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You and I aren't so equal;
the visual representation of gender inequality in the contemporary
New Zealand workforce and the visual manifestation of
inequality in Wellington's southern suburbs.

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Philosophy
in
Visual and Material Culture

at Massey University, Wellington,
New Zealand

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2013

Abstract

Inequality abounds. It is a complex issue that affects all manner of environmental, political, economic, and social factors. It underlies many detrimental phenomena including sexism and crime. Inequality holds an ambiguous presence in academic scholarship yet it affects the lives of many. To show how inequality is registered within the social fabric is one aim of this thesis. Epidemiologists Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson (2010) begin to propose inequality as a concept that can be seen in daily life. Based on this proposition, the present studies investigate the visuality of inequality across three chapters.

Despite much progress, gender inequality and inequity remain present in the contemporary New Zealand workforce. As has been highlighted in much feminist theory, gender and women's studies, representation is a significant factor in the activation of gendered identities and positive visual representations of women can reduce gender inequity. Tertiary education providers were turned to for analysis on the basis that educational inequalities develop into workplace inequalities. Specifically, selected visuals from Massey University's College of Creative Arts and four trades training institutions (Unitec, Wintec, Weltec, and the Open Polytechnic) were analysed to reveal indexes symptomatic of inequality. These are undertaken to examine whether women are represented equivalently to data and if non-governmental organisations are implementing governmental suggestions for change.

The final chapter addresses inequality in public space manifest in the form of graffiti, poster, visual sign, and demonstration determined as 'interventions'. A set of theoretical lenses including the work of Michel Foucault, Karl Marx, and Alfred Gell, is used to examine a selection of interventions in relation to concepts of power, landownership, current affairs, authorship, site-specificity, and surveillance technologies. Here a cultural reading of the visuality of inequality is made. In sum, this thesis posits two everyday places as sites where discourse on inequality visually manifests so as to better understand its cause.

Acknowledgements

Thank you

...to the Centre for Teaching and Learning for their unwavering support
...to those who took part in this study in an interview capacity or by providing data
...to those who have given their time to comment on this thesis
...to Massey University for the financial support
...to those who invited me to dinner despite my declining social skills

And finally,

...to those who believe that the economic is unrelated to the social

and

...to those who believe that New Zealand is free of inequality, inequity, and poverty because without you, this research would not have been necessary.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s) please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, E-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz

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Preface

Growing up, I was always told not to complain because life's not fair. My go-to question was "But *why*, Mum?" (pronounced with emphasis on, and extension of, the 'y'), often used in response to receiving an answer contrary to my desired outcome, and often followed, to no avail, by one of my first class tantrums. Equally as consistent was Mum's response: "because life's not fair". These statements have stuck with me, not only because they say life will always be unfair but because of their compliance with, and submission to, a state of unfairness.

At the end of my undergraduate degree, coinciding with the 2008 economic recession, I sought paid employment to supplement an unpaid art opportunity. Some 60 unsuccessful job applications later, I developed a personal interest in what appeared to be gender inequality in the contemporary New Zealand workforce. This personal interest describes how it is difficult for me, with my way of thinking as a conceptual artist, not to apply my ongoing research interests to whatever is filling my world.

My days were long as I tried to balance what I wanted to do (make art) with what I had to do (make rent). Rather than give me more time, technology allowed me to cram more into my day;¹ my bus trips became my meditation time. It was during my mundane commute that I became aware of, and intrigued by, certain things I was seeing. I began photographically documenting a selection of interventions to public space.² Frustratingly, my academic art training prevented me from categorising what I was seeing as graffiti or street art. The interventions were low-fi posters or painted text protesting against Government proposals such as the sale of state owned assets. The interventions seemed full of unrest, frustration, rebellion, and intelligence; and I wanted to know more.

Still something was bothering me. It seemed both of these things – gendered inequity in the workforce and postering in public space - were indicative of something else, symptoms of a greater deceit; symptoms of inequality. As I have grown, I have come to know it is inequality that underlies the injustice in my world.

¹ Professor of Philosophy, Val Dusek, suggests technology is a double edged sword (2006). The invention of vacuum cleaners coincided with an increase in house size and the invention of the washing machine coincided with people owning more clothes. Thus, while technology saves us time, social change render progress negligible.

² For some, photographs are equivalent to an ethnographers field notes or a transcript from an interview; photographs are a record of something someone has paid attention to (Grady, 2004).

Introduction

This thesis raises awareness of inequality (difference) and inequity (unjust difference) in Wellington and New Zealand during 2011-2012. This is achieved through two independent case studies undertaken by myself; a female researcher aged 25. The first investigation, chapter two, concerns the visual manifestation of gendered inequalities in the photographs of a selection of contemporary New Zealand workplaces. The principle questions are ‘do staff photographs conceal or reflect inequity?’ and, ‘do these images reflect issues that are known to perpetuate inequality?’. The second investigation, chapter three, also concerns visual evidence of inequality but this time in the public space of Wellington’s Southern suburbs. In relation to notions of power, the investigation determines how interventions in public space visually reflect a challenge to power inequality and establishes what agency such messages hold. Key themes in the research are the formation of identity, and the unequal distribution of power and control. To read these images as discourse on inequality is to engage in a process to better understand the relation of power and social effects of meaning, extending to activating individual and shared identity.

In part, this is a sociological visual study influenced by modes of thought in the creative arts and humanities. Images from a selection of New Zealand workplaces involved in the education sector are analysed, and fieldwork in the public space of Wellington’s southern suburbs was undertaken. These parameters thus posit the selected sites as a contestable zone for the visual manifestation of inequality. Processes of visualisation and visibility, including semiotics and photography, are key frameworks used to arrive at my findings; though a range of methodologies, as detailed later, were used.

A range of literature supports the present study demonstrating that inequality is of concern to a great number of people from many walks of life. The literature review showcases inequality as a global phenomenon that is present in New Zealand; though some may not accept this reality. Recent literature to be discussed highlights the need to keep the topic of inequality in the public arena and demonstrates the importance of never becoming complacent or indifferent to its implications.

The summation of this research provides a greater understanding about the visual manifestation of inequality in terms of gender, vandalism, power, and identity.

Theoretical framework

How does inequality manifest? This is a broad question at the heart of this research investigation. Realising a need to limit this thesis, I set out to explore this question within

carefully defined parameters. It was necessary I placed myself in relation to the field of study as my specific experiences lead me to these studies. Issues with the representation of women in the workforce were of interest to me as a young female seeking employment, and I argue inequality can be seen in images of the workforce. The streets I walk, bus, and cycle en route to places of work and study became demarcated as an active space within which to argue that there is visual evidence and signs of social inequality in public space.

Those working in interpretative disciplines, such as social scientists and feminist scholars, have criticised the necessity of separating the researchers and research (Kirkman, 2001). It is argued impossible to prevent a researcher's lived experience from influencing the research design, process, and interpretations of content as direct lived experience allows for nuanced results that may not have been noticed if the researcher were entirely detached from the subject matter (Kirkman, 2001).

To achieve my aim, I have undertaken field research and taken my own research photographs. In my studies I used a variety of different approaches. I have interviewed a range of participants and used oral contributions to inflect accounts of inequality by various voices. I have compiled qualitative and quantitative data in visual audits, and I have used textual explication. I have drawn from theories of women's studies to understand the complexities of gendered concerns. In order to better understand the public space – the visual field – that I engage with, and view, every day, I have drawn from methodologies in the field of contemporary art. These methodologies have then been aligned with contemporary women's studies and a discourse of power drawing from Foucault and Marx.

Contemporary art is qualified by the theories of social anthropologist Alfred Gell (1945-1947), visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff, and philosopher Jacques Rancière. Rancière does not adhere to medium-based understandings of art. Rather, he defines aesthetics broadly as a mode of articulation with a corresponding visual form (2000 trans. 2011). Gell too found little to be gained in having multiple theories of art as he asserts the principles of art should not be period or culture specific. Gell (1998) proposes an anthropology of art in its social context, for art produces social relations and mediates social agency. For Gell, the materiality of human nature means everything has the potential to act as social artefact. Both Rancière and Gell's theories depend on the act of seeing. Mirzoeff (2006) has developed historian Thomas Carlyle's (1795-1881) differentiations between vision and visibility. For Mirzoeff and Carlyle, vision is a physiological process and visibility makes vision comprehensible. Visibility is inseparable from the social and cultural contexts in which images and objects exist; it is a multimedia term connecting much from art to literature to what we see and interact with in daily life. The visibility of inequality is a

phrase thus used to refer to the comprehension of selected images as discourse on the topic of inequality.

The theories of Rancière and Gell do not suggest that disciplines have no relevance, rather they posit that it is not only the medium that defines any given thing as Art. In regards to medium, I used photography to document visual residues of inequality. For some, photographs are crucial to qualitative research as they “lead to the heart of social science theory” (Chaplin, 2004, p. 36). The photographer is generally the photographer *or* the ethnographer (Halton, 1994) but, through familiarity with places, much nuance can be gained from assuming both roles. Photography provides a visual survey of the social, political, economic, and cultural characteristics (Suchar, 2004) that define a city. Here, literature such as *Picturing the social landscape: Visual methods and the sociological imagination* (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and Mirzoeff’s concept of *visuality* are important. In his contribution to *Picturing the social landscape* (2004), John Grady, Professor of Sociology, suggests visual media dominates contemporary communication and thus warrants study of how messages are produced, encoded, and consumed. In my studies, different models of interpreting visual signs in public space are used; specifically, poststructuralist thinking is important as it advances the notion that the construct of meaning does not rely on a singular author. In regards to more tangible data, theories of material culture as outlined in *Handbook of Material Culture* (Tilley et al, 2006) were used.

Visual and material culture – a broad field of study that includes semiotics – provides my studies with a framework that extends beyond the boundaries of visual art. Broadly defined, semiotics is the study and application of signs, signifiers and symbols perceived through a process known as semiosis. As with Mirzoeff (2009), I have used semiotics and semiosis in my studies as a way to interpret visual information. Semiotic theory provides a framework for the way artists often intuitively form aesthetic, social, and political understandings of images and objects. Through this research more will be known about how the visual promulgates stereotyping which, in turn, formulates identity; specifically gendered identities in the workplace and collective socio-political identities in public space. For Christopher Tilley, a key theorist in the field of material culture, material culture does not just passively symbolise social inequalities “but plays an active and fundamental role in reproducing them” (Tilley, 2006, p. 66). For Professor Stephen Harold Riggins, objects “are a cause, medium and consequence of social relationships” (Riggins, 1994, p. 1). Through this research we will know how selected images are a meaningful reflection of society.

In my studies I use visual and women's studies to analyse representations of gender difference. The connection between art, representation, and sex is captured in the quote: "Through the stereotyping of gender characteristics and differences, art has mediated and reinforced patriarchal structures" (Newall & Pooke, 2007, p. 161). To say women are unequal to men hints at what literary critic and academic Elaine Showalter calls Marxist-feminism (1993); a feminism that is concerned with issues such as class in addition to issues stemming from the biological. Examined at greater length in the literature review, feminist theories provide these studies with 'a certain political and ethical stance on cultural experience' (Jones, 2003).

In the 2003 book *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, editor and Professor of Art History and Visual Studies, Amelia Jones, proposes that feminism and visual culture inform, and are informed by, each other rather than being a critique of one another. This assertion is based on the idea that both feminism and visual culture are "driven by political concerns and focus primarily on cultural forms as informing subjective experience" (Jones, 2003, p. 1). In focusing on the stereotyping of women, the second chapter of this research runs the risk of being thought of as research on women's issues rather than social issues. However, similarly to Amelia Jones, my studies are situated within feminism *and* visual culture because both are driven by socio-political concerns; I draw on feminism as a mode of thought to complement studies in visual culture. Furthermore, the use of multiple theories provides grounds for comprehensive, interdisciplinary investigations.

In an interdisciplinary approach, it is prudent to acknowledge the difference of similar terms. While there is much written about the differentiation between 'sex' and 'gender' (Butler, 1993; Fine, 2010; Foucault, 1976; Newall & Pooke, 2007), the terms have been used synonymously in situations where no benefits were to be gained from differentiation.³ Institutions and organisations use the binary of male or female - indeed this is how institutions herein provided data for my studies - hence, I too must use this binary. I do this with the utmost respect to those who class themselves outside this system of classification.

In the third chapter, the focus moves from an investigation of institutional gender inequality to a investigation of inequality in public space. To do this, the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and German philosopher Karl Marx (1818-1883) form the theoretical framework in the third and final chapter of these studies. Marxism is a worldview developed by Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) that premises

³ The terms 'woman', 'man', 'male' and 'female' are also used interchangeably despite that the terms woman and man relate only to humans.

economics as the basis for social phenomena. Class struggle is a key element of Marxist theory as conveyed by the quote “all history has been a history of class struggles” (Engels & Marx, 2002, p. 6). Although Marxism is focused on capitalism, communism, and socialism, and inequality is not bound to a particular economic system, social change and class relations are concerns relevant to both inequality and Marxism. Accordingly, the work of Karl Marx is applied in the third chapter of my studies when investigating the unequal distributions of power between different groups of people. In particular, I turn to the first chapter of Marx’s literary construction *Capital* (1976) in which Marx proposes his theory of ‘Commodity Fetishism’ that describes a process where human relations are transformed by commodities in the market. For Marx, landownership is a type of capital problematic because all capital has an inherent hierarchy. An important concern discussed at greater length in the final chapter of my studies is the issue of landownership.

It may be considered unconventional to utilise the theories of Foucault and Marx in the same study. Professor of Sociology Bob Jessop observes the criticism that Foucault is anti-Marxist, or at least exhibits a hostility to Marxism (2006). It has also been said that the work of Foucault developed a “renewed sympathy for Marxism” following the widespread protests, and subsequent events, in France during May 1968 (Pickett, 1996, p. 446). Following 1968, Foucault’s rupture with Marxism developed into more of a tactical alliance (Balibar, 1992). Thus, in conjunction with Marx’s work, I turn to the later works of Foucault. It seems the major difference between the work of the two philosophers is that Marx seeks to explain “the *why* of capital accumulation and state power” and Foucault seeks to “explain the *how* of economic exploitation and political dominance” (Jessop, 2006, p. 44). For Foucault, the *how* of dominance is defined by how a human subject experiences the exertion of power in a way that affects their actions (Foucault, 1982); thus, as is clearly stated in Foucault’s text *The Subject and Power*, technically, it is the subject, not power, that is the focus of Foucault’s work.

Where there is inequality, there is often an imbalanced distribution of power that can initiate a process of subjectification (Foucault, 1982). In these studies, the social connotations of gender difference and differences in the priorities of vandals and property owners are posited as evidence of imbalanced power hierarchies. A selection of interventions are presented in this research as evidence of inequality. Technically, the selected interventions could be considered acts of vandalism and surveillance is a system of power widely used to prevent vandalism. Foucault’s theory of panopticism is based on Jeremy Bentham’s ‘Panopticon’, a cylindrical structure designed in the late 1700s intended

to induce discipline through surveillance. In this case study, the struggle for power and the hierarchy of surveillance emerges when an author's motivations are shown to be overruled by the motivations of the property owner. In *Discipline and Punishment* (Foucault, 1975 trans. 1977) Foucault proposes that power is an unverifiable and ever present relationship *between* individuals or groups rather than something *held* by them. It is the consequences of this model of an omnipresent abstract type of power that my studies investigate.

Methodology

Inequality is a global issue and New Zealand is part of an international community, yet perceptions differ on just how prevalent inequality is in New Zealand. Thus, there is a need to judiciously use and evaluate international literature and research in conjunction with New Zealand based research and literature.

The first and second chapters are supported with primary research gained from seven interviews. The participants were selected because of their professional roles through which they have gained extensive experience with issues of inequality. Workplace inequity was discussed with Helen Kelly, the first female President of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions. Gender inequality was discussed with Rachael Wright of the Wellington Young Feminists' Collective. The female centred court system was discussed with Allan Harvey, President of the Union of Fathers. The progress of women in work was discussed with Beryl Anderson, Convener of the Public Issues Standing Committee and past President, of the National Council of Women of New Zealand. Government's role in gender equity was discussed with Pamela Cohen, Acting Director of Policy at the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA). Workplace sex-based discrimination was discussed under the Official Information Act with Cherie Engelbrecht and Dairne Grant of the Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment (formally the Department of Labour). Finally, social inequality was discussed with Holly Walker, a Member of Parliament of the Green Party of Aotearoa of New Zealand who completed a Master's thesis at Oxford University on issues of social inequality in New Zealand.⁴

In the second chapter, radio discussions, research by Government Agencies, online articles published by news media organisations such as the Dominion Post, and the New Zealand Herald are used to provide a timely commentary on how governmental policy is communicated to, and perceived by, the New Zealand public. Qualitative methods –

⁴ This primary research component could have been strengthened by an interview with the team of Dr. Judy McGregor, Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner, but repeated attempts at communicating with the Human Rights Commission were not successful.

including the interviews, visual audits, and image analysis - proved useful to discuss social organisation and to comprehend the subtle nuances of unequal social relationships.

Although some conventional social scientists are wary of visual evidence, images contain a large amount of information about a social history (Grady, 2004). Thus, there are benefits to be gained from using visual evidence in a study located within the arts and humanities. Two visual audits are completed in the second chapter. The first visual audit audits the prospectus material of study courses historically dominated by men. The parameter of typically 'masculine' trades training courses was established to focus the audit on gendered training courses rather than post-secondary education in general, and this parameter brings the present study in line with work by the MWA. Education is one way to gain entrance to the workforce and increase employment prospects (Statistics New Zealand, 2005); thus, polytechnics were selected because they offer vocational training courses.⁵ This audit determines the extent to which women are photographically represented in the prospectus material retrieved from each provider's website. Other photographs on the websites, such as those on the home pages, were not included because they were not attributed to specific courses. Oral and video testimonials were outside of scope as only one provider had these. The four providers included in these studies are Unitec in Auckland, Wintec in Hamilton, Weltec in Wellington, and the extramural provider the Open Polytechnic. Distance learning can often be done from home or in addition to paid employment. As women tend to work from home more than men, extramural study is thought to be more appealing to women, hence the reason for including the Open Polytechnic. Discipline based trades training institutions such as the Electricity Supply Industry Training Organisation (ESITO) were excluded to focus only on Polytechnics. Christchurch's Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT) was excluded despite Christchurch being New Zealand's third largest city. The MWA expect more women to go into non-gender typical trades professions and training courses in the Christchurch region as many job losses following the February 2011 and subsequent earthquakes have been in female dominated industries. Thus, an audit of CPIT was expected to return unique findings due to the changing features of the Christchurch workforce so this provider was excluded. Prospectus material of the subject areas Automotive Technology, Construction Trades, and Electrical and Engineering was audited. Electrical and Engineering includes courses in electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, and telecommunications.

⁵ The current Government's 'Better Public Services' policies aim to increase the proportion of people with educational qualifications from year 12 and onwards order to increase employment. However, these targets are not gender specific. In contrast to these targets is the removal and reduction of some types of funding for tertiary study as part of the 2012 "zero budget".

Construction Trades includes building, furniture and cabinet making, plumbing, gas fitting, construction management, and architectural technology. Roofing, audio-visual technology, and marine automotive technology were excluded as only one provider offered these courses. Findings are discussed by industry and provider. Being by distance delivery, the Open Polytechnic does not offer courses in Automotive Technology. Thus, at times when findings are discussed by industry, the discussion may exclude the Open Polytechnic.

In 2011, the MWA reported that 1% of builders, plumbers, electricians, and motor mechanics are women. To ensure this figure was still accurate, the providers kindly released data by course and gender for students enrolled in the 2012 academic year. This data is also used to confirm or eliminate potential difference between the number of female students and those who go on to work in the field. The organisation, Education Counts, collates education statistics from data provided by the Ministry of Education. In 2011, Education Counts reported a much higher concentration of women in Electrotechnology courses (22.75%) than the four providers do in 2012 (2.71%). This is thought due to difference in courses considered under the umbrella of Electrotechnology, or to Education Counts' inclusion of organisations such as ESITO who actively encourage women into electrical supply trade vocations.

When it came to determining the sex of the subject photographed, this was by categorising the normative aesthetic gender presentations of each subject as either male or female. Where names accompanied the image, the name could further confirm the sex of a subject. Those who could not be declared female or male were omitted. Where sex could not be determined was often due to androgyny, lack in image clarity, image cropping, image sizing, or concealment by trades typical attire such as welding helmets or overalls. For these reasons 44 (16.30%) out of the total 270 subjects photographically represented were excluded.

Prospectus' for qualifications at Bachelors level or above were excluded for three reasons; because not all of the Polytechnics offer qualifications above diploma level, because it is more common for trades qualifications to be at the level of diploma and certificate, and because this level of study is the focus of the second visual audit.

The second visual audit analysed two photographs of Massey University's College of Creative Arts (CoCA) staff. This visual audit investigated the visual presence of occupational segregation. Universities are typically seen as places of progressive thought, enlightenment, and equality. As such, if inequality is present anywhere, then it is thought less likely to be in academia.

Massey University has offered extramural courses from 1960 and extramural study is often appealing to women who study in addition to working from home. Sex-based inequality was expected to be less present at Massey University because of the University's history with making tertiary level study accessible for women and in the College of Creative Arts in particular because the visual arts are a field dominated by women.

As I have studied with CoCA for 5 years, I can make more accurate assumptions about the sex of each staff member based on past interactions than if I were detached from the subjects. Nevertheless, with no accompanying list of names, there remained three subjects (2.46%) out of the total 122 whose sex could not be decided and were thus omitted from these studies.

As with the first visual audit, non-identifiable data stating the total numbers of male and females of the staff and student populations was kindly made available by the provider.

In the third and final chapter, a selection of vandalistic acts were found by using a process Professor Nicholas Mirzoeff calls 'Vernacular watching'; the type of distracted watching one does whilst waiting, or when undertaking routine tasks (2009). For the intellectual John Berger, observation is a more conscious process with people noticing images that correspond to their particular interests (1972). My process was a mixture of both. Initially, my noticing was very much vernacular. Then I began photographically documenting these images during my daily commute along regular routes from Wellington's southern suburbs to the city centre; a conscious process similar to that which Berger describes. The sites were revisited many months later to investigate the longevity of the interventions. As the author of each intervention is unknown, descriptive image titles have been created.

The power and convenience of contemporary digital photography in our image saturated society (Rose, 2001) was of interest but not in an artistic sense. Snapshot photography - a type of photography Professor Geoffrey Batchen (2008) has written about - is not concerned with aesthetic or technical brilliance, or with the preservation of high culture like artistic photography is.⁶ Thus, snapshot photography was used as the images primarily support a discussion of invisible social structures, rather than further contemporary photography. In addition, contemporary digital cameras are cheap and thus accessible for student researchers. Contemporary cameras are also small and thus able to

⁶ Batchen describes snapshot photography as "art history's worst nightmare – boring pictures" (p.121, 2008) because the majority tend to be banal in content, and technical and formal components. The images in the final chapter could be found boring as aesthetic objects, but the content is anything but apathetic.

be carried around at most times; a technicality that proved beneficial as the interventions I documented often appear and then disappear within a short time.⁷

To view images as data, rather than illustrative aid, provides scope for analysis of the social context (Grady, 2004). Increasingly, the non-tangible attributes of the visual are given the same amount of attention and thought as material properties (Eastop, 2006). I came to notice potential meaning in the interventions through my experience with the intuitive nature of non-verbal cultural production. Sometimes this form of cultural production is known as the process of making art, sometimes it is known as semiosis. To extract the wider context of these interventions, 'socio-semiotics'; a sub-category of semiotics that brings our attention to the integration of objects and images in the social fabric of everyday life was used. This integration is crucial as society consists of two entities: people and objects (Riggins, 1994).

