Making sense of the 'Hobbit Affair':
Archetypes at play on the socio-economic stage

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ABSTRACT
This article offers an archetypal analysis of the 'Hobbit Affair' and its implications in economic, social, political and moral terms. Existing analyses of the important labour dispute which took place in the spring 2010 in New Zealand around the filming of The Hobbit have primarily focused on the legal and politico-economic dimensions of the Affair. This paper outlines patterns of archetypal manifestation and inflation in the dispute to understand the intensity of the confrontation and the instrumentalisation of the dispute by some of the protagonists. Archetypes outline traits and characteristics which deeply shape human behaviour. As such, they offer an invaluable perspective on complex moral matters, because they are themselves morally important and morally ambiguous. The 'Hobbit Affair' thus illustrates the influence of archetypes on moral values, human behaviour and institutional dynamics, and invites reflection on the moral sustainability of the dominant economic paradigm.

Keywords: archetypes, film industry, labour rights, neo-liberalism, New Zealand, values

INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH

In the months of September and October 2010, a labour dispute in the New Zealand film industry became a matter of national pride, economic dealings and political games. The magnitude of the storm that led to what has been dubbed the 'Hobbit Affair' surprised everyone: opinions were strongly divided and 'anyone with a pulse in New Zealand took sides' (Laugesen, 2011). The hype quickly receded though, and the media did not extensively discuss the aftermath of the Affair. Some four years on, two of the three *Hobbit* movies have been released, grossing more than US$1.5 billion in box office sales as of December 2013. All is seemingly back to normal and one might struggle to remember the intensity and violence of the discussions during these early weeks of spring 2010. In retrospect, one might also struggle to understand why the Hobbit Affair became an affair of such a scale at all.

In truth, although the Affair gained international proportions, involving US-based studios and the FIA (International Federation of Actors, the well-established global organisation representing performers' trade unions, guilds and associations across the world), it seemed overall a matter of interest for New Zealand performers and film industry workers only. Yet, the Hobbit Affair has set a precedent for morally questionable political interference in labour disputes more generally (Walker & Tipples, 2013).

Following a request by the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU) and Radio New Zealand, the Ombudsman decided in late January 2013 to order the disclosure of documents neither the government nor the film producers were keen to see made public, arguing they would damage the industry and the future of business relationships and foreign investments in New Zealand (Gardiner, 2013; Mason, 2013). The documents re-ignited the controversy, mostly confirming what had been suspected by some of the players back in 2010. More recently, CTU President Helen Kelly claimed in June 2013 that the government's decision to change existing employment laws without public consultation had been in breach of current International Labour Organisation conventions: C87 on Freedom of Association and C98 on Collective Bargaining (CTU, 2013).

Given the focus of the Affair, most of the commentaries have tackled issues of political power and transparency (e.g. Handel, 2013a; Tzanelli, 2011; Welch, 2011), whilst scholarly discussions have usually concentrated on issues of labour law and employees' rights within the context of a neo-liberal economy (Barrett, 2011; McAndrew & Risak, 2012; Walker & Tipples, 2013). In late 2011, the *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations* published a special issue on the subject, inviting contributions from a range of academics as well as from some of the players themselves (including CTU President Helen Kelly and then-Minister of Labour Kate Wilkinson). The narrative of the Affair indeed lends itself to storytelling and critical socio-economic morality tales (McAndrew & Risak, 2012).

The purpose of the present paper is to bring a new perspective on the Affair with a view to understanding the unusual intensity it brought forth. Beyond the facts of the industrial dispute and the politico-economic games, the heightened emotions and the violence of the position-

taking of the various parties suggest the Affair touched on unconscious patterns which characterise and shape societies and economies. In this purview, the paper offers an archetypal analysis to identify deeper patterns of conflict and eventual projection that can explain the intensity of the Affair, as well as the social and moral significance of the story and its conclusion.

The analysis is informed by both archetypal identification and interpretation methods, adopting Jung's framework of analytical psychology, and text-based research akin to narrative analysis. The choice of an interdisciplinary framework of analysis is supported by a growing interest in bridging organisational studies with psychological and psychoanalytical research areas (e.g. Driver, 2003; Frosh, 2003; Obert, 1984). Although Freudian psychoanalysis has been the framework of reference for many organisational studies (e.g. Kets de Vries & Miller, 1984; Stein, 2007, 2011), we propose that Jung's analytical psychology offers an equally insightful, yet more holistic, approach to capturing not only organisational dynamics but also socio-economic collective patterns of moral significance (Moxnes, 2013, p. 639).

Archetypes represent primordial and dynamic images which carry meaning, are often emotionally-loaded, and enable human beings to make sense of the social world. Although archetypes have been used in relation to organisational studies, leadership development or professional identity, few of these studies embrace the original view developed by Jung regarding the nature and dynamics of the unconscious (Bowles, 1993a; Carr, 2002; Hart & Brady, 2005; Kociatkiewicz & Kostera, 2010; Kostera, 2012; Mitroff, 1983; Obert, 1984). In this paper, we argue that individual, organisational or social phenomenon can be analysed archetypally to reveal underlying emotional structures and patterns of behaviour which can facilitate the process of deep understanding of the moral self, as well as social change (Bowles, 1990, 1993a; Carr, 2002). Because of the nature of the Affair, we will focus the analysis on the broader socio-economic level, although we acknowledge that archetypes are equally relevant in approaching organisational dynamics or individual behavioural patterns (Hart & Brady, 2005; Kostera, 2012; Stein & Hollwitz, 1992).

