Shameless Gentrification Narratives: Towards an Understanding of the Ideological Underpinnings of Urban Restructuring Storylines on Television

By

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Abstract

This qualitative research project queries the representations of gentrification scenes in the United States (U.S.) version of *Shameless* to answer the research question: What do the storylines of gentrification on *Shameless* tell the viewing publics about the causes and consequences of gentrification? I review the manifest content of scenes alongside a multitude of latent ideologies that my textual analyses uncovered. My investigation reveals that *Shameless* both perpetuates and challenges hegemonic ideology and that at times the ideological subtexts conflict with the manifest storylines on urban restructuring. By narrating the stories of members of a large, normatively dysfunctional, poor, White family in present-day urban Chicago, *Shameless* articulates subjective positionalities of the working-poor and barely working-class. In choosing to tell stories from the perspective of economically disadvantaged protagonists, this series diverges from a normative, middle-class televisual representation. The show is also unusual in how it deploys the technical codes of television: *Shameless* toys with televisual conventions and articulates its own discursive logics about the Southside neighbourhood and its class. Further, the show deploys an *us versus them* binary predicated on class unpredictably; that is, this binary does not faithfully adhere to logics that a particular political stance would seem to demand. My key finding is that, despite its potentially subversive choice of protagonists and use of storylines that expose some of the causes and consequences of gentrification, *Shameless* leaves several structural causes under-illuminated. The reasons for this are twofold. First, *Shameless*'s unreliability as a text compromises its ability to offer a sustained critique of public policy, particularly as it relates to the urban restructuring process of gentrification. Second, *Shameless* individualizes the gentrifier and focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of the process. Thus, its narrative logics silence neoliberal capitalism's role in gentrification.

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List of Abbreviations

- Camera Close-Up Shot – CU
- Camera Establishing Shot – ES
- Camera Long-Shot – LS
- Camera Medium Shot - MS
- Camera Point-of-View Shot – POV
- Camera Shot/Reverse Shot – SRS
- Camera Wide-Shot – WS
- Gross Domestic Product - GDP
- Home Box Office - HBO
- Ideological State Apparatus - ISA
- Least Objectionable Programming – LOP
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer or Questioning, where the plus represents other identities such as two-spirited, non-binary, pansexual, asexual, and intersex - LGBTQ+
- Limited Liability Company – LLC
- Not in My Backyard – NIMBY
- People of Colour – POC
- The American version of *Shameless* (2011-2021) - *Shameless* (U.S.)
- The British version of *Shameless* (2004-2013) - *Shameless* (U.K.)
- United Kingdom – U.K.
- United States – U.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

"*Would it really be worth living in a world without television?"*

Krusty the Klown (Arnold, 2004, p.18).

Television is culture's conversation with itself, a symbolic discussion of a culture's values (Fiske and Hartley, 2003). As a medium, it offers us stories about how our lives appear to be, how they might be, or how they possibly were, yet these stories are representations; they are constructed. Television offers a representation that appears realistic through its "ability to carry a socially convincing sense of the real" (Fiske, 1987, p.21) and is "one of the most accessible and influential discursive spaces that mediates social imaginaries" (Khoja-Moolji, 2018, p.124). As "television remains dominant in most locations" (Turner & Tay, 2009, p.3), despite the media and technology convergence that has personalized the medium of late, I begin with an understanding that its texts remain worthy of critique. The American version of *Shameless* (*Shameless* U.S.; 2011-2021) has just wrapped production after eleven seasons, is available in multiple countries, and is accessible via multiple platforms; thus, the conversation the show engages the viewer in, and the representation it offers merits academic critique.

Evident in scholarship since television's arrival is an interest in the power of television to sway its audience, including an interest in critiquing who benefits from particular ideological representations. The rationale for unearthing ideology in media is to understand how and why a text is constructed as this reveals issues of power in society. Critiquing the ideology in a text permits a socio-cultural analysis of the social world. Television has historically been critiqued as a medium that promotes the mindless consumption of products in service to capitalism through the repetition of dominant ideology. Programmes, as products of the culture industry, are not expected to be radical given they are produced by and for capitalism, which is known to co-opt

and diffuse radical challenges to dominant ideology. As such, we hope for a progressive text, rather than a regressive one. A progressive text such as *Shameless* (U.S.) is one where "discourses of social change are articulated in relationship with the meta-discourse of the dominant ideology" (Fiske, 1987, p.47).

Given the multiplicity of discourses available in a text, the polysemic nature of a show is exposed once in the hands of the viewer/reader, and therein programmes can become fruitful sites of conflict regarding meaning. A media programme, or text, is considered an artifact supplied by the culture industry for people to read. As there is no monolithic lived experience for viewers, given we are each "socially and historically situated" (Fiske, 1987, p.117), potential strife may arise when viewers read and "activat[e] a set of meanings" (p.117) from televisual representations that clash with their lived material realities. Viewers can identify with, reject, or negotiate the possibilities a text presents (Hall, 1973/1996) given their agency to bring their lives to bear on a text. No single reading can be guaranteed, as viewers use the stories offered from television representations to create meaning for themselves about their identities, culture, and social and economic realities.

Representations in texts are created via codes, both socio-cultural and televisual. Codes are the individual units of signification that come together to make a text legible, ultimately culminating in ideology (Fiske, 1987). These codes work to privilege a reading that supports the dominant ideology (Hall, 1973/1996). Yet, given the capitalist demands for a text to be palatable to the largest number of viewers, there must also be an excess of codes, all within one scene, for viewers to pick and choose from. Some codes in a text may provide the reader the opportunity to take an oppositional stance or completely reject the encoded dominant ideology. Therefore, we expect that any singular text has the ability to perpetuate both hegemonic ideologies and

subversions to them, depending on the viewer's reading of the codes. *Shameless* (U.S.) offers the viewer a unique representation and coding of a fictional social world that lies outside television's normal representation of the middle-class in that its protagonists are economically disadvantaged and of a lower-class. The show's unique mise-en-scène and gritty storylines situate it as quality television.

I was guided in this research by the question: What do the storylines of gentrification on *Shameless* (U.S.) tell the viewing publics about the causes and consequences of gentrification? Although *Shameless* (U.S.) is quality television, polysemic, and contains progressive scenes that offer subversions to hegemonic ideologies, the show individualizes the actors in gentrification. This individualization obfuscates neoliberal capitalism, despite the show manifestly voicing a working-class identity that narrates the socio-cultural impacts of the process within its storylines. This disconnect, along with creative tactics attributed to the era of quality television, leads to *Shameless* (U.S.) being an unreliable text and undermines its potential ability to sustain a critique of the public policies shaping the urban restructuring process of gentrification.

My research provides several findings. I reveal that the ongoing gentrification storylines expose the power struggles that occur between the occupying working-class residents and encroaching middle-class residents during the gentrification process. I found that *Shameless* (U.S.) manifestly offers an *us versus them* binary in its storylines; however, when the latent ideology of a scene is considered alongside the manifest content, the binary is revealed to inconsistently deploy ideological subtexts that conflict with the manifest storylines on urban restructuring. I will expose the disconnects between the classed point-of-view (POV) of the protagonist's narrative and the ideology of the scenes – these are often in conflict and does not predictably espouse parallel class-based politics, which limits *Shameless*'s potentiality as a text. I

will demonstrate that by individualizing both the locals and the gentrifiers, *Shameless* (U.S.) obscures the workings of neoliberal capitalism in gentrification.

This research connects with several academic conversations by deploying the scholarship on fictional representations of gentrification on television to examine *Shameless* (U.S.) as a text. Scholarship that specifically interrogates representations of gentrification on television is scarce. Due to this lack, my research draws from the available critiques of gentrification in the media, including articles on newspaper framing, and four articles regarding the HBO show *Treme,* each of which treat gentrification in passing. Simone Knox (2018) notes that *Shameless* (U.S.) has received scant analysis in scholarship. The British version of *Shameless* (*Shameless* U.K.; 2004-2013*)* appears in books about television studies, but also only has a few dedicated articles.

This thesis offers a literature review in chapter two; three chapters of findings on *Shameless* (U.S.), each getting more specific regarding the workings of the show; and a methodology chapter. The literature review begins with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's (1976/2001) base/superstructure model as the source of my knowledge on ideology. The later thinkers who laboured with the model are included to bring the reader to the place where I take up the concept. An overview of television studies begins with a consideration of the Frankfurt School, followed by a gloss of the topics of class in televisual texts, consideration of *Shameless* as a text, and an overview of gentrification and its representations in the media. Given that the U.K. and U.S. versions of *Shameless* are remarkably similar for a few episodes in the inaugural season, and that the British creator was involved in the early days of the U.S. production, the scholarship on the U.K. version is utilized. The remaining chapters build on each other to inform my findings in this project. My generalized observations regarding *Shameless* (U.S.) are covered in chapter three, wherein I argue that the show engages creative tactics that threaten the potential

efficacy of any political statements it makes. These creative tactics include the way *Shameless* (U.S.) transmits realism, the defamiliarization of televisual codes, the carnivalesque aspect of its humour, and the specifics of its social class representations. Chapter four focuses on elements specific to the gentrification storylines and recurring narrative themes. Finally, in chapter five, I apply a textual analysis (Fiske, 1987) to 21 scenes to unearth the ideology of each. I first analyze the six pre-established codes from the literature review that were apparent on the show. Then I introduce my framework *The People, The Place, The Properties, The Power, and The Process*, which is an organizational tool that structures the presentation of my data and discussion. In the first three categories of the framework, I analyze scenes that offer either a subversive challenge to, or a hegemonic display of, ideology. This was not possible in the category of The Power. The final section, The Process, analyzes all seven scenes from *Shameless* (U.S.) in which the word gentrification is uttered. Throughout the chapters on my findings, new scholarship is introduced as needed to substantiate my claims. The reader can find my methodology chapter within the appendix.

Chapter 2 – The Literature

Herein I engage with canonical and updated literature in order to approach my research and examine nuances each theorist brings to a fundamental concept in their field. This assemblage does not provide an exhaustive possibility of all that has been written on any of the sub-topics. Often, once a founding theorist was chosen, I followed the trail to the later thinkers who critiqued or nuanced the earlier scholarship. I have determined that each section that follows is essential to my investigation: ideology; television studies; class in televisual texts; *Shameless* as a television text; and, gentrification and its representations in the media. For example, class is: *the reason* for ideology in Marxist theory; fundamentally distorted in the media; a narrative

theme on *Shameless* (U.S.), and an integral component of gentrification. A failure to consider the theory of class would constitute a misstep in this research, as would ignoring any of the other topics.

Ideology

My research into televised ideology is grounded in the Marxist thinkers that have influenced the twin disciplines guiding this research, cultural studies and television studies. Given these inflections, explications of Marx's base/superstructure model, as argued for by Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall inform the critical focus of my work. I use Marx's base/superstructure model as the starting point in understanding how class is theorized. The above theorists explain why ideology is necessary for a smooth functioning society, how it is consented to by the masses as a form of soft power, and how it is disseminated via the media.

The translations of Marx and Engels' *Collected Works: Volume 5* argues "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (1976/2001, p.39). These ruling ideas become the dominant ideology of a society in a historical era and are "nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations" (p.39). The ruling class "rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age" (p.39). The demarcation between the material production, both what and how it is produced, and the coinciding social production in society form Marx's base/superstructure model. In short, those who do not have access to the "means of mental production" (p.39) will be subject to the ruling ideas. This model suggests that the cultural activities in a society (the superstructure) are determined by, and act as a reflection of, the economic base of that society and the ideas of those who rule the economic base.

Tracing Marx's writing, Hall (1977/2018b) argues Marx remained focused on the "economic structure" as the "real basis" (p.150) of a society. In contrast, Hall agitates for a reconceptualization of the base/superstructure model to favour social reproduction. Hall (1977/2018a) refers to the base/superstructure model as a metaphor meant to analyze a specific historical "relationship between material and social production" (p.299). He argues "the capitalist mode of production is constantly developing, and this in turn requires a continuous labor of theoretical development and clarification" (1977/2018b, p.143). Applicable to this work is a Marxist focus on the nature of the economic base and the resulting superstructural ideas that support the base.

Williams (1980/2001) also documents a disagreement with a deterministic understanding of the base/superstructure model. Williams contends the dynamic processes that exert pressure on the "cultural and ideological activities" (p.153) of the superstructure are circular, as changes in the superstructure will subsequently pressure the base. Williams suggests his theoretical update focuses on the "central system of practices, meanings and values, which we can call dominant and effective" (p.157) in a particular moment in society. This focus provides an analyst access to how people live and make meaning within the constraints of their social worlds. In his work, Williams prioritizes Gramsci's hegemony theory. Williams argues it is more important to understand the "reality of social experience" given hegemony so completely saturates "the consciousness of a society" (p.157). Further, he argues that hegemony's internal structures must be continually defended as they are continually challenged. My ideological analyses in chapter five account for these challenges and defenses as that is how I present my findings within my framework.

Gramsci offers significant contributions to developing a theoretical connection between Marx's base/superstructure and ideology (Hall, 1977/2018b). The work of the superstructure is to cement capitalism as a "whole form of social life, conforming everything else to its own movement" (p.165). Secondly, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is an intermediary that permits a specific critique of the superstructural level. Lastly, Gramsci argues the role of the capitalist state is to create "ideological consent" (p.165). Todd Gitlin (1980) argues that no cohesive theory of hegemony is available as Gramsci never defined and applied the concept in his writing. However, media scholar John Fiske (1987) summarizes Gramsci's theory of hegemony as the "process whereby the subordinate are led to consent to the system that subordinates them. This is achieved when they 'consent' to view the social system and its everyday embodiments as 'common sense'" (p.40). This is my overall concern with this research: why do people fight against their own interests and what role is *Shameless* (U.S.) playing in this specific to gentrification?

Theorists grappling with Marx and Gramsci have parsed out a difference between hegemony and ideology but continue to situate both within the base/superstructure model. Marx's theory of ideology is the "distinction between 'real relations' and *how they appear*" (Hall, 1977/2018a, p.308; italics in original). Hegemony is a dynamic process of creating consent within society and is considered a form of "soft power" (Hegemony, n.d., n.p.), whereas ideology naturalizes and/or masks the outcomes of that process. Luis Rivera-Perez (1996) summarizes Gramsci's concept of hegemony as a "process of political struggle and the forms of cultural leadership that class domination takes in a given society and historical period" (p.44). If hegemony is to be effective, the systematic creation "of mass consent to the established order" must occur, and this will come about through the "penetration of ideology (ideas and

assumptions) into … [the] common sense and everyday practice" of the subordinate classes (Gitlin, 1980, p.253). Ideology's aim is to dehistoricize forces of rule, presenting them as natural and universal states wherein common sense becomes the "arena of struggle" between ideology and hegemony (Rivera-Perez, 1996, pp.49-50). In this way, hegemony is implicitly linked to ideology, but is not reducible to it. However, Gramsci suggested hegemony is never complete nor final, it must be constantly and "actively won and *secured*: it can be lost" (Hall, 1977/2018a, p.318; italics in original).

In order for hegemony to serve the ruling elites legitimacy must be continuously secured by winning consent for ideological representations. This consent is generated through representational authority. Gramsci (1971/2001) argues the most significant organizer of "human masses" (p.45) to act in the capacity of representational authority is the press, which can be considered analogous to mass media in the current historical period. When a viewer consents to the representations offered in media, the legitimacy of the ideology has been secured without force. Gramsci's list of social institutions involved in garnering consent influenced Althusser.

Marx's base/superstructure model and Gramsci's idea of consent develops into Althusser's (1971/2005) framework of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). In fact, Hall (1977/2018a) argues the concept of the ISAs is a "direct reworking of a few seminal passages on apparatuses of consent" (p.167) from Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. Hall (1977/2018b) explains that the ISA framework acknowledges the "effectivity of the superstructures" (p.154). Althusser argues the ideas of the ruling class are disseminated in society via ISAs such as television through the practices of social reproduction. Althusser argues that ideology is material and exists in practices, in that "ideology = an imaginary relation [of individuals] to real relations" (p.82) of existence. In sum, Althusser is arguing that persons "who live in ideology" have a distorted

world view of their relationship to both production and class. Ideology beckons us through "*interpellation* or hailing" (p.86; italics in original) to recognize ourselves as a subject in ideology, not an individual. Althusser further posits that "ideology *has no outside* (for itself), but at the same time *that it is nothing but outside*" (p.86; italics in original). I read these last few lines to mean we cannot escape ideology given we are subjects of the ideology. Important to my research, "ideology never says, 'I am ideological'" (p.86). Rather, through the process of hegemony it becomes a "common-sense" idea that normalizes the concept, putatively stripping the concept of its politics and historical origins. In the gentrification storylines from *Shameless* (U.S.) readers are offered a manifest story and a latent ideological story that provides a common-sense explanation for gentrification. In order to assess what the viewer is being told about gentrification on *Shameless* (U.S.) both layers of storytelling must be inspected.

Given the ideology of the ISA will be of the ruling class, one can expect the ideology disseminated to be a "site of class struggle" (Althusser, 1971/2005, p.81). This class struggle is evident in the gentrification scenes analyzed later, particularly in the conflicts between the characters of Frank and Lisa and later, Fiona and Ian. Hall (1977/2018a) quotes Althusser, "ideological reproduction thus becomes 'not only the stake but also the site of class struggle" (p.322). In North America, our society is comprised of a multitude of persons that are not of the ruling class. Thus, the ideologies evident in cultural creations such as media texts work to soothe contradictions, but in doing this work, also become fruitful sites of contestation.

Ideology has been a focus of television scholarship from the beginning, although debates continue about its relevance. In the early decades of communication scholarship, the Frankfurt School used Marxism to critique mass or popular culture. Theodor Adorno (1954) stipulates the system of popular culture's "concerted effort results in what might be called the prevailing

ideology of our time" (p.215), yet, "the lives of its consumers are completely out of phase with this ideology" (p.219). Troubled by the ideological power of the culture industry, Adorno maintained "the hidden message [latent] may be more important than the overt [manifest] since this hidden message will escape the controls of consciousness … [and] is likely to sink into the spectator's mind" (1954, p.221). Thus, my research takes into account both layers of messaging on *Shameless* (U.S.). Adorno was pessimistic and concerned about television's psychological manipulations of its "passive victims" (p.235), although later research would challenge the idea that media so crudely impregnates people ideologically. Robin Nelson (2007) argues "the old inoculation model of ideological imposition" (p.10) has been tempered by a balanced idea of the give and take between reader and text. Fiske (1987) elaborates:

> Television does not 'cause' identifiable effects in individuals; it does, however, work ideologically to promote and prefer certain meanings of the world, to circulate some meanings rather than others, and to serve some social interests better than others. This ideological work may be more or less effective, according to many social factors, but it is always there, and we need to think of it in terms of its effectivity in society at large. (p.20)

Although the study of ideology as a core "category for cultural analysis and media studies" (Luis Rivera-Perez, 1996, p.37) had been primarily rejected by the end of the 1980s due to the post-modern shift that prioritized the viewer's ability to negotiate with a text, later scholars would insist the focus remain. Glen Creeber (2006b) contends the "ideological conception of television" must focus on how a text "produces and perpetuates a distorted perception of the world" (p.32), and thus shifts the focus from Adorno's individual to Fiske's society. David Morley (2009) argues neoliberal economic discourses that are situated as common sense - a "critical aspect of any hegemonic process" - are "clearly a vital site of research" (p.490). Offering an account of Hall's essay *Television as a Medium and Its Relation to Culture* (1971/1975), Nick Couldry (2015) argues "Hall's analysis of how ideological work is done

through everyday television" is enduring, as television is bedrocked by a belief that it "does not select or reproduce *at all*: it simply shows what is already there'" (p.3; italics in original with note - emphasis added by Couldry). What Couldry suggests has changed since the early 2000s is an understanding that "ideology's workings through media" needs to be cognizant "of the embedding processes in everyday life" (p.641), returning to Althusser's influence. Couldry argues we are not simply exposed to ideology when we consume a media text; there is also ideology *about* media. For example, there is ideology about *Shameless*'s (U.S.) value as a progressive and quality text, aimed towards discerning, liberal audiences.