To summarise; combining the theories and methodologies of visual culture including art, semiotics, ethnography, and anthropology means using the supportive and expansive practices of one field where another may be weak or restrictive. Adherence to the specific methodologies of fields of study was not important in an interdisciplinary approach because this would be secondary to the benefits gained from the "shared ethnographic ground of art and anthropology" (Grimshaw & Ravetz, 2005, p. 5). Inequality was investigated through the visual because seeing "is not only a part of everyday life, it is everyday life" (Mirzoeff, 2009) and because culture, including art, legitimises social difference (Bourdieu, 1993). Through these fields of study that have long documented moments of social tension (Pink, 2007), a current survey into inequality as it visually manifests was completed.

Literature review

These studies are undertaken at a time when various publications, conferences, and symposiums address inequality in a local context. This literature review contextualises current local discourse while drawing comparisons and contrasts to a global situation. The review attends to inequality in relation to key aspects of these discussions and publications as a basis for later chapters. These key aspects include perceptions of poverty and wealth, the workforce, women's studies, synergies of power, surveillance, vandalism, and current affairs.

Inequality is a measure of difference said to be a contributing, if not causal, factor adversely affecting many determinants of wellbeing such as social mobility, gender

⁷ The fleeting life of the interventions is paralleled in the fleeting nature of digital photography where numerous shots are taken and then the majority are deleted.

equality, health, and crime. These are the findings of a pivotal book on global inequality that extrapolated data by reputable sources such as The World Health Organisation and the United Nations. In *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone* (2010), epidemiologists Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson propose that our whole world, not just America, has higher than manageable levels of inequality that will only be resolved if economic *and* social contributors are addressed.⁸

Inequality is further problematic because power follows wealth (Kropotkin, 1902/1993; Peckham, 1979). Evolutionary theorist Peter Kropotkin writes that wealth and income are more than money; wealth and income provide financial security, confer status, possess social prestige, accumulate political power, and not only reduce debt but gain access to more money (1902/1993). When inequality persists, social division can occur (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2008). Since the 2008 economic crisis and international events like ‘Occupy’, greater numbers of people have come to notice the imbalance of wealth. The 2011 political protest movement ‘Occupy’ highlighted that money itself is not the only problem; money indicates how much one is valued in society. Events like Occupy emphasise the importance of reducing inequalities. Occupy developed out of an increasing awareness of the socially damaging effects of financial inequity. Before Occupy, the binary of poverty was discussed; with poverty one either suffers the effects of poverty or they do not. After Occupy, there was a shift in focus to inequality from a sole focus on poverty. In order to establish the significance of the divergence of inequality from poverty, the relationship between the two terms is investigated in the first chapter.

The article *Straight White Male* (2012) by Californian writer John Scalzi discusses the interlinking of oppressions through a contemporary analogy. In order to avoid blaming the privileged for the plight of those less fortunate, Scalzi compares the selection of difficulty settings at the start of a video game to how inequalities are assigned at birth. Typically, those bestowed at birth with the most privilege are heterosexual western males (Case, Hopkins, & Iuzzuni, 2012; McIntosh, 1988; Scalzi, 2012). For Scalzi being other than the Western “pinnacle” of power and prestige does not mean one will fail at the video game of life; rather, one will face more barriers along the way as one’s video game of life has higher difficulty settings and fewer ‘cheat codes’. As with all analogies that are limited, Scalzi does not provide scope for other factors that contribute to inequality such as religious

⁸ For others, inequality is a social issue with a neurological basis. Studies show that social and physical pain share a neuroanatomical basis; regardless if the pain is experienced in the first or third person (Dickerson & Kemeny, 2004; Eisenberger, N. I., & Lieberman, M. D., & Williams, K. D., 2003). This is thought to be a survival instinct supporting the known benefits of mutual living (Eisenberger & Lieberman, 2004; Fiske, 2010; Kropotkin, 1902/1993).

beliefs, class, height, age, marital status, and disability. The analogy is also dependent on an individualistic view of life where one is responsible for overcoming any and all challenges, irrespective of systemic issues.

Everyday, news articles around the world are published on the topic of inequality. Readers form opinions quickly, exasperated with the rise in social network sites and online commentary. Opinion columns such as *Thomas Jefferson's View of Equality Under Siege* (Meyerson, 2012) argue the United States of America is doing well in regard to social parity, but not so well in regard to economic and political equality. The author of this opinion column, Harold Meyerson, contradicts himself as he goes on to state that the social and the economic are inseparable. That opinion columns such as that of Meyerson reach different conclusions to key researchers in the field reminds us to read them critically. The article had over 1,000 comments within 48 hours suggesting inequality is an issue relevant to society; or at least to readers of the Washington Post.

Regional newspapers such as the Washington Post often have a wider readership than academic texts. Locally, articles published by the Hutt News such as *Key's Policies Shatter Illusions* (Campbell, 2012) and *Poor Get Poorer, Inequality Reigns – Survey* (Cooke, 2012) by the Dominion Post, indicate that the media of New Zealand's general public are interested in inequality. *Key's Policies Shatter Illusion* is of the opinion that the policies and policy revisions by the current National Government are contradictory to how New Zealanders view themselves; this article suggests a gap between dated formations of national identity and the contemporary reality. The implications of this possible gap between reality and commonly held beliefs will be discussed in chapter one in relation to both social egalitarianism and the image created of New Zealand as an environmentally pure country.

The Spirit Level frequently ranks New Zealand within the top 5 countries on various scales of inequality but New Zealand is not mentioned on a consistent basis for lack of data. Although using different data to that which *The Spirit Level* required, principal advisor to the Ministry of Social Development, Bryan Perry, compiles New Zealand's most substantial periodical publication on inequality; the *Household Incomes in New Zealand: Trends and Indicators of Inequality and Hardship* (2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012) report.⁹ More recently still, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa hosted a series of talks, *Forums for the future: Between rich and poor*, in September and October 2012 as prequel to the release of author Max Rashbrooke's 2013 book *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis – And What*

⁹ Before the focus on inequality, Perry also compiled documents on poverty in publications such as *The mismatch between income measures and direct outcome measures of poverty* (Ministry of Social Development, 2002).

We Can Do About It. Rashbrooke proposes inequality as one of the most pressing issues New Zealand faces (personal communication, September 13, 2012) and the near capacity auditorium indicates that inequality is of great interest to a selection of Wellington's general public too.

Forthcoming publications, news media articles, the high level of interest displayed in *Forums for the Future*, the critically acclaimed work of Pickett & Wilkinson (which has been cited by the likes of the New Zealand Treasury), and social movements like Occupy, indicate that the concept of inequality is a timely one relevant to current and future New Zealand research. Further, these texts have garnered wide interest and generated a growing awareness of inequality as a factor contributing to many forms of economic, social, political, and environmental decay.

Gender based discrimination is one symptom of inequality. Data (Statistics New Zealand, 2012) and legislation (1972 Equal Pay Act) indicate employment is gendered. Discussion of gender inequity can begin with feminist theory thus requiring a robust overview which is undertaken below.

French intellectual and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir's problematisation of women as non-male (1949 trans. 2010) is a historic proposition that serves contemporary feminist theory and provides the second chapter with a starting point for investigating contemporary issues that linger on from historic definitions of 'the female'. Feminism – loosely defined as a social movement for human liberation – is under continual negotiation. Though there is no argument that feminism has achieved much for women, feminism remains relevant in situations where oppression remains. As feminism moved into its third wave, feminist critics such as Judith Butler (1993), French philosopher Luce Irigaray (1977, 1985, 2004), and Elaine Showalter (1993) have reassessed the potentialities of feminism and propose it to be flawed because ideas of woman-ness are restricted to discourses dominated by masculinity thus leaving women open to sex-based discrimination.¹⁰

Feminist author and journalist Susan Faludi attempts to provide a balanced analysis of the cultural effects of gendered thought in *Stiffed* (1990). At a time when traditional ideas of masculinity were collapsing (Faludi, 1990), *Stiffed* reminded readers that society has formed concepts of both femininity and masculinity, not just femininity. Faludi achieves her aim of giving voice to a number of men affected by the contemporary 'male dilemma' through much anecdotal evidence. *The Second Sexism: Discrimination Against Men and Boys* (2012) by Cape Town University head of philosophy David Benatar successfully

¹⁰ For Slavoj Žižek, sexual discrimination is a form of ideological violence (2008).

navigates the historically problematic topic of sex-based discrimination without reading as a backlash to the women's rights movements. These books by Faludi and Benatar are less gender-biased than others such as *Why Men Earn More: The Startling Truth About the Gender Pay Gap And What Women Can Do About It* (Farrell, 2005) and *Legalizing Misandry: From Public Shame to Systemic Discrimination Against Men* (Nathanson & Young, 2006).

Much of women's studies comes from the United States of America or the United Kingdom. In their book *The Social Psychology of Gender: How Power and Intimacy Shape Gender Relations*, Professors of Psychology, Peter Glick and Laurie Rudman, are conscious of the discrepancies in applying international research to the context of New Zealand, but conclude that women face similar issues in the workforces of both America and New Zealand (2008).

Whether the title of the New Zealand book *Ethics and the Politics of Research: Where Gender and Sexuality Still Matter* (Kirkman, 2001) intends to infer that issues of sex, gender, and sexuality only matter in a limited range of situations is not made clear in the text. We have a sexually ordered social and economic system (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001) with reports such as *Focusing on Women* by Statistics New Zealand (2005) suggesting gender-based discrimination is a contemporary concern. Though comprehensive, the report uses now dated data from the 2001 Census of Population and Dwelling and the report is not readily accessible and, at times, lacks qualifying statements. For example, *Focusing on Women* concludes that 70,000 women who work part-time are looking for more hours of paid employment, without stating the total number of working women. If the majority of women want more work, then further investigation into job availability¹¹ or economic pressures might be required. Conversely, if this figure refers to the minority of women, then it might be more suggestive of women's choice. If women work more hours, the gender pay gap will narrow, as much of the gender pay gap is attributed to "life choice variables" (Barhava-Monteith & Wilshaw-Sparkes, 2011). The major life choice variable is that men tend to work more hours than women (Barhava-Monteith & Wilshaw-Sparkes, 2011; Department of Labour, n.d.; MWA, 2010), perhaps suggesting a workforce of underpaid women and overworked men (Sterba as cited in Farrell & Sterba, 2008).

Some reports suggest the gender pay gap between men and women is closing (Statistics New Zealand, 2012b, 2011, 2005), to the extent that it is the smallest it has been since

¹¹ Heathrose Research report that while some women work part-time by choice, for others it is because they cannot find full-time work (2008). Statistics New Zealand report more women than men to be looking for more hours (not necessarily full-time) of paid employment (2005).

records began in 1997 (Goodhew, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2012)¹² while others suggest the gender pay gap is growing (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a). This fluctuation between conclusions of quarterly reports also indicates that one cannot assert gender equity and job equality have been achieved and thus, there is room for ongoing research into the current state of gender equality in the New Zealand workforce. One report that successfully merges quantitative remuneration data with qualitative issues is the Ministry of Women's Affairs' (MWA) *Analysis of Graduate Income Data 2002-2007* (2010). This pivotal report analysed the pay of equally, or substantially similarly, qualified men and women and found that women are paid 6% less than men one year after graduation and 17% less five years after graduation. Often women's greater child bearing responsibility, and thus a higher incidence of women taking time out from the workforce to raise children (McNall, Morrissey, & Mulvaney, 2011),¹³ is thought to be an explanation of gendered pay inequity. The parameter of one and five years after graduation is a strength of the MWA report as it eliminates the possibility that time out of the workforce to raise children explains, or justifies, pay inequity because the majority of women have not had any children within 5 years after graduating. The validity of the effects that life choice variables such as parenting have on a woman's employment are examined closely in the second chapter in relation to educational choice, occupational expectation, and socialisation. Furthermore, even if the women studied did take time out of the workforce to raise children, it is not mathematically possible for women to lose 17 annual average 1% pay rises within a five-year period. A potential weakness of the report is that it does not, and perhaps cannot, control for competency. However, as the MWA study compares graduates from the same, or substantially similar, training courses it is highly unlikely all the female graduates are on average 6-17% less competent than the men.

Thus far only the detrimental examples of stereotyping have been discussed. *Progress on Gender Pay Gap Work* (Wong, 2010) commends female construction apprentice Kartika Mutzelburg for winning the annual 'Third Year Apprentice Challenge'. However, the title of this article is not correct in relation to the articles' content. The Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment's (MBIE) webpage *Definition of Terms* relates employment

¹² However, the narrowing of the gender pay gap is thought due, in part, to the stagnation of men's wages not the improvement of women's wages (D. Grant, personal communication, August 03, 2012); a problem compounded by the majority of job growth since the 1990s being in full-time positions and women tend to occupy part-time jobs more frequently than men (Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

¹³ The impact that time out of the workforce to raise a family has on a woman is sometimes referred to as the 'mother penalty' (Falconer, 2012) or the 'motherhood penalty' (Fine, 2010).

equity to the fairness of the entitlement to work, the gender pay gap to a comparison of men's and women's earnings, and pay equity to ensuring remuneration does not differ where work requires the same, or substantially similar, skills, efforts, responsibilities, and working conditions (n.d.). As a substantial proportion of the gender pay gap is thought due to gendered discrepancies in hours worked, Mutzelburg's achievement narrowed the pay gap little more than any other woman working full-time. Rather, what Mutzelburg has done is overcome the challenges presented by occupational stereotyping. While Mutzelburg's achievement is not to be underestimated as only 1% of tradespeople are female (MWA, 2011), the author of the article, the former Minister of Women's Affairs, Pansy Wong, has not made explicit the difference between the gender pay gap and pay equity.

The nature over nurture debate claims biology determines gender typical roles, including vocational roles. This is problematic because those who support biologically based gender theories (nature) are more likely to actively endorse negative gender stereotyping (Coleman & Hong, 2008). In her feminist critique of neuroscience, Cordelia Fine argues – in a witty and often satirical voice - that a neurological and physiological explanation for sex-based discrimination succeeds only in making one seem scientific rather than old-fashioned and sexist (2010).¹⁴ Fine argues that too much validation is given to biological explanations of why each sex clusters together in certain occupations (2010).

35 years after Emily Siedeberg graduated as New Zealand's first female doctor (Statistics New Zealand, 2005), the Dominion Post published *Gender Bending Jobs: Men and Women Breaking With Tradition* (Rothwell, 2011). The title of the article valorises the occupation of non-gender typical roles only later questioning this assertiveness by asking: is getting a gender balance really important? Articles like this and people like Mutzelburg create awareness of workplace stereotypes. Nonetheless, the male nurse that Rothwell interviewed in *Gender Bending Jobs* is the Associate Charge Nurse Manager of Wellington Regional Hospital's Intensive Care Unit. This particular role and location has an elevated level of prestige and thus is an example of vertical occupational segregation. The issue is that positions of leadership, prestige, and power have historically been more aligned with men than women (de Beauvoir, 1949 trans. 2010; Foucault, 1976; McNay, 1992; Sterba as cited in Farrell & Sterba, 2008). As such, *Gender Bending Jobs* uses examples of occupational stereotyping, granted to a lesser degree, despite this being what the article attempts to counter. This idea of occupational segregation and the negative social and economic

¹⁴ Feminist analysis on the nature/nurture debate can also be read in Anne Fausto-Sterling's *Sexing The Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (2000).

implications of vertical occupational segregation are examined at length in the second chapter through two visual audits.

Rather than thinking power can only ever be masculine and destructive, some feminists have since considered that power can also be positing and constructive (McNay, 1992; Phelan, 1990). This new way of thinking resonates a goal of contemporary feminism where women seek to avoid victimhood and claim volition. In the text mentioned earlier, *Ethics and the Politics of Research*, author Allison Kirkman states "...all women are united in their biological experiences of human reproduction and through their many common social experiences as mothers, daughters, wives, and as victims of male violence" (2001, p. 55). This presumption disregards female to male violence, defines women solely by reproductive role, and undermines the extent to which women refuse victimisation. In concluding that women go to great lengths to avoid being thought of as victims and that women find empowerment in choice, academic Joanne Baker (2010, 2008) builds on the arguments against 'victim-feminism' by authors Rene Denfeld (1995) and Naomi Wolf (1994). Women's vocational choice is interrogated by Esther Bott (2006) of the University of Nottingham, and Feminist Scholar Sheila Jeffreys (2008). Bott argues a sex-positive, third wave feminist perspective that lap dancing is a profession women find empowering, financially beneficial, and psychologically rewarding. In contrast, Jeffreys argues that sex work unavoidably perpetuates the representation of sexual inequality; a conclusion similar to that of first-wave feminist theory that claims overt sexual representation portrays women as powerless victims (Watson, 1975). Jeffreys' text builds on the idea that women are not only defined by being non-male, but that they are 'not other' by a continual process of defining the self against an other through social, cultural, political and economic influences (de Beauvoir 1949 trans. 2010; Lacan, 1998). These texts and others (Berger, 1972; Mulvey, 1975; Newall & Pooke, 2007) suggest representation impacts heavily on the formation of sex and gender.

Visual representation has been interrogated in the annals of women's studies. In 1974 cultural anthropologist Sherry Ortner developed Berger's (1972) proposition that men act and women appear. Ortner proposes that the way the female sex is currently represented has detrimental implications as women become subordinate to men (1972). *Gender Advertisements* (Goffman, 1979) continued this work and became an important contribution to studies of gender expectation in visual advertising. Contemporary advertising plays a large part in perpetuating the detrimental representation of women (Gill, 2007; Gill, 2009; Michelle, 2012); a proposition investigated in New Zealand advertising

by many (Desmarais, 2007; Farragher & Furnham, 2000; Gattung, 1984; Michelle, 2012). Representation in advertising is further problematic as data reports 11.54% of editors to be women (Human Rights Commission, 2010); a statistic significant given the power editors have in influencing what, and how, information is distributed. More recently, *Co-constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in New Zealand Television Advertising* (2012) by Waikato University's Dr. Carolyn Michelle, and the panel discussion *Women and the Media: Have Women Attained Parity in 21st Century Media?* run by The New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women, query the reality of gender parity in the news media of 21st Century New Zealand. These recent texts and panel discussions reaffirm that while women have gained much social, political, and economic equality, there remain issues around the visual representation of women.

As outlined thus far, there is much research into issues of women's representation in an advertising context. Coinciding with the 119th anniversary of New Zealand's suffrage movement, the exhibition *Celebrating Women in Construction* ran from 18-23 September 2012. This photographic montage by Toya Heatley made possible with support from Careers New Zealand, the National Association of Women in Construction, and Resene Paints, sought to valorise women's contributions to a variety of roles within the construction industry. This exhibition and its sponsorship suggests the visual representation of women in non-traditional work is a point of leverage for organisations and visual researchers. *Celebrating women in Construction* begins to address what Laurel McNall, Rebecca Morrissey, and Matthew Mulvaney of State University of New York highlight as a "potentially fruitful area of research" (2010, p. 308). McNall et al's longitudinal study of the implications that family and work commitments have on women highlights the integration of statistical evidence with identity theory as an area worthy of further research (2010). For McNall et al, identity theories are important because individuals perform roles they see others enacting (2010). As representation is a part of identity theory, there is a need to integrate the representation of women and workplace gender inequity.

In 1982 a group of New Zealand artists formed the Feminist Art Network (FAN). Active until 1990, FAN used a multitude of tactics to investigate issues of women's representation in education and the arts. To do this, FAN audited various arts magazines, reviews, exhibitions, and photographs. FAN's research found that women are represented at a ratio of less than 1:5; a ratio not representative of practitioners, as there is a greater concentration of women in the arts than men. Similarly, The Guerrilla Girls is an transnational collective of anonymous feminist artists who expose sex-bias in their critique

of visual culture. FAN and the Guerrilla Girls are two examples of visual practitioners who use qualitative approaches such as audits to investigate women's representation.¹⁵ These investigations are part of what Showalter describes as the "feminist critique"; the critique of patriarchal ideological assumptions of literature and aesthetic values (1993). There are no visual surveys that investigate gender equity in the contemporary New Zealand workforce. Chapter two presents visual audits in order to provide a select current survey of the visual representation of gender equality in New Zealand workplaces within the tertiary education sector.

To summarise, women are no longer willing to be defined (Baker, 2008; Bott, 2006) as the second sex (Butler, 1993; de Beauvoir, 1949 trans. 2010). Consequently, much has changed in the move towards gender equality since first wave feminism (McRobbie, 2009) with education being credited as one of the most important changers of status for women (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001). Reports suggest women experience great social and economic inequities in the workforce (MWA, 2010) and ongoing research is required to keep this topic current. A lack of research into the visual representation of gender inequities has been highlighted, as has a gap between where the work towards equality by Government ends and the application by Industry commences. There is a need for investigation into how contemporary issues such as occupational segregation and affirmative discrimination impact on the visualisation of gender inequity in the contemporary New Zealand workforce.

From a discussion of gender inequality, the focus shifts to a discussion on a social condition whereby those who experience other forms of inequality seek to redress its cause and make claims to restore equality. According to Pickett & Wilkinson, inequality is a form of psychological stress sufficient to generate acts of vandalism (2010). More specifically, the conditions required to motivate one to undertake vandalistic acts are the perception of high levels of inequity combined with moderate to low levels of control (Baron & Fisher, 1982; Baron, DeMore, & Fisher, 1988; McCormick & Winkler, 2007). Through analysing the photographic documentation of selected vandalistic acts, their agency is understood as the visual manifestation of inequality.

The locations where vandalism happens are of significance. In the book *Capital* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels suggests all forms of capital (including land, wealth, and education), come with a problematic relationship between those who are in possession

¹⁵ Recently, a visual audit process was used by Associate Professor Claire Robinson of Massey University to expose visual bias in the 2011 election period. Robinson's research reported that 138 photographs of John Key were reproduced in the election period by New Zealand's top four newspapers, compared with 80 photographs of opposition leader Phil Goff (Massey University, 2012).

of capital and those who are not (Engels & Marx, 2002). In *Commodity Fetishism and Repression: Reflections on Marx, Freud and the Psychology of Consumer Capitalism* Professor Michael Billig re-examines Marx's notion of 'commodity fetishism'. Billig argues that commodities in late capitalist, postmodern climates are valued by their consumption values and that this focus on consumption reveals a 'collective amnesia' of the significance of productive origins that reflect a 'daily exploitation' (1999). Propositions of the Billig text such as the nature of collectivity, production by unnamed others, and capitalist value systems that conceal the dynamics of social relations are applied in the final chapter in relation to vandalistic interventions to public space.

For sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, capital is an unequally distributed example of symbolic power (1993) underlying the social decay that comes with high levels of inequality. Thus, power, inequality, and capital are intrinsically linked. In *The Subject and Power* (1982), French Philosopher Michel Foucault proposes that power is subjectivising; that power makes one subject to another's control. With this definition, there is a difference between the work of Foucault and that of Marx. Where Marx proposes that power is a relationship between people, Foucault proposes that power is not only a relationship, but that power "is a way in which certain actions modify others" (1982, p. 788). Foucault suggests that state power can be investigated through resistance. It is the idea of acts of resistance that is key in discussions presented in the third chapter. For Foucault, power relations are complex and legitimated by institutional models such as 'The State' and these institutions may bring power relations into being by implementing systems of surveillance (1982).

Recent texts on surveillance theory often focus on the role and extent of surveillance in an increasingly digital society. *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life* (Lyon, 2001) is carefully constructed to allow a newly informed reader to apply their recently acquired knowledge, whilst avoiding potential allusions to conspiracy theory. The Canadian sociologists later work *An Electronic Panopticon? A Sociological Critique of Surveillance Theory* (2008) proposes that our post-modern information society is a surveillance society that not only uses surveillance to monitor, but to predict what people will do next. The success of surveillance as a preventative measure and as a predictive technology is theorised in chapter three as an example of the exertion of power by landowners and occupiers over those who intend to use interventions to public space as a means of communication.

Lyon (2001) suggests society is changing at unprecedented speeds; an idea editor and author Bill Wasik refers to as 'the curse of the nanostory' (2009). Wasik's phrase refers to how the move towards the digital is metaphorically changing our society from a novel to

a series of abstracts. In parallel to the contemporary nanostory, contemporary researchers can capitalise on the speed and convenience of digital photography as it reflects the “lack of time and impatience that dominates the life of the modern citizen” (van Winkel, 2005, p. 15). Today, photography and the Internet distribute images of events like the American torture of Iraqi prisoners of war at Abu Ghraib prison and the September 11 terrorist attacks almost immediately and on a global scale (Sejdel, 2005; Sontag, 2004). As with much contemporary visual research it is not the images themselves that are of interest, but what they depict or reveal about a particular moment in time (Sontag, 2004).

Marxist understandings of human nature suggest people influence materiality. Theatre director and poet Bertolt Brecht (1898 – 1956) has applied the ideas of Engels & Marx to the arts. While social class cannot be seen to the same extent today as it could in the time of Marx & Engels, the idea that humans influence their surroundings remains pertinent today. It is photography that plays a critical role in documenting the way humans represent and navigate existence. Photography is used with such frequency that some claim there has been a shift from written to visual diaries (Gierstberg & Oosterbaan, 2002). Some discuss the changing hierarchy of the senses where the visual is said to be becoming of greater significance than the written word (Mirzoeff, 2009; Rose, 2001) while others call for equal prioritisation of the senses (Rancière, 2000 trans. 2011), and some caution difference between the visual and the written (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004; Mirzoeff, 2009). The image is not replacing text; image and text are merging together to produce a new visuality (Mirzoeff, 2009); a visuality that can be unpacked by using the theory of semiotics.

Charles S. Peirce (d. 1914), Ferdinand de Saussure (d. 1913), Charles W. Morris (d. 1979), Roland Barthes (d. 1980), Louis Althusser (d. 1990), Milton Singer (d. 1994), Alfred Gell (d. 1997), Pierre Bourdieu (d. 2002) Susan Sontag (d. 2004), Claude Lévi-Strauss (d. 2009), Umberto Eco (b. 1932), and John Fiske (b. 1939), amongst others, have contributed much to philosophical and anthropological theories of semiotics. Anthropologist Milton Singer analyses the theories of Peirce and concludes “we think by means of signs” (1984, p. 59). In relation to the broadest definition of art, Professor Morse Peckham’s *Explanation and Power: The Control of Human Behavior* (1979) uses semiotic theory to generate understandings of art as an explanation of how we derive meaning from our world(s). Media scholar John Fiske expands on poststructuralist constructions of meaning in proposing a ‘semiotic democracy’ where viewers construct their own meaning (Fiske 1992, 1989a, 1989b) For the anthropologist, who remodelled modern anthropology through semiotics as structural anthropology, Claude Lévi-Strauss

language itself is a system of signs (as cited in Groves & Wiseman, 1997).¹⁶ For Peckham (1979, 1967), Lévi-Strauss (1979, 1963), and Gell (1998), the interrelations between objects and images are prioritised over the elements themselves. For some, semiotics is crucial to human consciousness (Lévi-Strauss, 1963; Peckham, 1979; Singer, 1984) because it is a means of communication (Eco, 1989, 1976). For Bourdieu, semiotics is a system to perceive and interpret classification; a consensus of the social world necessary because nothing is a social vacuum (1987). Louis Althusser pioneered work on social semiotics in which he understood ideology as the legitimatisation of unequal social power relations as all ideology reflects the interests of the State's power. In discussing his anthropological theory of art, Gell asserts, "No reasonable person could suppose that art-like relations between people and things do not involve at least some form of semiosis" (1998, p. 14). Semiosis is thus applied in the third chapter as a means to interpret and make sense of cultural signs and as an approach to understand and explain power relations in and through visual material.

Amongst others, the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze claims there is more to images than what meets the eye (1983). Art critic Leo Stein proposes that image perception is two way; that ideas about images are formed by what one projects onto them (1927). Although Eco's 1976 work *A Theory of Semiotics* is his most influential writing on semiotics to date, it is his text *The Open Work* (1989) that directly applies semiotic theory to visual concerns. *The Open Work* acknowledges that each viewer brings a unique approach to perception (Eco, 1989) so any analysis of any image or object can only ever be subjective (Mirzoeff, 2009); a proposition developing the earlier work of Bourdieu who suggests that objects of the social world are perceived differently and thus have a multiplicity of meaning (1987) since revisited in the work of Grady (2004). The sum of these ways of thinking propose there is more to an image than what is physically present; that meaning is inherent to images and objects.

The ambiguity of the non-verbal is central to the field of study known as visual and material culture. If we could easily articulate the non-verbal then the entire field of study would become redundant (Tilley, 2006). Visual and material culture is a field of study so potentially broad it may seem fragmented. This, however, is testament to the field's resilience as a means of social inquiry (Buchli, 2002). The primary purpose of Professor Eugene Halton's text *Communicating Democracy: Or Shine, Perishing Republic* (1994) is to discuss the imagery of democracy through socio-semiotics. Typical of much political visual

¹⁶ Lévi-Strauss applied semiotic theory to art by using the term 'bricolage' (similar to collage) to refer to a 'bricoleur' (artist) assembling different elements to make an artwork.

ethnography, Halton restricts his study to key historic examples rather than including examples of everyday social decay.

Visual examples of social decay in everyday public space includes acts of vandalism such as tagging, graffiti, postering, and street art. Literature such as *The Art of Rebellion* (Hundertmark, 2005, 2006, 2010) and *Graffiti and Urban Art: Pieces, Tags, Stencils, and Stickers* (Campos, 2011) provide comprehensive visual anthologies of works by a selection of renowned international contemporary street artists including Banksy and Blu. Though stimulating, texts such as Campos' and Hundertmark's focus on the aesthetics of street art, not the broader socio-political significance. *Art Inconsequence: Advanced Vandalism* (Kaltenhäuser, 2007) is a short book that begins to contextualise a range of interventions in socio-political contexts. *Visual Vitriol* also does this by discussing how postering, or what the author calls 'flyer art', maps out the landscape of a given demographic (Ensminger, 2011). Professor Alan Latham's contribution to the book *Picturing the Social Landscape* (2004) proposes that cities reflect the sociality of an era and posits that public places, such as bus stops, play an important role in one's social life. Ensminger and Latham investigate the aesthetics of social space in relation to the broader socio-political context. So too, my studies investigate the interrelationship between what we see in public space and current affairs.

To conclude, existing literature found within the humanities on power, social decay, and surveillance tends to focus on specific, dramatic events. Accordingly, there is scope to argue this decay can be seen in public space on a daily basis. Much of social visuality focuses on people *or* their traces, a specific event *or* the wider context, anthropology *or* art, rather than the connections between them as Bourdieu suggests. There is currently little research connecting the visuality of public space with social inequality. When undertaken in a specific region, namely Wellington's Southern suburbs, there are unique socio-political issues to be considered that would vary across different locations. Evidence herein provides new knowledge on cultural signs that elide conventional categorisation.

Chapter by chapter overview

Chapter one provides a contemporaneous definition of inequality and inequity in relation to poverty, privilege, the natural environment, and egalitarianism. The discussion proposes there may be a gap in understanding between what data reveals and research claims when compared with how some New Zealanders view their country. Most importantly, this first chapter posits inequality as a concept that can be *seen*.

Chapter two proposes that women in the contemporary New Zealand workforce are adversely affected by inequality. To contextualise this chapter, time is spent addressing the implications that historic definitions of women may hold for contemporary women. Equity is discussed both socially and economically to illustrate that money is not the crucial factor. What is more problematic is that money indicates wealth and the extent to which one is valued in society. Despite gender equality successes in the workplace, the existence of occupational segregation, a reluctance to support affirmative discrimination, and the social expectations of educational choice, hinder women's careers. In keeping with the literature review, this chapter is supported by women's studies, and interviews with experienced professionals who provide different views on an ever-changing workforce. Two visual audits analyse issues surrounding women's representation in the paid workforce. These case studies present evidence to argue that vocational sex-based inequity and inequality are visually present within documents endorsed by tertiary education providers.

The third, and final, chapter discusses a selection of interventions to the public space of Wellington's southern suburbs. It is proposed that the interventions, technically considered acts of vandalism, are a means of communication for the disenfranchised. Attitudes towards vandalism and inequality will reveal much about whether the interventions are thought to be the fault of the individual or a result of systemic issues. That there exists a hierarchical system deferent to landowners is considered and the possibility that the interventions are evidence of just one way individuals attempt restoration of power equality is explored. This chapter also investigates the relationship between surveillance and inequality and considers whether or not surveillance is a successful preventative measure. Through analysing a selection of images, more can be known about an unknown author, about how these interventions visualise a commentary on current events, and about the relationship between site and meaning. This third chapter argues that power inequality can be seen in the public space of Wellington's southern suburbs.

Finally, I draw conclusions from these studies and discuss the implications of my findings. In the conclusion I also outline limitations of these studies and suggest areas for further research.

Chapter one - Inequality

Introduction

Principally, inequality is a mathematical term used when two values are different; where 'A' \neq 'B'. Wealth and income inequality refer to disparity in the distribution of assets and money. Social inequality refers to the social factors that may prevent one from having the same ability to *obtain* the wealth and income levels of another (Ministry of Social Development, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Over the last few decades, the term has been used to describe social difference; an application becoming more common (Budrys, 2010). Inequality can describe difference in circumstance, social class, political standing, and more.

Inequality has been worsening for some time. The years since the 1970s are a period where inequality began to boom; a period 2008 Nobel Laureate of Economic Sciences, Paul Krugman, has dubbed 'the Great Divergence' (as cited in Noah, 2012). When comparing the 1980s and 2000s, the gap between the worlds richest and poorest (OECD, 2011) and the highest and lowest paid employees of the Fortune 500 companies (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010) has widened. Prior to the 1980s, New Zealand had levels of inequality lower than the OECD average (Bates & Bates, 2010; OECD, 2008); since then, inequality has grown faster in New Zealand than in any other developed country (OECD, 2011). New Zealand experienced a 'significant increase' of inequality in the two decades 1980 and 1990 (New Zealand Treasury, 2011; OECD, 2008).¹⁷ By 2008, New Zealand ranked 25th out of the 34 OECD countries on levels of income equality (OECD, 2008); a result comparable to the United States of America and the United Kingdom (Ministry of Social Development, 2010; OECD, 2008; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010).

Factors that contribute to inequality include money, socio-political power, and policy. With inequality comes a set of less than ideal side effects including financial crisis, sexism, and vandalism. Inequality requires us to admit that money has taken us as far as it ever will (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010); a contentious proposal in a capitalist climate (Tankersley, 2012).¹⁸ However, the problem is not inequality in and of itself. What matters is not necessarily a difference in income level, but how one compares oneself to others; a problematic process of comparison.

¹⁷ In the decade from 1990s to mid-2000s, New Zealand did not improve; rather there was 'no change' in levels of income inequality (OECD, 2008).

¹⁸ The progressive, video conference website TED (www.ted.com) decided not to publish a talk on inequality by the self-proclaimed 'rich capitalist business person' Nick Hanauer; despite broadcasting a presentation by The Spirit Level co-author Richard Wilkinson one year prior.

When defined as a measure of difference, inequality can be both positive and negative. Equality does not aim to remove difference, but to make difference equitable because one is not inferior, but is inferiorised (Žižek, 2008). With imbalance of wealth comes imbalance of power. There are differing opinions about whether it is possible for one to make more than material gains and obtain the power to actually move up out of an inherited social class (Fiske, 2010; Scalzi, 2012). When power is gained through high status, a desensitisation to those 'below' develops (Fiske, 2010). The lived experience of being at the bottom both economically and socially may give one a different understanding of the effects of inequality than one who understands inequality from a position of privileged situated perspective. Through the concept of inequality, identity formations reflect the extent to which one may be experiencing privilege and discrimination.

For the oppressed, there is no need to validate the perception of inequality against a standard defined by wider society for inequality is validated through a subjective process (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010) of social comparison and in a consensus of belief (Baron & Fisher, 1982). High levels of inequality - either real or perceived - are associated with lower levels of social cohesion and life satisfaction (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010).

Attitudes of indifference and the denial of inequality may contribute to an increase of inequality. Inequality is an invasive phenomenon affecting social life, the economy, and the natural environment. Inequality is frequently conflated with poverty and the idea of indifference but these connotations may not be accurate. The increase of inequality in New Zealand has coincided with the shift away from egalitarianism.

1.1 Inequality and egalitarianism

The idea that an individual is solely responsible for their status perpetuates inequality. There is a positive relationship between equality and egalitarianism; when equality increases so does egalitarianism (Andersen & Yaish, 2012; Evans & Kelley, 1993; M. Rashbrooke, personal communication, October 04, 2012).

In New Zealand, attitudes toward egalitarianism have hardened over the last few decades, resulting in a shift in ideology away from egalitarianism (M. Rashbrooke, personal communication, October 04, 2012). Part of our national identity is that we are an egalitarian country where everybody gets a fair go (H. Walker, personal communication, June 15, 2012) while others say the idea that New Zealand ever was an egalitarian nation is little more than myth (Consedine, 1989; Nolan, 2007). Attitudes towards egalitarianism are inseparable from one's own situation (Andersen & Yaish, 2012) so if one has lived

through a time of egalitarianism, it may be hard to admit otherwise. Holly Walker suggests people may not realise the extent to which New Zealand has changed for there are generations of New Zealanders who lived through a time where they could expect to sit down to a weekly roast leg of lamb, where every child could expect milk at school, where we had a robust health care system and state housing, where everyone's basic needs were met (personal communication, June 15, 2012). Others, such as researcher Philippa Howden-Chapman, go as far as to say that New Zealand thought itself so egalitarian that we haven't bothered to gather data or monitor various measures of inequality (personal communication, September 13, 2012).

With the shift away from egalitarianism comes the tendency to blame one's situation on the individual rather than systemic issues. The work of Stephanie McIntyre, Director of the Downtown Community Ministry, has found systemic issues to be "overwhelming" for those suffering the greatest amounts of inequality (personal communication, September 13, 2012). Individualist and egalitarian approaches have different consequences for social policy. This choice to blame one's situation entirely on the individual denies the possibility that poverty and inequality are a structural result of social policy (Fiske, 1993). In asking 'how can children who go to school hungry have the ability to take personal responsibility for being born into low socio-economic families?', the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand argue inequality can't be attained at birth. The Green Party use this argument to prevent people from going to their previously held, entrenched ideas that blame the individual irrelevant of systemic issues (H. Walker, personal communication, June 15, 2012). As inequality is increasing in New Zealand, egalitarianism is decreasing. Those tending towards individualism may dismiss the difficult to overcome structural realities that perpetuate inequality.

1.2 Inequality and indifference

Inequality and indifference are linked (Loughrey & O'Donoghue, 2012; Murphy, 1990) though there are differing views on the relationship between the two. For Harvard University Professor of Anthropology, Michael Herzfeld, indifference is the socially constructed disregard of an 'other' (1993). It could be hypothesised that individualists and those most economically and socially privileged are indifferent to the plight of others and as such are less motivated to resolve injustices. If one has lived a life of privilege then it is difficult to perceive a life of discrimination so inequality may continue to increase. If one does manage to free themselves from their "distinctions of birth" (Kropotkin, 1902/1993,

p. 221) and increase their social status, the extent to which skewed social and economic conditions worsen one's daily life may be forgotten.

Are those who experience the greatest distribution of social and economic wealth aware of the implications their privilege has for those who do not? As with Marxism, the bicycle theory illustrates the ways in which people push others down in order to keep themselves moving forward. Applying the bicycle theory to the concepts of inequality and indifference assumes people who benefit from inequality are motivated by self-interest. With the goal of profitability and a tendency towards indifference, one does not consider how their actions affect another's social reality (Žižek, 2008). Allan Harvey, the President of the Union of Fathers, suggests that indifference might be present because it's "very, very hard for anybody to see inequality because we see things very much through the spectacles we use ourselves" (personal communication, June 19, 2012). Rachael Wright also questions the possibility of an objective worldview in saying that people – herself included - are unable to remove themselves from their own cultural frames of reference (personal communication, June 13, 2012). For Helen Kelly however, it is clear that it is not indifference; "it's inequality and it's orchestrated" (personal communication, June 22, 2012). This latter perspective supports Žižek's proposal that the orchestration of inequality is a legitimate goal, even if success includes, or requires, the exploitation or oppression of another, if the aim is to capture all the wealth for oneself (2008). However, if self-interest is one's sole motivation then the idea of reducing inequality may be able to be 'sold' "to those at the top by demonstrating that it has benefits for them as well" (H. Walker, personal communication, June 15, 2012).

Presuming those at the top are entirely motivated by self-interest may create the impression that those who benefit from the greatest amounts of social or financial power are uncaring and this presumption may underestimate people's basic sense of fairness and compassion. Occupy's catchphrase, "We are the 99%", seeks to highlight the difference between the 1% of the population who are attributed to the majority of wealth, and the 99% who share the rest. It is in the best interests of those more socially and economically privileged to maintain the current system(s), and their place of privilege in it, but doing so does not necessarily mean that the 1% are unaware of, or indifferent to, the plight of those less privileged. In these less economically stable times post-2008 recession, concern for those less privileged may be motivated by the fear of losing one's power and/or financial status but concern is concern regardless of motivation.

1.3 Inequality as a scale from privilege to discrimination

Occupy has a problematic binary putting the 1% against the 99%. Inequality is a complex concept because it is related to the spectrum of privilege and discrimination. Privilege is not a defining trait; privilege describes one's lived experience, not one's identity.

Nevertheless, those who are in positions of privilege may perceive difference as threat, or potential threat, to their higher status if they feel they are to blame for the discrimination of another (Lorde, 1984). John Scalzi's (2012) analogy of video game difficulty settings and the varying degrees of poverty and inequality discussed in the literature review attempts to capture the spectrum of privilege and discrimination. For Scalzi, the binary of oppressor/oppressed creates guilt for those in a position of privilege and those most privileged may feel they are blamed for the plight of others because if someone is oppressed, by opposite the privileged become 'the oppressor'. No one person is to blame for inequalities.

Scalzi's analogy provides groundwork for the explicit awareness of the interlinking of inequalities, and for inequality to be understood as a causal factor that underlies many social issues across the globe. It is positive that there are legislative measures and taskforces dedicated to addressing symptoms of inequality such as sexism, but one must be careful not to underestimate the interrelationships and underlying cause if one focuses on these symptoms. Inequality is measured on a spectrum from privilege to discrimination.

1.4 Inequality and poverty

Tied up in these discussions is the inaccurate conflation of the absence of poverty with equality. Resolving poverty does not resolve inequality. Inequality and poverty are known to exist overseas, but they exist here in New Zealand too; despite the disbelief of some. Though circumstantial evidence, a heated debate followed the revelation of the present study at a 60th birthday party. The presence of inequality in Land-of-Plenty New Zealand was dismissed, as were peace offerings attempting something akin to compromise in saying 'maybe we were more equal in the past but we aren't now'.¹⁹ The presence of inequality was argued against because the individual had been to America, because New Zealand is apparently free of poverty, and because the idea of inequality is supposedly a left wing, anti-establishment concept. Data presented to the contrary was dismissed. Though this is one anecdotal piece of evidence, this response, the outright dismissal that inequality exists in New Zealand, is one encountered frequently.

¹⁹ At this birthday I was also introduced as "belonging" to my partner and although malice was not intended, the statement reveals a certain belief system.

Government's dismissal of inequality in New Zealand and the 60th birthday party anecdote are examples of the absence of poverty being incorrectly conflated with equality. Our leaders play a role in influencing social attitudes. For some, inequality is an issue that has to be dealt with by the state through legislation (H. Kelly, personal communication, June 22, 2012). This requires Government acknowledge inequality in New Zealand, and the current Government does not. When questioned in Parliamentary Question Time, Prime Minister John Key said he stands by the statement made on his behalf which said 'evidence does not suggest that we are a deeply unequal country and people who think we are unequal, are wrong' (Radio New Zealand, 2012). Key dismissed reports to the contrary by the likes of the World Economic Forum and said New Zealand is not unequal because of our extensive social welfare policies.²⁰

As Occupy highlighted, there is a difference between poverty and inequality. Many of the discussions in the series *Forums for the Future: Between Rich and Poor* hosted by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in September and October 2012, tended to focus on poverty to the same extent as inequality. New Zealand has relatively low levels of poverty due to our comparatively comprehensive social welfare system,²¹ but inequality is increasing and is at its highest level ever (Cooke, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2012; New Zealand Treasury, 2011). Poverty is a baseline of deficiency set irrespective to those with the most whereas inequality is a relative measure comparing those with the least to those with the most. If poverty was eliminated and everyone had 'enough' but some still had disproportionate allocations of resources, inequality would remain. Treating poverty does not eliminate inequality and low levels of poverty do not equate to equality.

1.5 Inequality and the natural environment

As has been alluded to, there may be difference in the way New Zealanders view their national identity as one of equality, compared with the statistical reality. There may be a difference between national beliefs and research. The 60th birthday party anecdote and Key's perspective show difference in qualitative data and individual perception. These

²⁰ Following the 2008 recession, there was a sharp increase in income inequality as lower incomes remained fixed but higher incomes increased. New Zealand's tax transfer system significantly reduces some inequalities that would otherwise exist. 'Working For Families' reduces some of the effects of inequalities like this and attempts to make social welfare more comprehensive and targeted (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

²¹ The international 'Social Protection Floor' an initiative lead by the United Nations, the International Labour office, and the World Health Organisation, aims to help countries cope with the effects of economic crisis, and ensures things like a minimum wage (though this can be set below the poverty line) and basic health services. However, much of the Social Protection Floor deals with poverty, not inequality. The Social Protection Floor supersedes the Millennium Development Goals. More on the Social Protection Floor can be read <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/spfag/index.htm>

beliefs about our national identity may mean New Zealanders have a tendency to dismiss research that suggests our environment to be less 'pure' than we think it is. For Pickett & Wilkinson, inequality adversely affects the sustainability of our natural resources (2010); a point of interest for '100% pure' New Zealand.

