

NYU Press

Chapter Title: Gaze

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Book Title: Keywords for Media Studies

Book Editor(s): Laurie Ouellette and Jonathan Gray

Published by: NYU Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1gk08zz.26>

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Classical Hollywood cinema and contemporary media forms often depict women as objects and make them available for the pleasurable and controlling look, or gaze, of spectators, who are coded as white heterosexual men. Critical scholarship on the gaze is concerned with how gendered, raced, eroticized, and controlled bodies become visible within media and other texts, and how individuals look at, identify with, and are constructed by visual representations. The conceptions of desire, identity, and identification articulated in this work are sometimes critiqued for being inattentive to racial differences and the varied ways people view representations. However, reconfigured theories of the gaze can address gender, race, sexuality, and other identities and reveal how new media intermesh gazing, touching, and accessing (White 2006, 2015).

Truth's "Left Swipe Dat" thirty-second antismoking video, which is screened on TV and online, facilitates an expanded conception of gazing. The video informs viewers that they will get twice as many dating matches if not smoking in profile pictures. The message is that being visually assessed is desirable. Truth's antismoking texts are supposed to empower "everyone" with "tools to make change" but "Left Swipe Dat" limits the ways women's agency and appearance are understood. The video depicts Harley Morenstein, who produces YouTube's *Epic Meal Time*, alone in a restaurant booth with stacks of food. Morenstein displays a dating application on his phone and he and viewers evaluate the

depicted "hottie" with a "pretty face, tight waist, and nice body." However, he "couldn't overlook one small fact, she smokes like an old man at the race track." Morenstein speaks for empowered heterosexual male viewers by assessing and then dismissing the woman with a left swipe of his finger. The technology and video enhance this position and gaze by indicating that Morenstein can personally summon her through the interface, touch her through contact with the screen, and dismiss her with the same hand gesture that he uses to flick a breast-like pancake and strawberry off a stack of flapjacks. While the video is about smoking cessation, it establishes heterosexual men, even men whom it renders as asocial and gluttonous, as privileged Internet viewers who can access and reject women. In contrast, women are objectified as they admire and politely reject men. With these representations and technologies, the gaze of white heterosexual men is amplified by the ability to touch and control new media and women's bodies. Truth, like many new media companies and representations, promises to, but does not empower, everyone.

Media and other scholars continue to use Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975) to consider the gaze and dyadic constructions of power, despite its limitations. Mulvey's psychoanalytic reading attributes the production of sexual difference, or the articulation of inscribed male and female positions, to the structures of pleasure and identification in classical Hollywood cinema. She indicates that the subject of the gaze is male, and the camera and projector support his empowered position, while its object is female, and she exists in order to be viewed and functions as to-be-looked-at-ness. Mulvey and other feminists have reconceptualized psychoanalytic theories, including Jacques Lacan's formulation (1981) and propose more subjective conceptions of the gaze.

Mulvey indicates how the text and apparatus work to produce white heterosexual identifications and desires. However, she does not specifically label this as an operation of racial privilege or heterosexuality. Terrell Carver (2009) uses the term “heterosexual male gaze” because of the desires and identity usually linked to viewing. Many forms of looking relationships occur in contemporary society, but the normative white heterosexual male gaze is a key process of heterosexuality and racial exclusion. It establishes such things as movement, egress, spatial relationships between bodies, the right to view, and the qualities and accessibility of women. This right to view is articulated by Truth’s video and heterosexual male Internet viewers who demand that women provide depictions but harshly judge their cleavage shots, angled pictures where they hold cameras overhead, and other self-representations as too sexual and as falsifications.

Film, photography, and other representational technologies enable the gaze and social control. Michel Foucault (1979) discusses how gazing and architectural structures, including Jeremy Bentham’s panoptic prison, facilitate social regulation. Individuals situated within these structures know they are being watched but not when observation or punishment might happen and therefore learn to adjust their behavior. For instance, Truth deploys surveillant aspects of Internet dating to trigger self-regulation. Women’s personal information is posted online without consent as a means of textually constructing the gaze and informing women that they are being surveilled, can be harmed, and should self-regulate. Programmer and author Kathy Sierra stopped publicly appearing when images of her being smothered and her home address were posted online. Some feminist bloggers have reduced their prominence because of threats.