Creeber (2006c) cautions that a "simple definition of ideology is difficult because it is a complex and highly contested term. At its most basic level ideology refers to the ideas and beliefs by which human beings come to understand the world and their place in it" (p.44). My task is to utilize the scholarship in this section to operationalize ideology to answer my research question. Thus, I use the term ideology to mean an organizing social system of concepts that: are presented as natural or common sense; mask the historical, economic, and political conditions of those ideas; work in support of the continued interest of a specific society's ruling elites by smoothing over contradictions between the material practices of those elites and the other classes; are generally palatable enough to large numbers of people in a society that they consent to accept the idea as making sense of their life practices and offering meaning to their lived realities; are dynamic, adjusting as needed to adapt to societal change or challenge without relinquishing their power; can be critiqued and shown to be flawed; and, will be rejected by a faction of society.

Although I am using Fiske's (1987) textual analysis method to analyze ideology, I use multiple scholars to broaden the conceptual category of ideology. According to Fiske (1987),

ideology exists in a hierarchy, with patriarchal capitalism at the top, and many micro ideologies working in support. Fiske (1987) offers these examples of key ideologies in Western society: "individualism, patriarchy, race, class, materialism, capitalism" (p.5); gender, economics, sexual attractiveness, and femininity (p.12); sexism (p.38); masculinity (p.198); and democratic capitalism (p.248). Ellen Seiter et al. write of "the priority and sacredness of the family" as ideology (cited in Fiske, 1987, p.181), which is supported by Knox's (2018) critique of the "myth of redeeming familial love" (p.307). Richard Dyer (1986) posits "making sense of the body" is bourgeois ideology (cited in Fiske, 1987, p.248). Althusser argues "the construction of subjects-in-ideology" is the primary "ideological practice in capitalist societies" (cited in Fiske, 1987, p.12). Hall (1977/2018a) refers to "the market" as ideological (p.308). John Storey (1997/2009) argues imperialism is a Western ideology. Daniel Makagon (2010) adds that dirt (poverty) equating to danger (criminality) is neoliberal ideology. To this list, I offer other ideologies based on my operationalization of the term and as observed on *Shameless* (U.S.), indicating in brackets the dominant ideology the lesser concept supports: poverty as a moral failing (neoliberalism); meritocracy (neoliberalism); private property (capitalism); the government cannot be trusted (neoliberalism); progress is inevitable and positive (imperialism and capitalism); and the American Dream (capitalism). Meta social narratives such as religion and/or science have been failing to satisfy increasing segments of the populace, and the social world is progressively fragmenting and/or polarizing. These factors, and any future change to the economic base of society, will create an unlimited number of new ideologies that seek to provide a cohesive and soothing narrative for the lived and material experiences amongst differential groups of persons. Any emerging ideologies will be disseminated via the media.

Television Studies

> Television is a human construct, and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures. The medium responds to the conditions within which it exists. It is by no means natural for television to represent reality in the way that it does … television mediate[s] reality. (Fiske & Hartley, 2003, p.5)

Television studies has its genesis in the mass communication studies that began mid-century (1948) in the U.S. (Nelson, 2007) with the Frankfurt School. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer had fled Nazi Germany and arrived in the U.S. during WWII where they were "shocked by what they saw as the profound commercialisation of the media" (Creeber, 2006a, p.3). These members of the Frankfurt School argue the products of the culture industries are embedded in capitalism, and thus formulaic and homogenizing. As such, they hold little revolutionary content or value that might challenge dominant power structures. The Frankfurt School's suspected ability of mass communication or popular culture to indoctrinate the populace into "blind and passive victims" (Adorno, 1954, p.235) made these scholars skeptical about the potential harm television could pronounce on society and pessimistic about the medium. The Frankfurt School believed "television is a controlling device that channels the audiences' reaction" (Rivera-Perez, 1996, p.38) in service to Western capitalism. Adorno considered television to be nefarious given it promoted fake realism. He was not concerned with individual shows per se, he wanted to analyze the "socio-psychological stimuli typical of televised material" in "their total pattern," "concerned with the nature of … its imagery" (p.213). Adorno wrote it was the very ubiquity of mass culture that dulled people's senses. Rivera-Perez (1996) suggests the Frankfurt School treated media texts as ideologically closed whereas the later critical approach I employ herein conceives of the text as ideologically open. As such, viewers are not passive victims.

Adorno (1954) critiqued media stereotypes as arising from the standardization of frames due to industrial time constraints. Adorno surmised the reason media utilizes stereotypes was that "the more opaque and complicated modern life becomes, the more people are tempted to cling desperately to clichés which seem to bring some order into the otherwise un-understandable" (pp.229-230). Adorno explained that media stereotypes: distorted the world; distracted from pressing and real social issues; and divided the world into ingroups and outgroups, the latter of which is resplendently represented on *Shameless* (U.S.). Hollis Griffin (2017) considers the oft maligned stereotypes present on television as "an inextricable element" that "provide[s] the medium's shorthand, which, above all else, must be legible to many different viewers. As such, they must hinge on widely circulating beliefs about identities, desires, and bodies" (p.86). Adorno's concern with stereotypes and their psychological effect on viewers would be examined by other scholars for decades until that approach was tempered by audience reception research in the 1980s. Television studies has evolved since the Frankfurt School first critiqued the medium and is considered a developing and pluralistic discipline of academia.

The focus of what merits academic research in television studies has shifted as scholars have built upon and critiqued each other's analyses and there are a number of ways to access the discipline. I am aware of five frameworks that sort the vast discipline into meaningful categories (Hartley, 2002; Miller, 2002; Creeber, 2006a; Medhurst, 2006; & Nelson, 2007). Television can also be explored via historical epochs known as TVI, TVII, and TVIII (Medhurst, 2006), which will be reviewed in depth shortly. Creeber (2006a) situates recent scholarship as following four general theoretical/methodological lines: textual analysis; audience and reception studies; institutional analysis; and, historical analysis. Nelson (2007) offers another framework, suggesting the multitude of culturally specific forces pressing upon the medium forces a

delineation into “broad categories” (p.163): technological, institutional, economic, aesthetic, and political. Both the theory and methods of television studies “lie in that loosely delineated area known as ‘Cultural Studies’” (Fiske, 1987, p.1) that employ both textually and socially conscious theories in its work, particularly, ethnography, Marxism, semiotics, and post-structuralism. These varying approaches offer a number of ways one can contend with television and its texts.

An overview of television studies shows how much the discipline has diversified since it began in the late 1960s (Miller, 2002) or early 1970s (Creeber, 2006a). In its earliest days, Williams (1974/2003) suggested the point of critically analyzing television as a “particular cultural technology” was to look at its “development, its institutions, its forms and effects” (p.3) as the world had been changed by its arrival. Toby Miller (2002) expanded on Williams’ concerns to include “question[ing] power and subjectivity in terms of access to the means of communication and representation” (p.3). In the 1980s an ethnographic turn, influenced by anthropology and Hall’s encoding-decoding model, saw audience reception or the active audience approach take centre stage. By 1995 the field was diversifying to focus on the fragmentation of the audience and niche programming (Nelson, 2007). At one time, the topics of gender and ethnicity were more important than any single television program’s content (Lockett, 2002). At the turn of the century “cultural-historical approaches” (Miller, 2002, p.2) along with focuses on globalization, the application of feminist theory, and challenges to the Euro-centrism of prior research became the focus. By the early 2000s many media academics had turned their attention to new/digital media (Nicholas, 2006), and within television studies a fine-graining was underway. For example, Nelson (2007) observed a slowly developing sub-field of television drama studies, while the history of television, which already hosted four sub-fields, was emerging as a dynamic area of study (Jacobs, 2006). Debates about quality television and the

postmodern text dominated the dwindling scholarship in the early part of this century. These debates suggest that because society is never static, and texts are always products of the contexts in which they are created, new scholarship will always be required in order to understand new products as they emerge. The scholars most relevant to my investigation have chosen to approach television as culture as opposed to television as technology or object of policy.

Television's broad acceptance in society vaulted it into a position of prominence in the socio-cultural sphere. Once television was developed in the late 1940s and 50s, "a mass medium par excellence" (Lewis, 2002, p.4) existed. Since then, television has enjoyed widespread adoption throughout much of the world, and in North American, "throughout the classes" (Hall, 1977/2018a, p.332). In its esteemed position, television "plays a complex role in social reproduction and critique" (Hall, 1977/2018a, p.332). Hall may have written those words some decades back but Couldry (2015) recently assessed them as continuing to "have real bite" (p.640). Hall (1977/2018a) refers to the "provision and the selective construction of *social knowledge*," as the "first of the great cultural functions of the modern media" (p.327; italics in original). Hall contends the media "have established a decisive and fundamental leadership in the cultural sphere" (p.327). The second function of mass media is to offer viewers a "constant *inventory* of the lexicons, lifestyles, and ideologies" as it "reflect[s] on this *plurality*" of difference (p.327; italics in original). The potential power of television to act as a leader in the cultural sphere suggests it is useful to interrogate its messages.

Television historians utilize epochs as a framework which bundles the institutional, technological, and social/cultural changes of television as a medium. These eras are known as TVI, TVII, and TVIII (Medhurst, 2006). These distinct phases begin in roughly the 1930s, the 1980s, and the 1990s respectively, although there is fluidity and debate regarding when each

period began and may or may not have ended. John Ellis has named these epochs to encapsulate their defining aura: "TVI = **Scarcity**, TVII = **Availability**, and TVIII = **Plenty**" (Medhurst, 2006, p.115; bold in original text). Words used to describe the era of television scarcity (TVI) include: state controlled, black and white, live, broadcasting, limited channels, and national. Williams' seminal concept of flow as a feature of television was conceived during TVI.

The era of availability (TVII) has these descriptors: video, "Golden Age," colour, narrowcasting, cable and satellite, and deregulation. In the 1960s and 1970s television truly became the mass medium the Frankfurt School dreaded. "By the early 1960s, almost 90 per cent of U.S. households" (Medhurst, 2006, p.120) had a television set. The deregulation attributed to the neoliberal era beginning in 1979/1980 permitted cable and satellite expansion and a "more market-driven approach to television" (p.121). The niche practices of narrowcasting and audience fragmentation begin in this phase. Narrowcasting is when content providers attempt to "pull" audiences to niche products through branding and distinction. This is in opposition to the "push" activities of the "broadcast" era (Nichols, 2006). Beretta E. Smith-Shomade (2008) explains that "narrowcasting … became the 1980s buzzword. Since then, narrowcasting has not only been the sole way that cable exists … but also the lens by which broadcast networks have tried to figure out how to make themselves more distinctive in this continually growing, yet narrowing mediascape" (p.37). This is also the era that some have called appointment television. This period gave rise to fears of cultural imperialism as media oligopolies began developing.

Jamie Medhurst (2006) describes TVIII as: plenty, market driven, niche programming, multichannel, global, Digital, HDTV, DVD, interactive viewers, debates around quality, and the death of appointment television. The era of plenty ignites fears of the domination of American cultural exports globally, but TVIII also brings transnational content into the U.S., including

Shameless (U.K.). This is an era of continued audience fragmentation, "connected branding and programming strategies" (Jenner, 2016, p.259), and the proliferation of digital distribution platforms. However, in this "digital-global era" (Nelson, 2007, p.7), cable and broadcast television continue alongside digital television. The post-network epoch that emerges after 1996 when regulatory changes are implemented birthed the now dominant channel that sets the bar for programming - Home Box Office (HBO), whose tagline is "It's Not TV. It's HBO" (McCabe & Akass, 2007a, p.3). This channel originally negotiated for the exclusive rights to *Shameless* (U.S.). Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (2007) argue the post-network epoch allowed new types of media texts to emerge, those considered quality television.

In the early 2000s, quality television emerges as a significant disciplinary focus. The scholarship now available on this style of program is vast. The HBO products, *Sex and the City* (1998-2004), *The Sopranos* (1999-2007), and *Six Feet Under* (2001-05) are routinely cited by media scholars as the exemplars of quality and each has books written about them. These edgier "signature shows" (McCabe & Akass, 2007b p.73) of HBO actively violated the least objectionable programming (LOP) model of network television because HBO was not beholden to an advertising revenue model. While pinpointing a final definition of quality is challenging, different scholars have offered these suggestions: "they employed complex and sophisticated serialised narratives" (Thompson, 2007, p.xix); they exhibit "naturalistic performance styles, recognized and esteemed actors, a sense a visual style created through careful, even innovative, camera work and editing, and a sense of aural style created through the judicious use of appropriate, even original music. This moves beyond a 'glossiness' of style" (Cardwell, 2007, p.26). They have "shocking scenes, unforgettable sequences" (McCabe & Akass, 2007b, p.63); they are "groundbreaking and risk-taking" (p.67); they have "serial character and storyline

development, and generic hybridity" alongside a prioritization of "writing and mise-en-scene" (Bignell, 2007, p.160); and, the production values "look like a feature film" (Pearson, 2007, p.244). *Shameless* (U.S.) has most of the hallmarks of quality television described above, many of which will come to bear on my analysis and findings in later chapters.

Television's comeback as a topic worthy of study is likely due to the medium's stable "general cultural function" (Fiske & Hartley, 2003, p.xiv) as a leisure activity and its global dominance. In fact, in the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic, jokes abounded on social media about television consumption, for example, the meme: "I finished Netflix." Although Netflix offers both television series and films and will soon offer video games (Shaw & Gurman, 2021, para.1), for many viewers it enters the home via an internet enabled smart television. This convergence of streaming subscription services that can be watched on any internet enabled device may challenge the idea of Netflix as television. However, despite the disruption to television's normativity caused by the Internet and Web 2.0, Joke Hermes and Annette Hill (2020) argue the medium has always been in a state of transformation. Despite decades of mutability in North America, television "has been able to retain a number of core qualities," including helping us "work through the anxieties of our time" (p.658) by offering viewers stories and representations of our lives.

Representations of Class in Televisual Texts

Television manipulates class through its programming as it suggests that the middle-class is the norm, the ideal frame of reference, and represents cast members as living lives of upper-class consumption. Specifically, the "media emphasize some ideological perspectives and manipulate salience by directing people's attention" in a way that inaccurately portrays the "realities of the U.S. class structure as it actually exists" (Kendall, 2011, p.5). Diana Kendall

(2011) argues the media glorifies the upper classes, while its framing of the lower classes "may maintain and justify larger class-based inequalities" (p.4). While the majority of the population in the U.S. is not middle-class, most persons identify as such "partly because the media define the middle class in such a way that most of us can easily self-identify with it" (p.2). This is due in part to viewers "tak[ing] for granted class-based media representations when they see or hear the same ideas repeated frequently" (p.10). Kendall is adamant that interrogating class in the media is crucial because of this framing and the massive uptick of media consumption in Western society. *Shameless* (U.S.) is a unique media representation of the working-poor and barely working-class, and as such, class difference is a recurring theme.

Kendall (2011) argues that in the media, the poor are framed as being worthy of sympathy, at best, or "bearing some degree of responsibility" (p.116) for their poverty. A blurring between the working-class and the working-poor results in a level of invisibility to these groups of workers that make it particularly challenging to differentiate between the shrinking group of unionized and masculine blue-collar workers, and precarious feminized labourer with no benefits. Trailer park trash, white trash, or redneck culture that "portrays the working-class lifestyle as … tasteless behaviour" (p.143) disparages the working-class. Finally, socioeconomic locators such as consumption, where a person lives, or the cost of their residence can become a proxy for class in media. On *Shameless* (U.S.) consumption proved to be a significant proxy for class in my data, and of course, gentrification focuses on housing and neighbourhoods.

Stratification scholar Michael Zweig (2000) argues the media presents the consumption patterns of the middle-class as the norm. This argument is based on Thorstein Veblen's (1899) idea of conspicuous consumption: we consume to communicate who we are in order to curry social prestige, rather than winning social favour through finances alone. Kendall (2011)

concurs, “media encourages audiences to view themselves as having an ‘equal-right’ to purchase items that will somehow render them equal to people above them in the social-class hierarchy” (p.211). This is an example of Marx’s stated purpose of ideology in the base/superstructure model, to soothe strife between the classes, and television assists with this by disseminating hegemonic ideology in its representations of class. Zweig (2000) troubles the conflation of class with consumption as a “way of measuring class” (p.48), stating “an increase in personal possessions doesn’t catapult workers into the middle class” (p.40). In reality, consumption could be debt procured. This argument bears fruit for this project as *Shameless* (U.S.) has much to say about the differential consumption practices of the middle-class gentrifiers.

Smith-Shomade (2008) suggests the concept of class is “not only wide-ranging but also contested among scholars” (p.13). Zweig argues class is about power, and income tells little of how someone is “connected to the power grid of class relations” (p.3). This can be power at work, economic power, or political and cultural power in “the larger society” (p.1), suggesting the working-class has “almost no authority” (p.3). For example, as I will show below, class-based cultural power comes to bear in the data in a conflict between middle-class Lisa, and homeless Frank. Alternatively, Kendall (2011) argues that “sociologists identify the working-class by occupation … [and] how people are compensated for their work” (p.123). Another method for determining social stratification is the control people have over resources such as home ownership. Jennifer M. Silva (2013) argues that the previous cultural markers of adulthood, like home ownership, have been “fundamentally dismantled by drastic economic restructuring, … and deepening social inequality” (p.8), hitting the working-class in the U.S. particularly hard. Taking these varying definitions into account, the characters of *Shameless* (U.S.) are represented as the working poor and lower working-class given they: lack power in

society; do not own property for many seasons of the show; and, have little to no authority in their low paid and precarious service jobs. *Shameless* (U.S.) is an outlier on television as it does not manifestly perpetuate images of the middle-class.

***Shameless* as a Television Text**

Shameless (U.S.) wrapped its final season in the U.S. in April 2021 and is available up until the tenth season in Canada on Netflix. The show is a global export watched regularly by millions of viewers. *Shameless* (U.S.) garnered a very high rating for a drama when it aired and was Showtime's highest rated program during its inaugural season. At the end of its eleven seasons, *Shameless* (U.S.) is Showtime's longest running original series. The show has garnered 66 nominations from a multitude of organizations and has won 16 awards including four Primetime Emmy awards (IMDb, *Shameless* awards). In a 2020 *Psychology of Popular Media* article, using data from the 2014 National Consumer Survey in the U.S., *Shameless* (U.S.) was the second highest rated comedy by liberal survey respondents. According to IMDb (IMDb, chart), the show ranks #225 of the top 250 television shows. *Shameless* (U.S.) has global reach as an award-winning show that captures a fragmented public's attention. The show has the ability to influence discourses in the public sphere through its dissemination of ideology.