Tourism New Zealand do not use their '100% pure New Zealand' campaign solely in regards to environmental purity; this slogan is also used to describe us as a people and as an experience (Tourism New Zealand, 2012). Cath Wallace, co-chairperson of the Environment and Conservation Organisation of Aotearoa, believes New Zealanders prefer to accept Tourism New Zealand's '100% pure' brand and disregard our reality because the reality is that 100% purity is a hope, not a description (2012). In the same way that New Zealand's relatively low levels of poverty may lead some to believe that New Zealand is more equal than research concludes, national branding contributes to the gap between reality and how we view ourselves (Wallace, 2012).²²

Massey University Senior lecturer in Ecology and Environmental Science, Mike Joy, works to ensure the people of New Zealand are aware of the realities of our natural environment. Joy says that events such as the Rena shipwreck disaster of 2011 serve to "highlight our denial of the real environmental disaster that we are increasingly and desperately avoiding" (2011, p. B5). Not only is 100% pure inaccurate, but Joy's research says New Zealand is the 18th worst (per capita) out of 189 countries in regards to the protection of the natural environment (Joy, 2011); 171 countries are closer to being 100% pure than New Zealand is. Before environmental decay can be addressed, there needs to be an acknowledgement that one of New Zealand's biggest assets – our natural environment – is deteriorating.

At *Forums for the Future*, political journalist Colin James, shared his observation that the current National Government supports either the environment or the economy and too often the economy wins out when both need to be supported simultaneously (personal communication, September 13, 2012). In an interview with British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Prime Minister John Key undermined Joy's research by dismissing it and insulted Joy's reputation by saying that academics are similar to lawyers; that it is easy to find another with research to the contrary (2011). Joy's research and Key's dismissal of it show some New Zealanders have a "disposition to accredit their country with Eden-like

²² The problem with believing that New Zealand's worst case situations are better than other countries is that it accepts a level of social instability rather than continuing the push for progress. This also defines us on the standards of other countries rather than being world leaders and setting our own.

properties” (Perry, 2004, p. 20). There is a discrepancy between reality and our national identity; a problematic known as the rhetoric of image and advertising.

1.6 Markers of success and difference

Inequality is a complex concept but is it a concept that can be seen? The connotations of material possessions are markers of success and difference, and thus, of inequality (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010). Clothing, hair, and jewellery are examples of how physical appearance conveys difference.

The mode of transport,²³ and within this the type of transport, one chooses, materialises difference. Cars are a familiar, visible, everyday symbol of how “material differences serve to divide us socially” (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 56). It is not the car in and of itself that represents inequality,²⁴ but the connotations attached to it. The choice in motor vehicle represents not mass consumption, but elite consumption.²⁵ Today, it is more prestigious to own a 2012 Porsche than it is to own a 1980 Toyota Corolla. The purchase cost of each vehicle presumes the owner of the Porsche earns, or has the potential to earn, more than the owner of the Toyota Corolla and is thus of greater social and economic standing. The Porsche is an indication of social and material success while the Toyota is an indication of lesser economic and social standing. Material possessions, such as cars, convey status, or perhaps more specifically, the appearance of status. As mentioned, the individual defines the perception of inequality, so some may believe that the owner of each simply owns a car while for others, the connotations conveyed infer something else, inequality for example.

Objects and images have social connotations and they transmit information about one’s identity. Material possessions, such as cars, can be understood as status symbols that visualise social difference. Cars are just one example of how inequality can be seen on a daily basis. Inequality does not only manifest in tangible objects like cars, but in concepts such as the visual representation of gender difference and vandalism. The focus of chapters two and three is one of considering points raised in this chapter in regards to the visuality of inequality.

²³ The number of cyclists has doubled since 2006 from 906 to 1733. This is thought to be a visible sign of the widening gaps of income inequality and the effects of the economic recession where there is less to be spent on transport so those who were driving now bus and those who were bussing now cycle (Torrie, 2012).

²⁴ More on the type of person and their motor vehicle choice can be read in *The hidden persuaders: what makes us buy, believe – and even vote – the way we do?* (Packard, 1957).

²⁵ More on elite consumption can be read in the *Handbook of Material Culture* (Tilley et al., 2006).

Conclusion

Inequality is a pressing concern affecting much of contemporary life. Coinciding with the shift from egalitarianism to individualism, levels of inequality have increased in New Zealand over the last few decades. Inequality is often incorrectly conflated with poverty; an issue further confounded when some prioritise their beliefs over reputable contemporary researchers who conclude otherwise. Application of the bicycle theory and theories of self-interest conclude that those who benefit the most from inequality cannot be indifferent to the issues that inequality creates because inequality comes with an imbalance of power. Experience never happens in isolation (Layton, 2006; Peckham, 1979; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010)²⁶ for it is the sum of contexts and relationships (Thomas, 2006). Thus, if society and our relationships are unequal, our lived experience will be one of inequality too. Inequality underlies many forms of undesirable decay; of the social, the political, the environmental, and the economic.

One's comparison of wealth or material difference to another's induces psychosocial stress and this can be discussed through the concept of inequality. Through identity formations, inequality can be seen on a daily basis. Semiotic theory presupposes that all images and objects are, primarily, vehicles of meaning. While some meaning can be extracted, as the 60th birthday party, 100% pure, and Government perceptions show, there is a discrepancy between image and data. This discrepancy is of interest and there is scope to explore inequality through visual evidence located in everyday contexts. The first investigation undertaken into the visuality of inequality in everyday contexts is of a small selection of New Zealand workplaces. This is followed by an investigation into research proposing that one way those who feel displaced from the majority and thus rebel against unequal societies, is by committing acts of vandalism. The photograph is the document used to record evidence of inequality; the photographs are then analysed to ascertain and substantiate inequality. This occurs in different ways. In chapter two existing photographs are visual texts used by institutions for specific purpose with ideological imperatives. In chapter three, photographs I have taken occur as a record of inequality before theorising their significance. Though seeming disparate, the second and third chapters investigate the visual manifestation of inequality in photographs of two locations encountered daily.

²⁶ Layton uses this regarding the meaning of words where we define words in a dictionary in relation to others (Layton, 2006).

Chapter two – The workforce, gender, and inequality

Introduction

Thus far various manifestations of power imbalance and unequal identity formulations have been presented. This chapter turns to a specific study using these themes in regard to one symptom of inequality. Through the visual, this chapter investigates if and how sex based inequality and inequity is present in a small selection of contemporary New Zealand workplaces.²⁷

Sex-based discrimination is consequential of an unequal society (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010). In this chapter issues that women have historically faced in their move into the workforce are introduced. This includes a discussion of how occupational segregation, educational choice, and a reluctance to support affirmative discrimination perpetuate the detrimental socialisation of gender. As outlined in the literature review, visual representation influences gender roles. Accordingly, two visual audits investigate whether or not women are visually represented at a ratio equivalent to statistical data. These audits also question if factors that are known to contribute to gender inequity, such as occupational segregation, can be seen in staff photographs from a progressive workplace. And finally, through visual aid, these audits will reveal the extent to which women are encouraged to seek non-traditional training that offers employment in jobs with typically higher remuneration than 'female' professions. This visual component contributes to research on the representation of women and hopes to fill a gap in the work of the MWA. With the support of quantitative data, this visual component will also investigate any potential gaps between data and image. But first, some overview of the New Zealand workforce is required.

Once, New Zealand led the world on gender equality. In permitting women the right to vote in 1893, New Zealand women were the first in the world to be granted the legal status of 'person' (Holt, 1980).²⁸ Having had a female Attorney-General, Governor-General, Chief Justice, and Prime Minister, one might think New Zealand women have attained professional equality with men, but some time ago de Beauvoir cautioned "one must not think that the simple juxtaposition of the right to vote and a job amounts to total

²⁷ The present study focuses on women rather than other stigmatised groups but the work of Pickett & Wilkinson (2009) suggests issues such as racism and classism are also caused by inequality.

²⁸ While women were granted the right to vote in 1893, no woman could stand for Parliament until 1919; the first woman stood for parliament in 1933.

liberation” (1949 trans. 2010, p. 721). This time of unprecedented opportunity for women may not necessarily warrant the “widespread belief that social progress has occurred” (Baker, 2010, p. 187) though certainly there was much change as women entered training institutions and the workforce. Despite much work towards gender equality, progress has stalled or regressed over the last two decades on a range of measures (Human Rights Commission, 2010). Workplace sex-based discrimination has diminished, not disappeared. Although New Zealand’s gender pay discrepancy is lowest in the 34 OECD countries (OECD Publishing, 2011), let us consider that *any* pay discrepancy because of *any* form of discrimination should simply not be accepted.

Pay equity ensures equivalent pay for work of equivalent value. Pay equity is a pressing issue because wages are “often regarded as an important aspect of the fairness of the society we live in” (Ministry of Social Development, 2010, p. 1) and pay inequity is the clearest indication of women’s substatus in employment (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001). Equal pay for equal work is not a reality (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2010; OECD, 2008, Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Up to 12% of pay inequity is due to an unknown element, possibly attributable to conscious or unconscious bias (Barhava-Monteith & Wilshaw-Sparkes, 2011; Falconer, 2012). With Marxism, the economic informs the social, so with gendered pay inequity comes a gendered social inequity too. There is more to the discussion of workplace discrimination than remuneration. Educational choice and occupational segregation also contribute to the income gap between men and women (Heathrose Research, 2009; Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2010). “Women’s increased access to education, and consequently to economic independence” (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001, p. 89) is critical in discussing a gendered workforce, and education thus becomes a focus of this chapter.

Inequity is a term closely related to inequality. Inequality relates to the extent of difference between individuals or groups where [in]equity relates to the *fairness* of that difference (Department of Labour, n.d.). Difference is not always unjust. For example, that my partner is taller than me is an inequality because men typically tend to be taller than women by virtue of difference in DNA. However, if my partner and I had the same experience, qualifications, ability, and motivation to do a particular job but one of us was paid more than the other, then that could be considered an inequity. Inequity thus contextualises inequality on a scale of fairness. This chapter is based on the premise that the extent of difference (inequality) between men and women in the contemporary New Zealand workforce is unjust (inequitable) so terms are used synonymously.

2.1 *The woman as non-male*

Historically, women have been defined by a hierarchy of western, male, heterosexuality against which, all else is measured by extent of lack (de Beauvoir, 1949 trans. 2010; Bott, 2006; Lacan, 1998; McNay, 1992).²⁹ For a woman, there is a continual process of defining the self, enacted out in debt to a perceived other obedient to patriarchy (Bartky, 1990).³⁰ This definition lingers on today, though to a much lesser degree.

Despite great challenge and great achievement, many contemporary women work what is called a 'double shift'; a term used by many to describe how the gains of women in the realm of paid employment since the industrial revolution have been *in addition* to the maintenance of domestic roles (Crompton, 2002; Farrell & Sterba, 2008; Glick & Rudman, 2008; Hochschild, 1989/2003; Mabokela, 2011).³¹ Although there is an acceptance that entry into professions should no longer be based on sex, some women are still "shackled" to the home (B. Anderson, personal communication, June 26, 2012). Glick & Rudman go as far as to suggest that women are less inclined to notice inequity in paid employment because of gross imbalances of domestic work (2008). To become more equal in the workforce thus requires that each sex share domestic responsibility; a proposition that requires socialisation of the idea of men in the home.

Stigma has reversed. Women were once expected to take time out of the workforce if they began a family. Beryl Anderson has witnessed a shift where now there is a belief that women are economically 'productive units' and therefore should be out in the workforce, in addition to investing great amounts of time and energy in early child care (personal communication, June 26, 2012). What is of concern with mothers in unpaid employment is that "in privileging the labour/capital distinction women are rendered peripheral unless they are engaged in productive wage labour" (McNay, 1992, p. 24). For some time now, women have been involved more frequently in the social, private workforce (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001) but it is involvement in the economic workforce, not the social, that defines an individual under patriarchy (Maharey & Spoonley, 1989). The lose/lose paradox of the

²⁹ Historically, this is attributed to hunting behaviour because hunting is thought to serve as "the rudimentary beginnings of social and political organization" (Tuana, 2003). As hunting was an event that excluded women, women have been excluded from the social and political formulation of gender (Tuana, 2003). Women will be continually regulated against the phallic identity because no part of the woman is free from it; but if women are not free, then surely the people are not free (Lacan, 1998; Feldner & Vighi, 2007; Satre, 1943).

³⁰ Women tend toward self-surveillance as they constantly check their reflection and keep food diaries; women frequently navigate a fine line between femininity and agency (Rich, 2005).

³¹ Some, such as sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1989/2003), call this concept the "second shift".

double shift means contemporary women face a barrier known as ‘the glass ceiling’ that prevents them from moving up the ranks in the workforce (Cotter et al, 2001; Cooper & Davidson, 1992), *and* a metaphoric sticky floor - taken literally for those responsible for keeping the house clean - that keeps them down (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000).

When undertaken by the majority, the performance of roles, such as those in domestic life, contributes to the construction of gendered identities. However, women’s roles in paid employment have changed more than men’s domestic roles (Fine, 2010; Glick & Rudman, 2008).

2.2 Women in the contemporary New Zealand workforce

Most New Zealanders spend about half their waking lives at work, so if one feels unequal in one’s occupation then it is likely this perception will inform other facets of one’s life. New Zealand is a nation generally thought to have a strong work ethic (Live Work Play NZ, 2012). Kelly observes a “very strong narrative run through work in this country where workers are beneficiaries and employers are benefactors”, meaning New Zealanders take “pride in the work that they do, but not necessarily in work” (personal communication, June 22, 2012); an observation echoing one from 1949 where de Beauvoir observed “the majority of workers are exploited” (trans. 2010). Within this ‘charitable’ employer-employee relationship, power is typically more aligned with the employer and thus, there is deference to employers. As the margin of surplus becomes less and less³² and in a competitive post-recession job market, the awareness that remuneration is gendered may not be great because the focus is elsewhere.

A major concern of the Quarterly Employment Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a) is that the majority of employees in the public sector are women and there is a public sector pay freeze in place (Statistics New Zealand 2012a; Tertiary Education Union, 2012). The Department of Labour’s (DoL) Pay and Employment Equity Unit (PEEU)³³ addressed pay discrepancy in the civil service. The PEEU was especially important for women, as the civil

³² House prices are an example of this. The issue is not that house prices are increasing, but that they are increasing disproportionately to wages.

³³ The Pay Equity Challenge Coalition (PECC) facilitated by the NZCTU was established as a response to disestablishment of the PEEU. The PECC involves a group of organisations including the Tertiary Education Union and the Public Service Association. More on this can be found on the website <http://payequity.wordpress.com/> A more recent example of an organisation creating awareness about pay inequity is the YWCA’s 2012 ‘Demand Pay Equity’ campaign; more on this can be found www.demandpayequity.org.nz The YWCA have created a variety of contemporary everyday situations such as coffee stands and a car park booth that charge men more; addressing the implications of gendered pay inequity from the males perspective is a technique not frequently used. More can be read on the coffee stand here <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/8013967/Men-charged-more-at-coffee-cart> and a video of the car parking charges can be viewed here <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kxCpCBn3eLU>

service is a field of employment often dominated by women. As one of their first moves, the newly elected 2008 National Government disestablished the PEEU in 2009. With no equivalent replacement, this action indicates that pay and employment equity is not a priority for the current National Government. This same year, the responsibility to focus on women's employment was shifted from DoL to the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA). Symbolically this shift signifies that women's issues are not a responsibility of all society, but of women.

The MWA was established in 1984 and is Government's primary advisor on the implications that Government policy may hold for women. Their three goals for women are increased safety, increased occupation of leadership positions, and economic independence.³⁵ The findings of the MWA's *Analysis of Graduate Income Data 2010* report found that one-year after graduation, women receive 6.5% less pay than their male counterparts. Five years after graduation, this gap increases to 17%.³⁵ 17% may not seem significant, but based on a salary of \$50,000pa³⁶ five years after graduation, a woman will earn at least \$340,000 less over a 40 year working lifetime; without taking into account interest on lesser savings, a greater expectancy to take time out for early child care, and percentage based pay rises³⁷ and superannuation schemes like KiwiSaver.³⁸ That women earn less than men affects the entire family, not just the woman, in two income households (Phair, 2011). The current state of women in the New Zealand workforce does not live up to previous attempts to lead the world towards gender equity.

2.3 Contemporary working women and the choice of motherhood

The present study is not concerned with situations where remuneration between men and women is explainable or just; it is not within my scope to investigate whether it is just that

³⁴ The MWA are moving away from comparing earnings to the other sex as focus shifts to women's economic independence irrespective of men's earnings.

³⁵ Overall in a women's career, Statistics New Zealand report women to be paid 14.3% - 18.2% less than men (2005) and OECD Publishing report women to be paid 9% less than men (2008).

³⁶ Salaries are analysed rather than wages because men tend to work more hours than women (Statistics New Zealand, 2010) and thus men generally have a higher weekly waged-based income. The average income one year after graduating in 2009 is \$31,300 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

³⁷ The MWA study uses data prior to and during the early stages of the 2008 economic recession. Before the recession it was common for employees to receive annual 1% pay rises. The majority of the public sector has since moved towards performance based environments. Experience based pay scales can be problematic for women and contribute to pay inequity because women tend to take more time out of the workforce and thus lose out in experience based remuneration schemes.

³⁸ KiwiSaver also does not require employers to make employer contributions while an employee is on parental leave.

a man working as a lawyer receives higher remuneration than a woman working as an administrator. Instead, there is scope to investigate if women have the same opportunity to *choose* to work in non-traditional occupations and if not, what the consequences of this may be. The ability to choose ones occupation is important for women because, according to Bourdieu, economic systems are sexually ordered systems (Bourdieu, 1998 trans. 2001). For New Zealand economist Ganesh Nana, the ability to choose matters because opportunity inequality perpetuates income and wealth inequality (personal communication, October 04, 2012).

This investigation does not intend to suggest a life of domesticity is worth less than a life invested in paid employment; rather it suggests that one should be entitled to choose domesticity. It would take much research to know if women are more inclined to take time off from work to raise a family because they earn less than their male partners and thus it makes better economic sense. If a woman takes time out because it is a more prudent economic decision, the question 'why is it that most women still earn less than their male partners?' is nonetheless pertinent.

That the female remains the parent who most frequently takes time out of the workforce indicates that gendered work roles and wages persist. In turn this higher ratio of the female parent leaving the workforce indicates that there are expectations and consequences surrounding choice though gendered work roles may not necessarily be a consequence of gendered wages. Freedom to choose needs to ensure people aren't artificially limited by a male dominated culture (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012). Can choice, as an autonomous decision, exist if it must do so within boundaries, limitations, regulation, and expectation? Do contemporary women suffer the illusion of choice?³⁹

Each sex is expected to make decisions that the other is not. The biggest decision some women will encounter more often than men is the expectation to become a fulltime parent, even if that expectation may mean a loss of paid employment. Despite all the progress towards equality, parenthood still affects a woman's participation in paid work to a greater degree than it does a man's (Callister, 2005; Crichton, 2008; Department of Labour, 2007; Douglas, 2010; Fine, 2010; Heathrose Research, 2009; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). In regards to employment, education, and parenting, choice is not choice for the contemporary woman but expected decision. If power is understood as control over one's life and thus for one to make choices without social pressure or expectation; women do not yet have this control over their life.

³⁹ The illusion of choice is what Žižek called 'the paradox of forced choice' (2008).

2.4 The effects of educational choice

Education is thought to have improved the status of women but are women making the most prudent choices when it comes to education? For Bourdieu, education is important in the discussion of gender inequality because education has increased women's involvement in paid employment consequently modifying the division of the labour in the home (1998 trans. 2001). Education is pertinent in any discussion of employment, for education is considered a way to gain entrance to the workforce; if there is inequality in the workplace then it may begin in education. The inequalities in, and unequal access to, women's education and training is one of the critical areas of concern the New Zealand Human Rights Commission and the international Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) focus on (Human Rights Commission, 2010) because educational choice is a factor that contributes to the gender pay gap (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012; MWA, 2010). Hon Jo Goodhew, the current Minister of Women's Affairs, is eager to broaden women's horizons and attain economic independence through informed educational choice (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012). For the MWA, the gender pay gap and occupational segregation are not necessarily due to well-paying jobs being less conducive to women's wellbeing; rather women do not have access to the same levels of remuneration as men because they have made different educational and training choices (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012).

From 1995 – 2010 the top five study choices women reported were gender typical aspirations of hairdressing and flight attendants (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012). While these vocations are crucial to contemporary life, they are also lower paid vocations dominated by women and there are deeply embedded social and cultural reasons for gender typical professions (Fine, 2010).⁴⁰ An example of these deeply embedded reasons is conveyed in a Hutt City employer reluctant to take on female apprentices in a typically masculine trade because of the expectation that "She'll be pregnant before she finishes her apprenticeship" (Rothwell, 2011). This quote is an example of discriminatory stereotyping that hinders, and in some cases prevents, the transition of women into non-traditional roles; this quote indicates that, for some women with less gender typical aspirations, choice comes with negative expectation.

⁴⁰ Statistics New Zealand also conclude that women typically take courses in less well paid areas like the creative arts and hospitality while men take courses in engineering and information technology (2005).

The MWA are working to remove barriers that make women feel obliged to study one profession over the other, for instance to choose hospitality over engineering, or choose the home over the workplace. The issue isn't only that work is gendered, but that typically feminine professions continue to be less well paid and less valued, than masculine professions. The ILO suggests the need to address the historic undervaluing of "female" jobs (2007). The MWA have showcased women in non-typical professions (2011) in an attempt to change the representation of typically masculine trade professions, and the ongoing work of the MWA ensures Governmental policy does not create conscious or unconscious barriers for women; though their scope is limited. A logistical limitation is that what needs to be achieved cannot be accomplished by the MWA alone as it is the smallest Ministry and thus does not have the required channels for adequate information distribution. Another limitation is that, as a policy advice organisation, it is not the role of the MWA to ensure training providers, careers advisors, and NGOs are not perpetuating gender typical assumptions and occupational segregation. Currently, there is no organisation responsible for assessing, auditing, or monitoring whether or not the first point of contact material issued by training providers perpetuates gender typical stereotypes. Ensuring prospectus material is free of gender barriers has been showcased as a requirement in order for progress.

2.5 The first visual audit

The purpose of this first visual audit is to establish the frequency that women are visually represented in the prospectus material of three typically masculine vocational training courses provided by four polytechnics (Weltec, Unitec, Wintec, and the Open Polytechnic). This audit thus fills a gap between where the work of the MWA ends and industry begins. The findings will not only determine whether the images portrayed by each provider convey a gendered identity, but through these studies it will be known if women are visually represented at a frequency accurately reflecting the ratio of women in the courses and in employment. The overrepresentation of a marginalised demographic is known as affirmative discrimination or positive discrimination. If women are significantly overrepresented then affirmative discrimination may be implemented in the prospectus material of the four polytechnics.