The paper is structured as follows: the next section introduces the contextual background and timeline of the Hobbit Affair. It is followed by an overview of Jung's analytical psychological framework and a discussion of the relevance of an archetypal analysis to understand human relations, moral values and socio-economic dynamics. The next section identifies key archetypal themes and figures that have emerged from the Affair, and considers their significance and implications. Conclusions are drawn on the relevance of an archetypal analysis to understand the Affair and, more generally, to make sense of the socio-economic environment and its role in human matters.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THE HOBBIT AFFAIR

The Hobbit Affair happened in a context of enduring dispute over film industry workers' rights and entitlements (Barrett, 2011; Kelly, 2011). The actual dispute centred around two main issues: residuals and guaranteed minimum rights for film industry employees, including actors. From a legal perspective, the main issue concerned a 'form over substance' contractual dispute regarding the status of independent contractor in contrast with the status of employee (Fenton, 2011; Kiely, 2011). However, reports from the media at the time of the Affair (principally articles from New Zealand newspapers, TV and radio reports) overwhelmingly failed to expose in a clear and reliable manner the issues at the core of the industrial dispute (Nuttall, 2011; Walker & Tipples, 2013), instead focusing on the economic consequences for the country if the production of *The Hobbit* were to relocate overseas. This editorial approach played an important role in shaping the narrative of the Affair, although other aspects need to be considered.

Following the success of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, discussion started in 2007 regarding the production of the prequel – then a two-part *The Hobbit* movie. After extensive delays, partly due to the precarious financial situation of Hollywood studio MGM (one of the financing studios alongside Warner Brothers) as well as changes in director, the project took off in June 2010 with freshly-knighted Sir Peter Jackson as director.

Meanwhile, New Zealand actors and other film industry workers had been involved in a number of other projects, and advocating for collective agreements to create some standardisation of working conditions (Wall, 2010). Although a unionised workforce, albeit on a limited scale, they had not been able to secure certainty in their working conditions. Actors in New Zealand belong to Actors Equity (NZAE), an autonomous part of trans-Tasman union, the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA). The MEAA, based in Australia, is an affiliate of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU), and a member of the global labour body, the International Federation of Actors (FIA). A set of minimum conditions are advised in the so-called Pink Book for actors and an equivalent Blue Book for technical workers, but the scope and authority of these documents, as well as additional codes of practice in the industry is questionable (Kelly, 2011; McAndrew & Risak, 2012). Discontent had been building as efforts by workers to engage collectively had been met with studios threatening to cancel projects or recast shows rather than enter negotiations. Although it is not usual for actors and film workers to enter collective bargaining to negotiate remuneration rates and other conditions, the issues discussed prior to the Hobbit Affair concerned wide-ranging issues including clarifications on minimum guarantees offered in the Pink Book and a review of the distribution of residuals. Furthermore, despite an environment characterised by transient non-secure work, the New Zealand film industry displayed a healthy level of unionisation, probably in part because of the important role the union carried out in the protection of local jobs, through its inclusion (via consultation) in the immigration process which allows foreign film workers to come to New Zealand. The union's advocacy for improvements to the Pink Book made them, directly and indirectly, a formal voice to relay workers' concerns and protect workers' rights in the sector, a process enshrined in New

Zealand law since 1856 with the passing of the Trade Union Act. Although the scope of collective bargaining, and the perception of and attitude towards unions, have been affected by the various changes in New Zealand legislation over the past thirty years, including the Employment Relations Act 2000 which set rules for collective bargaining (McAndrew et al., 2013), the process of negotiation prior to the Hobbit Affair had thus been entirely legitimate.

When initial contracts for actors involved in *The Hobbit* project were sent to agents and NZAE in mid-2010, the union concluded that the conditions offered did not comply with the Pink Book. NZAE thus sought support from the FIA, and the latter advised its members in August to put off signing contracts ('do not sign' order) whilst it entered negotiation with Warner Brothers. The negotiation was to be led by MEAA Australian Director Simon Whipp. Supportive letters from affiliated unions were sent to the producers, including Peter Jackson, to announce their support of NZAE's ban request. Response from the producers was equally swift, if not as positive: Warner Brothers-owned Three Foot Seven Ltd (a New Zealand-based company) refused to enter negotiation, arguing in mid-September that under the New Zealand Commerce Act (1986), it was illegal for them to enter into a collective agreement (Tyson, 2011). This position was also adopted, two weeks later, by the Attorney General, whereas a law firm consulted by NZAE concluded that the Commerce Act did not preclude collective bargaining, and the union called for a meeting in Auckland to be held on 28 September 2010 to discuss the refusal of producers to negotiate (Tyson, 2011). On 27 September, Jackson released a public statement accusing the union of threatening the production and describing at length the potential implications of losing *The Hobbit* for the New Zealand economy and national identity (Jackson, 2010). The following day, the US-based studios announced that the uncertainty subsequent to the union's claims meant they were looking at other locations to film *The Hobbit*, thereby giving support to Jackson's claims that the New Zealand film industry was in real jeopardy (Tyson, 2011). The confidential documents released in 2013 however suggest that the studios were far from having decided to switch the production to another location, but that their own economic considerations were likely the real concern (Handel, 2013b). Nevertheless the media reports in September and October 2010, which essentially focused on the threat to lose *The Hobbit* production, fuelled a growing anti-union sentiment.

A series of meetings took place in early October 2010, involving CTU President Helen Kelly, director Peter Jackson, producers Fran Walsh and Philippa Boyens, as well as the Minister of Economic Development Gerry Brownlee and NZAE President Jennifer Ward-Lealand (Kelly, 2011). By mid-October, an agreement had been reached between SPADA (the Screen Production and Development Association) representing the producers, NZAE and the CTU that they would work together towards reviewing the conditions for film workers. By 17 October, NZAE had informed the FIA and the MEAA that since dialogue was underway, the 'do not sign' order to their members could be lifted. The MEAA in turn informed Warner Brothers of the new development, and agreed not to make the decision public until the studios were ready to release a statement (Kelly, 2011). However, Warner Brothers did not publicly communicate the decision until 22 October, after a protest march of 1500 Weta Workshop workers denouncing the ban and the union's actions had taken place in Wellington (Tyson,

2011). Coverage of the march rapidly increased the public's anti-union sentiment. Furthermore, Warner Brothers and Peter Jackson continued to suggest that the production was still at risk of being relocated as the 'uncertainty' ensuing from the union's actions caused concerns to the financing studios. Statements also took an increasingly personal tone (focusing notably on 'the iconic New Zealander Peter Jackson') and drew upon a sense of widespread rivalry with neighbour Australia (Haworth, 2011; McAndrew & Risak, 2012).