Shameless (U.S.) originates in a genre that does not exist in the U.S. and has been translated from a different cultural context, that of the United Kingdom (U.K.). The transnational import stems out of social realism, a genre that portrays the working-class in a somewhat realistic but problematic manner as this genre usually offers a moralizing tale of the working-class meant for the consumption of the middle-class. Creeber (2009) argues social realism usually portrays the working-class from outside and above, viewed from the perspective of the middle-class, thus offering a form of "class voyeurism" (p.425). Social realism is also called

kitchen-sink drama because it is gritty, domestically centered, and is about constructing stories with clear ideological aims. Social realism is intended to produce television that agitates and offers an anti-mainstream political and moral viewing experience. Gillian Rose (1994) refers to this genre as a "British documentary tradition which 'realistically' represents social problems" (p.56). Morley (2009) contends that *Shameless'*s (U.K.) narratives were constructed to "be particularly uncomfortable for respectable middle-class viewers, involving them in the lives of people who they would never encounter in their own neighborhoods and challenging conventional assumptions about what constitutes normality and morality" (p.501). On one hand, social realism offers a fodder of spectacle to the middle-class about the poor, and on the other, it offers a representation of the social life and social issues of the working-class, according to their values and norms.

However, some scholars disagree that *Shameless* (U.K.) was ever social realism as it deviates from the genre by narrating class from "the post-industrial 'underclass'" (Creeber, 2009, p.421) perspective. The show also rejects storytelling that "others" the working-class as fodder for the middle-class. As *Shameless* (U.K.) offers this "internal and subjective perspective" of a "working-class life" (p.437) it is not entirely a social realist text. Instead, *Shameless* (U.K.) is a representation set within a gritty urban landscape of socio-economic stratification and struggle where people do not "long to escape or rise above" their working-class lives (p.437). I contend *Shameless (U.S.)* offers the same social realist perspective as the U.K. version, with the distinction that the Gallagher's do attempt to escape poverty through hard work. As will be outlined in chapter five, although the scenes usually espouse a manifest working-class subjectivity, the ideology of the show largely replicates the neoliberal logics that undermine the working-classes' ability to transform their worlds.

Genre is important for teaching viewers how to decode a text, yet scholars writing on *Shameless* (U.S.) do not agree what genre it is. Norman Fairclough (2003) argues genre informs the structure of the media text; it is a "way of acting and interacting linguistically" (p.17). Or, as Stephen Baker (2009) argues, "genre … play[s] an important role in the formation of public understanding" (p.453). Nick Rogers (2020) suggests *Shameless* (U.S.) is very challenging to distinguish as either a comedy or a drama given it is often both "funny and vulgar" and also "bleak and tragic" (p.10), a finding supported by Helena Bilandzic et al. (2017). Knox (2018) does not generically categorize the show. Creeber (2009) refers to the British version as a drama, while Morley (2009) suggests "the [U.K.] series… attempts to mix generic rules in a mode of presentation that veers between 'gutter surrealism', comic mayhem and black humour" (p.50). Nelson (2007) wades into the debate arguing that "in terms of dramatic form, *Shameless* [U.K.] resembles a sitcom as much as a mini-serial drama" (p.45). I considered *Shameless'*s (U.S.) genre extensively by researching industrial writing on it, comparing it to poverty porn texts in particular, but ultimately decided the show is not categorizable into any one genre. I previously noted that generic hybridity is a signifier of quality television. As argued here, genre establishes expectations on behalf of viewers. Without generic boundaries and conventions to pull from, as is frequently the case with quality television and *Shameless* (U.S.), the decoding abilities of viewers may be diminished.

Nelson (2007) establishes a strong similarity between the U.S. and U.K. versions despite a divergence in later seasons to account for geographical differences. However, the few scholars who have written on *Shameless* (U.S.) argue the two shows diverge in terms of class representation. Beth Johnson and Laura Minor (2019) maintain that when the show moved across the pond the original narrative structure, which was "deeply embedded within the British class

system" (p.375), was lost. Knox (2018) also challenges the U.S. version's claim to its British heritage stating there is a comedic aspect to *Shameless* (U.S.) aligned to soap operas that dilutes any social critique embedded in the storyline. Knox suggests the show is made safely palatable and has lost its bite, criticizing the show for portraying class as a lifestyle, divorced from the structural causes of poverty and unemployment. I do not agree that *Shameless* (U.S.) portrays class as a "lifestyle" but there is a lack of structural critique against capitalism and its consequences which will be discussed in chapter five.

Much of television's normality is represented as comfortably middle-class, which is far from the depiction of life on *Shameless* (U.S.). Johnson and Minor (2019) argue the setting of the show's storylines on the Southside of Chicago, "situate[s] *Shameless* in a particular social milieu," that of a "post-industrial landscape" (p.364-365). On *Shameless* (U.K.), the family is represented as precariously working-class at best, occasionally criminal, often marginalized, and usually living a "feral life of borderline poverty" (Morley, 2009, p.501); this summary holds for *Shameless* (U.S.) as well. In the North American context, this representation establishes the family identity as white trash, in a Marjo Kolehmainen (2017) sense that links a class group to "tastelessness, poverty or immorality" (p.251). Kendall (2011) extends the term white trash to include signification of "blue-collar and lower income white collar families" (p.142). A portrayal of the working-class as white trash situates *Shameless* (U.S.) as a program that moves "beyond the usual spectacle of wealth" (Knox, 2018, n.p.) so resplendent on television. As noted, one way wealth is represented on television is through housing and given my research focuses on gentrification, the subjective experience of the lower-classes experiencing this urban restructuring could not be explored in a television show about the upper-classes. Further, the

immorality and tastelessness, or differing social norms between the lower and upper classes, is evident in my data and the subject of discussion in later chapters.

Specific to my concern with ideology, scholars offer some critical commentary on the show. Morley (2009) argues that *Shameless* (U.K.) illustrates the scholarly debates that melodramatic television as a genre ideologically fits with the individualization of neoliberalism "while obscuring the structural factors that still largely determine" (p.490) people's fates. Knox (2018) argues "with the state and wider social structures thus marginalized, *Shameless* [U.S.] locates failure on the level of the individual, which chimes with American Dream" (p.308) ideology. This individualization occurs even as the characters fight back against gentrification. In fact, my analysis in chapter five will show that the ideologies of individualism and the American Dream are the two most common ideologies in gentrification related scenes on the show. Despite the critiques about *Shameless*'s (U.S.) ideological support of neoliberalism, with which I concur, I will demonstrate that the show has many subversions to hegemonic ideologies as well. These subversions implore the viewer to question what they are seeing in terms of representations about power, survival, poverty, and gentrification.

Gentrification

The term gentrification was coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 when she observed the working-class quarters of London being "invaded by the middle classes-upper and lower" (2010, p.7). Glass' definition of gentrification some sixty years ago invokes the mythology of yuppies "buying up fabulous old but neglected brownstones in 'bad' neighborhoods, then gutting and renovating them to the tune of millions of dollars" (Alexiou, 2006, p.147). That definition is now limited due to the political, economic, and cultural changes since the 1960s. The nucleus of gentrification is a socio-economic process by which an influx of the middle-class enters a lower-

working-class neighbourhood in order to obtain devalued property and force appreciation through renovations. In doing so, the poor or working-class residents are often either economically or culturally displaced, or both eventually. Makagon (2010) argues there are two obvious strategies to this "mode of urban change" (p.27) in current day. The romanticized version is that of artists organically moving into warehouse districts and working-class neighbourhoods. Makagon is critical of the rhetoric that offers the artist up as a hero, a pioneer, or someone providing colour or credibility to a locale. Alternatively, governments and developers actively target neighbourhoods "deemed to be blighted" and use "public funds and tax credits" to "refashion" the area (p.27). *Shameless* (U.S.) offers neither of the above two narratives, although it appeals to individualization by replacing the artist with the yuppie or hipster, primarily in the form of a hateful lesbian couple.

The disciplinary specific literature on gentrification that now spans decades has produced breadth and depth such that quite specialized concerns are evident in the scholarship. Makagon (2010) suggests "urban geographic research from the early 1980s has provided the foundation for contemporary studies …. across disciplines" (p.28). This generally follows one of two pathways: economic theory such as rent gap theory, or questions of consumption and culture. However, more recent scholarship generally complicates this binary. Like television studies, gentrification scholarship echoes the nuanced and shifting interests' researchers have unearthed over time. This section offers a sampling of literature that represents the primary themes raised by multiple authors, often urban or feminist geographers, including: the role of capitalism and the economic processes that promote gentrification; the role of the state or state supported actors in gentrification; the surveillance of marginalized persons to cleanse geographic space; the racialized and gendered persons targeted during gentrification; and, the loss or commodification

of cultural amenities during the process. However, representations of neighbourhoods of colour impacted by urban restructuring gets little mention on *Shameless* (U.S.), thus only a gloss of that literature is offered. Lastly, scholarship regarding the framing of gentrification in news articles and gentrification's representations on one HBO program are considered. First, using David Harvey (2012), Gideon Kalman-Lamb (2017), and Jackie Wang (2018), I offer an overview of the current regime of capitalism and its connection to gentrification.

Capitalism and Gentrification

Money begets more money, which Wang (2018) explains as Marx's theory that "capital must constantly circulate if it is to expand and accrue surplus values" (p.170). This is accomplished "through the mediation of the commodity" (p.170), housing being one such commodity. Harvey (2012) asserts capitalism itself creates processes such as gentrification as capitalism consists of a constant "process of displacement and dispossession" (p.18). However, there are multiple points of dispossession in capitalism in regards to housing. For example, Harvey argues "sub-prime mortgages and mortgage-backed securities were a way for banks to generate revenue through financial speculation" (p.135). Therefore, Wang (2018) maintains a "new understanding of capitalism would be generated by focusing on *dispossession* and *expropriation* over *work* and *production*" (p.115; italics in original), processes evident in gentrification and on *Shameless* (U.S.).

Wang's (2018) description of the new ways capitalism accrues surplus value is attributed to neoliberalism, a "class-based political project" wherein the dictates of the market become the only "fair" way of managing the social world such that all risk is privatized and downloaded onto the individual (Kalman-Lamb, 2017, p.300). Introduced into industrialized nations beginning in 1979-80, neoliberalism includes the "deregulation of labour and financial markets and trade

barriers, privatization of public goods, and a rollback of full-employment policy and redistributive welfare state forms of taxation and social provisioning" (p.300). Neoliberalism also includes the state propping "up capitalism through the massive transfer of public funds to the financial sector" (Wang, 2018, p.178), and "tax breaks to corporations" (p.179). The austerity of neoliberalism disproportionately affects the poor when the state reduces its spending on social programs and in the housing market this has led to "austerity urbanism" (Soederberg, 2021).

Urbanization is "crucial in the history of capital accumulation" and this will always produce class struggles "whether they are explicitly recognized as such" or not (Harvey, 2012, p.115). Harvey (2012) explains the housing market becomes a site of class manipulation "when secondary forms of exploitation" such as escalating rents and "savage dispossessions" (p.35) are "organized by merchants, landlords, and the financiers" (p.129). *Shameless* (U.S.) offers many representations of escalating rents and bank repossessions. Harvey argues these organized forms of dispossession are due to "the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests" (p.23), or elite interests. The public-private partnerships Harvey critiques were found by Jason Hackworth (2019) to be fully embraced by 2001 as "most local governments [were] enthusiastically encourage[ing]" (p.48) gentrification as a form of urban renewal. Class struggles involve many powerful and private players, such as real estate agents, who "market the 'character' of their neighborhood to the wealthy as multicultural, street-lively, and diverse" until the original residents are "forced out by rising rents and property taxes" (p.78), which is evident on *Shameless* (U.S.). What *Shameless* (U.S.) fails to articulate is how gentrification is birthed from "political decisions about economic disinvestment and investment [and the] allocation of resources" (Makagon, 2010, n.p.). Despite the individualization neoliberalism points to, gentrification is facilitated by powerful actors working in concert with each other, in service to

capitalism. In fact, Hackworth (2019) stipulates gentrification is now a “high-profit-margin segment of the real estate industry” (p.51), which is discussed on *Shameless* (U.S.) through the character of Frank when realtors approach Sheila to sell her home to the Lisas.

Kalman-Lamb (2017) argues neoliberalism has financialized housing, which resituates property as an asset to produce revenue rather than a means of providing shelter. Financialization reflects a multi-faceted and interrelated process: there is increasing motivation to own housing as an asset; households have been incorporated into financial markets as mortgage borrowers; and, a transformation of mortgages into a commodity in financial circuits has occurred. This has resulted in housing being less a “socially necessary use-value” good than a market commodity that can “profitably absorb and expand surplus value” (p.301). Housing initially appeared as an accessible means of wealth meant to replace stagnant wages and a way of creating a pension (asset-based welfare) given those are disappearing from the neoliberal marketplace. However, this financialization has led to housing bubbles and increased the cost of housing. Kalman-Lamb argues that since the 2008 global financial crisis, the following are in contradiction in the housing market: housing-based profits, asset-based welfare, and affordable housing. As such, the financialization of housing as a form of asset-based welfare has failed the bottom 30 per cent of income earners who cannot enter the market as homeowners. Susanne Soederberg (2021) refers to the era of financialization as “financial capitalism,” which sees a growing dominance of financial actors in everyday life, including the incentivizing of private landlords. Soederberg argues that for those who do not own a state of “displaced survival” has emerged, wherein a tension exists between living and over-indebtedness, evictions, and homelessness. Homelessness on *Shameless* (U.S.) that results from evictions or bank repossessions are analyzed in chapter

five as is Fiona's attempts to access asset-based welfare through private ownership of rental accommodations.

Gentrification Specific Scholarship

Gentrification entered its third wave in 1994, in what Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith (2001) term "post-recession gentrification" (p.67). The hallmark of this epoch is that gentrification is occurring "further from the city centre" and "seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighbourhoods, often with state support" (p.67). In sum, there were three waves of differing "practices and patterns of gentrification" (Aalbers, 2019, p.1) between 1968 and 1999, with a transition period between each wave and three recessions evident in that time frame. One significant finding about third wave gentrification is the "palpable decline in community opposition" (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p.74; Tolfo & Doucet, 2020), a topic explored on *Shameless* (U.S.) through the characters of Ian and Frank when they take action against gentrifiers.

Gentrification has moved on from the third wave, but the current fifth wave should be considered a continuation of the third and fourth waves with new practices and patterns. Hackworth (2019) reports that a fourth wave of gentrification in the U.S. began as a reaction to Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana. The fourth wave was "third-wave gentrification plus the 'financialization of home'" (Aalbers, 2019, p.5). Next, the 2008 global financial crisis sparked a fifth wave of gentrification. Manuel Aalbers (2019) argues the fifth wave has the addition of finance capitalism materializing in urbanity through: platform capitalism like Airbnb (p.6); corporate landlords backed by Wall Street (p.6); and, transnational wealthy elites parking their money in foreign countries (p.6). Aalbers (2019) argues the state is still present in fifth wave gentrification but is "supplemented – rather than displaced – by finance" (p.2). This period

is both an intensification and generalization of gentrification. The fifth wave logic of gentrification is not evident on *Shameless* (U.S.) as the show only appears to account for practices and patterns of fourth wave gentrification.

The racialized composition of a neighbourhood is salient in gentrification. Given communities of colour have suffered disinvestment via state sanctioned racialized housing practices, these are often the target neighbourhoods for gentrification. The writings on this aspect of gentrification are extensive and illuminate how race is revealed at several junctures within the process. For example, in some locations, racialized labour executes gentrification (Nelson et al. 2015) and although not analyzed, this is evident in one scene on *Shameless* (U.S.). Russell L. Sharman's (2006) ethnography tells of a shop owner who believed that with all the white people moving into the neighbourhood, "if I am here in the next five years, I will definitely have to change the type of merchandise that I put in my store" (p.206). However, as *Shameless* (U.S.) is primarily a white neighbourhood, the impacts of gentrification on neighbourhoods of colour is largely silenced on the show. The single aspect that emerged in the data regarding race and gentrification - which bodies are deemed fit or not within an already gentrified space - will be analyzed in chapter five.

Gender is another socially constructed yet salient force shaping urbanity and the range of feminist gentrification scholarship exposes a multitude of concerns. Liz Bondi (1991) argues it is single women, particularly the elderly, and single mothers, that are "likely to be numerous among those liable to displacement" (p.192), which I analyze via scenes from *Shameless* (U.S.) in chapter five. Damaris Rose (1984/2010) contends "the marketing of new or gentrified housing in inner-city locations depends for its success on conveying a tasteful and sophisticated 'cappuccino lifestyle' … which is addressed to a certain fraction of the middle class" (p.47).

These images not only erase the working-class from these locations, but "feminist authors have noted that these images are also gendered" (p.47) as they conflate "masculinity with economic regeneration" (p.47). This "gendering of the public sphere as masculine in contemporary Western cultures" (p.47) is a concern of feminist scholars across disciplines. Later in this research I utilize anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo's (1974) seminal work regarding the binary of women's domestic status as oppositional to men's public worlds in my analyses. Leslie Kern (2010) proposes the "rise of condominium ownership for young or single women" accomplishes "the feminist goal of encouraging women's independent control over assets" (p.371) and allays women's "lower lifetime earnings" (p.371). Yet, the discourse of feminine independence and ownership under neoliberalism becomes a justification for gentrification and is an example of the financialization of housing.

The purported revitalization of urban space through gentrification disenfranchises the poor and marginalized regardless their gender or race. Chase M. Billingham (2017) argues "the physical eviction, banishment, or arrest of low-income and disadvantaged users of urban space" (p.146) often occurs prior to gentrification. These concerns are evident on *Shameless* (U.S.) in many scenes and will be interrogated in chapter five through the characters of Mickey and Frank, particularly the scene with Mickey at the Alibi which occurs pre-gentrification. Billingham maintains that displacement is often portrayed as an unfortunate byproduct of gentrification, not an often-necessary precursor. Billingham demonstrates "the precarity of users' claims to space" is not only a "predictor of the likelihood of displacement" but will impact the timeline of displacement (p.149). This displacement can occur via city officials who employ tools such as "eminent domain, condemnation, and re-zoning to eliminate housing and other amenities utilized" (p.146) by the lower classes rather than the individual state actors. Aalbers (2019)

documents how this occurred in Amsterdam in an infamous "revitalisation" project during which "the local and national state were present in many different forms and guises … to make the Bijlmer safe for real estate investment by 'clearing' the district from undesirable groups like drug users and homeless people" (p.4), the same people targeted on *Shameless* (U.S.) by the state.

Socio-cultural changes during gentrification include clearing space of inappropriate bodies, commercial amenities switching to satisfy middle-class consumption, and "place making activities" (Curran, 2018, p.1713) being changed or commodified. All of these socio-cultural changes result in a loss of public space, cultural capital, job opportunities, social networks, and commercial landscapes (Curran, 2018). There is extensive literature available on the loss of established businesses and the influx of higher-end retail meant to serve the consumption practices of the incoming cohort, an aspect of gentrification well represented on *Shameless* (U.S.). Further, Curran's (2018) research found gentrifiers had an "easy sense of ownership" despite the neighbourhood being a "contested space for decades, with no awareness of those struggles and the history of the people who fought them" (p.1725). *Shameless* (U.S.) can be critiqued for not providing an accounting of the history of the neighbourhood. However, the "easy sense of ownership" in space that Curran documents is the crux of a potentially violent, and verbally violent, clash between Yanis and the Lisas that is explored in chapter five.