2.5.1 The first visual audit: Affirmative discrimination

For some, affirmative discrimination is a necessary first step in addressing inequality (Bielby, 2000). This term, affirmative discrimination, can be understood as the purposeful

discrimination of a population in order to equalise difference. It is a concept heavily affected by morals and it is a concept that seeks compensatory justice (Brown, Langer, & Stewart, 2012). Amendments to policies or legislation that directly benefit a minority are examples of affirmative action. Affirmative action is a proven example of how regulation can influence the likelihood of social change (Derks et al, 2012; Ringold, 2008).

Affirmative discrimination is, however, somewhat contentious. Beryl Anderson's perception is that affirmative measures are anathema to the general New Zealand population because New Zealanders expect individuals to succeed based on their merits (personal communication, June 26, 2012). Holly Walker's Oxford University Master's thesis on social inequality in New Zealand examined the incoming 1999 Labour Government's flagship policy 'Closing the Gaps' which sought to reduce the inequalities between Māori and non-Māori through affirmative discrimination. 'Closing the Gaps' became so controversial that the Labour party not only abandoned it but actively went through their policies and removed any statements proposing preferential treatment. In Walker's view, that the general public called for the abandonment of Closing the Gaps shows there was, and continues to be, a prejudice based on an underlying form of discrimination amongst many New Zealanders that sees policies which seek to close socio-economic gaps as providing special treatment that is not available to those who are not experiencing adverse effects (personal communication, June 15, 2012). Those who benefit the most from the current imbalanced situation – that is heterosexual white males – fear affirmative action because it redistributes support and redistribution is correlated with a reduction or removal in the potentials of those in the majority (Mabokela, 2011). However, research disproves the argument that affirmative action hurts or penalises the majority (Kojima, 2011). There is also criticism of affirmative measures because compensatory measures are thought to invert power distribution thus creating an imbalance of power; problematic because, in theory, all people have the same legal and political rights (Brown et al., 2012). While a valid criticism, there are already great imbalances of rights in unequal countries.

However, as with many feminisms that want women to be seen as equals to all others, rather than be privileged over another, affirmative discrimination may be understood to reverse the power hierarchy (Douglas, 2010). However, affirmative action does not seek preferential treatment as it is argued for on the premise that past discrimination contributes to current inequalities (Brown et al., 2012). Anderson believes little progress is made in regards to women's rights without affirmative discrimination (personal communication,

June 26, 2012), and research supports this (Francis & Tannuri-Pianto, 2012; Kojima, 2011). The battle for equality, rather than power, may explain why women themselves are reluctant to receive affirmative action. In addition, contemporary women may not wish to benefit from affirmative measures, or may find them insulting, if they are perceived as undermining the power one has over their life and situation because contemporary women's studies prioritise claiming choice. While affirmative discrimination is debateable, overall it seems unlikely one will succeed in the workplace if one does not have the same access to supportive social, economic, and educative systems that one needs.

2.5.2 *The first visual audit: Data*

Are women over, under, or accurately represented in the images from the prospectus material of the four polytechnics (Unitec, Wintec, Weltec, and the Open Polytechnic) selected in this study? And what might these findings mean? To answer these questions data on the number of students by provider, industry, and sex is required. This data is presented in Table 01 below.

Table 01
Number of students by provider, industry, and sex

Provider	Industry	Female	(%)	Male	(%)
Unitec	Automotive Technology	27	3.73%	696	96.27%
	Construction Trades	15	1.57%	941	98.43%
	Electrical and Engineering	7	1.89%	363	98.11%
Wintec	Automotive Technology	10	1.00%	983	99.00%
	Construction Trades	8	2.23%	351	97.77%
	Electrical and Engineering	13	3.90%	320	96.10%
Weltec	Automotive Technology	70	4.75%	1405	95.25%
	Construction Trades	56	4.08%	1315	95.92%
	Electrical and Engineering	14	2.04%	671	97.96%
The Open Polytechnic	Construction Trades	3	2.00%	147	98.00%
	Electrical and Engineering	17	3.43%	478	96.57%
Total		240	3.10%	7,490	96.90%

Overall, the highest percentage of women in the three trades industry courses, are enrolled in Weltec’s automotive technology courses (4.75%). The lowest percentage (1.00%) was also found in automotive technology courses but at Wintec. This finding suggests region may affect sex-distribution; though this conclusion requires additional research across many more providers and a wider variety of courses including female dominated trades industries if it were to be considered empirical.

From the data in Table 01, the percentage of women by provider in order from highest to lowest is 3.96% at Weltec, 3.10% at the Open Polytechnic, 2.39% at Unitec, and 1.84% at Wintec. The mean of female students by provider is 2.82%.

The next data set required regards the photographs in the prospectus material of each provider. An inability to accurately determine a subject as either male or female in the prospectus images was due to image cropping, androgyny, or concealment under trades attire such as welding helmets. For these reasons, 44 subjects (16.30%) out of a total 270 subjects photographed were excluded. Table 02 below presents the number of images of men and women in the provider’s first point of contact material for the three trades training industries of concern.

*Table 02
Images in prospectus material by provider, industry, and sex.*

Provider	Industry	Female	(%)	Male	(%)
Unitec	Automotive Technology	0	0.00%	1	100%
	Construction Trades	3	33.33%	6	66.67%
	Electrical and Engineering	0	0.00%	1	100%
Wintec	Automotive Technology	1	7.14%	13	92.86%
	Construction Trades	1	2.27%	43	97.73%
	Electrical and Engineering	3	5.00%	57	95.00%
Weltec	Automotive Technology	4	16.00%	21	84.00%
	Construction Trades	3	9.68%	28	90.32
	Electrical and Engineering	4	14.29%	24	85.71%
The Open Polytechnic	Construction Trades	1	11.11%	8	88.89%
	Electrical and Engineering	1	25.00%	3	75.00%
Total		21	9.29%	205	90.71%

To summarise Table 02, the average, overall visual representation of women by provider in order from most to least is 27.27% at Unitec, 15.38% at the Open Polytechnic, 13.10% at Weltec, and 4.24% at Wintec.

To rank the providers by construction trades and electrical and engineering (thus excluding Automotive Technology as the Open Polytechnic does not offer this) sees Unitec representing women the most frequently with 30% of photographs depicting a female, followed by the Open Polytechnic with 18.18%, Weltec with 11.86%, and Wintec with 6.25%; the mean percentage being 16.57%.

To rank the internal providers (or, providers who offer courses in Automotive Technology) Unitec represented women the most with 27.27% of their photographs representing women. Again, this was followed by Weltec with 13.10%, and Wintec with 4.24%; the mean percentage is 14.87%.

Other factors that may have influenced the findings are the number of courses offered by each provider and the image sample size. When data both included and excluded automotive technology, Wintec offered the most courses, and Unitec offered the least. Wintec also have the largest image sample size, and Unitec have the smallest. Although Unitec represent women most frequently in the overall summaries, they offer the fewest courses and have the smallest image sample size. The converse is also true for Wintec that photographically represent the least number of women but have the largest image sample size and offer the largest number of courses. Image and course sample size may thus have affected findings.

One outlier was that 33.33% of the images in Unitec's Construction Trades prospectus were women. This figure is noticeably higher than the other results and may be due to Unitec's small image sample size being used to showcase one of their most successful students Kartika Mutzelburg – the woman discussed in the literature review for her success in winning the 2010 Apprentice Challenge of the Year.

2.5.3 The first visual audit: Findings

The findings of this visual audit are of concern because the extent to which women are represented equivalent to data formulates a gendered identity and this gendered identity may be either equitable or inequitable. Of all the providers, including or excluding automotive technology, Wintec has the lowest representation of women in their prospectus material and the lowest percentage of female students. The converse cannot be said of Unitec who represent women the most but have the second lowest percentage of female

students. Based on this data, Unitec over represent women in their prospectus material to a greater extent than providers such as Wintec.

In 2011 the MWA found that one percent of builders, electricians, plumbers and motor mechanics are women. The summary of Table 01 found that, in 2012, women constitute between 1.84% and 3.96%, or an average of 2.82%, of students enrolled in the specified training courses. The total percentage of women depicted in the prospectus material ranged from 4.24% and 30%. Thus, to summarise the findings of the first visual audit, the images in the prospectus material do not accurately reflect the number of women studying and working in these industries; rather, women are overrepresented. It is not known if the inclusion of a greater number of images of women in prospectus material was a conscious decision by the providers but this finding suggests that these four polytechnics are working to overcome a potential barrier for women where lack of representation may deter women from working in non-traditional trades. Furthermore, because visual representation is thought to be part of the work towards gender equality, this overrepresentation is expected to encourage women to consider non-typical education courses and thus help the MWA achieve their goal of seeing women attain economic independence.

Figure 2.01 below is another example of this affirmative discrimination because it not only depicts an image of a woman in a construction trades prospectus, but places this image



on the cover. The cover image is a position of prestige and because Weltec allocated this position to a woman, Weltec are shown to be actively encouraging women into non-gender typical careers within the construction trades. That women are overrepresented visually in the prospectus material confirms the presence of affirmative discrimination.

Figure 2.01. Weltec. [*Construction Trades Prospectus cover image*]. 2011. Digital photograph. Retrieved from http://issuu.com/weltec/docs/weltec_construction_trades_brochure_2011

2.6 The benefits of education

Despite the presence of affirmative discrimination in the selected prospectus material, whether or not education is a beneficial way for women to increase their economic status is debateable. Without providing an analysis by sex, the 2005 *Focusing on Women* report by Statistics New Zealand correlates educational attainment with increased employment prospects. However, there is also research suggesting educational attainment does not extend women's careers in the same way as men's (Falconer, 2012; Fawcett & Pringle, 2000) and there are reports voicing concern about educational inequity (Borkin, 2011; ILO, 2007).

The ILO infer concern when discussing pay inequity and education as the "phenomenal" increases to the number of educated women are yet to be reflected in pay equity (2007). Rowena Phair, Chief Executive of the MWA, expected to see faster progress on pay equity as more women under 50 now have tertiary qualifications than ever before (NCWNZ, 2012). The 2010 MWA report concludes that increasing education across the board does not eliminate issues of pay inequity for women. More women than men have a high school education of NCEA Level Two or equivalent, and more women than men are enrolled in tertiary education; though this majority is slight but increasing from 53% in 2005 to 58% in 2011 (Education Counts, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Thus, from data on pay inequity, women still earn less despite being more qualified than their male counterparts. Education is a debatable part of progress; an important realisation when higher education comes with an average student loan of around \$21,900 for fees alone.⁴¹

2.7 The second visual audit

Remuneration and study choice are gendered and this is known to contribute to women's inequity in the workforce. Another contributing factor that was raised earlier in passing is 'occupational segregation' (Falconer, 2012); a phenomenon that definitely was not on the agenda when women were working towards obtaining the right to vote. The purpose of this second first visual audit is to investigate whether or not occupational segregation is evident in the photographs of what is thought to be a progressive workplace. As outlined in the methodology, the workplace I have chosen for this audit is Massey University's College of Creative Arts. The focus on a tertiary education workplace continues debate around the idea that education is one way women can improve their financial, economic, and social status.

⁴¹ The average amount borrowed for one year's tertiary study in 2010 was \$7,300 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Based on a three year degree, the average student loan is \$21,900.

2.7.1 The second visual audit: Occupational segregation

Occupational segregation describes workplaces, vocations, roles, training courses, and industries where the majority of people are of the same sex. Strategic separatism is where people purposefully separate themselves from others; it is different to occupational segregation as strategic separatism is more of a conscious decision. Anderson believes one of the biggest problems with occupational segregation to be women typically training for employment in the social workforce, and the social workforce is both undervalued and underpaid (personal communication, June 26, 2012). Anderson's point is supported by Waikato University Professor Margaret Wilson (as cited in the Human Rights Commission, 2011), the ILO (2007), Heathrose Research (2009, 2008), and Bourdieu (1998 trans. 2001) who observe that women, consciously or not, typically dominate occupations that tend to be lower paid than professions typically dominated by men. Horizontal occupational gender segregation is where segregation is thought due to difference in the physical, emotional, and mental capabilities required of a job. Vertical occupational segregation is attributed to differences in power, authority, and prestige. Phair observes that women remain absent in leadership positions despite educational achievements (2011) as such, data will be obtained to see if the visual representation of women matches statistical representation.

New Zealand has a "highly gender segregated workforce" (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012) with over 44% of full-time and 70% of part-time employees working in occupations that are dominated by their sex (Department of Labour, n.d.; Heathrose Research, 2008). 40% of New Zealand's doctors are women and 75% of nurses are men (Rothwell, 2011). That even 40% of doctors are female reflects the achievements of the work towards gender equality and equity in one vocation. However, these statistics are an example of vertical occupational segregation where jobs of prestige within health such as doctors, are predominantly male while jobs of less prestige such as nurses are typically female. The greater number of women becoming doctors than men becoming nurses also highlights that cross-gender behaviour is more acceptable for women (Fine, 2010).

This statistic also indicates that women, in the health sector at least, are moving into professions typically held by men to a greater extent than vice-versa. The research this revelation comes from does not, however, state whether this is due to the success of affirmative discrimination or if it is related to the degree to which sexual and gendered identities are fixed. Feminine identity is typically less fixed than masculine meaning women have more scope than men to move into cross-sex positions (Glick & Rudman, 2008).

The occupation of cross-sex vocations usually means a gain in power for women while for men, there is no power to be gained in the occupation of cross-sex vocations. Though gender identity has meant that women have faced significant historic obstacles in the path to gaining power and status, it is important to acknowledge that men experience a social pressure, or social expectation, to display typically gendered roles such as toughness, heterosexuality, and individuality (Glick & Rudman, 2008). The work of Glick and Rudman provides scope for the consideration that each sex fulfils stereotypes thus perpetuating a gendered workforce for similar reasons; namely social expectation.

One might like to believe health is the only profession where vertical occupational segregation is present, but it is not. Vertical occupational segregation is present in our family court (Human Rights Commission, 2010), in education (A. Harvey, personal communication, June 19, 2012; B. Anderson, personal communication, June 26, 2012; Carvalho, Riordan, & White, 2011; Human Rights Commission, 2010; Mabokela, 2011),⁴² and in vocations such as librarians and engineers (B. Anderson, personal communication, June 26, 2012). Anderson observes that when men do work in typically female jobs, they seem to always make it to the top (personal communication, June 26, 2012). This observation by Anderson is exemplified by the article *Gender Bending Jobs* discussed in the literature review that showcases a man in a position of leadership in a profession dominated by women, and in data from the Human Rights Commission reporting that 47% of teachers are women but 72% of principals are men (2010). For Bourdieu, vertical occupational segregation exists because women must pay a higher price than men - such as singledom or divorce – in order to occupy higher up, typically masculine professions (1998, trans. 2001).

One of the largest gender pay gaps is found in managerial roles (Barhava-Monteith & Wilshaw-Sparkes, 2011; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010). In regards to women's representation in higher level or senior roles, New Zealand languishes behind many similar countries, including Australia, to the extent that women's participation has plateaued or is reversing (McGregor as cited in the Human Rights Commission, 2010). Furthermore,

⁴² Beryl Anderson estimates that in her profession approximately 15% of librarians are male, but 45-50% of those in the top jobs are men. Allan Harvey and Beryl Anderson both say that when they were more involved in education, teachers were predominantly male, whereas now teachers are predominantly female or the one male holds the position of greatest power and prestige - the principal. Allan Harvey observes that most lawyers, psychologists, and counsellors "going in to family [court] work these days will be women; it fits in relatively well with parenting". However, despite there being more men in positions of power within the family court – in positions such as judges – does not mean one can assume the decisions made by the family court are gendered, for that is a complex point of discussion with arguments both for and against such a gendered assumption (personal communication, June 19, 2012). Helen Kelly of the NZCTU observes that men also choose not to work in the family court system because it doesn't pay as well as commercial law; this indicates our priorities lie with the economic, not the social (personal communication, June 22, 2012).

because the majority of part-time roles are female-dominated, and as just 2% of managerial roles are part-time (Heathrose Research, 2008), women are less inclined to look to occupy these positions.

Occupational segregation contributes to the gender pay gap and has detrimental consequences for both men and women. Suffragist Kate Sheppard suggested that occupational segregation is detrimental for men too because they may be excluded from jobs because it makes sense for the employer to hire people [women] they can pay less but still get the job done (as cited in Holt, 1980). Occupational segregation remains an issue today. For women, the consequences of occupational segregation are both social and economic.

2.7.2 The second visual audit: Data

In many countries, vertical occupational segregation is present in the tertiary education system as women typically dominate support roles or lower level academic positions (Mabokela, 2011). Visual representations are known to influence stereotyping and thus perpetuate occupational segregation. In this second visual audit, two photographs of staff from Massey University's College of Creative Arts will be analysed to see if occupational segregation is visually evident and if the male:female staff ratio is similar to that of the student population. The two photographs that will be analysed were retrieved from Massey University's College of Creative Arts' website. These images may have been taken to showcase staff solidarity to prospective and current students, and to stakeholders. The images have an informal, impromptu tone so they may not be representative of the entire faculty so data provided by the University will be used to analyse this potential gap between image and reality. The two photographs audited are shown overleaf.



Figure 2.02. Massey University. *Staff 2012*. 2012. Digital photograph. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/colleges/college-creative-arts/people/staff-profiles/staff-profiles.cfm>



Figure 2.03. Massey University. *CoCA staff 2011*. 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/colleges/college-creative-arts/people/staff-profiles/academic-staff.cfm>

2.7.3 The second visual audit: Findings

Sex-based occupational segregation – a clustering of the sexes that occurs within occupational contexts - is present in the first image below. Figure 2.04 is figure 2.02 with the addition of a red line down the middle as visual aid. In this image (see figure 2.04), 38 people appear on the right and 37 people on the left. Respectively, 71.05% of the subjects on the right and 32.43% of the subjects on the left are women.



Figure 2.04. Massey University. *Staff 2012* [red line added by author]. 2012. Digital photograph. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/colleges/college-creative-arts/people/staff-profiles/staff-profiles.cfm>

Figure 2.05 below is the same as figure 2.03 with the addition of two red lines as visual aid. Occupational segregation is not as present in figure 2.05 as it is in figure 2.04. Staff were distributed similarly when the image was split on a vertical axis (45.45% women) and on a horizontal axis (51.02% women). There does, however, appear to be some clustering of the sexes in figure 2.05 below as highlighted by the red lines. Occupational segregation is most evident in the image below across the back row and on an angle down from the top left corner.



Figure 2.05. Massey University. *CoCA staff 2011* [red lines added by author]. 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/colleges/college-creative-arts/people/staff-profiles/academic-staff.cfm>

This clustering of each sex evident in figures 2.04 and 2.05 does not suggest that conscious discrimination or bias is present. Rather, the images prove occupational segregation is present in these two photographs of this particular workforce though this finding is not strikingly evident. Staff may naturally come together with those whom they are familiar with; a proposition not necessarily an issue unless the clustering is evidence of *vertical* occupational segregation.

The first image contains 52% women and the second image contains 51.22%. With around 50% men and 50% women, these images suggest that Massey University's CoCA is one with an almost equal balance of male and female employees. However, despite the almost equal visual representation of sex, images were earlier proposed as having the potential to be misleading and this will be discussed further in relation to vertical occupational segregation; a type of occupational segregation explicitly linked to gender inequality.

2.7.4 The second visual audit: Additional data

As figures 2.04 and 2.05 visualise occupational segregation to different extents, there is a need for greater analysis of these images and this workforce. In order to establish whether or not this gender-based clustering is a visual representation of how women historically dominate lower paid, lower level positions, more data is required. Table 03 below presents 2012 data on both staff and students within Massey University's College of Creative Arts by sex in order to measure occupational segregation.

*Table 03
Students and staff of Massey University's College of Creative Arts by sex*

Category		Female	(%)	Male	(%)
Student		1283	67.67%	613	32.33%
General support staff		29	56.86%	22	43.14%
Academic staff	Total	67	53.60%	58	46.40%
	Junior-mid range level ⁴³	51	57.95%	37	42.05%
	Senior level ⁴⁴	16	43.24%	21	56.76%

⁴³ Junior-mid includes the roles: lecturer, assistant lecturer, senior tutor, and tutor.

⁴⁴ Senior includes the roles: head of school, associate professor, professor, and senior lecturer (ranges 1 & 2).

To summarise Table 03, the ratio of female students to female staff is not proportionate; there is 14% less female staff than students. However, a greater percentage of female students than female staff in academia is not a new observation (Acker & Feuerwerker, 1997; Brooks, 1997; Luke, 2002; Mabokela, 2011). Also of note is that the percentage of women decreases as the roles become more senior. This finding suggests that vertical occupational segregation is present within CoCA. These findings also suggest that even in fields dominated by women, men are ordained in their minority; a finding echoing observations by many such as FAN, Anderson, and de Beauvoir.

The presence of vertical occupational segregation echoes back to de Beauvoir's 1949 remark that women lack the drive to work towards leadership positions because they are content with simply being included in the workforce (trans. 2010). Whilst underestimating the contemporary woman, at the time of de Beauvoir's text, a time when women were just beginning to move into the paid workforce in unprecedented numbers to support World War efforts, this may have been an accurate observation. More recent observations claim it takes "a courageous and resilient women to apply for a senior management role [at a University]" (Carvalho, Riordan, & White, 2011, p.10). The lack of women in managerial roles at Universities may also be due to the way these roles have been constructed to valorise 'hard' traits, with men typically enacting these traits to a greater extent than women. Senior roles also come with an element of power and prestige attached; two traits established earlier as historically tending towards men more than women. Women in senior positions thus battle against history. The implications of the power attached to managerial roles is that the more senior a role becomes, the less feminine it becomes. Furthermore, as women are often seen as the opposite of men; the more powerful a woman, the less feminine she is perceived to be (Sterba as cited in Farrell & Sterba, 2008).⁴⁵ Or, as Cordelia Fine bluntly observes, power does not look good on a woman (2010).

In the wider context of senior roles, in New Zealand 9% of managerial and board member roles are occupied by women. The United Nations Human Rights Committee has voiced concern about New Zealand's comparatively low representation of women on boards and in managerial positions (as cited in the Human Rights Commission, 2010) and there are calls to increase the percentage of women in managerial roles (Borkin, 2011; Fairfax, 2012; Radio New Zealand, 2012a; Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Some organisations such as the New Zealand Stock Exchange (NZX) are working to improve these figures by

⁴⁵ Power is not the only thing perceived differently when performed by each sex. Behaviourally, when displaying anger in the workplace, men are perceived as objective while a woman's anger is perceived to be subjective and thus less valid (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008).

mandating that their listed companies report on gender diversity (Bond, 2012; Fairfax, 2012). This change by the NZX is commendable because it has been initiated on their own accord and because workplace gender inequity will not only be resolved through legislation, but also by Industry (Wilson, as cited in the Human Rights Commission, 2011). For the NZX, the benefits could be both ethical and economic as there are analyses which claim improved economic performance of companies with women on their boards (Curtis, 2012; Glick & Rudman, 2008; Perlberg, 2012).