Other rallies were organised on 25 October across the country to 'keep *The Hobbit* in New Zealand' (Tyson, 2011, p. 10). At the same time, statements with a dramatic undertone from various Ministers and Prime Minister John Key appeared to suggest that New Zealand would not survive if this production was allowed to go offshore and that the recovery of the economy was dependent on this and future production opportunities. The fear this engendered further worked against a clear view of the underlying issue of fair and equitable treatment in the workplace, and further fuelled a prevailing 'union bashing' attitude (McAndrew & Risak, 2012). Warner Brothers executives met with John Key the following day, and the latter announced on 27 October that '*The Hobbit* will be made in New Zealand and that legislation, which will only apply to the film industry, will be introduced under urgency to Parliament….In addition, *The Hobbit* production will gain increased subsidies' (Tyson, 2011, p. 11). The Employment Relations (Film Production Work) Amendment Bill was passed into law two days later, and it emerged that Warner Brothers obtained NZ$34 million additional subsidies, in addition to the already agreed-upon NZ$65 million (McAndrew & Risak, 2012, p. 71).

Speculation soon surfaced that the dispute gave Warner Brothers an opportunity to revisit the whole project afresh. Financial incentives to attract foreign film productions are fairly common, and many of the incentives available at the time were more generous in other countries. It made sound business sense for the studios to improve their own financial position through maximising these incentives, and the threat of moving production gave the company compelling leverage to achieve a better deal from the government (NZPA, 2010; McAndrew & Risak, 2012). Warner Brothers pulling out of New Zealand also presented the neo-liberal and overtly anti-union Key government with opportunities to garner support to pass controversial legislative changes involving tax status and employment law. The government capitalised on the pro-Hobbit fervour to achieve successful outcomes on both fronts of big business support and labour market deregulation. Debate exists as to whether Warner Brothers put pressure on the New Zealand government to change employment legislation to remove film industry workers' right to collectivise and take industrial action. Their possible intervention aside, a result of the dispute saw the government pass legislation under urgency which effectively removed the right for workers in the industry to be employees, and the benefits and protections this provides, unless specifically stated in their contract (Stuff/The Dominion Post, 2010). The next section introduces Jung's conceptualisation of archetypes and outlines the theoretical framework which will be used to analyse the events summarised above.

ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND ARCHETYPES: INTRODUCING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Analytical psychology and archetypes

Analytical psychology has much to offer when exploring the dynamics of our socio-economic environment. The notion of archetypes in particular is useful in capturing patterns of 'being' that shape institutions and organisations as much as individuals. Archetypes denote modes of psychic functioning and ways of apprehending the world that are informed by biological, psychological and quasi-metaphysical factors (Jacobi, 1959). Ultimately, they are carriers of universal patterns of perception, action and reaction which rise to consciousness and unwittingly influence conscious behaviour. Robert A. Johnson (1989, p. 3) explains that 'the unconscious is a marvellous universe of unseen energies, forces, forms of intelligence – even distinct *personalities* – that live within us […and] is the secret source of much of our thought, feeling and behavior'. Much of our relation to moral and social dynamics is therefore influenced by archetypal forces (Bowles, 1993a).

Archetypes are numinous and 'appear not as abstracts but personifications – or gods – who represent narrative patterns or myths which structure our unconscious psyches and determine our lives without our knowledge' (Brown et al., 2013, p. 673). Thus, archetypes are best captured symbolically, often through folk tales, fairy tales or myths, or even more contemporary novels such as - ironically - Tolkien's works (see O'Neill, 1979 or Skogemann, 2009 for a Jungian discussion of psychological development illustrated by the characters of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy). They represent distinct characteristics that are complex and compensatory, yet provide important insights into human behaviour and human experience at the individual and group level (Bowles, 1993a; Carr, 2002), and are manifest in world mythologies. Jean Shinoda Bolen (1984, 1989) in particular has outlined the attributes of Greek gods and goddesses which can help analyse both human behaviour and the values of social institutions. As we will demonstrate in the next section, the masculine contingent of the Greek Pantheon proves especially relevant to analyse a moral and socio-economic tale such as the Hobbit Affair, for the modern economy shaped by neo-liberal values very much resembles a strong patriarchal order.

Jung (1970) believed that each individual person would do well to engage in inner work both for their own sake and that of society, to the extent that greater individual consciousness implicitly triggers change in more collective social norms, concerns and dynamics. Inner work demands that we actively observe and engage with the psyche, and that we learn to identify, understand and integrate unconscious contents that spring to consciousness, often in a raw and undifferentiated form. This is a particularly important task as unconscious forces gain potency when they are ignored by the conscious ego, leading to greater psychological imbalance and emotional turmoil. However, archetypes are not merely a personal phenomenon; they influence as much groups and communities as they affect individual psyches. As such, it has been proposed that communities, organisations or nations also possess a psyche which can be examined analytically (e.g. Dowd, 2010; Shearer, 2012;

Tacey, 2009). The notion of shadow in particular has proven a valuable concept to understand duality, inflation and rejection. The archetypal shadow indeed becomes a major moral concern when it is unacknowledged or neglected (Jung, 1969, par. 13-19). Then, those qualities or flaws we have not become consciously aware of become exacerbated, and have the potential to blur our conscious perception of reality so that we see only what the shadow wants us to see: a world in which everything is somewhat excessive, or excessively heightened (Johnson, 1991; see also Bowles, 1991). When ego-consciousness slips into the shadow, then disagreements become wars, friends become rivals or objectified focus of desire and envy: we move away from a world of human relationships, we enter the world of symbolic interactions that do not necessarily care for human concerns. In effect, archetypal inflation (especially identification with the shadow) means that in practice we have limited control of our actions and limited awareness of their consequences for others. This explains how situations can degenerate rapidly, or how destructive patterns can repeat themselves endlessly, both individually and collectively.