Urbanist Richard Florida (2017) does not dispute that race and class are implicated in gentrification, nor that the cost of housing in urban centres has increased, nor that it is the disadvantaged bearing the brunt of price increases. Nonetheless, he disputes claims that gentrification results in routine displacement. This latter claim does not align with the regular displacements seen on *Shameless* (U.S.). For example, one study Florida cites asserts there was no displacement threat to homeowners, and only a 2.6 percent increased threat to renters in

gentrifying neighbourhoods. Florida also argues that race is “the key factor in determining which neighbourhoods gentrified and which did not” (p.76), in that, as the proportion of black residents increases, the likelihood of gentrification decreases. In fact, gentrified areas were composed of “at least 35 percent white and no more than 40 percent black” (p.77) persons. This latter claim does align with the neighbourhood composition on *Shameless* (U.S.).

Florida (2017) argues cities and neighbourhoods “continuously shift and change … [and] this process of neighbourhood transformation is a natural, if wrenching, feature of cities, which are perpetual works in progress” (p.61). Rose (1984/2010) counters this naturalizing claim explaining that “gentrification may be seen as an inevitable and natural phenomenon for a city at a certain stage in its supposedly organic life cycle … just as the urban decay it replaces has been frequently seen as natural and inevitable” (p.195). However, gentrification is not natural. The literature is clear that urban blight is the result of political decisions and neglect. Therefore, Florida’s naturalizing language is that of hegemony, in support of neoliberal ideology. This naturalizing language with respect to gentrification is used by the character Frank several times on *Shameless* (U.S.) and is analyzed in chapter four.

Gentrification in the Media

Four articles have been written about HBO’s *Treme* (2010-13), a show that offers a fictional account of the rebuild after Hurricane Katrina in the actual neighbourhood by the same name. These articles collectively speak to issues of power in the real world being silenced in media representations, in that the realities that fuel gentrification are ideologically masked on *Treme*. Herman Gray (2012) praises the show’s “critical attention to … gentrification, racial hostility, and its attempts to address the difficulties of return, disappearance, [and] degraded services” (p.276) in the city. In contrast, Thomas Lynnell (2012) and Wade Rathke and Vicki

Mayer (2012) are critical of the show's failure to significantly examine the underlying economic and political processes integral to gentrification, as I am with *Shameless* (U.S.). Further, Rathke and Mayer argue *Treme* has unwaveringly refused "to deal with the issues and dynamics of power" (p.262) as the show fails to comment on the "extreme gentrification" (p.264) that is a reality in the current landscape of the city. None of the above articles sustain any prolonged analysis of gentrification storylines on television, but working in concert with each other they provide guidance for my research by alerting me to critiques of another television text's ideological representations of gentrification.

Scholarship on media framing informed my investigation as frames bear a resemblance to ideology in that they promote a particular understanding of an issue which biases a reader/viewer. The press is considered an important link between public opinion and policy (Makagon, 2010) in the same way that television informs public opinion. Framing is accomplished by presenting a story in a way that highlights some aspects of the information while silencing others, while normalizing the version offered. Makagon (2010) reviewed press reports between 1985 and 2008 in both the U.S. and Canada of "artist-led gentrification" (p.27) and found that artists are often framed as "pioneers in the urban frontier" (p.41). Artists are considered pre-cursors to gentrification rather than gentrifiers. The frontier narrative Makagon argues is a recurring news media frame is apparent on *Shameless* (U.S.) through the character of Bill the realtor, linked to the ideology of progress, and will be analyzed in chapter five.

The vast scope of social and economic factors implicated in gentrification suggests a fulsome definition must account for the political, economic, and cultural analyses sketched above. I use the term gentrification to mean that the demography in an urban neighbourhood is changing, and this will be accompanied by one or more of the following factors: purposeful

state-sanctioned actions to cleanse space of “illegitimate” bodies to make way for “legitimate” - read as white, middle-class - persons; classed and possibly racial discrepancies between the dispossessed persons and the incoming gentrifiers; turnover in housing ownership facilitated by the specific spatial-temporal regime of capitalism; and, attempts by higher income persons to institute their norms in the neighbourhood, which creates cultural changes to the environment and results in conflict between the long-term and new residents.

Conclusion

This chapter situated the various knowledges that have informed my investigation into the ideology of the classed gentrification narratives on *Shameless* (U.S.). The earliest thinkers provide theoretical tools to define ideology, while ongoing debates about its role still occur in mass communication studies, particularly around how to prioritize ideology when a plurality of issues requires attention. The scholarship on gentrification and television span almost 50 years and both bodies of literature have refined over time. As the disciplines matured they introduced feminist thought, and attempted to tease apart intersectional configurations such as race, class, and gender. The most recent scholarship in each field reflects the changing political, economic, and social spheres of specific cultural locations. For example, both disciplines demarcate different epochs, yet it is not a coincidence that the waves of gentrification are not far off the timeline of the transitions from TVI, to TVII, to TVIII. Both have been influenced by the economic and political sphere, and both disciplines are currently exploring the potentiality of a new wave/era. In the time of broadcast television, or TVII, with a focus on LOP, *Shameless* (U.S.) could not have been created. The show is a product of a specific era in Western industrialized nations that is reflected not only in its scholarship, but in the specific ideologies it perpetuates. In contrast to my other areas of discovery, *Shameless* (U.S.) has little written on it,

but what there is has a strong focus on class. Nelson (2007) suggests the creator, Paul Abbott's "sense of … the everydayness … is at odds with … the sense of the middle-class viewer" (p.48). Scholarship on class from Kendall and others has set the stage to dig into representations of class on *Shameless* (U.S.). Rose (1984/2010) issues a challenge: "virtually no attention has been paid by Marxists to the processes behind the demographic and 'life-style' profiles of gentrifiers – [that exist] behind the characterizations popularised by the mass media" (p.198). I take this challenge with me as I turn to my findings on the ideological underpinnings of gentrification storylines on *Shameless* (U.S.). However, before we investigate the ideology of specific scenes via the specific method of textual analysis, I offer a chapter of generalized findings that inform my overall examination of *Shameless* (U.S.), hereafter referred to as *Shameless*.

Chapter 3 - A *Shameless* Television Text

> Fiercely engaging and fearlessly twisted series. Chicagoan Frank Gallagher is the proud single dad of six smart, industrious, independent kids, who without him would be ...perhaps better off.… They may not be like any family you know, but they make no apologies for being exactly who they are. (Showtime, n.d., n.p.)

This chapter documents my observations about how the viewer is asked to think about American society through the particular lens of *Shameless* by examining televisual devices used on the show, the violations against the middle-class norms of Western society, and the way the show uses language to deduce class. While the arguments herein are generalized to *Shameless* as a television text, they support answering the research question by arguing that the show employs televisual devices that result in a text that might be difficult to decode. This difficulty risks limiting the efficacy of the political critiques offered to viewers in the gentrification storylines.

The televisual devices of *Shameless* are explored using the topics of realism (Fiske, 1987), of defamiliarization (Fiske & Hartley, 2003), of Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque (Dentith, 1995), and of the social representations of middle-class norms (Heckert & Heckert,

2016). Socially-conscious narratives and characters that speak to real-world events like the 2008 global financial crisis suggest *Shameless* is a realistic text. I demonstrate the realism of the text via an investigation into the mise-en-scène of the show generated through its social and technical codes (Fiske, 1987). However, claims to realism become muddled by other tactics used by the show; tactics that defamiliarizes the established conventions of television. The show breaks the fourth wall in a unique way and exposes Frank as an unreliable narrator. *Shameless* also inverts the norms of television by showing cringe worthy scenes in which the grotesqueness of the body's foibles and frailties are a core driver of both its humour and drama. The show has "carnavalized writing" that "reproduces, within its own structures and by its own practice, the characteristic inversions, parodies and discrownings of carnival proper" (Dentith, 1995, p.63). Finally, *Shameless* speaks to social class in very specific yet euphemistic ways. I argue these factors culminate in a show that is inherently unreliable, meaning the show is unpredictable and untrustworthy when its manifest and latent content are compared; the text cannot be taken at face value, and I contend this limits its potential for a sustained political critique. As noted in the prior chapter, *Shameless* is quality television and we begin with that understanding.

Realism on *Shameless*

Shameless is a realist text. Drawing on television studies, I use this term to mean content that "produces 'reality' rather than reflects it" (Fiske, 1987, p.21). The job of realism in television is to make the representation of reality easily understood by the viewer. Often, the metaphors of providing a mirror or window onto society are used when talking about television, as if television displays the natural world. For example, Natalie Hunter (2020) argues that the inclusion of protective masks in season 11 is one example of how the show addresses current events, an argument that supports understanding the show as realist. I assess how *Shameless*

represents such culturally contrasted versions of reality. Perhaps a fair evaluation of *Shameless* is as "a socially-engaged fictional text that treats real-world issues," but that at times slips into being "romanticized and fantastical and unrealistic" (Hosek, personal communication, May 2, 2021).

A large part of television's realism rests on the codes it uses. Please see the methodology chapter in the appendix for a more robust explanation of codes. Codes are a "rule-governed system of signs" (Fiske, 1987, p.4) that circulate and generate meaning and are shared by the members of a culture. Fiske (1987) argues that "realism can be defined by its form [how it shows], as well as by its content … what it shows" (p.19). If the codes used to create a television product are not of the dominant conventions a culture shares, the text will be considered radical and more challenging to read. *Shameless* uses codes that offer the viewer a presentation they understand as a "socially convincing sense of the real" (p.21); therefore, it is not a radical but rather a progressive text. To illuminate the representation of reality that *Shameless* transmits, I will comment on a few of the social codes, like wardrobe and setting, and a few technical codes, like lighting, camera work, and music/sound.

*Shameless'*s mise-en-scène - the collective style of everything that can be seen on the screen - is that of the working-poor and barely working-class. This is communicated via the recurring locations used for filming both interior and exterior scenes. Whether it is the Gallagher family home, The Alibi Room, or Patsy's diner, the locations are coded as lower-class. The neighbourhood is run down. Few homes have vehicles parked out front, there are empty and unattended lots, and the homes show wear and neglect. There are no white picket fences and no welcoming flowerpots on the porch. Inside, the furnishings are worn, the paint or wallpaper is peeling, and nothing matches. Patsy's diner has a cohesive look, but it is that of a 1970s-family

restaurant that has not been updated. The Alibi looks like a working man's bar. It is dingy, wooden clad, with one small television screen and one pool table. Rather than having a cohesive interior design aesthetic, the Gallagher home is a rag tag collection of pieces, much like the family it shelters. Mattresses are not encased in bedframes and the bedding does not match. The furniture is often old and chipped and would not pass for shabby chic, nor is it meant to. The home is meant to look as though each piece of furniture is a hand-me-down, dumpster retrieval, or Goodwill purchase.

A well-worn and ill-planned home interior translates to the visual aesthetic of the characters as well. Mise-en-scène is communicated through the wardrobe, the makeup, and the styling of hair. These aspects are again working-class or, in the case of Veronica, connected to urban, racialized poverty. The gender-neutral uniform worn by most characters includes jeans, boots or sneakers, and a plaid shirt that is likely undone and worn over a tank top. In the summer, the shorts are cargo or jean and the men tout sleeveless shirts. Sometimes baseball hats or toques make an appearance, depending on weather. By and large, the working-class women are made to appear as though they are not wearing makeup. Veronica is an exception as she is usually overly made-up, has her hair done, wears massive hoop earrings, and wears bright and tight bejewelled clothing. Her obsession with bling, her overt sexualization, and her over-performance of femininity represents "ghetto fabulous." This is important because even though she is visually juxtaposed with the other characters, ghetto fabulous is a style that originates in urban black culture. This fashion stereotype is meant to portray a lifestyle of consumption despite its associated poverty, thus obfuscating poverty. The working-class wardrobe of the characters becomes all the more obvious when Fiona is living "up" and dressing the part of an investor in later seasons. As she begins to rub shoulders with other business folk, Fiona's wardrobe changes

to include tasteful dresses she owns rather than ones on which she needs to hide the sales tags so she can return them the next day. Fiona moves back and forth between wearing a suit jacket and button-down shirt and wearing the uniform of the Southside, depending on her physical location and with whom she is interacting. In the episodes when Fiona is communicating that she is part of a higher class, her makeup becomes more noticeable and her hair is often styled to be sleeker and shinier than her normal unkempt ponytail. Several of the characters such as Fiona, Liam, and Svetlana are quite attractive by normative, middle-and high-class beauty standards, with perfect teeth and a thin/muscular body. The character of Fiona is usually dressed down, as noted, with minimal makeup to downplay her looks. I read the disconnect between the beautiful actors and the working-class characters they play, who would logically not be likely to be able to afford dental work, to be a product of normative Hollywood beauty standards and thus televisual codes. Overall, the social codes on *Shameless* communicate a version or idea of a working-class neighbourhood and its occupants whose lower income is spent on survival rather than discretionary goods. This is a "soothing, fantasy-fiction" (Hosek, personal communication, July 29, 2021) version of reality wherein the poor do not suffer from lack of dental care.

The technical codes of television not only transmit the social codes but also communicate the idea of ordinary people doing ordinary things in ordinary circumstances. Yet, every second of screen time contains any number of decisions made by production staff, all of which are meant to portray realism. For example, the lighting on *Shameless* almost always appears natural and is rarely used to communicate ambience, so when it does, the tactic is very obvious. Shadows and bright spots co-exist in most scenes, such that the viewer is not wondering if the scene was manipulated by three-point lighting. Instead, the lighting retreats from the viewer's mind, and this invisibility is an example of the normalcy that television seeks to recreate in a realistic text.

Most scenes on *Shameless* contain only diegetic sound, which is again meant to mimic everyday life. Occasionally music is used to match a scene or set a tone, but often music it is used only in the transition from one scene to the next and is faded quickly, and even that is rare. These technical codes are manipulated to enforce the notion that the fictional text is not constructed or fictional but is in fact transmitting a real-life situation.

The technical code of camera work on *Shameless* generally supports this realist aesthetic. The show occasionally uses an unsteady camera with jerky movements and whip pan shots, or the camera tracks a character's movement or gaze, all of which create the effect of "documentary realism" (Creeber, 2006b, p.42), a tactic to normalize what the viewer is seeing. However, the show also disrupts realism through the camera. Using Creeber's (2006b) examples of different camera shots in television, I detected at least one frequent occurrence in which *Shameless* does not follow convention. Specifically, a shot/reverse shot (SRS) that follows the dialogue between two people is often filmed at eye-level and uses the POV of the speaker. The effect of these movements and focuses is to insert the viewer into the conversation, and this effect is meant to encourage the viewer to identify with one of the speakers. On *Shameless,* a SRS is often filmed with the camera slightly behind and to the side of the person being spoken to, allowing the viewer to continue to see at least part of the character who should have disappeared. This over-the-shoulder shot is meant to keep the two actors on screen connected, yet sometimes the camera blocks the speaker's face completely. When the camera disconnects the two actors, the viewer is prevented from identifying with a character and reminded that they are observers. This is an example of the defamiliarization of television's technical codes.

An example in which the technical code of camera work is defamiliarized but functions to intensify the dramatic action of a scene is found in "Going Once, Going Twice" (Holmes &

Chulack, 2016). Here, the camera work is the most active of in all the scenes watched for this research. This is the auction scene where the Gallagher home is sold due to Patrick's default on his home equity loan. The scene has rapid camera angle changes to mimic the pace of the auctioneer's calls, and, once the intense bidding is underway, the camera angles jump in groups of three, pause, then move on to another group of three rapid cuts. During this sequence, the camera careens between long-shots (LSs) and close-ups (CU). A LS is removed; this is a tactic that is meant to establish a scene, and is considered neutral. But this is an emotional scene, and the rapid pace of the camera intensifies the emotion, making a LS a noticeable choice when used during the already established scene. CUs are meant to establish intimacy or empathy, yet during the bidding the CUs are on strangers, including the auctioneer and the family members, disrupting any potential intimacy. Further, the only extreme CUs in this scene are of the auctioneer. Three times the camera tightens onto his face, a technique that is meant to suggest "emotion, drama, a vital moment" (Creeber, 2006b, p.42). Whip pans are also used during the scene which is a tactic to replicate documentary realism. In approximately 1:47 minutes the camera changes approximately 74 times. While there is realism established through the whip pans, overall the camera work in this scene is defamiliarizing the norms of television. The camera offers an unclear message about with whom the viewer should develop empathy, and this rupture of an emotional connection with the Gallagher family may be offering political commentary on the financialization of housing, wherein housing is not a home, but an asset, bought and sold at an auction and no different than any other consumer good. The defamiliarizations to the technical codes I have examined are not the only defamiliarizations evident on *Shameless*.

The Challenges to Decoding the Defamiliarized and the Carnivalesque

I have claimed *Shameless* occasionally defamiliarizes televisual norms through its technical codes but have failed to explain the term defamiliarization. Traditionally, it was argued that little was expected of television given the medium was understood as low-brow, casual, domestic, and capitalist culture. The slang term "boob tube" illuminate's television's derogatory status in its earliest years, when it was being critiqued by the Frankfurt School. John Fiske and John Hartley (2003) argue television's conservative and commercial beginnings marked it as an activity where viewers passively consumed palatable content, primarily sitcoms and game shows that were not considered intellectually demanding or stimulating. Yet, it is this assumed "familiarity of television which enables it … to act as an agent for defamiliarization" (p.6). In the era of *Shameless* we expect quality television, which entails genre mixing, distinctive visual styles, innovative camera work, shocking scenes, and content that "encourages us to interpret and evaluate it" (Caldwell, 2007, p.26). In short, creativity and distinctiveness are production goals. One way to meet these new standards is to defamiliarize the codes of both the social world and of television. This defamiliarization demonstrates the constructed nature of the cultural codes and disrupts and challenges our perceptions. Fiske and Hartley (2003) argue defamiliarization allows the viewer the opportunity to "criticize or isolate the ideological framework within which we live" (p.5-6). I argue *Shameless* often engages in defamiliarization, and I demonstrated this above using the example of its camera work. Moving forward, I offer several more arguments to demonstrate that *Shameless* defamiliarizes televisual codes.

Although the character Frank Gallagher opens the series with a voice-over – a type of narration associated with trustworthy explanation - he is an unreliable narrator. Frank cannot be trusted to tell the truth. He is shown to be particularly delusional when it comes to his children

and his status as a patriarchal figure. During the opening of the pilot episode and prior to the credits, the viewer watches a large crowd drinking around a burn barrel with the cityscape in the background. Frank's voice-over provides an introduction to the main characters on the show after saying: "nobody's saying our neighbourhood's a garden of Eden … but it's been a good home to us, to me and my kids" (Abbott, Wells, & Mylod, 2011). As Frank moves on to speak of each child individually, and to introduce Kevin and Veronica, the cut-away scenes show the individuals engaged in behaviour opposite of how Frank is describing them. This tactic works to introduce the type of comedy that will be used in the series and sets Frank up as character who either does not know the truth or whose honesty and reliability is questionable. Kendall (2011) notes "burn barrels are a central prop in crime dramas that involve homeless characters" (p.108) and homeless persons, which Frank often is, are "unreliable witnesses because they are deviants – dirty, surly, alcoholic or drug dependent, and often visibly mentally ill" (p.109). As the series progresses, the viewer comes to know that Frank is incredibly intelligent and knowledgeable about the world on one hand and a manipulative, lying substance user on the other. Frank is capable of clearly conveying his analyses of politics, homelessness, gentrification, and the like as often as he lies. The further defamiliarization *Shameless* creates is that Frank is contextually reliable and unreliable, rather than him being a straightforward unreliable narrator as the pilot episode sets him out to be. The consequence of Frank's unreliable status is that the viewer has to constantly consider what Frank says. The viewer is required to be active and make decisions about Frank's claims; they cannot passively consume his rants and raves. This is my first piece of evidence for my claim that *Shameless* is an unreliable text.