In returning to the present study, Massey University deserves credit because although female students are disproportionately represented as staff, although the percentage of women decreases as seniority increases, and despite that more women than men are qualified from year 12 and onwards (Statistics New Zealand, 2005) it is positive that there is an almost equal balance of male and female staff in the most senior positions as 43.24% of these roles are occupied by women. The level at which women are represented in these images - 43.24% - of Massey University's College of Creative Arts also deserves particular credit as it is higher than the national average (22.45%) of women in senior academic positions (Human Rights Commission, 2010).

2.8 The socialisation into submission

The long-term implications of the education and employment choices women make are significant, but even if women make more prudent decisions there may be further barriers. A trait displayed more frequently by female employees that contributes to the gender pay gap, is a lack in pay negotiation (Lublin, 2003; Rezvani, 2012; Wade, 2003). There is a greater penalty for women than men who do choose to initiate wage negotiation (Belgorodskiy et al., 2012) and this may be because, for women, the immediate social consequences of pay negotiation outweigh the benefits of increased wage (Babcock & Bowles, 2012).

A problematic of the female/male binary is that there are binary values attached where women are submissive and men are aggressive (Butler, 1993). Brown University Professor of Biology and Gender Studies Anne Fausto-Sterling wryly points out that if testosterone is the key element in aggression, then there is no social basis for sex based discrimination at all, but a natural and inherent power structure and hierarchy of aggression (1994). However, submission and aggression are not biologically intrinsic to either men or women so women have been *socialised* into submission (Fausto-Sterling, 1994; Fine, 2010; Lerner & Roth, 1974; Steffensmeier, 1983).

A lack of wage negotiation is correlated with pay inequity (ILO, 2007). And if one is socialised into aggression and aggression is necessary in pay negotiation, then women have been socialised into submission and thus away from pay negotiation. This idea is echoed in a July 2012 conference paper by two University of York academics concluding that women are indifferent to the wages of others in the workplace and that it is employees themselves who need to initiate requests for pay equity (Mumford & Smith, 2012). Rachael Wright – a self-proclaimed feminist – has observed that when starting a new job many women are terrified of being thought of as a ‘bitch’ due to the way one has negotiated their pay (personal communication, June 13, 2012). However, worrying about one’s reputation should not be a foremost concern when it comes to pay negotiation, as best practice wage negotiation processes aim to be professional and free from personality judgements. The role of negotiating work and pay with an employer is important (P. Cohen, personal communication, July 16, 2012) but the same forward approaches to negotiation that increase a man’s workplace status, lower a woman’s (Fine, 2010). There are a multitude of ways one can interact with their employer and how individuals approach this is greatly affected by how one has been socialised. Projects by the MWA aim to generate information about the long-term consequences of decisions women make about study, the size of the organisation they choose to work in, and the importance of salary negotiation. However, as with all Government agencies, the MWA must work to achieve the goals of the current government who, as has been mentioned, do not prioritise pay equity. Thus, getting advice to women on prudent approaches to salary negotiation, is no longer within the MWA’s jurisdiction, but there is no alternative.

It is highly unlikely that any woman in the working world would want to, or would be happy to, receive less pay for doing the same, or substantially similar, work.⁴⁶ Lack of pay negotiation contributes to pay inequity because women are less inclined to negotiate starting wages meaning they will start on lower salaries than men; a problem compounded when women do not request pay rises as frequently or to the same extent as men. Further, women start jobs on lower rates than men and if staff received percentage based pay rises, then a woman’s income, including superannuation and student loan repayments, will increase slower than a man’s. That women have been socialised to negotiate less than men has lifelong consequences.

⁴⁶ The perception of inequity does not appear to be restricted to women. In their research into the two ‘pillars of morality’ reciprocity (fairness) and empathy (compassion), Dr. Sarah Brosnan and Dr. Frans de Waal have confirmed capuchin monkeys, chimpanzees, dogs, and birds all have the ability to perceive and reject equal pay (2011, 2003).

Conclusion

There is no questioning that New Zealand has made great advances in the move towards gender equality. Nevertheless, discrimination and negative stereotyping persists (Glick & Rudman, 2008). Long ago women gained the right to vote and to work in paid employment, but progress has slowed.⁴⁷ Numerous reports conclude that equally qualified women are paid less to do the same or substantially similar work as men. Pay inequity has both social and economic consequences and this inequity on the grounds of sex is not thought to be just or explainable even when 'life choice' variables are considered.

Women in the contemporary New Zealand workforce face a variety of concerns of an economic and social nature that include, but are in no way limited to: detrimental stereotyping, expected choice, and the socialisation into submission. Many of these concerns are issues faced by the Suffragists. Women's careers are hindered by representation that is disproportionate to educational attainment, vertical occupational segregation, and self-imposed reluctance towards compensatory measures.

The complexities outlined in this chapter focus on a select few issues and highlight how the more one analyses employment difference between men and women, the more complicated the discussion becomes. On closer examination, remuneration itself is not the only issue as socialisation is a contributing factor. For progressive feminist researchers such as Cordelia Fine, resolve begins with the rejection of dated biological support for gender inequity. In parallel, there is a need to acknowledge that issues of women are issues of society.

Education is thought to help resolve workplace gender inequity, but the reality of this is not always supported by data. As outlined in the literature review, theories of representation impact heavily on formations of 'the female' identity and this was analysed in the context of two workplaces within the education sector. The first visual audit determined the extent to which women are encouraged to attain economic independence through non-typical vocational training. Positively, in relation to both student and industry populations, this audit found that the four polytechnics over-represent women in their prospectus material in relation to both student and industry populations. Thus, the conclusion is made that

⁴⁷ Other legislative efforts include the Equal Pay Act, Employment Relations Act and the Human Rights Act in an attempt to reduce and prevent discrimination due to sex or otherwise. Though these acts exist, Sue O'Shea, Principal Advisor to the Human Rights Commission's Equal Employment Opportunities team observes that they have "rarely been used to further pay equity" in individual cases (personal communication, October 12, 2012). There is a need to revise legislation as progress has stagnated; on implementation of the Equal Pay Act, women's pay compared to men (the gender pay gap) rose quickly from 69.9% to 78.5%, remained at 78% for 10 years, then gradually narrowed to 87.4% in 2010 (Clark & Hyman, 1987; Department of Labour, 1979; Wilson, as cited in Human Rights Commission, 2011).

the work of a small selection of NGOs are activating the suggestions for change made by Governmental agencies such as the MWA. The second visual audit continued to prioritise the importance of visual representation in the work towards gender equality. The aim of the second visual audit was to determine the extent of occupational segregation in the images from a workplace thought to be one of equality. The results of this audit were mixed; occupational segregation was present in the two photographs surveyed but it was not easily identifiable. Vertical occupational segregation was found when comparing data on staff and student populations, and these findings worsened when analysing the seniority of positions by sex. These audits are significant because equal representation in senior and non-gender typical roles creates positive examples for future generations (Glick & Rudman, 2008).

To summarise, the findings of the first visual audit positively contribute to pay parity efforts. The over-representation of women in prospectus material is thought to encourage women into non-typical training courses and these training courses are expected to lead to employment opportunities where economic independence is more possible than in typically 'female' jobs. However, when educational attainment is transferred to the workforce, there remains work to be done in ensuring that education benefits women to the same degree as it does men. Although the results of the second visual audit were less clear, vertical occupational segregation was confirmed in a workplace thought to yield lower results than a workplace in a field dominated by men. This audit highlighted a gap between how women are visually represented (almost 50/50) and the statistical reality (where men occupy the majority of senior positions disproportionately to student populations). This audit suggests work still needs to be done to ensure women have the same access to more senior, generally better paid, positions. An imbalance of power aligning with men has been confirmed in these institutional settings. Accordingly, there is scope to research whether this inequality is an isolated institutional example or whether this can be seen in the wider society.

Chapter three – Interventions, public space, and inequality

Introduction

This final chapter argues that a selection of interventions in the public space of Wellington's Southern suburbs are one way unknown individuals might actively respond to power inequality. Foucault proposes that inequality is an essential element of both power and resistance (1975 trans. 1977) and that in order to understand power relations, one must first understand resistance for "power exists only when it is put into action" (1982, p. 788). Furthermore, Pickett expands on the work of Foucault in arguing that power is diffused throughout society and is not located in a particular place (1996). The dispersed nature of power relationships offers "a whole field of responses and reactions" (Foucault, 1982, p.789). Thus, the selected interventions are conceived as moments of resistance to unequal power distributions. Through a range of selected case studies, this discussion will qualify how postering, acts of vandalism, and graffiti are interventions. In proposing this term – intervention – a selection of acts in public space can be identified as signs and demonstrations of resistance to inequality. Notions of authorship, the relationship between site and intervention, the problematic hierarchy of landownership, and surveillance technologies are all considered contributing factors. But first, what is an 'intervention' and who is an 'interventionist'?

The present study uses the term author or 'interventionist' in reference to people who cause events⁴⁸ to happen. 'Interventionist' refers to an individual, or possibly group, who actively intervenes with public space to install a message in the form of a sign, a poster, or with various types of paint. The significance of the interventionist will be discussed at greater length in this chapter through Billig's re-examination of Marx's notion of 'commodity fetishism' which proposes that "the productive origins of commodities are routinely forgotten" (Billig, 1999, p. 313).

The word 'intervention' is used in this study to describe the traces of acts by individuals or groups in public space. The term intervention is used strategically to differentiate the selected case studies from terms such as street art, activism, illegal postering, graffiti, and tagging. These terms are restrictive descriptors with negative connotations often used to describe this chapter's selection of multidisciplinary interventions. A basic premise of Foucault's discourse theory (1972) is that "the ways we think and talk about a subject influence the ways we act in relation to that subject" (Karlberg, 2005, p.1). Many

⁴⁸ Gell uses the term 'agent' to describe these people. Gell's definition of event includes images and objects.

interventions to public space, such as graffiti and vandalism, have negative connotations and are often believed to be unconsidered and consequently of no significance for society. The term 'intervention', however, offers more than a perspective founded on these beliefs and it allows the scope for positing the selected interventions as having social agency. At a very fundamental level, these interventions are of significance because, according to Marx, value is derived from labour being expended in the production process (1976). Marx theorises that the exploitation of labour is driven by the economic value of production (1976). The interventions discussed in this chapter, however, are driven by an unpaid labour force thus rupturing the control the state has over its people through the remuneration of labour. This chapter will locate the visualisation of social difference and investigate whether these interventions can be understood as instances of unrest that reveal much about a society.

One of the key features Foucault considers in defining a struggle against power imbalances is that the struggles are 'transversal' (1982). Though the interventions discussed in this chapter may exist to a greater extent in particular countries, they are not related to particular political or economic forms of government as postering, tagging and graffiti are seen across much of the globe in countries with vast differences in economic systems and Government. For Foucault, power exists wherever there is society, though power is not always detrimental (1982). Furthermore, resistance to power can be productive (Pickett, 1996). In this sense, interventions that challenge adversarial power hierarchies are a form of autonomous affirmative discrimination.

The two types of interventions presented for discussion in this chapter are graffiti and postering. The first, graffiti, can be interpreted as a form of creative criminality. Tagging is a type of graffiti vandalism (Clark & King, 2008) that often states the authors 'tag pseudonym' in lines of permanent marker or spray paint. Graffiti comes with penalties so pseudonyms are common practice as an author seeks to make some attempt at authorship. As will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter, through the use of pseudonyms, the selected interventions are both authored and authorless. Through the process of semiosis much can be inferred about the identity of an unknown author but "many social scientists interested in the visual world would pay very little attention to the individual often described as the author" (Rose, 2001, p. 22). A theoretical discussion of the author will draw upon the previous chapter's discussion of egalitarianism and individualism. Figures 3.01 and 3.02 overleaf are examples of graffiti that illustrate how pseudonyms often merge legible words with images, symbols, line, form, and shapes in order to further mask the authorship process.



Figure 3.01. Unknown. 2012. [FUCK THE POLICE FTP – detail]. Digital Photograph. Island Bay, Wellington: Author’s photograph.



Figure 3.02. Unknown. 2012. [FUCK THE POLICE FTP – context]. Digital Photograph. Island Bay, Wellington: Author’s photograph.

The second type of intervention this study focuses on is postering. Postering is the colloquial term used to describe the act of putting up posters. For punk historian David Ensminger, postering in public space is “a platform for personal correspondence” and has become the “second skin” of a city (2011, p. 6). For others, “posters on the walls of cities constitute a discourse”; a discourse that has meaning (Witting, 2003, p. 132). Through repeated documentations of this discourse, in peeling back the layers of posters to reveal this second skin, postering can be seen to embody the visual history of a generation

(Ensminger, 2011). The photographs in this chapter thus document a particular moment in the history of Wellington's public space. These visual texts are related to socio-political current affairs and thus can be "seen as a social space through which various languages (social, cultural, political, aesthetic) circulate and interact" (Camera Obscura Collective, 2003, p.236). Figure 3.03 below is an example of the types of posters that form part of Wellington's urban skin; this is a poster promoting 'The Spark' - a series of discussions run by the socialist political party, the Workers Party.



Figure 3.03. Unknown. 2012. [*A space for radical discussion*]. Digital Photograph. Newtown, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Foucault (1982) suggests that in order to find out what is meant by legality, one must first understand what is meant by illegality. This correlates to a question of how the tone of the posters may be affected by whether or not the posters are sanctioned by regulatory bodies such as City Councils. Sanctioned posters tend to promote events with advertising budgets in order to target a given demographic. Unsanctioned postering tends to appear sporadically, aiming for a wide audience over a target demographic. The target audience, content, production technologies, and aesthetic decisions seem to differ when comparing sanctioned and non-sanctioned posters. Sanctioned posters have become a routine part of public space and thus, unsanctioned posters rupture this routine.⁴⁹ Billig proposes that

⁴⁹ The relationship between routine and Freud's concept of repression is examined at greater length by Billig (1999).

there is a paradox where, for example, politeness creates the possibility of rudeness (1999). Thus, sanctioned interventions create unsanctioned interventions.

Location is of interest because there are regulations specifying where posters can be put up. If posters did not appear in unsanctioned spaces then 'Post no bills' signs would not exist. As 'the state'⁵⁰ is known to regulate where and what posters appear in public space, the state thus regulates the aesthetics of public space through City Council legislation. Illegal postering is thus a minor rupture of conformity. Workplaces, supermarkets, and shared public space tend to have designated areas for posters and notices. In outside public spaces, posters often appear in bus stops, shelters, and on bollards. Phantom Billstickers are the official contractor to the Wellington City Council for postering on council owned bollards. Phantom charge clients for putting their posters up on these bollards, so they have a vested interest in ensuring their client's posters remain visible. Phantom constantly monitor their bollards and if someone posters over Phantom's posters, the rogue poster is *swiftly* 'pasted over'. A similar response is witnessed in spaces owned and maintained by a company called Adshel who are contractually obliged to ensure their client's posters remain visible as the clients pay a fee to advertise in their spaces. The posters Phantom and Adshel put up appear to take precedence over the posters put up by an interventionist because these organisations may experience a greater ability to control what appears in public space consequential of the financial transactions associated with their work. As such, these organisations control what can and cannot appear in their spaces and perhaps these monetary, contractual obligations explain why none of the images in this study were documented at sites owned or maintained by Adshel or Phantom. Later, the way that this constant removal of, and speed at which, unsanctioned posters are removed by these organisations indicates inequality of control will be discussed.

The interventions are found on both public and private property and they are thought to be site-specific because the site appears to be consciously chosen to affect the meaning of an intervention. First, the site specificity of the interventions will be discussed before moving to problematise the hierarchy of land ownership and interrogate the use of surveillance technologies used by property owners to prevent or remove the interventions.

Research on inequality and the visual will be employed throughout this chapter. In applying Rancière's understanding of aesthetics – as a mode of articulation between action, production, thought, and perception (2000 trans. 2011) – these images can be understood to communicate attitudes about inequality. Researchers postulate that the disenfranchised

⁵⁰ Foucault (1982) defines 'the state' as a form of political power that has developed since the sixteenth century.

are motivated to vandalise because vandalism is a way of surviving in a social system the vandal perceives to have high levels of inequity with moderate to low levels of control (Baron & Fisher, 1982; McCormick & Winkler, 2007). For Pickett & Wilkinson, inequality is a form of psychosocial stress sufficient to generate acts of vandalism (2010). Furthermore, according to Professors Reuben Baron and Jeffrey Fisher, acts of retaliation serve to restore equality where an individual believes they have been treated unfairly (1982, 1988). Thus, the interventions presented in this chapter are premised as examples of an attempt to restore psychological stability and social equality.

3.1 The temporality of the interventions as affected by land ownership

The frequency of the selected interventions is measured in terms of their duration in public space, and with regard to their socio-political codes: what their message speaks to and about. An implication of both frequencies is that property owners and occupiers have propriety of power. Where the interventions appear may affect the longevity of each intervention. These themes are discussed in relation to case studies in the chapters following sections. I approach this time-based element in two ways. First I discuss what the length of the lifetime might mean about a given intervention. Then I will discuss the relationship between the interventions and current affairs. The interventions are temporal, of the here and now, they are considered, thematic, and timely, and, they talk of protests, legislation and unrest.

When these interventions appear and how long they remain in place varies. These interventions appear at both times of social unrest and relative calm. However, there is little pre-existing research into interventions similar to those documented in times of relative calm. The maker may assign significance to their intervention, but the speed with which interventions are removed suggests that the majority of people who own the land where interventions appear do not place the same value on the interventions. This quick removal suggests the intentions of the author can be, and are, overruled. There are hierarchies attached to property ownership where the landowner is generally in a position of power. However, this immediate connection of the hierarchy of landownership with power conflates “power inequality with adversarial power relations” (Karlberg, 2005). To clarify this conflation, the present study aligns with that of Marx’s theory of Capital (1976 trans. 1976) which proposes that adversarial power relations attached to landownership lead to oppression. As is demonstrated in the act of removal, asymmetrical power relations have led to the repression of the intervention documented in figure 3.04 overleaf.



Figure 3.04. Unknown. 2011. [ASSET SALES = HIGHER PRICES]. Digital Photograph. Kilbirnie, Wellington: Authors' photograph.

The intervention documented in figure 3.04 above was removed quickly. From when I noticed this intervention to when I returned the next day with a *charged* digital camera in hand, the image had been all but painted out. The dilemma of disposability and the speed with which images of social instability are censored is what Bill Wasik calls 'the curse of the nanostory' (2009). In describing how news media articles are read with great frequency within a short period of publication only to be followed by a sharp decline in readership, Wasik uses the term 'nanostory' to describe how contemporary culture has "transient bursts of attention" (2009, p. 7). The selected interventions in this chapter could be considered nanostories in that they remain in public space for a short period of time. The prompt removal of these interventions indicates landowners' high interest in these interventions following their creation. Whether the intervention behind the paint out documented in figure 3.04 was painted out so quickly because it appeared in an election year, or because a large number pass this site on a frequent basis, is unknown.

The Wellington City Council regulates postering. In order to put posters up in Wellington, permission must be obtained from the property owner. Depending on who owns the land where unsanctioned posters appear, either the private property owner or the Council are responsible for their removal. As per the 2008 Wellington Consolidation Bylaw, all signs - including posters - on public land must have permission from Wellington City Council (Wellington City Council, 2008a). Under this bylaw, signs erected without approval must be removed within one hour of the individual or organiser being asked to remove the sign. Postering without prior approval is an offence against this bylaw that may

result in legal action under the 2002 Local Government Act (Wellington City Council, 2008b) or penalties as per the Stop Tagging Our Places (STOP) strategy.⁵¹ These legislative measures indicate that an element of risk is “inherent to this particular form of agency that ensures independence and freedom” (McCormick & Winkler, 2007, p. 21).



Figure 3.05. Unknown. 2011. [Bus stop #7132: *Stop the Search and Surveillance Bill*]. Digital Photograph. Island Bay, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Figure 3.05 above, shows the remnants of a poster advertising a protest against the Search and Surveillance Bill. The Search and Surveillance Bill was passed in March 2012 and lets up to 70 different government agencies access and monitor telecommunications, including ISP addresses, at home, work, friends, and family. Criticism of this bill is that it will lead to New Zealand becoming a ‘police state’ (Levy, 2012), and the existence of this poster suggests some are opposed to this premonition. As this poster remained in the above form for 3 months, it is thought not to be a priority of Wellington City Council. Figure 3.05 was of an overtly political nature; the intervention directly called for protest against the Search and Surveillance Bill. That the intervention may have been perceived to have some political significance might help explain why it was removed (see fig. 3.06 overleaf) two months before the 2011 General Election.

⁵¹ The Stop Tagging Our Places (STOP) Strategy was developed under the 2008 Labour Government following a report that claimed \$5M was spent on graffiti removal in Auckland during 2006 (Ministry of Justice, n.d.). The STOP strategy aims to combat graffiti vandalism through a mixture of measures such as preventative education, enforcement measures such as more police, and penal measures such as community service and/or fines.



Figure 3.06. Unknown. 2011.
[*Bus stop #7132: After Cleaning*].
Digital Photograph. Island
Bay, Wellington: Author's
photograph.

It is known that the Wellington City Council are responsible for the delay in removing this poster because it is a bus stop owned by the Council, not Phantom or Adshel. As figure 3.04 shows, it is not always possible for the interventions to be removed entirely or in a manner empathetic to the original context.⁵² In Billig's (1999) examination of Freud's concept of repression and Marx's concept of commodity fetishism, the censoring of correspondence by Government in war time is revisited. Billig proposes that the act of censorship is visually present in this analogy and one's stream of consciousness automatically tries to fill in the blanks (1999). In relation to the way that the selected interventions in the present study are not always fully removed, the act of landowner's power in censoring the work of others is ever present in public space. Traces of these interventions indicate that someone has tried to say something but the removal prevents a viewer from knowing what that message was. The traces of attempted removal show how "repression can be built into the routines of social life" (Billig, 1999, p. 325) and the traces of these interventions serve as a reminder to the public that repression has occurred. These specific acts of repressing free speech in public space are actions that reflect the ideological formations of a particular time and place (Billig, 1999).

While some interventions in public space such as figure 3.04 are removed with haste, others remain in place for extended periods of time. Figure 3.07 overleaf is an intervention

⁵² Paint outs' are claimed to be one of the 21st Century's most significant, yet subconscious or unconscious, art movements as the block like shapes echo minimalism, Russian constructivism, and impressionism. More on this can be understood through the documentary *The subconscious art of graffiti removal* (McCormick, 2002).

most local Wellingtonians will be familiar with because it has been on a large wall alongside a reasonably busy road for many years.



Figure 3.07. Unknown.2011. [RIP Ian Curtis]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph

Urban legend says that the original version of this intervention appeared in 1981; one year after Ian Curtis, lead singer of post-punk rock band *Joy Division*, committed suicide (Giblin, 2009; iChild, 2009; Wellington Scoop, 2009). This intervention is known to be a semi-permanent part of street culture in this suburb because the intervention reappears if it is painted out. In 2009, the Wellington City Council graffiti team painted out the intervention. However, when made aware of the history behind the intervention, the graffiti team said they “may turn a blind eye to it” from now on (Wellington Scoop, 2009). The intervention reappeared but was painted out again by the City Council in 2011 (The Wellingtonian, 2011). Figure 3.06 is a photograph taken in 2012, one year after the 2011 repaint. However, as this intervention is continually being modified, it is unlikely that figure 3.07 will be the last version.