Applying archetypes to socio-economic affairs

Like psychoanalysis, although in a much more limited manner, analytical psychology has attracted interest from a range of researchers in organisational and management studies. The analytical process itself has been referred to in cases of organisational tension, crisis or development (e.g. Bowles, 1993b, 1994; Denhardt, 1981; Samuels, 2001; Stein & Hollwitz, 1992), whilst the Jungian conceptualisation of the psyche and the moral dimensions of inner work offer new interpretations of ethical practices and expectations in business and organisational studies (Fawkes, 2010; Hart & Brady, 2005; Ketola, 2008; Rozuel, 2011, 2012). Archetypes in a Jungian sense have been used to outline organisational or systemic characteristics (Bowles, 1990, 1993a; Carr, 2002; Kociatkiewicz & Kostera, 2012; Kostera & Obłój, 2010; Matthews, 2002; Mrotek, 2001; Zanetti, 2002) or to explore a specific organisational issue (Bowles, 1991; Moxnes, 1999, 2013) or entrepreneurial form (Brown et al., 2013). James Hillman (1995, p. 1) examined power in the context of business through an archetypal lens, explaining that 'the drama of business, its struggles, challenges, victories and defeats, forms the fundamental myth of our civilization, the story that explains the underlying bottom line of the ceremonies of our behavior'. We propose that an archetypal reading of the Hobbit Affair will help understand, in a modest way, the myth of our civilization. The interplay of conscious and unconscious forces, displayed through the emotional responses from people within and outside of the industry, the extreme media coverage of the Affair, and the staging of the government's rescue intervention, makes the Hobbit Affair a valuable case study to reflect upon archetypes that shape modern economies and societies.

Textual sources provided core data for the case: data was drawn from a broad range of newspaper reports and articles, transcripts of radio interviews with key players, as well as academic journal articles focused on the Hobbit dispute. Data was scrutinised to identify patterns of meaning, which were then coded and analysed. Coding aimed to outline characteristic traits, positioning or tones emerging from public and personal statements (in the case of the documents, including emails, later released under the Information Act) made

by key protagonists. Following Matthews (2002, p. 470), it is argued that archetypes manifest themselves in the discourse content and emotional undertone, especially its rhetorical aspects. Archetypal inflation is not a conscious choice, therefore we do not claim that the various protagonists consciously identified with an archetype. Rather, we point out that their position-taking during the Affair is characteristic of certain archetypes, and that the intensity of the Affair suggests a degree of archetypal inflation beyond 'normality'. By definition, all archetypes are present in each individual, but personal and collective circumstances contribute to activating one over another in a given situation. We wish to demonstrate how the Hobbit Affair illustrates a profound and pervasive state of imbalance in socio-economic forces, whereby some archetypes dominate and silence others, to the detriment of some social actors (in this case, the film-industry workers and unions more generally). Recurring themes identified include power, money, pride, care and rights. A further analysis of how these themes were approached by each protagonist have led to a mapping of the main archetypes at play, which we discuss using the symbolic attributes (both constructive and destructive) of the Greek Olympians: a domineering patriarch (Zeus), supported by an opportunistic mediator (Hermes) and a self-righteous warrior (Ares), and a silenced feminine struggling to relay the voice of the creative craftsman (Hephaestus). The following section analyses each of these archetypes in detail.

ARCHETYPES AT PLAY IN THE HOBBIT AFFAIR

A domineering patriarchy

It is not surprising that the Father archetype (captured through the image of the ruling father Zeus) proved central to the unfolding of the Affair, given that the Western world remains overwhelmingly patriarchal in cultural and practical terms (Johnson, 1990; Zanetti, 2002). Although Zeus brings order and regulation, he often emerges as 'the authoritarian father who has the final word', who bends the rules to suit his interests, who is emotionally distant and shows little care for the consequences of his actions onto others if these do not affect his interests (Bowles, 1993a, pp. 403-405). As Bolen explains (1989, p. 22): 'Patriarchal gods ... rule from above and from a distance. They expect to be obeyed, and have the right to do what they please as long as they are chief gods. ...As fathers, they are often unpaternal and express hostility toward their young.' The strength of the patriarchy is reinforced when the ruler is supported by obedient and complementary archetypes, such as the favourite solar son Apollo, the efficient father's daughter Athena, or the cunning shape-shifter Hermes (see Bolen, 1989; Bowles, 1993a). In the case of the Hobbit Affair, the unchallenged domination of the patriarch was evidenced by the positions and actions of the US studios, who were clearly business-oriented protagonists. The politico-economic discourse and the game-play pursued by the studios involved in the Affair illustrate patriarchal values of unilateral control, bargaining to pursue one's self-interests, and a strategy informed by instrumental thinking and economic evaluation. Zeus is 'adept at strategy, forming alliances.... He established and consolidated his power. And most important - a Zeus characteristic - he could impose his will on others' (Bolen, 1989, p. 46). He has the final word and likes to 'deal with others who have authority and are decisive' (ibid, p. 52). The influence of Zeus in the studios' actions were

thus all the more effective as they were further supported through an alliance with a government which successfully portrayed an opportunistic Hermes (see next section).

Klein (2008) suggests that neo-liberal economists[1] rely on strong, authoritarian power structures to implement their policies, for there is no other way to safeguard economic freedom as an institutional ideal and a social reality. Whoever questions or opposes the principles of free-market exchanges is deemed an enemy. When Zeus senses a threat to his power, he mercilessly aims to strike his enemy. In the Hobbit Affair, archetypal Zeus aggressively defended a state of order that seemingly guaranteed stability and growth (i.e. 'for the good of the New Zealand film industry and overall economy'), but effectively sacrificed the ability to engage with someone who could have challenged the established order (i.e. the right to union representation and collective bargaining). The dark side of the patriarchy does not leave room for any discussion of its authority: any form of dissent is perceived as a threat to the entire structure, a real treason that must be crushed before long. No sign of weakness are permitted, blind obedience is demanded. The shadow patriarch would demonstrate for instance an unreasonable stubbornness or a devastating rage; the shadow king is a tyrant of corrupted character who subjugates his followers (Moore & Gillette, 1990, pp. 70-71).