Another opportunity the show seizes to defamiliarize the codes of television is to have the characters break the fourth wall and speak directly to the audience, admitting they are on a

television show with viewers watching them. This tactic was groundbreaking at one time and is still quite rare. To engage this tactic is to defamiliarize the primary norm of television, as it destroys any claims to realism that television holds as its norm. However, *Shameless* defamiliarizes this tactic further, complicating it from how other media products engage with breaking the fourth wall. According to IMDb, "a unique show trademark is the main character breaking the fourth wall … before recap flashbacks are shown (*with unaired scenes*)" (Trivia, n.d.). Not only does the show transmit scenes that have not aired before, another indicator of its unreliability that could potentially confuse even a loyal viewer, but the character is foul-mouthed, crass, and accusatory.

When a character breaks the fourth wall they usually belittle, ridicule, threaten, and/or swear at the viewer. For example, Svetlana says "Next time you miss *Shameless*, I cut off your testicles and feed it to homeless dog who lives behind The Alibi, but today you get free pass. I tell you" (Vernoff & Ganatra, 2016). In line with the show's humour and tactics, most members of the ensemble cast are given the opportunity to introduce the weekly recap, including Kevin and Veronica's babies in a scene replete with closed captioning to translate the crying. The tone of the weekly recap conveys annoyance on behalf of the cast member who must coddle a lazy and unfaithful viewer. I read this deviation of a creative yet rarely used tactic as a device of quality television and a defamiliarization of televisual norms. Given the left-leaning, educated, and well-off audience the show attracts, perhaps this abusive and disorientating welcome back is an opportunity for the viewer to piously accept flagellation in atonement for their privilege as consumers of this series that showcases the socioeconomically disadvantaged (Hosek, personal communication, May 3, 2021). Perhaps the role reversal that occurs during the breaking of the fourth wall is a nod to the carnivalesque.

Bakhtin's notion of the carnivalesque offers an explanation for the *Shameless* characters breaking the fourth wall and berating the viewer during the weekly recap. Language is inverted in the carnivalesque such that profanity or personal debasing's are expected. Further, the carnivalesque "depicts the de-stabilization or reversal of power structures, albeit temporarily" (Carnivalesque, n.d.). Not catering to the viewer - despite every television show needing viewers to continue – inverts the power relationship between the television product and its consumer. The term carnivalesque describes "various manifestations of popular humour and cultural resistance to the restraints of official hierarchies" (Carnivalesque, 2012). One official hierarchy of television is to gather and hold viewer's eyeballs, historically for the benefit of advertisers. As the carnivalesque is participatory, the border between participant and observer breaks down, which is what breaking the fourth wall does. I am not suggesting *Shameless* is the carnival. I am arguing the show embodies the spirit of the carnivalesque. Going forward I refer to the role reversals and behavioural inversions of the carnivalesque - like swearing - as simply inversions.

Bakhtin's carnivalesque permits legibility of *Shameless*'s inversions. An inversion suggests something has been upended, transposed, or reversed, and in the carnivalesque this inversion can relate to any normalized hierarchy or socially-expected behaviour. In traditional carnival, the King is de-crowned and becomes a commoner, a reversal that is an example of a power inversion. Mockery towards authorities such as the church is expected. Whatever power structures govern our lives are fair game for ridicule as there is no sacred in the carnivalesque. Ambivalence is welcomed and acceptable; chaos is expected. Essentially, what was up shall now be down. To return to the example of the show's weekly recap, introducing footage not seen before is chaotic to a viewer's sense of continuity in a serial text, and being sworn at might also be a socially destabilizing experience. Therefore, carnivalized devices like inversions on

Shameless lend themselves to a disorientation that results in unreliability, at least on the initial viewing occasion. A viewer simply does not know what to expect from the show. When these tactics are paired with the occasional disconnect between the manifest and latent content in scenes, which will be discussed in chapter five, an unreliable text emerges that diminishes the show's potential for political critique.

Examples of inversions on *Shameless* are plentiful and run the gamut from pedophilia to parenting. The inversions are often cringe worthy and shocking, pushing past satire, irony, or defamiliarization, although they are part and parcel of humour as cultural resistance, which is an aspect of the carnivalesque evident in multiple storylines. Some of the notable inversions on *Shameless* include the following: Kevin believes he has breast cancer and teaches the women in his life the importance of self-examinations; the outed neighbourhood pedophile is a soft-spoken and attractive female; mentally-ill Ian is christened Gay Jesus; the police are shown to be corrupt at times; it is the Gallagher children who take responsibility for running the home, not the adults; Fiona does not date up or trade on her attractiveness to snag herself a rich sugar daddy, rather, her boyfriend Steve leaves his rich family and is deceitful about his wealthy past in order to live in the "slum" with Fiona; and, it is men who are the single parents in two of the three primary households on the show - it is mothers who leave the home and abandon the children. Both the Gallagher and Milkovich homes are headed by mostly absent fathers, until Lip takes on a loving and engaged single parenting role to Xan, even trying to obtain legal custody of her. The inversions here primarily defamiliarize social norms.

Key to the carnivalesque is that the "work itself should come to embody the spirit of carnival … by mobilizing humour, satire, and grotesquery in all its forms, but especially if it has to do with the body and bodily functions" (Carnivalesque, n.d.), the latter of which *Shameless*

embraces enthusiastically. There is almost constant vomiting on the show, as multiple characters' grapple with addiction, but it manifests in other contexts as well. Kevin's gym in Season 10 has a communal "puke" garbage can, labelled as such. When Fiona is pregnant, there is a spectacular vomiting scene out of a second-story window with vomit landing on the people below, who are, of course, eating. That scene will receive a textual analysis in chapter five. There are scenes featuring infected gunshot wounds and dialysis ports, and these scenes are replete with dialogue describing the stench of the infections and the putrid visual display of flesh. Frank amputates Debbie's broken toes at home when she is passed out, and then he cauterizes the wounds. The above descriptions are a mere glossing of the outlandish trials and tribulations the body is made to suffer on *Shameless* and represent the grotesquery and bodily functions associated with the carnivalesque. Many of *Shameless'*s storylines in which the body is shown to be weak and fallible are critiquing the lack of medical coverage available to the impoverished Southside residents. Yet the bodies appear indestructible given the atrocities levelled against them, defamiliarizing television's aim of realism. I argue *Shameless* gives much attention to mutilated, sick, injured, and mortal bodies to invert the spectacle of beauty and perfection that so much television takes as its aim and to defamiliarize televisual codes about femininity, masculinity, attractiveness, and middle-class norms. When these same grotesque bodies also perform to the heteronormative beauty standards of Western society, this is another example of *Shameless'*s unreliability as a text.

I will explore the inversions evident in the challenges to power structures, along with the "transgressive social behaviour [that] thrives beneath the veneer of social order, constantly threatening to upend things" (Carnivalesque, n.d.) in many of *Shameless*'s gentrification scenes in my analysis in chapter five (Carnivalesque, 2012).

Is *Shameless* Lacking Class?

Class is a significant component of *Shameless'*s narratives but the language of class is rarely used directly. Class as a stratifying characteristic of the social world is often understood ideologically; thus, it seems prudent to lay some ground work considering class depictions on the show. The literature from deviance studies makes it clear that boundaries around behavioural norms are mediated by class, and this is perhaps the most direct way *Shameless* tackles class. The characters on *Shameless* are deviant when held to the standards of middle-class norms and are defiant of their right to be so, a defiance communicated through the satire of "middle-class values and tastes" (Baker, 2009, p.452) featured on the show. To read *Shameless* accurately it is important to understand the middle-class social norms the show primarily rejects. The ten norms of the middle class (Tittle and Paternoster, 2000, as cited in Heckert & Heckert, 2016, p.31) are the following: "group loyalty, privacy, prudence, conventionality, responsibility, participation, moderation, honesty, peacefulness, and courtesy." The norm of group loyalty is the one significant exception to the show's routine violations of middle-class norms, as the show uses class and the neighbourhood to enforce an ethos particular to Southsiders. The us versus them mentality evident in group loyalty is a significant thread in the gentrification storylines, and this binary will be explored in chapter four as a bifurcation that resonates throughout this research.

The title sequence from *Shameless* offers a good example of middle-class norm violations. It plays out entirely in the private space of the bathroom. The camera lens is positioned at a low angle and a steady M/LS looks in through the open door. A working-class male figure dressed in denim, work boots, and a flannel shirt lays prone on the floor. His back is to the viewer, his head near the toilet. An adult female wearing only a t-shirt walks into the bathroom, pauses, then kicks the male in the arse a few times, violating the norms of peacefulness and courtesy. She picks up a

beer can from the floor, a code that signals the man is drunk and passed out, and then she drags the body out of view. She returns to use the toilet, neither flushing nor washing her hands, breaking the norms of convention. The remainder of the sequence shows a parade of cast members using the bathroom for various functions including child's play, fighting, sexual intercourse, and masturbation. This representation is deviant in its entirety, given that it features a public display of private behaviour - public in that the viewer is watching private behaviour play out in private space through the open doorway – and shows a transformation of the norm of courtesy into uncouthness (Heckert & Heckert, 2016). Media reifies Western middle-class norms, and, by normalizing the violations of such at the beginning of every episode, *Shameless* challenges a viewer's understanding of the social world they are being presented with. These norm violations are another example of the carnivalesque.

The language of class is often muted on television and *Shameless* is no exception. The show rarely speaks to class directly, despite a focus on class difference. Discussing Fiona's date with her boss, Kevin muses, "maybe they don't fuck right away in the middle-class" (Wells & Wells, 2014). This type of representation is also an inversion of the norm of moderation to hedonism and is exploring the carnal aspect of the carnivalesque. On the day of Ian and Mickey's wedding, when the original plan has gone awry, Debbie's problem solving includes a commitment: "to white trash this shit" (Wells & Wells, 2020). To say this of someone's wedding is to invert a sacred ritual in many cultures, mock the norm of conventionality, and carnivalize the church and the other legal institutions involved in marriage. The language of referring to a wedding ceremony as "shit" is also a carnival inversion. Thus, often on *Shameless* class can be understood through the lens of carnivalesque humour and norm inversions, tactics that lend to the text's overall unreliability.

In less humorous and more meta-analytic scenes, *Shameless* employs the specific language of "underclass" or "working-class." When Fiona is pondering what to do with her windfall after selling the laundromat, she asks Lip if he is knowledgeable about investing. He is petulant and will not respond, so she asks if he can be happy for her. Lip's response is, "Oh, no. I gotta go. You know, those of us in the underclass, we have shit to do" (Frankel & Valerio, 2016). When Frank is politicking at The Alibi, he says, "We need a candidate of our own boys.… We need someone who will promote and protect our values. Someone who will make sure our culture doesn't disappear. Someone who's sat on a barstool and stared down the gun barrel that is the working-class experience" (Metzler & Feeley, 2018). Two episodes later, Fiona is canvassing for one of the candidates Frank is opposed to, and, in an argument with her boyfriend over the opposing candidate's support for rent control, says, "What? I'm a traitor to my class? That rent control is there to protect people like me and my family? Poor people?" (Wells & Mylod, 2018). This latter example mingles state power and personal poverty with an unnamed but suggested social class. *Shameless* has been critiqued for obscuring the structural issues of class and failing to offer significant critiques of the same (Johnson & Minor, 2019), but this latter example offers one occasion where *Shameless* rises to the occasion. These examples illustrate the few occasions social class is implicitly verbalized on *Shameless*.

More often than not class is obfuscated as the writers prioritize the language of income and occupation to hint at class. My coding of the manifest references to class produced 34 datum points, yet only the examples noted in the two paragraphs above specifically use the language of class. Throughout the show the language of "yuppie," "bougie," and "hipster" are code words for gentrifiers, but only bougie is a direct slang invocation of class. Rather, income or money is often mentioned instead of class, as in these examples: "I make 35 grand a year at my non-profit

PR gig" (Callaghan & MacDonald, 2017); and, "new money moving into the yards. Bunch of Richie-Riches" (Pimental & Wells, 2016). Lawyers are the occupation of choice when mentioning the new class moving into the neighbourhood, although I noted one reversal when a gentrifier tells a group of Southsiders "to go home. Some of us have jobs" (Pimental & Sneider, 2019), suggesting by negation that her lower-class neighbours must be unemployed.

However, most common on *Shameless* is dialogue that codes class differences as consumption preferences. The writers target Starbucks, yoga studios, and Whole Foods as the favourite objects of scorn of the working-class. In Frank's first significant rant on gentrification, he suggests the nursing home is being demolished to be replaced by "a Starbucks. Or some sort of artisanal juicery. Or a Whole fucking Foods" (Vernoff & Hamri, 2015). The term artisanal is very specifically invoked to mock upscale preferences when Lip responds to the news that a local store has been sold: "Great, an artisanal pickle shop on the way. Just what we need" (Frankel & Nutter, 2016). In the three appearances of the word artisanal, it is always a Gallagher using the word. When Fiona uses the word, she is describing the type of property she would like to purchase. In that scene, she is attempting to impress a commercial real estate agent with her bourgeoisie language, which is an inversion of the way the word had previously been articulated. Two scenes mock middle-class tastes, and one scene uses the language to declare an allegiance to that aesthetic, thus defamiliarizing the language within the show and lending to the text's unreliability. The automobiles that gentrifiers drive is another notable consumption code to hint at class via wealth. Liam refers to a gentrifier's vehicle as fancy, Yanis states the gentrifier drives an Audi, and there is a scene about Lisa's Range Rover, all of which are contrasted to the Gallaghers' status of not owning a vehicle.

The following exchange exemplifies my argument that *Shameless* primarily veils class behind consumption: “Hey, hi. As you know Lisa and I purchased this plot of land and we are turning it into, drumroll, a community garden! As members of this community we encourage you to join. For just a $2000 buy-in that’ll cover the cost of the plots, the fence, the irrigation system, and the chicken coop” (Vernoff & Stanzler, 2015). Fiona sarcastically says, “Wow! Just $2000?” to which Veronica, ignoring Lisa, mutters to Fiona, “Neighbourhood has gone to shit” (Vernoff & Stanzler, 2015). Again, troubling class as useful discourse, this scene further complicates the issue by bringing sexual preferences into the mix. The Lisas are lesbians, and this televisual ploy is meant to “connect homosexuality to ‘good’ consumer taste” (Becker, 2006, cited in Griffin, 2017, p.87). As noted in chapter two, consumption as a means of levelling stratification is not only a common tactic on television, but deceitful. In reality, consumption could be debt-procured and consumption does not mean greater power in society or occupational settings. *Shameless* complicates the silencing of class by introducing Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer or Questioning, two-spirited, non-binary, pansexual, asexual, and intersex (LGBTQ+) characters in a higher-class position to trigger tropes about “proper” consumption and taste. It is then left to the reader to decipher whether *Shameless* is mocking that taste, and this ambiguity results in a missed opportunity for the show to articulate a clear political statement. I maintain that *Shameless* is mocking the consumption tastes of the higher classes. However, the lack of clarity is another example of the unreliability of the text overall.

Griffin’s (2017) analysis of the representations of class and consumption on two sitcoms featuring LGBTQ+ characters reminds me of the representations of the working-poor and barely working-class protagonists on *Shameless*. For example, they write, “Each of the sitcoms creates binary oppositions between gay and straight characters by pitting highbrow cultural tastes against

lowbrow ones, [and] tasteful against tacky aesthetic sensibilities" (p. 87). These binary oppositions are very evident on *Shameless*, particularly in the scenes featuring the characters of Lisa and Frank battling over gentrification and homeless shelters, scenes that will be reviewed in chapter five. Referencing Jonathan J. Cavallero (2004), it is commented that "a male character dressed in a white tank top is a representation rich with specific … class … connotations, wherein entrenched cultural associations connect them to … the working-class" (cited in Griffin, 2017, p.90). The character of Frank is often seen wearing a filthy white tank top, but he is not the only character to wear a "wife-beater." Griffin suggests that, "Sets on *Normal, Ohio* feature decor that signifies the straight characters' working-class identities: the living room features mismatched pillows and curtains, clashing wallpaper patterns, fake flowers, and store bought art. The kitchen features drab, dilapidated appliances and walls that fade from yellow to pale gray" (Griffin, 2017, p.88). The description of the décor in *Normal, Ohio* replicates the mise-en-scène of the Gallagher home I described earlier and communicates, through television codes, the subjective positionalities of the working-poor and barely working-class. These positionalities are contrasted with the "proper" consumption and taste of the middle-class gentrifiers.

As remarked upon in chapter two, class has lost its primacy as a way to talk about social difference and is largely skewed in media representations. This media distortion continues despite Western society experiencing a rapidly deepening inequality between classes and a shrinking middle-class. I believe class is less salient in public discourse than race or gender because those identity markers are often visibly written on the body, and thus easier to read and speak. The intersections of race/racialization, class, and gender are often conflated with each other in material lived experiences, but class can be silenced because of its ability to be manipulated through consumption. Due to the normalized representations of predominantly

middle- to upper- classes within North American media, if *Shameless* were to profoundly disrupt the preferred television codes then it would become a radical text. Radical texts cannot function in a capitalist environment, and thus would not exist in popular culture. Such a text could exist on the fringes but would lose the ability to offer a working-class aesthetic to the millions of viewers who have watched *Shameless* over the years.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the type of text *Shameless* is based on observations made during my research and has prepared the reader for claims in the upcoming chapters. I contend that the social coding of a working-class life, a social coding that is a marked departure from televisual normality, and the particular deployment of comedic devices on *Shameless* alert the viewer to question what they see and hear. *Shameless* is a realist text that naturalizes an imagined working-class social world by referencing real world events and by using the technical and social codes of television to communicate televisual normality. *Shameless* also uses its camera work in particularly disruptive ways; this is one way the show defamiliarizes codes. The show's primary protagonist is an unreliable narrator, the characters break the fourth wall to introduce the weekly recap (but only then – this never occurs during the main production), and the show carnivalizes its storylines, particularly through its invocation of a grotesque body and foul language. *Shameless* routinely violates middle-class norms, which not only makes it an outlier on television but is also fundamental to an us versus them narrative that drives the drama and that will be scrutinized in chapter four. I have demonstrated with examples that *Shameless* is potentially difficult to decode due to the glut of creative liberties it takes and I argue that this results in it being an unreliable text. While there is an expectation of creativity and disruption in the era of quality television, some of the ploys on *Shameless* risk diminishing its potential efficacy for

political critique. The upcoming chapter will continue to interrogate *Shameless,* in preparation for the textual analyses in chapter five, by next examining the language and logics of the show's gentrification narratives.