At some point after the 2009 paint out, the letters ‘MJ RIP’ appeared as part of the repaint in tribute to the late pop singer Michael Jackson (Wellington Scoop, 2009). In the most recent version (figure 3.07), Ben Hana’s name has been added to this ever-evolving memorial wall. Ben Hana, also known as ‘Blanket Man’, was a polarising yet iconic person who lived on the streets of Wellington’s central precinct for many years before his death in early 2012. The inclusion of Hana’s name in this most recent edition of figure 3.07 commemorates Hana alongside other cultural icons in the annals of Wellington’s

street visual culture. Although Hana was a polarising figure this intervention does not directly target the state and thus, it is considered an apolitical intervention. Perhaps the apolitical content of this intervention explains why figure 3.07 has remained in place for a significantly longer period of time than the other interventions. The delay in removal times is less when the messages contain overtly political content but the act of intervening with public space is always political.

The removal of these interventions is evidence of a 'socially acquired drive for repression' (Billig, 1999). Council legislation requires the graffiti team remove interventions like those discussed thus far. Notably, the recurrence of figure 3.07 shows what appear to be exceptions to strict Council bylaws by the Council themselves. This realisation confirms that, in public spaces owned by the Council, it is the Council who decide what remains visible in public space and for how long. Furthermore, as is indicated by the Council choosing to leave this well-known intervention in place, the Council can choose to exert or not exert their power as they have control over interventions to public space through virtue of land governance.

Foucault uses the term 'domination' to describe what is commonly known in the broadest sense as power (1988). The action of the interventionist and the retaliatory action of landowners is evidence of the action of one over another and these actions are what Foucault refers to as the exertion of power as a means of constraint, of dominance, and of inequality (1982). Thus, the quick removal of the selected interventions is evidence of the Council's dominance over the interventionist and of the 'limited margin of liberty' (Lemke, 2002) those who are being dominated work within. These interventions demonstrate, to varying degrees, that the power hierarchy of landownership affects the content and life span of the selected interventions.

3.2 The temporality of the interventions as influenced by current political agenda

Academic Elizabeth Grosz posits that everything we see and touch is framed by time and space (2005). As will be discussed, these selected interventions are framed by, and have a mediumistic role between, a variety of socio-political concerns. For Rose, the way that images visualise social difference is a key aspect of visual culture (2001). The selected interventions are timely and explicitly political in that they often relate to current political affairs such as the creation of the Search and Surveillance Bill (see figure 3.05) or another proposed sale of state owned assets (see figure 3.04).

Foucault's concept of Governmentality refers to Governmental practices and strategies operating on the state. Thus, Governmentality is always subject to changes in Governmental practice (Jessop, 2006). Sometimes Governmental change is welcomed and sometimes it is resisted. Figure 3.04 appeared in September 2011; a time when there was much controversy about the National Party's proposal to sell publicly owned assets to support the return of the economy post-2008 economic recession. Both figure 3.04 and 3.05 were removed two months before the 2011 General Elections. As political signs are not allowed to appear anywhere on election day as per the 1993 Electoral Act (Elections New Zealand, n.d.), it would have been expected that figure 3.04 intervention be painted out on the day of the general election. However, this intervention was removed two months before the election. It is also thought this image did not live out a 'full life' because asset sales remain a topic of debate today. The graffiti documented in figure 3.04 preceded the posters documented in figures 3.08 and 3.10 below by eight months. The three images (figure 3.08, figure 3.09, and figure 3.10) below raise awareness about the May 2012 'Aotearoa is not for sale' hiko, where thousands marched on parliament in opposition to the proposed sale of state owned assets.



Figure 3.08. Unknown. 2012. [*Aotearoa NZ is NOT for sale*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.



Figure 3.09. Unknown. 2012 [*Aotearoa NZ is NOT for sale* – detail]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.



Figure 3.10. Unknown. 2012. [*Advertisement for the May 2012 March against asset sales*]. Digital Photograph. Newtown, Wellington: Author's photograph.

This case study reveals the responses of a selection of politically active people to current affairs such as the sale of state owned assets. This case study also shows how social unrest can be monitored through noticing changes to the visibility of public space. Furthermore, this case study highlights how the trajectory of a socio-political movement can be followed through monitoring interventions to public space. The day after the above photograph was taken the sign was documented living out another life, this time as part of the hiko.



Figure 3.11. Unknown. 2012. [*Second life for the sign advertising the May 2012 March against asset sales*]. Digital Photograph. Te Aro, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Figures 3.10 and 3.11 are nomadic. The way these signs move locations and are reappropriated is evidence of what Foucault qualifies as a ‘transversal’ element that is essential in any acts of resistance (1982). The number of different interventions on the topic of asset sales suggests there is a collective of people against the sale of state owned assets. However, returning to the site of figure 3.08 one month later shows only the traces of the poster remains (see figure 3.12 and figure 3.13).



Figure 3.12. 2012. Unknown. [*Aotearoa NZ is NOT for sale* – removal]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.



Figure 3.13. Unknown. 2012. [*Aotearoa NZ is NOT for sale* – detail of attempted removal]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Although Foucault posits that acts of resistance are unrelated to particular economic or political structures (1982), the selected interventions are of further significance in a democratic country like New Zealand. As the asset sales case study highlights, there is a discrepancy in the intentions of Government and beliefs of a select portion of the general populous. The state is often thought of as a political power that acts irrespective of individuals (Foucault, 1982). To be clear, these particular interventions on the topic of asset sales are not critical of the Government in itself, rather the interventions are an act which challenges the power Government has in making decisions in line with collective priorities

that at times contrast individual priorities. In this sense, the interventions on the topic of asset sales may be against the “government of individualisation” (Foucault, 1982, p. 781) where the individual is only seen as part of the collective rather than as an individual *and* part of a democratic collective.

Though these images do not overtly visualise class struggle, which, according to Marx is the key driver of change, the images do visualise social instability. French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard said “storm makes sense of shelter” (1964/1994, p. viii).⁵³ This statement suggests a fundamental need for unrest in order to have, and appreciate, calm. Application of this statement means instability (storm) is as necessary as stability (shelter). The May 2012 ‘Aotearoa is not for sale’ hikoi happened many months after the non-sanctioned messages began appearing in public space. The interventions on the topic of asset sales (Figures 3.04, 3.09, and 3.10) were a prelude to the hikoi; these interventions indicated where a metaphoric storm was developing.

The storm/shelter analogy does not intend to suggest that all interventions are on topics of great political significance, nor does it suggest that all social instability results in marches on Parliament. Rather, the thematic prolificacy of interventions can indicate which issues are of greatest concern and can be indicative of where unrest (storm) may develop. The interventions appear in relation to current political events and the person initiating this response is of interest to these studies also.

3.3 The collective author

Due to legal and financial risk, the authors of the selected interventions, could be considered “nameless Others” removed from personalised individual identity (Billig, 1999, p. 320). Some images, such as many traditional art works, carry and express an individuals’ claim to authorship. Other signs in public space, such as speed limits, are universal; their intention is to be understood by many. The interventions documented in this chapter seem to reside between these two models of authorship; they are made for a purpose (which may be to reflect an individuals belief) and they represent issues (which are of concern for many). An inherent challenge when discussing the selected images is thus to discern between individualism and collectivism, or at least to understand the working mechanisms of both. In doing so, shared belief structures between individuals can be seen to give rise to a collective force.

⁵³ Similarly, Morse Peckham writes that insane behaviour is just as much behaviour as sanity (1979).

As discussed in the previous chapters of the present study, dominant ideology of the Western world, including New Zealand, tends towards an individualistic rather collective worldview. A consequence of this is that the collective often evades responsibility for inequality, as the individual is often though responsible for their suffering. Historically, the individual ownership of images and objects is common in the arts where one person typically authors an artwork. Interventions similar to those discussed thus far are rarely 'authored' in this dominant, historic sense and if they are, it is often through a pseudonym due to legal or financial risk. This veiled claim to authorship thus questions traditional forms of overt, individual authorship. Without an identifiable author, there is no one the state can punish. This veiled authorship is an intriguing observation of an alternative to both individualism and collectivism in an individualistic society.

Collective intellectual activity is "difficult and contradictory in a social milieu that requires its members to represent themselves individualistically" (Camera Obscura Collective, 2003, p. 236). Despite the fact that the interventions are not authored and thus cannot be presumed to be entirely individualistic in the Western art definition of author, some of the interventions are not collective either. Significantly, these interventions are somewhere in-between individualism and collectivism. With the case of the asset sales protesting being repeated in many different formats, there may be a series of individuals working towards a shared goal. However, as I cannot know the authors, it is unknown if this collaboration is conscious or not.

The recipient or target of the intervention may also be a collective. The art collective 'The Guerrilla Girls' often targets intangible collective entities such as 'The Government' or a Museum exhibition concept. The asset sales case study is an example of where the recipient of the interventions is the abstract entity of 'The Government'. As with their target recipient and the asset sales case study, the Guerrilla Girls are a group of individuals assuming personal anonymity in the act of becoming a collective. On this note, it is interesting to observe that the Guerrilla Girls and the anti-asset sales interventionists appropriate similar processes and mediate selected techniques as those they are 'against'. For Foucault, collectivity "automatises and disindividualises power" (1975 trans. 1977, p. 202) and exhibits a refusal of "economic and ideological state violence, which ignores who we are individually" (1982, p. 781). The asset sales case study shows strategic automatization of power in order to reassert one's individuality in a democratic state.

As is exemplified in the asset sales case study, the collective becomes an expression of many individual's subjugation. The collective action demonstrated in the asset sales case

study is evidence of a way of acting in “revolt against shared intolerables” (Pickett, 1996, p.460). This collective working method of a series of individuals produces what Gell (1998) calls a ‘collective register’⁵⁴ and in regards to the asset sales case study, this collective register is evident in the public space of Wellington’s Southern suburbs.

Through the process of semiosis much can be inferred about the identity of an unknown author. Professor Gillian Rose has observed a gap in social science due to little attention being paid to an author. Thus, there is scope for these studies to discuss notions of authorship. To put the issue of individual authorship aside (in terms of controlling how a sign is read by its audience), is to turn to other ideas of how meaning generates action. Here, the social anthropologist Alfred Gell’s (1998) term ‘instrumental agency’ is useful.

Gell attributes the word ‘agency’ to a person who initiates a sequence of events irrespective of natural physical events (1998). Sometimes the product of this action is known as an artwork, though there are endless outcomes under this theory. Gell’s notion of agency is always exercised within the material world and he proposes that a context-dependent “culturally prescribed framework” (1998, p. 17) is always present with events. Some events become “enmeshed in social relationships” (1998, p. 17) which may manifest social agency in a material form.

In relation to the selected interventions in these studies, the objects manufactured are caused by the maker and thus, are worthy of consideration as social artefact under Gell’s work. The interventions are consciously produced and installed and within these manifestations of social relations asymmetrical power relations are publicised. There is no clear boundary between whether or not these interventions are individualistic or collective, at times they could be both. The conceptual nature of the anonymous collective in an individual society is of interest theoretically. The similarity of the interventions is evidence of a collective registry visible in the public space of Wellington’s Southern suburbs.

3.4 Potential motivation

Gell proposes that events are not made without a purpose; artists rarely make art without a reason (1998). The reason the selected interventions were made may not be given much consideration by some as the attitudes against these interventions are often negative. Of particular interest is the observation that the majority of the images document interventions to public spaces, not private space. So, what might compel an author to vandalise public space when, theoretically, public space is owned by everyone – including the interventionist? For Professor Gridley McKim-Smith, it is no accident that vandals

⁵⁴ Gell uses this term in regards to indigenous art, where artworks are created by individuals but represent the visual culture of a people.

direct their attention at public property as government cares more for the security of property, than for civil liberties (2002).

Vandals direct petty crime at 'the man' as a way of coping with the psychological effects of inequality (Baron & Fisher, 1982). The belief that one's self, one's family or one's culture is experiencing high levels of inequality is motivation to generate acts of vandalism (Baron & Fisher, 1982). Society uses the lack of consideration in some types of vandalism to undermine or ignore a vandals' potential message. Baron and Fisher (1982) propose five types of vandalism, each requiring a different approach and gaining different results. Acquisitive vandalism includes looting and petty theft. Tactical/ideological vandalism draws attention to an issue or person. Vindictive vandalism seeks revenge. Play vandalism attempts to combat boredom, and malicious vandalism often occurs in public settings where the target is de-personalised and it aims to diffuse ones frustration and/or rage. Often these five types of vandalism are combined. Figure 3.04, for example, combines the strategies of malicious and tactical vandalism to get a message across. The majority of the selected interventions exhibit elements of what Baron and Fisher call tactical vandalism. The present study focuses on tactical vandalism because it aims to direct attention to an issue, is most influenced by extremes of classism, is a desperate attempt at communication, demands the highest level of concentrated effort, and has the ability to make people think (Baron & Fisher, 1982). The mental rigor tactical vandalism requires of its author and audience means that this type of vandalism has the greatest potential to restore psychological equality and reduce psychosocial stress. As examples of tactical vandalism, illegal postering and tagging are strategic attempts to create an antidote to powerful social controls that members of the offending social strata are otherwise unable to challenge. Tactical vandalism in the form of political postering and tagging is often executed hastily⁵⁵ under the safety of darkness, but a quick execution is not necessarily correlated with a lack of consideration. A quick execution reflects the tension between the compulsion to display one's message and risk of legal and financial repercussion.

Motivation to create these interventions may come from a desire to target the property of the Government, the perception of exclusion, and the threat to one's self; motivations linked through the concept of inequality. These motivations are all the more significant when considering the nuances of each individual site in which these restorations of equality are found.

⁵⁵ The speed with which tagging and graffiti is installed is known as 'throwing up' (Michalski, 2007).

3.5 *The site specificity of the interventions*

The physical site of each intervention may be consciously chosen. Figure 3.04 is highly visible because it is on the main road to Wellington's Central Business District from the south-eastern suburbs Miramar, Seatoun, Lyall Bay, and Kilbirnie. A large number of pedestrians, cyclists, motor vehicles, and main bus routes pass this site daily. Interventions of this kind usually occur in places occupied frequently but temporarily, places such as access ways, footpaths, bus stops, and these interventions often occur on exposed street corners with high traffic levels and good visibility. This commonality of site indicates site is a considered choice by a multitude of authors.

The tag below appears on the trunk of a tree at Massey University's Wellington campus. 'OTP' may be a tag name pseudonym or it may refer to the acronym for 'on the piss', a colloquial term used in reference to the act of drinking alcohol. That this tag is on a tree trunk indicates no site and no surface is off limits. This idea is echoed in Melbourne's infamous alleyway 'ACDC lane', where every surface, from street lights to window bars, are covered in different forms of street art.



Figure 3.14. Unknown. 2012. [*Tree Tagging OTP*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.



Figure 3.15. Unknown. 2012. [*Tree Tagging OTP* – detail]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.

As the following three images (see figures 3.16, 3.17, and 3.19) show, interventions also appear on footpaths. In relation to the time in which we inhabit these spaces, footpaths are a site similar to bus stops in that they are spaces inhabited frequently but temporarily.

Figure 3.19 is to pedestrians what billboards are to motorists. Billboard advertising is often placed at major intersections in the hopes that motorists will notice the advertisement when stopped at lights or passing slowly in traffic. With figure 3.19, the same goals apply, but for pedestrians. Therefore, we can assume that the author of this image has chosen this site in the hopes that pedestrians will notice the intervention whilst waiting to cross the intersection. Though figure 3.19 speaks to an audience in a personal, intimate manner when one is waiting to cross the road, the message is anything but intimate as it reads “FUCK CAPITALISM!”. This is evidence that there is a citizen(s) motivated enough by low levels of control and high levels of inequality that they have decided to overtly voice their dissatisfaction with the current capitalist economic system. The site may have been chosen to ensure as many people as possible will notice the intervention and then start to

contemplate the pitfalls of various economic structures. Perhaps too, the interventionist hopes to encourage likeminded individuals to do the same.

In 2012, March 5 was not a Saturday. This indicates that figure 3.17 was not installed recently. This intervention advertises a 2011 march on parliament in protest against factory farming on the grounds that factory-farming processes perpetuate animal cruelty. In realising the longevity of figure 3.17, I revisited these three sites (see figures 3.16, 3.17, and 3.19) 10 months after the images below were taken and found them still in place, uncensored and, although worse for wear, legible. Postering and tagging installed on vertical surfaces, such as figure 3.04, are removed quicker than the footpath examples. Perhaps this difference in removal times by location is evidence of how the financial markets and contractual obligations that drive sanctioned postering on vertical surfaces preserves vertical public space for the purposes of landowners only. Thus, as landowners have demonstrated a greater delay in removing interventions from horizontal sites, the footpath is a site that could be more useful for interventionists who prioritise longevity.

As Marx posits, money conceals the value of a thing as it makes it less clear that one is equating a difference in labour (1976). Thus, in relation to the difference between the financially driven sanctioned interventions and the more overtly labour driven unsanctioned interventions, the unsanctioned interventions are of greater value in a

Marxist sense. These interventions reinvest public space with labour value rather than economic value. Further, Marx posits that the monetary price of an item conceals the dynamics of social relations (as cited in Billig, 1999). In relation to the selected interventions of the present study this is not quite accurate. The selected interventions are not only literally censored by the power dynamics of money, but they exist in fewer quantities and in less typical locations such as footpaths.



Figure 3.16. Unknown. 2012. [TREASON]. Digital Photograph. Newtown, Wellington: Author's photograph.

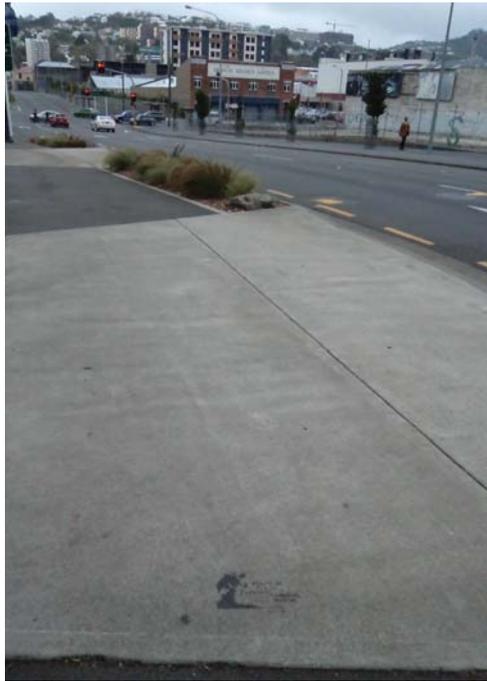


Figure 3.17. Unknown. 2012. [*March to End Factory Farming*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Figure 3.18. Unknown. 2012. [*March to End Factory Farming – detail*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Figure 3.19. Unknown. 2012. [*Fuck Capitalism!*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.

Figure 3.20. Unknown. 2012. [*Fuck Capitalism! – detail*]. Digital Photograph. Mount Cook, Wellington: Author's photograph.



The site-specificity of interventions evident in figures 3.04 and 3.19 suggest site can be used by an author to increase the chance that an intervention will be noticed. The city is a considered choice in site. Figure 3.04 appeared in Wellington, our capital city, the place where parliament house resides, and where the May 2012 hikoi ended. Not only do local road users go past this intervention, but so does much airport traffic. This means some of Wellington's national and international visitors will be exposed to this message en route to their destination. Thus, the cityscape is an element of site that can assist in communicating an author's message.

The site of the interventions influences the meaning and reflects a collective activist identity. The nuances of each site and the aim of each intervention suggest site is consciously chosen. The site, the intervention, and the message work synergistically. Site is chosen so the interventionist's message will reach a wide audience that in turn, gives meaning to the discourse they are visualising in public space.

3.6 The hierarchy of land ownership

Land is one example of capital and, as Marx (1976 trans. 1976) suggests, ownership of capital is inherently problematic. Structure in society comes with an inbuilt system of hierarchy and wherever there is structure, there is inequality (Foucault, 1982). Consciously or not, land ownership perpetuates wealth inequality and wealth inequality can be reflected in the action of what some, such as Baron and Fisher (1982), would describe as an attempt to restore psychological equality. There is deference aligned to property owners through the power and prestige attached to land ownership. Property owners control what may and may not appear in the spaces they own. By virtue of property ownership and controlling what appears within that property, one thus censors culture by repressing voices one does not approve of (Fiske, 1993).⁵⁶

Thus far it has been presumed that the author of an intervention is not the landowner as the landowners of the property on which the interventions are viewed is usually the state. Sometimes, however, these interventions appear on private property where the landowner/occupier may use their land for the purposes of social commentary. Figure 3.21 is a sign on private land that conveys a clear message of resentment.

⁵⁶ In the art world, professionals such as curators play a role censoring visual history. With museum art collections, a selection of artworks are preserved and displayed while others that are not owned by the museum often live a shorter life outside of the institution. This also means that some art works do not experience the same level of exposure that their famous counterparts experience. Value is assigned to some art works through financial means as one usually purchases art works on the assumption that they will last for many years.



Figure 3.21. Unknown. 2011. [Wgtm Shity Council]. Digital Photograph. Newtown, Wellington: Author's photograph.

The signs in the photograph above were erected in response to a series of miscommunications that adversely affected a selection of local businesses. Roadside car parks outside of the businesses were removed to make way for a bus lane and the businesses report that the resulting inaccessibility has left them struggling to make a profit (Nicholl, 2011). These signs are not a violent outburst in the sense of violence as physical force intended to hurt someone, but they exude non-physical aggression. These signs visualise the resentment that a selection of local businesses feel towards Wellington “Shity” Council. Figure 3.21 alludes to the way individuals, groups, corporations, and governments escape scrutiny or overlook moral responsibility because of the “power they hold by virtue of their technocratic, industrial, or entrepreneurial expertise” (Lowman, 1986, p. 90). That the decision of the City Council overruled the interests of local business suggests that the priorities of the businesses are not equal to those of the Council. Figure 3.21 is a rare example of private land occupiers using their land to cope with the effects of inequality.

As Engels and Marx famously asserted – the ruling ideas are always those of the ruling class (1970). Thus, through virtue of land ownership, the property owner controls what does and does not appear on their land visible from public space. The implications of this are two fold; the visibility of public space is censored and land ownership perpetuates inequality.

3.7 Surveillance

Justification of the aforementioned deference to land owners is outside of the scope of this research but within scope is some consideration of surveillance as a technology that

is used to prevent the interventions. For Foucault, surveillance is a means of bringing power relations into being (1982). In contemporary society, a familiar technology of state domination is surveillance. Contemporary surveillance is not only used not only to monitor behaviour. Through generating data on human behaviour that can then be analysed, contemporary surveillance is a technology that can help predict what people will do next. This marks a shift from historic models of power to an 'electronic super panopticon'; where society and technology have merged to produce a post-privacy epoch (Lyon, 2008). There is further scope for research that does not focus on traditional models of surveillance theory. Thus, this research investigates how surveillance might mark and reinforces social division.

It is common for property owners to view the interventions as unwanted installations (Ensminger, 2011). This is known because of the extensive use of surveillance technologies that attempt to stop unsanctioned interventions from appearing. According to Lyon, surveillance of this kind has two roles; the first being to constrain the individual in the hopes of deterring them from a particular location and the second being to enable punishment (2001).