Only a couple of documents released through the Official Information Act (1982) relate to the economic deal made between the New Zealand government and Warner Brothers, but the summary of the oral agreement dated 29 October 2010 clearly suggests that the studios were more interested in securing additional state funding for their large-budget productions than in clarifying the scope of employees' rights, as the producers repeatedly argued (Hobbit Documents, 2013). The claims that the studios saw in the labour dispute an opportunity to negotiate a better economic deal (from their perspective), and quietly played up the various parties to obtain a further US$10 million direct payment and additional 'participation payments' seem therefore justified (Macdonald, 2010). Shifting the production to another country may have presented some greater advantages in terms of subsidies, but also would have meant greater expenditures in reorganising a new production set whereas one was readily available in New Zealand. The dispute proved a timely gift for the studios to bargain for additional subsidies and tax cuts, but probably did not overwhelmingly worry Warner Brothers executives, as evidenced by an email from a New Line Cinema executive (NLC are a subsidiary of Warner Brothers) to the then-Minister for Economic Development Gerry Brownlee, dated 12 October 2010:

> As I have said to you on every occasion that we have spoken, we are committed to NZ, both because of Peter and Fran's deep commitment to be there, as well as our own - we filmed all three Lord of the Rings films in NZ and are not making any decision to move this production lightly. ...I explained that the momentum was growing to find alternatives - including New South Wales - and that they had offered a very attractive incentive to us. When I asked you if your office (or perhaps another branch of the government) was available to discuss that sort of thing with us, too, or if you would consider anything similar to help us in address [*sic*] our growing risk profile (especially given the currency issues we are also now facing), it sounded like

you were amenable to that conversation. ...We are very open to trying to work with you to identify any ideas or suggestions for solutions to our problems, both through legislative means and possibly economic ones.... While we've always believed that we would make these films in NZ, we also have an obligation to our company and our shareholders and we have to be responsible to them. (Hobbit Documents, 2013)

This excerpt illustrates how the studios portrayed the deceptively abusive father, who claims to act in accordance with his responsibilities but engages in emotional blackmail in a pernicious way (the un-paternal father). The rules of the existing patriarchy are based on an economic worldview, so that whoever possesses the most influence on economic matters has effectively the most power. In practice, this means economic actors and large businesses are in power and set the rules. Since none of the protagonists of the Affair truly questioned the legitimacy of these rules, the studios were set to control the play, the language and the outcome. This proved all the more effective as the media, which played a substantial role in shaping the public's perception of the issues during the dispute, reported widely on the 'dire' economic consequences if *The Hobbit* production were to go offshore. The dominant view voiced in popular media suggested that New Zealanders were prepared to accept any measures that would keep the production in New Zealand (e.g. Watkins, 2010a). In contrast, very few reports explained the background to the dispute and clearly laid out the actual legitimate claims made by the unions. This led to the public possibly misconstruing the purpose of the dispute, and rallying to support 'Kiwi hero' Peter Jackson and the domestic film industry without critically examining what was at stake (Shuttleworth et al., 2013).

We suggest that this reveals the profound imbalance and corruption within the patriarchal model itself, whereby the primacy of economic valuation over any other forms of valuation justifies manipulation and deception of the public, to the detriment of the public. Bolen (1989, p. 65) warns against the 'industrial patriarchal culture' which celebrates 'talking heads', that is, men (or women!) who are 'cut off from [their] heart, who will not be moved by sympathy'. The seemingly quiet but extremely powerful positioning of the studios demonstrates that they indeed controlled 'the word', successfully shaping the debate in their own terms (economic interests) and reaffirming their power over supposedly sovereign states. In turn, the public's lack of awareness and conscious critical engagement with the discourse and hidden interests of ruling parties contributes to reinforcing the power of the patriarchy. As Jung warns (1970, par. 572), lack of consciousness makes us fall prey to unconscious forces, but does not alleviate our moral and social responsibility. To avoid damaging archetypal inflation, leaders and citizens would each need to examine the state of their psyche so as to make effectively informed decisions autonomously and independently, rather than rely on ill-defined referential groups to decide what the right thing to do is (see Hart and Brady's excellent analysis on this matter, 2005). In the Hobbit Affair, however, the interests of the domineering patriarchy were further supported by the New Zealand government, which acted as an opportunistic mediator and distorted the public's perception of the issues at stake.

The opportunistic mediator

Although the government did not publicly intervene until the height of the Affair, its role was undeniably crucial. Presenting itself as a mediator, the government represented the archetypal trickster, Hermes, who can do 'whatever he thinks will serve his ends' (Bowles, 1993a, p. 410). Hermes is the messenger, he who can cross boundaries because he has no boundaries; he is extremely good at deal-making but does not think in terms of moral values, instead being 'only concerned with whether a ploy or a negotiation will work' (Bolen, 1989, p. 167). One of Zeus's favoured sons, he is, like his father, associated with 'emotional distance and mental activity' (ibid, p. 127) which makes it even easier for him not to commit and care for others' interests. In the context of the Affair, the government seized the opportunity of the dispute to further its agenda whilst negotiating with the patriarchal ruler. The aim of the government at this point was not to challenge the patriarchy, for the economic worldview suited its own interests, but to navigate the dispute so as to win the most without the public realising it.