Chapter 4 – The Logics and Language of *Shameless* Narratives

This chapter focuses on my generalized findings from the gentrification storylines that support my argument and answer the research question. I extend an understanding of *Shameless* by honing in on its narrative and discursive logics. An us versus them binary became evident in the data as a way to narrate the class differences between the locals and gentrifiers. The us versus them binary enhances an understanding of the two storylines as the show flips in its representation of gentrification from using Frank's local POV, to Fiona's POV. Fiona purchases property and thereafter becomes representative of the "other" as she begins espousing middle-class values. I sketch three other narrative themes that work to reveal class conflict and inform my overall analysis. In both Frank and Fiona's oppositional stories of gentrification the following elements are present: homeless shelters; not in my backyard (NIMBY) thinking; and LGBTQ+ persons. When the gentrification storyline conducts a 180-degree pivot from Frank to Fiona's POV each of the three aforementioned elements are explored through the differential class values. These four components all contribute to an exploration of class conflict and the role of power in that clash. However, I argue that by showing both perspectives of gentrification, the show muddles its critique of the gentrification process. The third section of this chapter argues that *Shameless* creates and sustains its own discursive practices over the seasons and points to how these practices articulate perspectives of gentrification. I point to the way class is verbalized by the characters within the geographic space of the Southside by offering an analysis of

dialogue from a few scenes that illuminate the power of the media and realtors in *Shameless*'s gentrification stories.

The Us versus Them Binary

Table 1. The Original Framework

	Us	Versus Them
The People	Working-class or underclass: Frank Fighting the Gentrifiers	Middle-class: Investors, Rentiers, Home Owners, and Gentrifiers
The Place	Southside Neighbourhood and Existing Class Norms	New Middle-Class Norms Imposed from Outsiders
The Properties	Rental Housing and Homeless Shelters	Gentrified Housing or Investor Owned Multi-Family Properties and Businesses
The Power	Precarity & Powerlessness – Speaking Back to Power, and Protecting Homeless Shelters	Wielded Power from Multiple Sources (State, Bank, Investors, the Media), and Those Who Protest Against Homeless Shelters
The Process	Experiencing Gentrification	Pursuing or Enabling Gentrification

Above is the first framework I later simplified by separating into two frameworks. The over-arching themes that constitute the framework used to organize my data (in chapter five) are shown in the first column, and the descriptors under the columns of us and them illuminate the organization of data into themes based on class. The reader can refer to the methodology chapter in the appendix for a more detailed explanation of my research process. As we prepare to move into the ideological analyses in the next chapter, I do not want to lose sight of the classed nature the fictional world of *Shameless* represents. By offering a visualization of the two opposing sides relevant under each theme, I outline my expectation that *Shameless* offers the viewer stories and hegemonic ideologies they will recognize as salient through the POV of them, while also offering subversive ideologies in the stories of us. This did not come to pass as neatly as my framework would suggest. Occasionally, hegemonic ideology was apparent in scenes that manifestly narrate the story of the local working-poor or barely working-class. At other times, subversions to hegemonic ideology appeared in scenes that used the POV of them, although this

was less frequent. In order to clarify my framework, I offer examples of data that emerged under the theme of power that illuminates the us versus them binary via representations of the media, individualism, and the family on *Shameless*.

The role of media as moral entrepreneur, taste-maker, or agenda setter comes up multiple times in Frank's storyline. The media is an example of "power" and is classified under the column of "them," rather than "us," as it comes from outside the family and working-class neighbourhood *Shameless* manifestly narrates. When Sheila is offered double the market value of her home in season five Frank suspects it is a scam. He asks his daughter Sammi what the scam could be, and she informs him, "Tribune named this neighbourhood an up and comer. Allz anyone's talking about down at the Alibi" (Vernoff & Hamri, 2015). Media reporting is what draws the first gentrifiers into the neighbourhood; thus, power is exercised over the Southside residents from the outside. In the real world, individuals are largely powerless to challenge elite media narratives being distributed to potentially hundreds of thousands of readers, which is why media framing is powerful. On *Shameless*, the locals have little opportunity to exercise power by creating and disseminating a discursive narrative of their own about their neighbourhood. However, on one occasion Frank successfully uses the media to draw attention to his homeless shelter, which is further analyzed in chapter five.

Shameless offers no evidence of organized advocacy groups participating in consultations with city development officials about urban restructuring. Rather, in line with the hegemonic ideology of individualism, the locals fight back against individual gentrifiers by exercising power individually. Individualism supports neoliberalism and is commonly perpetuated on *Shameless*, although it is occasionally challenged as well, which again lends to the unreliability of the text. The following exchange between father and son manifestly illustrates my claim that

both gentrifiers and their opponents are individualized on *Shameless*. In this scene, Frank asks Carl to deal with the Lisas (Callaghan & Segal, 2015):

> Frank: I got a mission for you - muy importante.
> Carl: What is it?
> Frank: I need you to run the lesbians out of town.
> Carl: All of them?
> Frank: Nah, just the ones in our hood. They're tearing up our soil and dropping in flower gardens and yoga studios, gastropubs, and stores for dog clothes. We got to get them out of here.…
> Carl: What should I do?
> Frank: Scare tactics. Terrorize the intruder. Show 'em what the hood is really like.
> Carl: How?
> Frank: Ingenuity, my son. Godspeed.

The above dialogue also invokes the power of the family as representative of us to oppose the power of the gentrifiers (them) and is ideological. The familial power of one member calling upon the loyalty of another member is also extrapolated on *Shameless* out to the unity of the larger clan - the neighbourhood - and even larger - the Southside. When the family and neighbours stick together in their battle against the gentrifiers who represent the "other" (them), this is an example of the middle-class norm of group loyalty. Family is a source of power to the Southsiders, family represents us, and family inverts the individualism of neoliberalism. However, this group loyalty is discursively narrated via a logic specific to the Southside.

The ideology of family as redemptive is a strong theme throughout *Shameless* as evidenced in the following dialogue. During the fight between Fiona and her brother over a homeless shelter for LGBTQ+ youth Fiona tries to smooth things over with Ian by saying, "Hey, we're family. C'mon, there's nothing more important than that" (Steilen & Fuentes, 2017). As the fight continues, Veronica says to Fiona "You two have got to stop this bullshit. Family is family" (Metzler & MacDonald, 2017). Knox (2018) argues the "universal narrative theme of family" (p.306) is an uncompromising ideology in drama shows, naturalizing the heteronormative

nuclear family under patriarchy, which is common on *Shameless*. This bond can be understood as compelling the characters to act cohesively against the many characters which represent them, who are primarily shown to act individually. When this manifest group loyalty is contrasted to an excess of ideological individualism on *Shameless*, the unreliability of the show to clearly articulate a strong and consistent position manifests.

The Narrative Structures of Gentrification Storylines

An us versus them binary is a logical analytic for *Shameless*, particularly as a means of situating and analyzing class difference. Further, the framework allows slippage between the classed categories as who resides in the category of them is amorphous and contextual over the seasons. During the scenes of the neighbourhood being "cleansed" in early seasons them is usually a state actor, often the police. In later storylines and seasons the middle-class gentrifiers represent them. This is also when Fiona has shifted to them as a gentrifier precariously attempting to position herself into the middle-class and Ian and his homeless youth find themselves pitted against her and her new class values. While them can host a range of characters on *Shameless*, us always centres on the primary characters from the Southside. The fact that us is a depiction of poverty and the lower classes cannot be stressed enough as Kendall (2011) argues the media representations of the poor and homeless are that of "outsiders, or Others" (p.116). In contrast to the typical media framing, on *Shameless* it is middle-class them who are the outsiders that get "othered." *Shameless* inverts or defamiliarizes the media norm by centering a working-poor or barely working-class identity and narrating their stories.

The contrary Frank and Fiona storylines that offer the two different representations of gentrification allows Fiona to move from us to them. However, this tactic also lends to the unreliability of the text as the viewer cannot be clear which political stance the show is taking. In

early seasons, Frank is the mouthpiece agitating against gentrification. Frank represents the working-poor and working-class of the Southside, being impacted by, and fighting against, gentrification. In contrast, in these early seasons Fiona waffles between supporting the aesthetic and social changes to her neighbourhood and floundering to survive the economic changes, perhaps not connecting the two. In later seasons, Fiona becomes an individual gentrifier and thus represents middle-class investors and rentiers dealing with the poor, the tenants, and the organized and protesting homeless youth. By focusing on members of a single family who hold divergent viewpoints, the viewer is exposed to a multitude of perspectives, power-plays, and pressures posed by gentrification. What the viewer is not exposed to, given the focus on individuals, are the structural workings of neoliberal capitalism.

Key to both of these storylines, but again, told by different players facing different circumstances, is homelessness and homeless shelters, which is clearly representative of the poor of the Southside and therefore us. In the popular imaginary, homeless shelters are naturalized as being occupied temporarily by marginalized persons. They are understood as corrective steppingstones to provide a hand-up that orientates people onto the "correct path of capitalism" – employed and consuming. In the media, homelessness has come to be considered as having "an easier short-term solution than poverty" in that it can "be declared an 'emergency situation'" (Kendall, 2011, p.93), rather than dealing with the complex structural issue of poverty that leads people to be without shelter. A whole host of social dysfunction such as immortality and criminality is painted onto this cohort of persons, including drug use, alcoholism, and severe mental health issues (Kendall, 2011, pp.104-107). *Shameless* replicates this common-sense understanding of homelessness thus diluting any critical commentary the show might offer of the reasons for homelessness. The space of refuge by its very naming is not considered housing, it is

a *shelter*, something again, temporary. The language of shelter suggests meeting a basic need, whereas housing or home is understood to ideologically signify sanctuary, the hetero-nuclear family, and children. Further, to a gentrifier, a shelter might provide a future investment if the sheltered persons can be "relocated."

The following dialogue examples provide evidence of the conflicting messages about homelessness the viewer is exposed to on *Shameless*. When the gentrifier Lisa says to Frank of his homeless shelter, "this is no place for a shelter" (Callaghan & Rossum, 2016), the underlying logic is that neither the people nor the shelter are permanent. They are not part of the community, which we hear when Lisa tells Frank "you don't belong here" (Callaghan & Rossum, 2016). However, this normative discourse about shelters and homelessness is also challenged on *Shameless*. For example, when Frank creates a sign for his illicit shelter, which he calls his "beloved domicile," it reads - "Gallagher home for the homeless" (Vernoff & MacDonald, 2016). This label of home for the now formerly homeless defies the ideology of impermanence and correction associated to homelessness.

In the context of homeless shelters, both of Lisa's comments to Frank are examples of NIMBYism. The middle-class phenomenon of NIMBY thinking manifests in both storylines of gentrification. First, Lisa is protesting Frank's local shelter. After advising Frank the shelter is in the wrong place, Lisa says, "Look, my wife and I will happily donate money to your cause. We want to support ending homelessness," and Frank responds: "Just not in your backyard, right?" (Callaghan & Rossum, 2016). Later, in Fiona's storyline, when she has become an apartment owner and gentrifier, she is fiercely opposed to Ian's attempts to locate a homeless shelter for LGBTQ+ youth in her neighbourhood. Venting to her friend, Fiona says: "What pisses me off most is that Ian knows I'm not against a shelter for those kids.… It's just, not in my backyard.

There, I said it. And I didn't catch on fire" (Steilen & Fuentes, 2017). The problem with NIMBY thinking, so often espoused by the middle-classes, is that if not here, then where? I argue that these scenes in which Lisa's offer to donate money to a cause she does not want in her vicinity and Fiona's espoused relief at not being punished by God challenge the viewer to reconsider normative thinking about NIMBYism in homeless shelter politics. Yet, the show does not offer the viewer a critique of the larger structures of capitalism and its role in homelessness.

The imbrication of LGBTQ+ persons in the gentrification storylines, who can materialize on either side of the process, and on either side of the us versus them binary, is notable. In the prior paragraph, both Lisa and Ian belong to the LGBTQ+ community, but they are situated on opposing sides of the us versus them binary. In Frank's storyline, it is the gentrifying lesbians, a group who once lacked significant social power, that are now agents of socio-cultural change in the community. It is the gentrifying lesbians who are opposed to the homeless shelter and thus the poor they have chosen to live amongst. In Fiona's storyline the inverse is true. It is gay and transgendered youth, led by gay Ian and transgendered Trevor, who are opposing Fiona the gentrifier. It should strike the viewer that in these examples one type of marginalized individuals is trying to enact power over another group of marginalized individuals.

There may be no authorial significance to the presence of LGBTQ+ persons in these storylines but they are evidence of carnivalesque inversions. Given the dearth of representation of the LGBTQ+ community on the show generally, and *Shameless'* commitment to realism that replicates the social world, these storylines may just be commenting on the current social landscape. However, I argue the use of LGBTQ+ characters either being in power (Lisa), or fighting back against power (Ian's homeless trans youth), are fitting for classed narratives concerned with power that are voiced within an us versus them binary. None of the characters in

any of the positions would be considered a standard archetype of power, thus another carnivalesque inversion is present, and another lack of clarity regarding the show's politics manifests.

The narrative logics I have outlined above which are evident in both Fiona and Frank's gentrification storylines express class conflict on *Shameless*. The us versus them binary is an overarching structure that juxtaposes a narration of gentrification through the us positionality of Frank and later through the them positionality of Fiona. Class differences within the binary in a gentrifying neighbourhood are fundamentally communicated through: the attacks against homeless shelters by gentrifiers and the resulting protests by Frank and Ian as they lead the marginalized and houseless to fight back; the NIMBY thinking espoused by those higher up the stratification ladder; and, the imbrication of LGBTQ+ persons in the homeless and NIMBY scenes.

The Language of *Shameless*

Language matters. Doreen Massey (2013) argues language is "crucial to the formation of the ideological scaffolding of the hegemonic common sense" (p.9). Couldry summarizes Hall's argument that language must be considered "a material process" as part of "'a properly materialist theory of culture'" (2015, p.638). Language and the specialized forms of it known as discourse limit how we can talk about an issue, how we understand the issue, and the bounds of problem solving the issue. Makagon (2010) argues language repeated is language legitimized that "ultimately gives the narrative power" (p.31). Here Makagon is referring to the power of the press to substantiate public knowledges about gentrification by referring repetitively to a common paradigm, a power upon which Kendall (2011) also remarks upon. Massey (2013) further develops our understanding of the import of language when she writes "words and oft-

repeated phrases carry, and reinforce, understandings that go well beyond them" (p.18). When a common paradigm is repetitively used to frame an issue, it contributes to building schemas in the viewer/reader. Schemas are mental shortcuts used to "make inferences about new information based on already organized prior knowledge" (Kendall, 2011, p.22). In Fiske's (1987) textual analysis the language of a show is its dialogue, which is considered a "conventional representational code" (p.5) meaning it shapes representations which is akin to framing. As a contained unit of television production *Shameless* does the same work as framing through its "recurring themes and plotlines" (p.31). I argue that by restating language consistently across the ten seasons this research captures, *Shameless* promotes its own discourse. This discourse is quite necessary in order for the show's messages about class to be legible, given its unusual representation of class. The language in the show is one of the codes assessed via Fiske's (1987) textual analysis; its role in contributing to ideology plays a role in what the viewer is told both manifestly and latently about the causes and consequences of gentrification.

When gentrifiers on *Shameless* are not represented in relation to their class but in relation to class-related aspects of their lives such as consumption, income, or occupation, other ways of verbalizing class differences between the locals and gentrifiers also open up. On the show this includes geographical references which become another way of expressing the us versus them binary. There are plentiful references to being a Southsider and the values of that identity, such that one episode in season five is titled "South Side Rules." Being a Southsider is contrasted to the negatively used term "North side Suits" who represent wealth, power, and gentrification. In an exchange in season seven between Etta and Fiona about the sale of the laundromat Etta says, "The Northside real estate pricks gave me a week to think about it." To end the conversation Fiona says, "And for no extra charge you get to tell those Northsiders to go fuck themselves"

(Frankel & Nutter, 2016). The crass, masculine, and sexualized language will be explained in short order. There is a strict moral code to living on the Southside and the other residents surveil and police an individual's loyalty to those values. This is why Ian says to Fiona during their fight about the youth homeless shelter, "your moral compass is seriously fucked up" (Steilen & Fuentes, 2017). In the scene that dialogue is pulled from, Fiona has violated the classed ethos of the Southside by prioritizing money over people. Although the characters are not made to use the language of class to voice their values and morals (norms) very often, or their allegiance to us, there is a strict othering occurring. These examples of othering use geographical language, yet the viewer understands it is the rich versus the poor, the middle-class versus the working-class.

This battle between the classes is also written onto the language used against individuals, particularly Fiona as she moves from us to them. As an investor and gentrifier who still lives on the Southside much derogatory language is thrown at her. Fiona is called a slumlord (Wells & MacDonald, 2017) not only by her tenants but her father and her lawyer, a "cuntlord" by her brother (Metzler & MacDonald, 2017), and a "cock-guzzling sell-out bitch landlord" by one of her tenants (Pimental & Hemingway, 2017). These examples can be read two ways. The inflammatory terms might be used to assist the viewer in developing empathy for Fiona and her capitalist actions; it must be difficult to be a female landlord dealing with such violently sexualized and aggressive verbal attacks! On the other hand, the overt, yet oddly subversive reading which invokes the carnivalesque suggests Fiona is a traitor given she is in a power position as a landlord (them) and needs to be reduced. These different readings manifest most concretely in the last slur above. Fiona is trying to help single mom Crystal come up with a plan to pay the rent she is a week late producing. Fiona agrees to take a cheque for half now and "half in a week or two" (Pimental & Hemingway, 2017) which suggests Fiona has empathy and can be

kind. The graphic slur is written onto the one cent cheque Crystal gives Fiona. Ideologically, Fiona as the capitalist is positioned positively while Crystal who has used this language represents white-trash. The startlingly aggressive, attention-grabbing, individual name calling Fiona faces is an example of the way *Shameless* individualizes the gentrifier and fails to reveal capitalism's role in the urban process.

It is antithetical to the moral code of the Southside to sell out to capitalist values, to leave us*,* which is made plain by Crystal's use of the term "sell-out" on the cheque. This term has been lobbed at Fiona already and in terms of middle-class norms, this is group loyalty being expressed and demanded, which Fiona has violated. I argued earlier group loyalty is critical to the storylines of *Shameless* because it solidifies boundaries, it shores up the us versus them binary. If the middle-class is othered by the Southsiders, and Fiona is acting as an agent of them, she is someone untrustworthy to be rejected. This rejection is what the language "sell-out" is getting at. Fiona has betrayed her class and her neighbours by violating the group loyalty demanded of Southside residents. The name calling and power inversions evident in this dialogue are features of the carnivalesque. These inversions, alongside the mixed messages *Shameless* perpetuates sometimes prioritizing individualism and at other times prioritizing group loyalty impacts the reliability of the text.

Crystal's language in response to Fiona's behaviour exemplifies what Kendall (2011) argues is the "'Roseannification' of working-class women in the media" (p.151). The sitcom *Roseanne* contributed to a framing of the working-class "by showing these women as violating the 'codes of bourgeois respectability and the codes of femininity'" (p.151). Certainly, the crass and vulgar language exhibited by Crystal violates the norms of middle-class femininity. In the example of Crystal's verbal attack on Fiona the differences between us and them are cemented

through language. As Fiona is attempting to claw her way into the middle-class she too fails at times to adhere to the norms of the middle-class and uses crass language herself, which lends to her language being unreliable; the viewer does not know which Fiona will appear in a scene.