John Walker and Sarah Chaplin indicate how being “gazed upon can be pleasurable or painful” in their

visual culture research (1997, 97). Their useful ways of itemizing the look include the look of producers and cameras toward the view being rendered, the looks traded between characters, the look of spectators at representations, and the depicted looks between characters and spectators. I propose that their list be used to conceptualize the gaze, including the gaze of producers and cameras toward property that can be bought, entered, or commodified; the looks exchanged between white male and female characters, people of color, or other disenfranchised characters; the gaze of spectators at otherwise inaccessible lands, unavailable bodies, or hidden views; and the looks that seem to be exchanged between differently empowered characters and spectators. The gaze can be textually constructed and convey such things as approval, disgust, and dismissal.

Critics can be complicit in these configurations. Some feminist film scholars, according to E. Ann Kaplan (1983), are fascinated with Hollywood films and the male gaze, even as they assess these structures. In *Black Looks*, bell hooks (1992) foregrounds the racial aspects of acquiescent views, their history in slavery, and the ways black children have been trained not to look. She proposes that people of color use oppositional gazes to look back at mainstream texts and read against the grain and dominant narratives. Chris Straayer (1996) encourages resistant readings and scholars to question if the gaze is heterosexual and if people need to comply with such heterosexual positions. In a related manner, Diana Fuss (1992) theorizes the ways fashion magazines invite white women to consume products by gazing at, over-identifying with, and desiring other women. According to Reina Lewis and Katrina Rolley (1996), fashion magazines educate readers into a form of lesbian response and gaze. My research (White 2015) suggests how lesbian and queer responses are produced in Internet settings when women, who self-identify as heterosexual, are

encouraged to declare their love of sites, products, and other women. This includes the proliferation of heart emojis in posts, heart-shaped favorite buttons, and passionate declarations from women about the beauty and sexual desirability of women on wedding sites.

Gazing and being surveilled produce affective as well as identificatory experiences. For Laura U. Marks (1998), haptic media viewing includes graininess, camera positions close to the body, and other depictions that evoke the senses. The horror genre underscores how viewing is incorporated into the body, felt, and conceptualized as distant gazing. Horror characters and spectators, as suggested by Isabel Cristina Pinedo (1997), do not completely see, recoil from painful sights, enjoy fluid spectacles of gore, and fully view and comprehend. Bodily movements in theaters can be related to Internet participants' gazes, swipes, and other actions. Internet viewers jerk back from upsetting material, swipe away representations, and move along with game characters. In a different conjunction of viewing and swiping, Tinder provides representations of a white heterosexual woman who is supposed to be available through its swipe-based dating application and develops female to-be-looked-at-ness by placing play and cancel buttons over her. Women nail polish bloggers reorder presumptions that women will make images of their faces, breasts, and buttocks accessible by depicting their working hands, but mainstream society still links them to frivolous aesthetics. Such practices, sites, and technologies connect gazing, hand movements, touch, and access as a means of physically intensifying experiences and too often perpetuate male power. Analysis of such text and gazes also foregrounds overstated claims that individuals are equally empowered by digital media.

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Gender

Rosalind Gill

Looking back from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, early analysis of gender and media is notable for the extraordinary *confidence* of the analyses produced. Reviewing a decade of studies in the late 1970s, Gaye Tuchman (1978b) unequivocally titled her article “The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media” and wrote of how women were being destroyed by a combination of “absence,” “trivialization,” and “condemnation.” Such clear evaluations were not unique and were often accompanied by similarly robust calls to action—whether voiced as demands for more women in the industry, campaigns for “positive images,” or “guerrilla interventions” into billboard advertisements. Writing about this period of research on gender and the media, Angela McRobbie (1999) characterized it as one of “angry repudiation.”

By the late 1980s, this angry certainty had largely given way to something more equivocal and complex. As Myra Macdonald (1995) noted, one reason was that media content changed dramatically. The notion that the media offered a relatively stable template of femininity to which to aspire gave way as media offered a more plural and fragmented set of signifiers of gender. There was a new playfulness in media representations, a borrowing of codes between different genres, and a growing awareness and interest in processes of image construction. Media content was shaped by producers and consumers who were increasingly “media savvy” and familiar with the terms of cultural critique,