This explains why PM John Key emphatically embraced the narrative initiated by the Hobbit producers which blamed the unions' actions for causing uncertainty with regards to filming on location, not least because such narrative fitted with the neo-liberal ideology that influenced (and still influences) the National government's actions (Howarth, 2011). In public commentaries, Key declared that 'union threats had done "real damage" to the way Warner Bros viewed New Zealand' (Broun and Watkins, 2010) and that 'if it wasn't for the industrial action they [Warner Brothers] were good to go' (Watkins, 2010b). He further 'accused the CTU of using *The Hobbit* to serve up a wish list and vehicle for a larger unionised workforce in New Zealand' (Watkins, 2010b). This rhetoric about the unruly union members taking action proved most effective at fuelling the anti-union sentiment that had arisen amongst the New Zealand public.

Yet, it appears that the government knew very well that the true concern of the studios was money, and cleverly or cunningly played up the apparent risk of an unstable labour market (i.e. a labour market in which unions could bring forth actions that would disrupt film productions, thereby increasing costs) to pass without public debate a change of employment legislation that supported its interests. Comments by members of the government involved in the negotiation with Warner Brothers executives maintained the ambiguity: whilst Minister for Economic Development Brownlee declared that 'increasing the subsidy for the movies is "not on the table at the present time"', PM Key stated: 'If we could make the deal sweeter for them [i.e. Warner Bros] that would help' (Watkins, 2010b). The sweetening of the deal is something Hermes-the-trickster is very good at, all the while crafting a storyline where he appears quietly heroic. So as not to upset New Zealand taxpayers with the realisation that increased public subsidies would go to a private enterprise whose profits would remain private, Key repeatedly though inconsistently emphasised the 'need' to amend employment legislation to 'save *The Hobbit*'. As Watkins et al. (2010) report, Key stated that 'without those changes to the law it was a no go', whilst 'negotiation came down to how much the Government was prepared to subsidise the producers'. As trickster, the government played on

several fronts to maximise its gains in terms of advancing its neo-liberal agenda of limiting the power of labour unions, of gaining public support through an appeal to national cultural identity, and of establishing itself as a valuable partner and worthy defender of the interests of the patriarchy, i.e. the business world.

The self-righteous warrior

Another important archetype whose presence was clearly manifested during the Affair is Ares, the warrior god. Ares does not stop and reflect, but jumps into battle led by his instincts and emotions. He is 'a reactive, here-and-now archetype' (Bolen, 1989, p. 196). In its positive form, Ares is a vector for spontaneity and raw energy. In its shadow form, his irrational aggressiveness knows no bound and leads to the destruction of the enemy, often with indifference as to the collateral damage his behaviour causes (Bowles, 1993a, p. 409). We argue that Ares was extremely influential in turning the industrial dispute into an affair of national proportion, especially through the tone and content of the public communications and press releases made by the New Zealand-based producers. Very early on, the union was cast as the trouble-maker controlled by envious Australian neighbours. This discourse spread very quickly and enabled the patriarchy and the trickster to turn the public's support in their favour, rallying to the call that New Zealand needed to keep *The Hobbit* production at any cost.

The long excerpts below are taken from Peter Jackson's press release dated 27 September 2010, which comments on the involvement of Australian union MEAA in the dispute. The tone and expressions used highlight archetypal Ares in its shadow form: the excerpt identifies an enemy who is depicted as strategically manipulative, power-obsessed and deliberately destructive. Yet, such an inflationary tirade evokes a very powerful projection of one's own shadow onto an external other. Indeed, strategic manipulation, obsession with power and lack of care for what is destroyed in the process are all shadow elements of the gods of the patriarchy (Zeus, Hermes and Ares). We thus suggest that the quotes reflect how the producers, under the influence of Ares and possibly unconscious of their dalliance with the patriarchy, projected their own shadow onto the unions, thereby contributing to turning the dispute into a matter of national pride and economic survival:

> The Australian Labour union, the MEAA is using our production The Hobbit in an attempt to widen it's [*sic*] membership, and power within the New Zealand film industry…It's incredibly easy to wave the flag on behalf of workers and target the rich studios….there are clear agendas at work. As usual with these agendas, they are based on money and power.
> …I also feel a growing anger at the way this tiny minority [members of NZAE] is endangering a project that hundreds of people have worked on over the last two years, and the thousands about to be employed for the next 4 years. The hundreds of millions of Warner Brothers dollars that is about to be spent in our economy.
> …My personal opinion is that this is a grab for power. It does not represent a problem that needs a solution…I can't see beyond the ugly spectre of an Australian bully-boy,

using what he perceives as his weak Kiwi cousins to gain a foothold in this country's film industry. ...There is a twisted logic to seeing NZ humiliated on the world stage, by losing the Hobbit to Eastern Europe. Warners would take a financial hit that would cause other studios to steer clear of New Zealand. Seriously, if the Hobbit goes east…look forward to a long dry big budget movie drought in this country…it sure feels like we are being attacked simply because we are a big fat juicy target – not for any wrong doing…It feels as if we have a large Aussie cousin kicking sand in our eyes…or to put it another way, opportunists exploiting our film for their own political gain. (Jackson, 2010)

The strong attack Peter Jackson launched against the Australian union in this statement, which also effectively undermined the claims of the New Zealand unionised workers in the many media reports thereafter, implicitly served several purposes. Firstly, it successfully antagonised the dynamics of the dispute, seemingly leaving no alternative but an 'all or nothing', 'life or death' outcome (a very archetypal state of affairs). Secondly, it moved the focus of the dispute away from workers' demands for fair contractual agreements, instead narrowing the discussion down to mere economic gains and losses (the language of choice of the patriarchy). Doing so, it effectively reversed the narrative: workers who use their right to unite and protest do so out of a 'twisted logic' and are depicted as 'opportunists', 'bullies' who want nothing else but to 'grab for power' and 'increase their bank balance'. On the other hand, multinational corporations which produce multi-million movies, which employ workers in sometimes precarious conditions, and perpetuate unsustainable mass consumption patterns are depicted as victims who are 'attacked' and 'humiliated' for no good reason. Thirdly, it manipulated the public opinion by tapping into established collective cultural complexes (playing up Australia against New Zealand). Indeed, 'Peter Jackson's interventions in this dispute were few and well targeted. They appeared to occur when public opinion was changing or the dispute appeared to be more than one sided' argued Helen Kelly (2011). This, in turn, affected the public's ability to reflect on the situation in broader terms than those defined by the influential archetypes.