Despite the conflicts Fiona experiences with her working-poor or barely working-class family members and tenants, she is not accepted by the middle-to-upper-class either. The language the investors Margo and Max use with Fiona can be understood as both classed and gendered. Under different circumstances and at different times, both investors offer to "take it [a property Fiona owns] off your hands" (Metzler & Tree, 2018). Or they tell her she can walk away. The language is infantilizing, as either expression suggests Fiona is in over her head, or that the other is doing Fiona a favour. The language used by Margo and Max pushes Fiona back into the us category, suggesting she does not belong. Margo says to Fiona, "A hundred grands' a lot of money for that dump. 25 per cent profit in 60 days. Are you really gonna walk away from that?" (Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016). There is an undercurrent to the dialogue that Fiona is making a bad choice, being foolish, perhaps acting emotionally. It is the suggested lack of logic that genders the language as it is women who are understood ideologically as emotional, not men, another binary that differentiates and "others." Fiona never successfully completes her transition between classes; by season nine she is firmly back among us on the Southside. There she resumes narrating a working-class identity and is embroiled in violent conflict with gentrifiers, another example of the text's unreliability.

"Up and coming" is the referent of lower-class neighbourhoods undergoing the process of gentrification in both Frank and Fiona's storylines, appearing 18 times in the data. A typical example is when Margo asks Fiona: "You got a city block for sale somewhere, or a run-down apartment building in some up and coming neighbourhood?" (Morrisseau & Chulack, 2016).

This language suggests these neighbourhoods can be understood as currently down and out. When something is down and out it is defeated. If the down and out is then brought up and made better, the common-sense idea is that this change is positive. Therefore, an elevation in status should be sought. Ideologically this language nods to progress, a validating term for change (Makagon, 2010). The language suggests that through gentrification the entire neighbourhood will elevate in socio-economic status. Margo is a real-estate developer, so to her, up-and-coming means there is money to be made through gentrification. Up-and-coming is a euphemism for gentrification no different than the terms revitalization and densification so often seen in media narratives. Makagon (2010) suggests the term revitalization is now understood as a "public-corporate" (p.45) program that contributes to "urban placelessness" (p.27) due to its sterile feel. In an ethnography about the revitalization of Times Square, Makagon (2010) reports the term revitalization often means to "clean up" the neighbourhood, to rid a place of "crime, violence, dirt, and danger" (p.39). In the media, there is a conflated notion of dirt and danger associated to the lower-class and this is the framing that revitalization plays to (Makagon, 2010). Revitalizing an up and coming neighbourhood is thus understood as taking it away from the wrong kind of people who fail to use the space well, and up and coming suggests this will be a desired space in the future.

While up and coming is the language of human progress used by the gentrifier and investor, natural disaster language is used by the locals on *Shameless* to frame gentrification as natural progress and an unstoppable force. This is another binary wherein agency and power attributed to them is contrasted with the powerless of us. In Frank's analysis of gentrification in season five to his bar-mates at The Alibi he says, "We are dinosaurs, my friend. And a big, fat comet is headed for our sweet slice of earth. And that comet is a Starbucks" (Vernoff & Hamri,

2015). Frank's discourse is an example of Lynnell's (2012) concern that the HBO production *Treme* used a character's "unsubstantiated tirades against racial profiling and gentrification [to] reduce these serious, complex issues to comic interludes" (p.217). This scene will be examined in full in chapter five, but for now, the dialogue offered is a comedic foil within a robust and critical analysis of gentrification by Frank. The comedy dilutes Frank's observations thus kyboshing a critique of gentrification and exposing *Shameless'*s overall unreliability in one scene. A few episodes later Mickey repeats this logic and tells Lip when the "yuppie floodgates open, it's gonna be us out here drowning" (Frankel & Graves, 2015).

The nature/culture binary evident in the different dialogue used by gentrifiers and locals is an anthropological binary (Ortner, 1974) wherein nature is an object that masculine humanity strives to conquer or tame. The ideological understanding is that nature is unpredictable, feminized, and thus subordinate, something to be tamed. Michelle Yates (2017), a feminist anthropologist writing on media, argues "nature is used as a tool of power, legitimating social hierarchies and (re)producing a dichotomy in which men, culture and agency are aligned with human subjectivity" (p.354). By having two male characters' reference gentrification as a natural phenomenon, the show is not only playing to cultural ideas of nature as dangerous and unpredictable, but perhaps a force that can be controlled by agentic men. In doing so it is inverting gendered power roles as the local men do not have the power of privilege to stop the "natural" process. Translated, the "natural" phenomena of gentrification experienced by the locals is contrasted with the cultural agency of those enacting gentrification. In this example, the "natural" represents us in the us versus them binary, as they will be the victims of the comet and flooding, whereas human agency and action during gentrification represents them. Discourse that naturalizes and dehistoricizes the cultural, economic, and political processes of gentrification,

suggesting it is akin to the natural world, is ideological work. The hegemonic language of a natural disaster obscures decisions made in the capitalist pursuit of profit in housing.

Conclusion

Shameless explores class differences and creates narrative conflict by instituting an overarching us versus them binary in its gentrification storylines that is evident even in the repetitive language of the show. The us is generally static and always works to narrate the POV of the working-poor and working-class locals. The classed category of them is more fluid as any number of powerful agents, from realtors to investors to Sheriffs can act in this capacity. However, there is an exception to the rigidity a binary might suggest as Fiona's storyline moves her for a time from us to them, but as a precarious them, and then back to us. Fiona's instability and the changing norms she expresses depending on her binary placement contribute to the unreliability of *Shameless* as a text. The dichotomy or fluidity of the binary echoes the real-life challenges of upward socio-economic mobility which lends to the text's realism. Narratively, the binary also suggests to the viewer that gentrification is imposed on the lower-class locals by upper-class individuals, a driver of drama on the show. Working to support this binary, three other narrative elements persist in Frank and Fiona's gentrification storylines: homelessness and homeless shelters; NIMBY thinking; and, LGBTQ+ persons. However, because the two gentrification storylines diverge in the POV offered the above elements also pivot to show differing POVs, which compromises the text's ability to offer the viewer a clear and sustained political stance. Language on *Shameless* matters because it is used in very specific ways that also harkens to the us versus them binary. These narrative logics and structuring thematic elements, including dialogue replete with carnivalesque inversions and role reversals, also reveal that power is at the heart of the classed conflicts on *Shameless*.

Chapter 5 – The Ideological Findings from Gentrification Scenes on *Shameless*

This two-section chapter offers textual analyses of gentrification related scenes to speak to ideology, bringing the findings from the previous chapters to bear. My findings for each analysis in either section of this chapter are structured in the same way: the scene is briefly introduced; I plainly state what ideology is being either perpetuated or subverted; the dialogue is provided in full (unless noted); the textual analysis (Fiske, 1987) codes that contributed to my conclusions are summarized; and, then scholarship is introduced as necessary to explicate my assessment. I conclude by situating the scene within the us versus them binary and commentary of how the manifest and latent content work together, or not, as this lends to my overall argument regarding *Shameless*'s unreliability as a text.

I first analyze the six pre-established codes from the literature review that were evident on the show. In the latter part of the chapter, the themes that cemented during my focussed coding are placed into a framework that illuminates the data: The People, The Place, The Properties, The Power, and The Process. Within each section of that framework I briefly offer an overview of the data coded under this theme, and will use "n=" to indicate the number of datum points recorded. For each section I offer one scene that disseminates hegemonic ideology and one scene that subverts hegemonic ideology, when possible. I analyze why each scene's ideology is important by making connections to other scenes and the structural power of that ideology in Western society. The goal of the textual analysis is to assess the manifest storyline against the latent ideological content of the scene. In this way, a fulsome analysis of what the viewing publics are being told about the causes and consequences of gentrification on *Shameless* can be offered.

Two notes for the reader: both a hegemonic and a subversive example could not be found in my data for the theme of power. Additionally, I abandon the structure of offering only one

hegemonic and one subversive example under the section The Process, and instead analyze all seven scenes from my data that explicitly use the word gentrification as these are the scenes that manifestly inform the viewer about the causes and consequences of gentrification.

Findings from the Pre-Established Codes

Six of the eight pre-established codes (or themes) from the literature review were evident in the data and are analyzed herein. These are the themes that guided my selection of scenes in the sampling round. The reader can refer to the methodology section in the appendix to review the pre-established codes. I offer scenes that exemplify each of these six codes in order to converse with the scholarship on gentrification. These scenes are not connected in any way, they have been chosen to represent a code, and they are not laid out chronologically. Thus, I also offer the episode name and the season and episode the scene is drawn from in the format S9, E2 (where S means season and E means the episode number).

In order to cleanse blighted neighbourhoods for gentrification the surveillance of marginalized persons is enacted. This is often done pre-emptively to entice developers to privately rework urban space (Billingham, 2017). Therefore, this is not displacement as a result of gentrification, it is displacement resulting from surveillance to encourage gentrification. The surveillance of socially marginal persons (n=13) is often articulated on *Shameless* through the Police, Sheriffs, or Marshalls (them) who act to remove the sleeping homeless from the park or women engaging in sex work. Mickey refers to this as “clearing a path for the yuppies” (Frankel & Graves, 2015). Other examples in the data of surveilling marginalized persons pertains to evictions from housing.

The first scene that I treat is from “The Two Lisas” which is set at the Alibi and was chosen because it demonstrates the pre-emptive work of the state to remove marginalized

persons (us) from urban space. This scene offers an example of the socio-cultural impacts of gentrification that *Shameless* chooses to focus on. The scene opens with an establishing shot (ES) of numerous figures, including five police offers and many young women. A cop is leading a topless young woman away. Mickey walks into the scene and the camera follows him. Upon questioning Mickey denies knowing the women and enters the Alibi where the following conversation ensues. I argue this scene is subversive to the ideology of criminality as dangerous (S5, E3; Callaghan & Segal, 2015):

> Frank: Looks like a hand-whore fire sale out there.
> Mickey: Yeah, I got fucking busted again.
> Frank: You see? This is what I'm saying. It's the decline of civilization as we know it. They're trying to make the neighbourhood spiffy for the invading hipster hordes.

The codes of the textual analysis suggest the scene is one of realism. Inside, another ES of the Alibi focuses into a CU of Veronica. The camera is quite active in the scene, and often makes the main characters blurry by changing focus when another character enters the scene. The camera follows the walks of the three main characters (Frank, Mickey, and Veronica) as they move about. It also pans occasionally, at one point down to a CU of Frank's beer. The technical camera work does not privilege any particular person but places the viewer into the voyeuristic position of watching the action at the bar. I argue this tactic is meant to make the viewer feel at home in the bar, as belonging amongst us, which should lend to the viewer accepting Frank's analysis of the bust and rejecting the actions of them (state power). Inside the Alibi, three-point lighting is likely used to make the bar look natural, but the viewer can observe brighter light streaming in through the windows. This scene has a lot of background actors. Inside the Alibi the patrons are about half white men and the other half are either women or people of colour (POC). Five police officers are visible but only two are white men. *Shameless* is broadcasting realism by

having the background actors represent the various genders and ethnicities expected in any setting or occupation in a large city.

The fact that the number of police officers outnumber the main characters in this scene, and Mickey's acknowledgement that he was busted, show the state actors as powerful. However, the middle-class norm of peacefulness is actually disrupted by the police. The police are using their legislated power to enforce the middle-class norm of prudence, which sex work violates. Yet, this is challenged by Frank when he refers to the bust as evidence of "the decline of civilization as we know it." Frank is suggesting the Alibi patrons and their exchanges were civilized and no intervention was needed. Frank's dialogue, "the invading hipster hordes," invokes the Zombie trope. Zombie narratives reflect cultural anxieties about losing autonomy and the ability to think for ourselves. Zombies are mindless consumers that pose a threat to humans in that as they literally consume you, they rob you of your individuality by turning you into a member of the hoard. The suggestion from Frank is that the gentrifiers mindlessly consume a neighbourhood and rob it of its individuality, creating a homogenous and sterile environment Makagon (2010). Therefore, despite the hegemonic understanding that poverty equates to criminality, in this scene, it is not the locals (us) who are to be feared. It is the police in action that are situated as undesirable via the dialogue, "they're trying to make the neighbourhood spiffy." Given the dialogue and the Zombie trope it invokes, the camera work, and the way middle-class norms are inverted, I argue this scene is subversive to the ideology of poverty equating to dangerous criminality. If anything is shown to be dangerous in this scene, it is the invading gentrifiers and the bidding of the police they beckon to surveil and criminalize the locals. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them this scene's manifest dialogue and visuals match its latent ideology and the scene can be considered congruent and thus reliable.

In later waves of gentrification, the pre-emptive cleansing of space noted above often occurs in order to attract large developers to rework entire neighbourhoods or blocks, with state support, the pre-established code (n=20). This capitalist displacement is evident in the data; however, in line with neoliberal ideology, the developers on *Shameless* are individuals rather than corporations. Commercial realtor Max's Limited Liability Company (LLC) and the Sunset Brook deal Fiona gets involved with is the closest *Shameless* gets to exposing the corporate takeover of housing for profit. More in-line with *Shameless's* focus on individual developers is Margo's comment to Fiona, "I'm redeveloping the whole block" (Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016).

The following scene from "Ride or Die" exemplifies the individualization of gentrifiers on *Shameless.* The scene occurs at Patsy's diner, which Margo owns and Fiona manages, when Margo is first attempting to persuade Fiona to sell the laundromat. I believe the hegemonic ideology of capitalism is being subverted, but at minimum, this scene offers a good example of the polysemic nature of television texts (S7, E10; Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016):

> Fiona: Hi, Chad said you wanted to see me?
> Margo: Yeah, sit down
> Fiona: Everything okay? …
> Margo: You bought Wendall's wash and dry. How's it going for you?
> Fiona: Well, it's really starting to pick up. But, but I'm able to balance it with my job here at Patsy's.
> Margo: Relax Gallagher. I'm not firing you. I wanna buy you out of that lease.
> Fiona: What? You wanna buy Wendall's?
> Margo: I own the building. And I'm absorbing all the outstanding leases.
> Fiona: I just bought it.
> Margo: And I will give you 80 thousand for it. Just to take it off your hands, 'cause public records show that's what you paid for it.
> Fiona: Yeah, I mean, I put a lot of money into turning it around. And I, I promised the woman I bought it from that she could keep living in her place upstairs. She's been there since the sixties.
> Margo: 90 thousand.
> Fiona: Well, I really appreciate this offer.
> Margo: And you don't have to answer me today. Tomorrow will be fine. So, uh, I will see you here tomorrow. Shall we say nine o'clock? It's 10 thousand dollars profit and that will save you the grief from having to run that dump.

Fiona: Dump?

The technical and social codes in this scene work to promote realism and show the class differences between the women. The opening camera shot is a CU of Margo sitting in a booth next to the window. The viewer sees Fiona outside and the camera follows her movement walking into the diner. The camera is very stable in this scene. As the scene is a conversation between two persons, the camera generally follows a SRS sequence in M-to-CU range. The only diegetic sound is as expected of a restaurant and the lighting is realistic as the outside is bright and the interior a bit dimmer. There is a clear class difference between the women evidenced in the social codes of dress and makeup. Fiona is situated as lower class than Margo as she is wearing jeans and has a cloth bag. Margo is wearing dress slacks, a cardigan over her dress shirt, and has a black leather soft-sided briefcase. Margo's make-up communicates a moneyed status via her groomed hair, her manicured nails, long eyelashes and rose coloured lipstick. In contrast, Fiona has messy hair, short nails, and appears quite natural looking. In a scene together, these characters visually embody the us versus them binary.

I read the manifest and latent content of this scene to conflict with each other. The manifest power dynamic of us versus them in this scene favours Margo. Not only is she Fiona's boss, she owns the building in which Fiona now owns a lease. However, there are two sections of the dialogue that I argue latently hint that it is Fiona who holds the more powerful position. When Margo says, "Just to take it off your hands" and "save you the grief from having to run that dump" (Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016) the dialogue can be understood as manipulative, which suggest it is Margo who is needy and Fiona who has the upper hand. Further, I argue the latter comment by Margo is a subversion to the ideology of the entrepreneur, the neoliberal risk taker free to make their own choices about their labour. "Save you the grief" translates to free you

from the burden. These sorts of manipulative tactics by investors aim to further their ownership in lieu of sharing ownership and its benefits with others. Margo wants the lease because ownership will be financially rewarding for her, a logic that supports the ideologies of private property and capitalism. There are more CUs of Fiona than Margo which should position the viewer more intimately with Fiona. In sum, the ideology is being slightly subverted while this scene offers a good example of the co-existence of hegemonic and countering ideology. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them this scene's manifest dialogue and visuals primarily match its latent ideology although it is not a "clean" example. There are inconsistencies as the scene is quite polysemic, but it is also unclear to whom the scene belongs, thus the scene is potentially unreliable. This is a scene that I consider mixed.

When a reworking of urban space occurs through the mass redevelopment Margo desires, place-making activities are changed, destroyed, or commodified. The loss of culturally significant locations, cultural capital, and/or social networks is evident on *Shameless* and is the the pre-established code. The data illuminated three different concerns under this code: cultural locations changed/destroyed (n=18), the consumption of gentrified spaces (n=7), and gentrification and consumption (n=22). Changes to cultural locations is voiced by Etta who believes the Northside suits will replace her laundromat with a wine and cheese shop. It is a Jamba Juice Margo puts into the former laundromat once she procures the lease from Fiona. An example of the consumption of gentrified spaces is Frank's childhood church becoming a private school that has taken enough enrollments to force the closure of Liam's public school. When Frank and Liam arrive to investigate, they are told they are on private property and must leave or the police will be called. Finally, gentrification and consumption are evident in the consistent mention of yoga studios, Starbucks, and Whole Foods. These names may be product placement

given the known profile of the show's viewers (Hosek, personal communication, July 15, 2021) but Whole Foods and Starbucks are also associated in popular cultural with gentrification (Lander, 2008).

In the following scene from "Drugs Actually" Lip attends a party being held in *his neighbourhood* with his Professor/lover Helene. Bill is a realtor hosting a house warming party, and Helene's friend. This scene subverts the ideology of capitalism by mocking the frontier narrative associated to gentrification (S5, E11; Holmes & Leder, 2015):

> Helene: There's our host. Lip, uh this is Bill and that's his wife Eileen. We were just saying how much we love the house, the detail.
> Bill: Just finished the remodel. Of course, everyone thinks we're crazy for moving here. Not a street you want to walk alone late at night, huh?
> Lip: No, this is pretty scary huh?
> Bill: But that is changing. There's a coffee house down on Maple Drive and a yoga studio.
> Helene: Lip grew up down the block.
> Bill: Really? Well, that must have been (*pause*) well, uh, what do you do now?
> Lip: Oh, I'm an undergrad.
> Bill: Oh, good for you. That's impressive.
> Lip: Yeah, how come?
> Bill: Well, I just mean that
> Lip: I, I like coffee ya know, but uh, the coffee shops and uh the yoga studios they make it so the people I grew up, with they can't afford to live here anymore. So, so the neighbourhood's getting nicer, but it's just not really the neighbourhood anymore ya know?