Offences against property are the most common form of crime in New Zealand (Roper & Thompson, 2006). The quantitative cost of covering, cleaning, replacing, or removing the work of vandals deflects attention away from the both land owners and the public's responsibility in perpetuating inequality and places the blame on the interventionist. When the interventions are viewed as a negative economic expense rather than as a reflection of an unequal society, attention is also deflected away from the significance of the interventionist's message. Consequently, much vandalism has come to be discussed as an economic expense rather than as a symptom of social inequality.

Bus stop maintenance costs the Wellington City Council - and therefore rate payers - \$100,000 a year⁵⁷ with repairing vandalism (physical damage, graffiti, tagging and etching) taking 70% of this budget alone (Chapman, 2011). Portable CCTV cameras are being installed at bus stops (Chapman, 2011) in an attempt to prevent vandalism. However, the aim of surveillance merely targets the symptom of inequality rather than resolving inequality and thus, surveillance may not be as successful as is hoped. The digital version of the article *Bus Stop Vandals Will Be Filmed* (Chapman, 2011) has an opinion poll attached that seeks to gauge attitudes towards the proposed installation of surveillance cameras. To the question 'Are portable cameras at Wellington bus stops a good idea?' 83.7% replied 'Yes, it'll help protect them' and 16.3% answered 'No, it invades our privacy'.⁵⁸ These options,

⁵⁷ This is only for City Council owned shelters, Adshel maintain their shelters at no cost to the council or community.

⁵⁸ Figures accurate as at 10 May 2012.

however, gauge responses toward two different issues. 'Yes, it'll help protect them' asks if rate payers are willing to spend their money to pay for cameras if it means they, and the City Council, will save money. The other response 'No, it invades our privacy', is not related to the direct economic cost of vandalism but to the social implications of surveillance cameras. It is hoped that CCTV cameras will reduce tagging and etching by making anonymity less possible. Furthermore, it is hoped that surveillance technologies will generate identifiable video footage able to be passed on the police for further investigation and to support the possible prosecution of an interventionist.

Conceptually, surveillance is a means of power because video surveillance cameras materialise state control. The Council acknowledge an omnipotent, panoptic⁵⁹ type of power when they say that signs warning patrons that they might be being filmed could be enough of a deterrent.⁶⁰ For Foucault, signs of this kind disindividualise power and generate self-surveillance (1975 trans. 1977) so individuals may be afraid to act illegally because of *potential* risk. For Foucault, these warning signs can be stand-ins for surveillance and represent the exertion of a power play based on fear and trust as individuals fear getting caught and the surveill-er trusts that one will act morally (1975 trans. 1977) and refrain from acts of vandalism. Surveillance cameras aim to reduce the negative economic cost of vandalism, but the cameras are also an indeterminate surveillance of the general public in exchange for potentially saving money.

Surveillance is dependent on at least one plausible justification that makes the majority content to comply (Lyon, 2001). In the example of CCTV cameras at Wellington bus stops, there are two plausible justifications. The first is that the cameras will prevent crime and thus save ratepayers and councils money. The second is that safety and security attained via surveillance has positive connotations as vandalism is associated with fear and being unsafe (Lyon, 2001). Therefore, surveillance is thought to remove negative feelings based in fear and being unsafe.

⁵⁹ The panopticon is a structure proposed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 1700s. The panopticon has a cylindrical building with cells around the edges to constantly surveill the occupiers from a central viewing point. The panopticon generates a 'seer' and a 'seen' where the person who is seen becomes the subject of the seer's gaze. The seer holds a position of power over the seen. The exposure of inmates used visibility to shift deviance to discipline (Mirzoeff, 2009). The panopticon was constructed in a way that meant it did not rely on an actual viewer; the knowledge that there might be someone watching was thought to be enough to keep people in a submissive state.

⁶⁰ Signs that encourage individuals to report crime when the cameras are not operating metaphorically make citizens into CCTV cameras. People frequently act from a place of fear and surveillance tactics frequently plays upon this; citizens may report crimes they witness for fear that they will be the next recipient.

The aim of surveillance techniques is to prevent the symptom, the postering, the graffiti, the tagging, and the vandalism. Surveillance does not aim to treat the cause, inequality. As the interventions are considered symptoms of inequality and the aim of surveillance is not to treat inequality, surveillance is thus not a viable preventative measure. In fact, surveillance reinforces the perception of inequality through connotations of the power structures attached to the implementation of surveillance technologies and therefore, possibly perpetuates vandalistic acts consequential of inequality.

Conclusion

The second skin of a city is continually in flux and the selected images document just one moment in this public discourse. Proposing the selected images as interventions puts negative connotations to the side, so the selected images can be understood to hold social agency and visualise social difference. Thus, these interventions serve a specific purpose within a particular context of social relationships.

The interventions appear and then disappear within small blocks of time and this can be considered as evidence of an exercise of power by landowners or by people delegated to protect the rights of landowners. In following Foucaultian theory, it is the act of the intervention and the act of removing the intervention that make manifest unequal distributions of power. The act of removing these interventions visualises the repression of, and power over, the actions of those who do not own land by those who do. The removal of these interventions is thus a means of constraint and dominance made possible by unequal distributions of power. Thus, landowners have the power to censor the visuality of public space and the act of censoring public space may only serve to perpetuate an unequal distribution of power. The power of landownership is of further significance for it means the aesthetic of public space is the aesthetic of public space desired by those with greater power.

In reading the selected interventions as cultural signs, much can be known about an author who has assumed anonymity possibly due to a legal and/or financial risk. Although these interventions are not authored in the typical Western art historic sense, the use of pseudonyms or non-authorship is of interest in a Western, individualistic, democratic country like New Zealand. The asset sales case study, for example, is visual evidence of a collective registry operating in a system that favours the state over the individual. These particular interventionists attempt to reassert themselves in a political power system that, according to Foucault (1982), is often thought to act irrespective of the individual.

Surveillance seeks to place limits and boundaries but these interventions are respondent to unequal distributions of power, not extensive freedom and liberty, and thus, the interventions will not be stopped by the implementation of surveillance cameras. For Foucault, surveillance is a process that materialises power (1982). In Wellington surveillance technologies transmit information to the state so the state can remove the interventions and possibly penalise the interventionist. Though, with the use of pseudonyms or non-authorship, the punishment of an individual is not always possible. These surveillance technologies are thus in the favour of landowners who have more control than an interventionist in regard to what is and is not seen in public space. Surveillance thus materialises an imbalance of power and reinforces social division. Surveillance is a flawed preventative and penal measure that in itself serves to perpetuate inequality. Furthermore, as indicated by the asset sales case study, surveillance with the intention of monitoring rather than removal may prove beneficial for those who experience the greatest distribution of power as it may indicate why and where greater social unrest may occur.

These interventions materialise asymmetrical power relations between people. Intervening in public space by postering is an example of how those suffering the greatest effects of inequalities may actively choose to challenge the imbalanced distribution of power in a form of self-initiated affirmative discrimination. Acts and images of social unrest such as unsanctioned postering gauge thresholds to healthy vandalism, show how an affluent society can still be a social failure (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010), measure society's views on freedom of speech, and oftentimes showcase an intelligent subculture. It appears that a certain subculture uses unsanctioned postering to raise awareness about issues or as a form of active resistance that calls people to order.

Foucault's support for resistance efforts is based on the premise that equality can be achieved by attacking adverse hierarchical power relations (as cited in Pickett, 1996). Because postering and vandalism are considered criminal offences and, because crime is symptomatic of inequality (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010), the existence of these interventions confirms at least some of the citizens of Wellington's southern suburbs to be aware of, and coping with, inequality. Researchers like Baron & Fisher (1982) suggest vandalism to be a way the disenfranchised cope with being in an imbalanced social structure. Thus, because New Zealand is known to be an increasingly unequal society, and because the interventions discussed in this chapter are vandalistic images of socio-political concern, the interventions make manifest this state of inequality.

Conclusion

The purpose of these studies was to understand how inequality is made visual. In this investigation, the influence of inequality on identity formation reveals much about unequal power and control. It is proposed that wherever there power, there is inequality. Power hierarchies are present in issues pertaining to both gender and landownership as witnessed through case studies made in Wellington and New Zealand during 2011-2012. As the social historian Chris Tilley highlights (2006), the material world actively [re]produces social inequalities. Thus, these studies proposed the visual as evidence of unequal social relationships, and they investigated the way that images generate gendered identities in the workplace and collective socio-political identities in public space.

Chapter one suggests inequality is a pertinent issue contributing to many concerns of contemporary life. This chapter discussed inequality in relation to indifference, privilege, poverty, the natural environment, and egalitarianism. An increase in inequality coincides with a shift away from egalitarianism. However, the structural realities that perpetuate inequality cannot be dismissed and collectivity is key in discussions of inequality. Furthermore, findings by senior researchers presented may be dismissed because they sit in contrast to beliefs about national identity. This gap between national identity and statistical reality is problematic because inequality has grown faster in New Zealand than in any other developed country (OECD, 2011) and is at its highest level ever (Cooke, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2012; New Zealand Treasury, 2011). Chapter one claims that, in general, Governmental action and social attitudes indicate that the reduction of inequality is not a priority despite some claiming that an ‘ambulance at the bottom of the cliff’ rather than a ‘fences at the top’ approach to inequality is an economically irrational and socially poor decision (G. Nana, personal communication, October 04, 2012).

A limitation of this first chapter is that any in-depth discussion about ways to remedy inequality is well outside of time constraints and scope. Proactive suggestions for resolve can be read in regards to income redistribution (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010), housing and health (Kohler, 2012), politics (Green Party, 2012; Summers, 2012),⁶¹ social welfare (Social Protection Floor), and the penal system (Edwards, 2012; Kirchwey, 1931).⁶² Furthermore,

⁶¹ New Zealand politicians are currently paid over 5 times the minimum wage. Our less-unequal Australian counterparts are paid 3.5 times the minimum wage (Summers, 2012).

⁶² The New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services (NZCSS) and the Robson Hanan Trust are two examples of organisations working to resolve inequality. Author Max Rashbrooke commends the work that the NZCSS have done on equality (personal communication, October 04, 2012).

alternative social structures have been theorised in Peter Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid (1902/1993)⁶³ and John Rawls' theory of social justice (1971).

Where chapter one concludes by positing that objects and images have social connotations and visualise social difference on a daily basis, chapters two and three extend investigations on the visual manifestation of inequality in two seemingly disparate parts of daily life. Respectively, these chapters show that unacceptable gender-based inequalities remain in the New Zealand workplace and unequal distributions symptomatic of inequality are evident in the public space of Wellington's Southern suburbs. This conclusion turns now to address specific findings of chapters two and three, notes certain limitations of the studies, and highlights possibilities for future research.

Chapter two posits pay inequity as problematic because wages can be considered a measure of social and economic fairness. While parenthood still affects women to a greater extent than men, contemporary research makes only a weak correlation between parenting and pay inequity. Realising this, I undertook further research into other factors that are known to hinder women's careers. These additional factors my studies selectively investigated were historic formulations of gender roles, the social expectation surrounding choice, the impact of educational choice, and socialisation. However, there is currently no research that investigates these concerns through visual materials, despite contemporary society becoming increasingly ocularcentric.

Visual representation is a significant factor in identity formulations. Chapter two presented two studies in order to investigate whether women are visually represented equivalent to statistical data. These studies also investigate whether factors that are known to affect gender equality in the workforce, such as affirmative discrimination and occupational segregation, are visually present. As images can be misleading, quantitative data was used to eliminate any potential discrepancy between statistical and visual realities.

The first visual audit focused on women's participation in non-gender typical trades training courses. This study of four Polytechnics found that 2.82% of students enrolled in the selected training courses are female and 9.29% of the photographs in prospectus material are of women. Women are thus photographically over-represented and this over-representation can be interpreted as evidence of affirmative discrimination. A limitation

⁶³ Darwin's theory of evolution describes all beings as thirsting to get to the top of the social pecking order. Mutual aid provides examples of behaviours, from bees to savages, as outside of Darwinism. Mutual aid gives great consideration to a positive and empathetic understanding of life. Kropotkin writes that the labouring classes would not have made it through the difficulties of the post-industrial revolution without practising mutual aid and that we run with water to a burning house not out of love, but out of the known benefits of mutual living (1902/1993).

of this study is that only statistical data and images were analysed. As such, it is unknown if this affirmative discrimination was a conscious decision by the providers. Regardless, the findings of this study are supportive of ongoing work towards women's economic independence.

In 2006, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA) reported that 1% of those in paid employment within typically masculine trade professions are women. Thus, over the last 6 years the number of women in trades training (2.82%) has almost tripled the number of women in trades employment (1%). This may indicate the success of affirmative discrimination measures such as that previously mentioned, or it may suggest difference in the scope of industry, MWA, and the parameters of the present studies, or it may suggest a gap between the number of women who study these courses and then work in their fields after graduation. To confirm which of these possibilities are accurate, longitudinal research is needed to empirically correlate the relationship between trades training and employment.

A limitation of the second chapter is that only material publicly available on the Internet was included. Thus, there is further scope to audit the imagery of education providers in other media such as on billboards and in community newspapers. Another limitation is that the parameter of women in 'masculine' trades training courses excludes an audit of men in 'feminine' trades training courses. This parameter is in line with the work of the MWA and narrows the aim from a broad study of post-secondary education to a study of gendered vocational trades training courses. However, as earlier mentioned, women's domestic roles have changed more than men's and the female identity is less fixed than the male. As such, there is expected to be a greater acceptance of women moving into masculine roles. Consequently, there is a potentially intriguing area for further research to determine the number of men in typically female trades professions and to investigate the issues associated with male occupation of female jobs.

Both of the visual audits undertaken are of workplaces within the education sector. This parameter was established for two reasons. The first is that education is considered a valid way for individuals to enter a vocation. Thus, if inequality is present at the training level, it is expected to continue on throughout one's career. The second is because education and work were priorities of the women's suffrage movement and so education provides a baseline for progress when examining the relationship between women and employment. There is scope to research these same issues in the wider workforce in order to accurately determine the extent to which educational inequality translates to workplace inequality.

A limitation of the CoCA study is that only one college in one University was analysed. In part this was because there is ample research on women in leadership positions that suggests vertical occupational segregation is present in masculine workplaces across the globe (Cha, 2013; Nadler & Stockdale, 2013; Nemoto, 2013; Kay & Wallace, 2012; McMurray, 2011; Dennison, 2010; Meulders, O'Dorchai, Plasman, & Rigo, 2010). Knowing this, it was felt analysis of Colleges typically dominated by men would contribute little more to existing accounts. Thus, these studies fill a gap in research by analysing vertical occupational segregation in a workplace dominated by women.

While the findings were not definitive, it is positive that the photographs and data of Massey University CoCA staff detail a near equal representation of male and female staff. However, statistically there is 14% less female staff than female students; the gender distribution of the staff population is thus not representative of the student population. This is a problematic finding because it shows that even in fields dominated by women, men attain seniority at a disproportionate frequency. The issue with this finding is that positions of leadership, prestige, and power are historically more aligned with men and continue to be so today; though to a much lesser degree. This finding is not, however, entirely pessimistic. 43% of the senior academic roles in CoCA are held by women; almost double the national average of 22%, and a significant finding because more senior roles are typically of greater strategic importance. Nonetheless, the presence of vertical occupational segregation is disheartening because Universities are generally regarded as places of forward thinking, because equality is considered to be progressive concept, and because Massey University in particular has an historic role in making tertiary level study accessible for women by offering extramural study options.

As has been alluded to, there is an ongoing need for further research into why women, despite being at least equally as qualified as their male counterparts, do not continue on to higher-level employment at the same frequency as men. These audits are significant because proportionate representation in higher level and non-gender typical vocations will contribute to future progress. Pay inequity and a lack of women in senior roles indicates that the educational attainment of women does not translate to workplace success in the same way that it does for men. Contrary to Governmental action that demonstrates pay equity not to be a priority, my studies highlight that pay equity is a matter of remuneration *and* a result of historic gender roles, expected choice, education, discrimination, segregation, and socialisation. Chapter two argued that workplace sex-based inequality and inequity are visually present. The study of the polytechnics yields

more optimistic and direct findings than those of CoCA. To different degrees, both audits confirm the visual presence of factors that are known to perpetuate inequality. Nevertheless, the findings also confirm progress is still being made. Although the findings of the polytechnic audit were supportive of low percentages of women training for work in masculine trades, and although there is a disproportionate ratio of female students and staff in CoCA, there is a need to continue monitoring the claim that education extends women's careers to the same degree as it does men's.

There is scope to research whether the above visual manifestation of inequality is isolated institutional evidence or whether inequality is visually manifest in the wider society. In chapter three the focus on inequality shifted from a gendered interrogation of a known inequality within a select few institutions to the way that members of society might actively, and publicly, respond to power inequality. In combining the idea that there is more to images than what meets the eye with Rancière's definition of aesthetics as a mode of articulation, the public space becomes a place of discourse on inequality. This chapter argues that the visual manifestation of inequality is a culturally prescribed discourse that can be seen everyday in the public space of Wellington's Southern suburbs. The vandalistic interventions discussed in the final chapter are the visual residue of responses to unequal distributions of power. This chapter investigated the relationship between a selection of interventions and the hierarchy of landownership, public responses to current affairs, notions of authorship, site specificity, commercial property, and surveillance technologies. To do this, analysis was undertaken using the theories of Michel Foucault, Karl Marx, and Alfred Gell.

A basic premise of Marxist theory is that those who have the least also have the least amount of control. Marx proposes that all capital, including landownership, generates adversarial hierarchical power relations that perpetuate inequality (1976 trans. 1976). There is deference aligned with property owners through the power attached to landownership (Fiske, 1993). The implications of this means landowners, through virtue of ownership, have power over an interventionist who defaces property when deciding what can and cannot appear in public space. Landowners thus have the ability to censor the visuality of public space. That the interventions are removed with haste suggests they are unwanted in public space and the censorship of these interventions reinforces Engels and Marx's claim that the ruling ideas of the day are the ideas of the ruling class (1970).

Billig claims that even when something is covered over in an attempt at censorship, a viewer knows something has been repressed (1999). As was briefly mentioned in the final

chapter, it is near impossible for the interventions to be removed entirely or for them to be removed in a manner sympathetic to the original site. Director Matthew McCormick produced *The Subconscious Art of Graffiti Removal* (2002), a short experimental film which documents the traces of graffiti and street art after they have been painted out. This documentary investigates the visual repression present in daily life and holds much potential for further global research in a post-graffiti visual art context.

Foucault posits inequality as inseparable from both power and resistance (1975 trans. 1977). A key feature of Foucault's definition of power is that power exists only when it is put into action (1982). As such, the act of installing or removing an intervention is an exertion of power. When a landowner responds by removing an intervention, their exertion of power is greater than that of an interventionist as it is a more final act. Despite bylaws calling for the prompt removal of the interventions, some interventions are removed post-haste and others remain in place for significant periods of time. This difference in removal time is thought due to how the financial obligations of companies such as the City Council, Adshel, and Phantom control the visibility of vertical public space. The financial driver behind vertical space is evidence of how money conceals the power dynamics of social relations. Interventions that appear on horizontal public spaces, such as footpaths, appear to have greater longevity. The implication of this finding is that horizontal public space may be a point of leverage for those who prioritise the longevity of an intervention.

Foucault also posits collectivity as act against state ideology that ignores the individual (1982). To be clear, however, rather than being against the landowner in particular, these interventions give rise to a collective force that acts against the subsumption of an individual in place of a collective. As legal and financial risk are inherent to this particular form of agency, the use of pseudonyms or non-authorship is common practice. This type of authorship is significant in western society, and western visual culture, as a Eurocentric worldview tends toward individualism. The implication of this is that the state does not have an individual to punish as the author has assumed an alternative type of authorship consequential of legal and financial risk.

For Foucault, surveillance is a technology that brings power dynamics into being (1982). The installation of cameras at intervention 'hot spots' are an indeterminate surveillance of the general public in return for potentially saving the Council money. Prediction is part of the role of contemporary surveillance techniques so the use of surveillance to stop these interventions would prevent greater knowledge of social unrest. The asset sales case study showcases examples of numerous interventions on the topic of

asset sales prior to a mass protest. Thus, surveillance to monitor rather than prevent could be used by the state to predict where greatest uprising is likely to occur.

These studies investigated only the physical public space of Wellington's Southern suburbs. Due to this parameter, the assertion that these interventions are evidence of inequality felt across New Zealand cannot be made. To declare this requires a nationwide survey of interventions to public space. Instead what these studies confirm is the visual manifestation of inequality in the areas the researcher interacts with daily, and these studies confirm a collective of individuals in Wellington who are using these sites and methodologies in response to their being affected by inequality. With the increase in digital and virtual communication, there is ample opportunity for research to assess how online platforms are sites inequality visually manifests. This could include online interventions by groups such as Anonymous who 'hack' governmental intranets and websites if they feel an organisation is acting unethically. Analysis of online interventions is also worthy of further research because the virtual realm is less regulated by the state than physical public space and is because the virtual becoming a larger and larger part of daily life.

Practical, legal, and ethical concerns restricted a knowing of the interventionist. As a young woman undertaking this research, concerns were raised about the personal safety of the researcher. These valid concerns affected the way the research was conducted. These interventions are often installed at locations not well patroned at night so witnessing the interventions would have meant that the researcher place herself in a potentially unsafe position and became privy to information about crime. The consequential unknown-ness of the author means much discussion is based on visual clues from within each image and a theoretical discussion of collectivism in a society that tends towards individualism.

The selected interventions a way for us to reflect upon society's views on freedom of speech, and the removal of these interventions marks a tolerance to instability. These interventions materialise challenges to asymmetrical power relations, they hold social agency, and they have a mediumistic role between a variety of socio-political concerns. It is not the aim of the present study to justify vandalism or argue that the motives of the interventionist outweigh the rights of a landowner. Rather, the researcher observes that landowners have the power to censor public space; problematic because this act of repression may perpetuate further unequal distributions of power. Interventions in the form of poster and tagging are evidence of one resistance to powerful social controls that members of the offending social strata are otherwise unable to challenge. This redistribution of power and restoration of psychological equality is a form of self-imposed

autonomous affirmative discrimination that challenges and highlights inequality, and it is a challenge visually manifest in the public space of Wellington's Southern suburbs.

Inequality is an invasive phenomenon in contemporary life that underlies much social decay from sexism to vandalism. However, if one treats only the economic inequalities women face in the workforce then social inequalities such as vertical occupational segregation will not be resolved. Furthermore, if one views vandalistic acts in public space only as crime, one will not be aware of the way that these interventions are symptomatic visual manifestations of power inequality. To ask how inequality manifests is a broad yet pertinent question. Images of our workplace and of public space reveal much about inequality. As society is becoming increasingly ocularcentric, now more than ever one can know that what is seen is a meaningful reflection of society. Thus, when discussing inequality we must not disregard what we see in daily life. This research gives a greater understanding about the visual manifestation of inequality in terms of gender, identity, public space, and power. To view workplace gender inequality and interventions to public space as symptoms of inequality allows for a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of their cause.

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