.

Geertz, Clifford 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

———. 1986. "Making Experiences, Authoring Selves." In *The Anthropology of Experience,* edited by V.W. Turner and E.M. Bruner, 373-380. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Handelman, Don. 1998. *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Herzfeld, M. 2001. *Anthropology. Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Kuper, Adam. 1983. *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Macdonald, Sharon. 2001. 'Ethnography in the Science Museum, London'. In *Inside Organizations: Anthropologists at Work,* edited by David Gellner and Eric Hirsch, 77-96. Oxford: Berg.

Mauss, M. 1990. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies.* London: W.W. Norton.

McGranahan, C. 2012. 'What Makes Something Ethnographic?' Savage Minds: Notes and Queries in Anthropology, May 31st, 2012. http://savageminds.org/2012/05/31/what-makes-something-ethnographic/ [Last accessed: 23-11-2014]

Miller, Daniel. 1997. *Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: Berg.

Molloy, Maureen. 2014. *The Gift: Gift Exchange and Commodities.* University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 20 March 2014.

Ortner, Sherry. 2006. *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject.* Durham North Carolina: Duke University press

Ray, Krishnendu. 2004. The migrant's table – meals and memories in Bengali-American households. Philadalphia: Temple University Press.

Shore, C. 2014a. *Culture as a System of Classification: Pollution and Taboo*. University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 13 March 14.

———. 2014b. *Symbols.* University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 1 April 14.

———. 2014c. *What is Social Anthropology.* University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 6 March 14.

———. 2014d. *Fieldwork Fundamentals.* University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 18 March 2014

———. 2014e. *Anthropology, Fieldwork and Ethnography Writing.* Lecture for Anthropology 100. 25 March 2014.

———. 2014f. *Ritual and Rites of Passage.* University of Auckland. Lecture for Anthropology 100. 27 March 2014.

Statistics New Zealand. 2013. Auckland bucks downward trend in religion. http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/data-tables/reg-sum-tables- pt2-mr.aspx (accessed 6 April 2014).

Index