The silenced craftsman and the repressed feminine

The dominating voices in the dispute were essentially reflective of the archetypal masculine, which is not surprising in a patriarchal environment. The archetypal feminine was noticeably silenced, save for a few attempts at bringing back the focus of the dispute onto the heart of the matter: the needs of workers and society's duty of care. In archetypal terms, masculine and feminine are not associated with genders; both men and women possess at once masculine and feminine characteristics. Culturally and archetypally, however, there exists an 'ontological belief' in the need for the masculine to repress the feminine so as to assert his place, and patriarchy is designed to maintain oppression of the 'dangerous' feminine who connects with deep-seated emotions that often challenge the rational masculine order (Zanetti, 2002, pp. 532-533). 'Masculine consciousness analyzes, discriminates, defines, cuts and clarifies. Feminine consciousness - not women, but feminine consciousness - is concerned with process and being. The goal is the journey itself' (ibid, p. 534).

Over the course of the Hobbit Affair, the prevalence of the archetypal masculine transformed the essence of the dispute. The dispute started as a request for dialogue: concerned with guaranteeing working conditions that enable film industry workers to live a dignified and nurturing life, NZAE repeatedly tried to engage with the industry's representatives. The refusal to hear the concerns of the union and, more importantly, the concerns of the people whom the union represented, echoed a repression of the archetypal feminine. The arguments put forward by the patriarchal masculine (through the voices of the producers, the government and the studios) suggest a denial of the feminine by focusing on a narrow economic rationalisation of the dispute and removing expressions of human relatedness, connection, compassion and independence of spirit - all of which expressions of feminine archetypes (Bolen, 1984; Bowles, 1993a, pp. 411-412). The hijacking of the language to describe the dispute, especially at the time when the dispute started being reported widely through the media, was a major contributor to the strengthening of the patriarchy.

The MEAA adopted what has been perceived as a more aggressive strategy than Kiwi-based NZAE (Laugesen, 2011; Macdonald, 2010). Nevertheless, the involvement of other networks (notably the FIA) and the 'do not sign' order were perfectly legitimate and justifiable actions in the negotiation process. In analysing the public statements of MEAA Director Simon Whipp, it is hard to find evidence of unreasonable demands and aggressive attacks (3 News, 2010; Knight, 2010). Instead, the rationale for union action seemed justified on account of the inconsistencies of the New Zealand film industry practices at the time (Knight, 2010). The ability to care and to voice concerns, even when these disrupt the rigid order of the patriarchy, are important characteristics of the archetypal feminine. However, this aspect of the feminine is significantly under-valued and repressed in most contemporary organisations and socio-economic orders (Zanetti, 2002). Incidentally, the archetypal feminine was mostly epitomised by three women during the Hobbit Affair: NZAE President Jennifer Ward-Lealand; NZAE board member and unofficial spokesperson during the Affair, actress Robyn Malcolm; and CTU President Helen Kelly. At the height of the Affair, these three women (alongside Simon Whipp) were depicted as malicious trouble-makers responsible for undermining the New Zealand film industry, starting with the Hobbit production, without even measuring the long-term implications of their actions (see for instance the transcript of a radio interview with *The Hobbit* producers in Kelly, 2011). In public commentaries, Malcolm and Kelly were also subjected to significant verbal abuse and condemned for expressing a view inconsistent with the main discourse of the patriarchy.

Indeed, the language used by the unions referred to rights, protection, dialogue; this greatly contrasts with the focus on pride, survival, power and attack prevalent in the public statements of the government and the producers. In fact, it seems that the unions were aware of the need for balance and integration of feminine archetypal qualities of otherness (i.e. engaging with other voices), and nurturance (i.e. providing a safe and securing environment):

> There's a perception we all view ourselves as Brad Pitts or Angelina Jolies and we don't. None of us are asking for Ian McKellen's pay packet… I don't think any of us

were asking for parity…but somewhere in the middle of it New Zealand actors need to feel protected. For actors to feel some sense of protection there needs to be some consistency (Malcolm, in Donnell, 2010).

A sustainable economy cannot function on growth and ruthless competition alone. Rather, the masculine drive for progress and growth ought to be balanced with an appreciation for and commitment to service and maintenance (Hillman, 1995). This implies bringing to the forefront of collective consciousness a deeper understanding of what we take and what we give, as well as establishing a more humane relationship with one another. The necessity to value and protect those agents who operate outside the patriarchy is all the more crucial as these agents are often the source of regenerative creativity in economic activities. Artistic and creative workers carry the archetype of Hephaestus, the wounded craftsman. In patriarchal organisations, the highest rewards are granted to the dutiful sons and daughters (Apollo, Athena) who help maintain the system as it is (Bolen, 1989). The creative agents, who stand near the point of production but far from the strategic decision-making centre, usually receive little reward, both symbolic and material (Bolen, 1989, p. 222; Bowles, 1993a, p. 413). Hephaestus is more able than his fellow masculine figures to appreciate feminine qualities, and therefore face the same tendency to be repressed and rejected than many feminine archetypes in contemporary Western societies. Yet, we suggest his deep soul qualities would provide a pathway to heal the split of most modern psyches (Gad, 1986). Hephaestus knows darkness and suffering, but he also knows how to transform that *prima materia* into conscious gold. 'Hephaestus, the quintessential fringe person of Olympus, can lead man to liminal areas of time and space, where existential bending back upon themselves may generate novelty, open play of thought, and feeling, in which new models can be generated to replace the force-backed models that control the centres of our society' (Gad, 1986, p. 43). The unfolding of the Hobbit Affair seems to illustrate closed-mindedness and a force-backed model of control, as opposed to the much-needed openness to other voices and creative models of deep questioning, exploration, reflection and action.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We now turn to considering how an archetypal reading of the Hobbit Affair reveals hidden patterns and mechanisms which refine the understanding of the dispute and its resolution. We have considered the main manifestations of archetypes and outlined a clear imbalance in the representation of masculine and feminine voices, and the dangerous domination of a patriarchal model. The archetypal analysis has also suggested unconscious connections between various archetypes (Zeus, Hermes and Ares) and evidence of shadow projection onto a group of social agents who stand on the edge of the patriarchy (the film industry workers and the unions, carrying traits of Hephaestus). We argue that this symbolic level of interpretation is complementary to a more factual analysis. Archetypes enable us to face up existing projections, thereby deepening our understanding of generative dynamics beyond the specific identities of the carriers of the projection. In the Hobbit Affair, the archetypal analysis has outlined the scope of influence of a pervasive patriarchy which endemically rejects otherness, especially feminine and alternative voices, as well as the danger of

unreflective acceptance of stories by the public when these are uttered by a self-interested archetypal figure.

Several conclusions can be drawn. The acknowledgement of the influence of the unconscious on individuals and collectives invites a more consistent approach to self-reflection and psychological awareness at both levels. Most of the protagonists of the Hobbit Affair did not engage with such process. The dispute escalated rapidly, and was treated as a matter of urgency, with no time to reflect upon what was being played. This further jeopardised the ability of the protagonists to identify projections and appreciate the contribution of a multiplicity of voices engaged in a constructive and generative dialogue. Psychological integration and transformation is a challenging exercise which is nevertheless essential for the sustainability of social systems and moral values. Mrotek (2001, pp. 166-167) explains that:

> [t]he knowledge of unconscious processes in groups and its consequences, as well as surfacing one's own role in this process and becoming aware of some of the content of one's unconscious, is often a difficult process involving considerable time, study, personal commitment and the willingness to be introspective.

If the process of archetypal identification and projection removal is not institutionally supported and socially valued, the damaging effect of archetypal inflation is likely to endure, both within individuals and organisations (Jung, 1970).

Jung (1970, par. 577-580) suggested that no social improvement is possible without bringing to consciousness what is repressed. This starts with pondering on what we repress as individuals and as a human collective. The archetypal analysis facilitates the identification of silenced or absent voices, as well as the delineation of the dominating archetypal structures at play in contemporary societies. In the case of the Hobbit Affair, the patriarchal model emerged as central, but its characteristics illustrated shadow manifestations and endemic stiffness and narrow-mindedness as opposed to generative and inclusive growth. Several authors have discussed the masculine bias of modern Western society, especially within the context of neo-liberal economies, and the strong repression of the feminine as other (Johnson, 1983; Tarnas, 1996; Zanetti, 2002). The 'hubris inflation' of individual psyches generates an obsession with masculine values (power, production, prestige and achievements) at the cost of human relations embedded in a nurturing and life-giving feminine (Johnson, 1983, p. 21). Archetypal dynamics remind us that to achieve actual sustainability and participative economic development, emphasis on stability, order and enlightened leadership (the patriarchal Zeus in its positive expression) needs to be balanced with purposeful passion (Ares used discriminately), morally-informed deal-making (Hermes used responsibly), sensitive and creative production (Hephaestus recognised and justly valued), as well as a grounding in human relatedness, care, compassion, determination and the acceptance of life-sustaining change (acknowledgement and valuation of the archetypal feminine). Without these elements in place and in balance, it is doubtful whether a structured society, and the people that compose it, can flourish.

Four years on, SPADA and NZAE have eventually found an agreement on terms and conditions for all workers in the industry, set to replace the Pink Book (Drinnan, 2014). Even so, the Hobbit Affair will remain an important case in the field of industrial and employment relations, especially as the possible reversal of 'The Hobbit law' remains unclear (ibid). Several authors have outlined lessons to be learnt and questions to reflect upon in the aftermath of the Affair regarding the role of unions, the ambiguity of political and economic interests in employment relations, and the scope of national sovereignty in a global economic order (McAndrew & Risak, 2012; Walker & Tipples, 2013). This paper has offered another topic for reflection: the significance of unconscious forces to understand behavioural dynamics and moral positions, not only at the individual but also the collective level. In Tolkien's story, the Shire predicts Mordor because neither stand in balance. One is too innocent and naively pure, ignoring the existence of the shadow until the latter crawls in surreptitiously; the other mirrors in a compensatory way all that the Shire is not, that is thirst for power through destruction, absolute evil and unredeemable darkness. The lesson to learn here is found in the necessity to integrate and balance feminine and masculine forces within a sustainable economic order. This cannot be the patriarchy we know; this should not be a matriarchal society that repeats the mistakes of the fathers. Instead of polarisation, a greater tolerance for complexity is called for (Samuels, 2001, pp. 135-158). However, the feminine must be given a much greater role to play than it currently has - in terms of organisational values, organisational structure, and institutional representation to start with. The values defended by the unions during the Hobbit dispute are of this sort: fairness, contribution, sharing, consistency, transparency, dialogue. Historically, labour unions have emerged in response to excesses of a domineering capitalist order: the father exploiting his children for material growth, insensitive to the needs of the other parts of society. The outcome of the Hobbit Affair suggests we are still searching for an alternative model capable of integrating otherness and nurturing multi-voice discussions.

NOTE

[1]By neo-liberalism, we here refer to the politico-economic doctrine that affirms that society's interests and human welfare are best enhanced by an institutional framework favouring private property rights, unquestioned faith in markets and free trade with minimal state intervention, and privatisation of most spheres of human activity. We also refer to the socially distressing consequences of neo-liberal policies, including social inequality and wealth divide, slow growth, high capital volatility and uncertainty, and commodification of nature, values and people (Harvey, 2005).

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