There is a contrast between the exterior shots at the beginning of the scene and the remaining interior shots that promotes realism and focuses on class difference. The ES of Lip and Helene on the street shows a large but rundown home in the background. The paint is peeling and the home looks neglected. The camera then shows a W/LS of the home they are moving towards, which is well lit, has a bountiful garden, and looks new. Inside several WSs offer a view of the party. We see a lot of partygoers and wait staff, mostly white. The opening sequence of the scene is outdoors at night so there are many shadows, but once indoors the scene is brightly lit, so three-point lighting to communicate normality was probably employed. When

the viewer meets Bill, he is standing under a light and so quite brightly lit compared to the other characters. This results in Bill looking pale and the light reflecting off his glasses which also communicates realism, as does the diegetic sound. Lip is wearing a jacket and tie in this scene, as are Bill and Helene's husband, and the other background actors are dressed in cocktail attire, including Helene, who is wearing a snug, knee-length, black leather dress.

Within the dialogue there are four points of interest to my analysis. First, Bill establishes himself as a taste-maker or early adopter when he says, "everyone thinks we're crazy for moving here." This statement taps into the frontier narrative or myth that is usually associated to artists who move into working-class or warehouse districts and begin the "makeover" that draws the higher classes to the area (Makagon, 2010). They are the brave, the visionaries, who are rewarded with cheaper living accommodations while providing the space an aura of authenticity. Or as Christian Lander (2008) puts it, these are "modern-day Lewises and Clarks" that can "sell their property for triple what they paid" if "more white people start moving in" (p.91). Landers uses satire but his argument is sound: "credibility or money; either way, they [gentrifiers] can't lose" (p.91). Makagon (2010) cites an example in TriBeCa, New York, where the real-estate agents arrived after the artists and hipsters, once there was money to be made from the neighbourhood's status. *Shameless* is nodding towards the hipster trope and claims of authenticity that are evident in the frontier narrative. However, the show toys with the trope by inverting the look of the hipster in bookish Bill and having a realtor as the early adopter rather than an artist. Next, Bill suggests that although the neighbourhood is too frightening to be alone outside at night, the availability of coffee and yoga is calming his fears. Neil Smith (cited in Makagon, 2010, p.36) argues the "romance of danger" is part and parcel of understanding "gentrifying neighborhoods as frontiers." The frontier myth is invoking nature as something to

be dominated and tamed, or made usable. Once Bill learns that Lip is from the neighbourhood and grew up locally, Bill says it is impressive that Lip is an undergrad. The class superiority Bill is espousing is also part of the imagery associated to the frontier. In Lip's final line, he manages to challenge Bill's claims to being a frontier warrior by stating plainly that both the economic displacements and the resulting loss of social networks are occurring due to Bill's arrival and love of coffee and yoga.

Bill's home, the dress code of the guests, and the presence of wait staff all communicate that the gentrifier has money and is of a higher class than the zip code suggests, yet the camera privileges Lip. It moves with his movement four times during this scene, and features more CUs of his face than his conversational partner as the camera flips through a series of SRSs. As for the dialogue, it is a cultural trope that even hipsters hate other hipsters. Bill does not dress like a hipster, still, the dialogue, lighting, and camerawork set him up to be understood as a clueless poser who has no claim to authenticity in the neighbourhood. This average looking, middle-aged man whose occupation is a realtor makes it clear to the viewer that Bill's aim in moving to the neighbourhood is materialistic. Bill is a "parasite that sucks the authentic energy from an area (Makagon, 2010, p. 42), rather than someone who seeks bohemian neighbourhood diversity. Bill has also been visually juxtaposed with a suave and authentic Lip; thus, he presents in this exchange as out-of-touch with his new neighbours and pretentious. I argue this scene is subversive to the capitalist ideology presented visually through the home and guests. As in other scenes involving gentrifiers, although the viewer is shown a life they might aspire to in terms of material goods and quality of leisure time and activities, the moneyed gentrifier is presented in ways that are unappealing. I believe the viewer is being asked to evaluate the ideology of the gentrifier as conqueror of the frontier. This is Lip's scene using the perspective of us when

reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, and because this scene's manifest dialogue and visuals match the subversion to the ideology, I consider this scene reliable.

Bill is a yuppie who exemplifies Ruth Glass' original description of gentrification in London in the 1960s. While this pre-established code of middle-class yuppies remodeling homes in lower-class neighbourhoods (n=13) might be considered an old-school idea of gentrification, it is the primary version on *Shameless*. And while Glass penned her description almost sixty years ago, neoliberalism encourages individualism, thus, individual yuppies engaging in gentrification is still relevant decades later.

In the following scene from "Location, Location, Location" Lip sees an old friend outside and walks down the lane to chat. During the conversation, Lip becomes aware that the home will be put on the market. This scene demonstrates both the pre-established code of yuppies buying homes to gentrify, but also the individualization of gentrification so common on *Shameless*. This scene perpetuates hegemonic ideology about heteronormative masculinity (S10, E11; Lawson & Tree, 2020):

> Lip: Hey, Milton.
> Milton: Oh, wassup, Lip?
> Lip: What up, man? I thought you were, uh, in the Persian Gulf or some shit.
> Milton: I'm on leave.
> Lip: Right, yeah, yeah, yeah. So, what's goin' on? Your dad's movin' out?
> Milton: Moved on, funeral was a few days ago.
> Lip: Oh, shit, I'm sorry, man.
> Milton: That's fine. He been sick for a while. Now I gotta try to get rid of all this stuff, try to sell this dump. You still livin' in that same house with Frank?
> Lip: Yeah, unfortunately, he's still alive, so
> Milton: Damn. That's a surprise.
> Lip: Hey, man, how much you askin'?
> Milton: No idea. We got mold behind the walls, roof leaks, rat shit everywhere. Got a ton of stuff I gotta fix before my leave's up.
> Lip: Yeah, I wouldn't put too much into it. Some yuppie's just gonna buy it and gut it anyway.

This scene has more action than many conversational scenes so the camera is more active and playful, while the remaining codes communicate realism and a working-class identity. The scene opens with Lip taking out the garbage bin and noticing a moving truck down the alley. He walks down the pathway, greets his friend, and they chat while the moving crew loads household items onto a truck. The two look at the house from the alley and at the end of the dialogue they shake hands and Lip retreats. The camera often moves with Lip, following him as he walks, and at one point zooms in on his feet and then pans up his body. There are several LSs of the house at the end of the conversation, one that starts as a CU of Lip but then the camera swings out and sideways to let Lip pass so the viewer is left looking at the house. The scene is outdoors and the light appears natural as there are both bright sunny spots and shadier patches. Lip is wearing work pants and a work jacket, Milton is in jeans, gloves, sneakers, and three layers of shirts and sweatshirts, and the movers are wearing jeans, gloves, and work boots. All the men are working-class in appearance and clearly represent us and a working-class identity.

The last few lines of dialogue support the pre-established code of yuppies purchasing decrepit homes in working-class neighbourhoods to renovate. Milton believes the home has significant structural issues prohibiting a sale as-is. Lip has been watching gentrification creep into his neighbourhood for eight years (since season two) while Milton has been away with the military. Lip has developed expert knowledge through lived experience with gentrification patterns in the neighbourhood and passes on this knowledge to his friend with advice.

The ideology of the scene communicates heteronormative masculinity through an orientation to labour and action. There are no women in this scene and as I noted, it is an active scene. Often on *Shameless*, when the scene is primarily female or of mixed genders there is minimal action and the focus in on communication. In this scene, Lip walks down the alley, men

are working, Milton loads a few items onto the truck himself as he chats with Lip, and then Lip walks away. There is a physicality between the two main characters not often observed in Fiona's scenes. The men do a partial shoulder-check embrace and later shake hands. The language is labour orientated as Milton talks about the amount of work the house needs. The labour of the men and the appropriate clothing for such are visually prioritized. The dialogue makes it clear that Milton is in the military, which also signifies fulfilling a masculine responsibility to one's nation. Milton is embodying the middle-class norm of responsibility: to his late father; to his leave from the military; and, to his nation. The scene takes place outside the house, even though the house is an object of conversation. However, it is only a house, a thing that requires labour and something to be sold, or a liability to be managed responsibly. It is not a home. Unlike an upcoming scene between Sammi and Sheila that also occurs outside a house, but ends with Sheila inviting Sammi into the domestic sphere for a nurturing meal, this scene ends with the men working or on route to work. The difference between the two scenes exemplify Rosaldo's (1974) argument that women are associated to the domestic whereas men are associated to the public. For these reasons, what I believe is at work here is the ideology of heteronormative masculinity within patriarchy.

The reader may be surprised that the manifest content espoused via the dialogue about a house and a father's death does not match the latent content supporting the ideology of heteronormative masculinity as I have concluded. Nevertheless, this will not be the only scene in this chapter that demonstrates this disconnect or lack of congruence. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this is Lip's scene, the perspective of us, but it perpetuates hegemonic ideology. This is evidence for my argument that *Shameless* is an unreliable text.

There are many scenes in *Shameless* that illustrate the pre-established code of the financialization of housing (n=49). In the same episode as the last example, but in the next scene in which we see Lip, he says to his boss, “I was just thinking, ya know, could be a good investment for somebody though. Ya know, fix it up, flip it. Did you ever do anything like that?” (Lawson & Tree, 2020). This dialogue exemplifies treating housing as a good or an asset that can increase personal wealth to replace stagnant wages.

In the following scene from “Where’s My Meth?” Fiona is at the small apartment building she has bought and is sitting outside on the stairs. She is sipping a coffee in a take-out cup talking to her friend and tenant Nessa. This scene primarily subverts the hegemonic ideologies of patriarchy and heteronormative masculinity, although there is support for the ideology of capitalism (S8, E2; Pimental & Hemingway, 2017):

> Fiona: Thank god for the new bougie tenant moving in. Everyone’s late with their rent except you and the guy in 2C.
> Nessa: Yup, get used to it. Deadbeats in this building never paid what’s his ass on time either.
> Fiona: And he didn’t do anything about it? …
> Nessa: Just toss out whoever hasn’t paid their rent and start over.
> Fiona: Nah, I, I’ve been late on the rent before. I wanna give everyone a chance to pay.
> Nessa: Sack up. It’s business. I expect the druggies, the hoarder, and the Mom with 72 kids to be outta here by the time I get back.
> Fiona: Mm-hmm. Have a good day, dear.

The social and technical codes of the scene promote realism although the camera work is unusual for *Shameless* as there are many LSs at the beginning. The scene opens with a W/LS, then a M/LS of the two women, then another W/LS before moving into some CUs and SRSs of the woman chatting. There are more CUs of Nessa; thus, prioritizing her over Fiona. The lighting appears natural. The setting is outside and a grey sky is visible in the W/LSs. Although there are other actors visible at times, including Nessa’s girlfriend Mel who briefly appears, the focus is primarily on Nessa and Fiona. Fiona is dressed more middle-class and feminine than usual as she

is wearing a short-sleeved blouse and ankle boots with her jean shorts. Nessa is in business attire including a jacket and button-down shirt.

This scene's dialogue and camera angles and shots work to situate Nessa as more masculine, more agentic, and thus having more authority than Fiona. The flow of dialogue is that Fiona complains, Nessa answers, Fiona asks a question, Nessa offers direction, Fiona disagrees, and Nessa concludes with a directive. The pattern favours Nessa as knowledgeable and assertive, and thus more masculine. In contrast, Fiona's language is feminized because she asks questions and is less assertive, evident in the hesitancy expressed with the double "I" at the beginning of her defense, or when she offers a deferential "mm-hmm," rather than a clear yes or no. When Fiona jokingly says, "have a good day, dear" this is an ironic play on the housewife wishing the husband well. Nessa is off to do accounting work in the public sphere of business while Fiona stays in the domestic sphere. Yet Fiona is at her second job as a landlord. The language "sack up" Nessa utters is a heteronormative masculine taunt for someone who is being too feminine. It is derogatory slang that suggests someone needs to grow some testicles, or, "be a man." Fiona is also more feminized in her attire compared to Nessa. As noted, the camera work prioritizes Nessa in terms of the CUs that invite intimacy. This scene appears to be the ideology of patriarchy, but, there is an ironic inversion because it is a lesbian and not a man representing this ideological position. Lesbians are often masculinized, but Nessa's overall social codes are feminine. Therefore, I believe the ideology of masculinity is being subverted as these rigid gender performance expectations are being inverted and mocked.

Other ideology at play in this scene is supportive of neoliberal capitalism pertaining to the financialization of housing. The language of Nessa is plain, "It's business," which is the resulting language when housing is relegated into "the market" (Kalman-Lamb, 2017). Nessa is

reminding Fiona that because being a landlord is a business, emotions do not belong in her decision-making process, hence the ironic gender performance. Massey (2013) argues the vocabulary of the economy "has been crucial to the establishment of neoliberal hegemony" (p.10) because "changing our economic language was crucial in shifting our world-view" (p.13). Under the current system of capitalism housing is understood as an "investment," it becomes an "asset" as opposed to shelter or a home. As Kalman-Lamb (2017) argues, "homeownership became a form of neoliberal old-age security policy referred to as 'asset-based welfare'" (p.299). As a rentier, Fiona can secondarily extract further value by having her tenants pay her mortgage. Massey (2013) challenges the common-sense understanding of the "financialised ideology" I have painted above by arguing that "controlling an already-existing asset" is "unearned income" not derived from production (p.14). Overall, when this scene is reviewed through the us versus them binary it is ambivalent. This scene is told through the lens of them, and there is support for capitalism, which suggests congruence on that matter. In this case, however, there is a pronounced critique of masculinity and patriarchy which does not align to either us or them.

On *Shameless,* poor women, elderly women, and single mothers concentrated in gentrifying neighbourhoods bountifully represent the pre-established code regarding the imbrication of the female gender to gentrification (n=31). Fiona is a custodial figure representing impoverished single motherhood who is trying to break the cycle of poverty through the financialization of housing analyzed in the scene above. Sheila becomes a single mother, although she is closer to the middle-class. Debbie chooses to become a young single mother but has no financial support so Frank takes her to apply for welfare. However, the character of Etta is elderly, single, and poor, and she is the primary exemplar to the scholarly concern, particularly

as she is targeted for gentrification by realtors. Eventually, Etta is displaced from her home by Fiona, who sells the lease despite her promise to house Etta.

A scene from “Lazarus” featuring Sammi, Frank’s eldest daughter, depicts the feminization of poverty in urban space that gentrification disproportionately affects. Sammi is a scarcely employed single mother and technically already houseless. Sammi lives in a trailer with her son that she moves around as necessary. If Sammi is already displaced in a gentrifying neighbourhood, any increase in price will only further prevent her from becoming housed. In the scene below, Sammi gets her trailer towed in the dead of winter to the empty lot next to Sheila’s home. This scene perpetuates hegemonic ideology about capitalism (S4, E12; Wells & Mylod, 2014):

> Sheila: What are you doing?
> Sammi: Homesteading.
> Sheila: You’re camping in my yard?
> Sammi: Not your yard. The vacant lot next to your yard. Complain to the city planning department. They should get around to sending someone to investigate by summer.

The social code of class difference between the two women is the focus of the scene and apparent in their behaviour, dress, dialogue, and styling, which transmits realism. The technical codes also transmit realism. The scene begins with a ES of the side of Sheila’s house. Multiple overhead or distance shots are used to show the viewer an empty lot, which suggests neutrality, before focusing on Sammi’s trailer being towed onto that lot. Once Sammi is out of the vehicle, the camera follows her, prioritizing her. The camera work in this scene is quick and active. The setting is outdoors and natural looking. There is a significant amount of snow on the ground, and both sunnier and shadier spots are visible. We hear the sound of an engine roaring before it enters the view of the camera. When the tow truck crashes into the snowy yard with force, loud alternative instrumental music begins which ends when Sheila speaks. The tow truck driver is

never seen on camera and Sammi's son is only seen once early in the scene. All the characters are wearing winter attire, although Sheila's jacket is of a higher quality, and she is wearing earrings, her hair is styled, she is wearing dramatic make-up, and holding kitchen mitts. Sammi's make-up looks natural and her warm clothing is more functional than fashionable.

This scene focuses on the women and works to illuminate differences between them as the male characters are given little or no screen time. Sheila is passive in this scene, standing, watching, and asking questions, while Sammi is agentic, problem solving and defiant of her right to park her trailer in the empty lot. Sheila is emphasized as a homemaker and domestic in contrast to Sammi's houselessness. Sheila is used in this scene to challenge Sammi's euphemism of homesteading with a retort that she is camping, although squatting might be more accurate. Camping is a leisure activity of the middle-class, not a "lifestyle choice" to manage poverty, low-paying precarious work, and inadequate housing opportunities. Homesteading invokes the romanticized frontier narrative of the pioneer and is about roughing it, living off the land, and relying on oneself. Homesteading is a hard life susceptible to the "taming" or "civilizing" of nature. In the frontier frame used in newspaper reporting, Makagon (2010) argues the pioneer is an artist who moves into the "frontier" of a lower working-class or industrial neighbourhood as a gentrifier. In this scene, Sammi is a "pioneer" but as an impoverished single mother in a gentrifying neighbourhood. The trope of the pioneer in the frontier is inverted. Smith (cited in Makagon, 2010, p. 36) asserts the imagery of the frontier is linked to "rugged individualism," an ideology that is repeated in gentrification scenes on *Shameless*.

The ideological codes in play are about home ownership and materialism, but class difference is highlighted. The us versus them binary can be invoked to understand the differences between the women, as Sammi is an impoverished member of us and Sheila is teetering on the

edge of the middle-class. The binary of Sheila's domestic home and the publicness of Sammi's trailer placement is also evident in this scene. Given the bitter winter conditions emphasized by the snow and clothing, and the way the camera prioritizes Sammi, the viewer is encouraged to develop empathy for her housing situation. I argue this scene ideologically portrays Sheila's higher-class domesticity as safe and calm as opposed to the chaos of Sammi's situation, which is communicated by the rapid camera cuts, loud music, and diegetic sound. While I believe subversion is present given the scene works to orientate the viewer's sympathies towards Sammi, primarily through the technical codes of the camera work and sound and the social code of her wardrobe, any sympathy ultimately supports the hegemonic ideology of home ownership. Sheila's comfy home seems the more ideal living situation. Therefore, this scene exemplifies the claim that challenges to hegemonic ideology often get incorporated and actually work to solidify ideology at the end. When this scene is reviewed through the us versus them binary, it is telling a story of us, yet the scene supports the hegemonic ideologies of capitalism, which suggests a lack of congruence between the manifest and latent content. Therefore, my reading of this scene suggests it is unreliable in what it is telling the viewer about gentrification.

Findings from the Data

The scenes analyzed below are from my coding of the data, and organized into a framework: The People, The Place, The Properties, The Power, and The Process. Each section will be explained in turn, and will offer a textual analysis of scenes that exemplify hegemonic ideology and subversions to hegemonic ideology. The scenes will be supported via connections to other scenes or dialogue in that theme. In the section of The Power, I cannot provide both a hegemonic and subversive example, so I analyze the absence. Although I offer the number of datum points coded under each node by indicating "n=," there is rampant over coding in this data, meaning

one section of dialogue may reside in multiple places if it elucidates multiple themes. For the larger themes with different levels of nodes, I offer a visual figure from NVivo to orientate the reader to the hierarchy. My final theme of The Process deals with all seven scenes in which the word gentrification is mentioned. The other four themes do not include analyzed scenes from each node or subtheme, as this would not have been manageable within the parameters of this project. Rather a scene that highlights the theme is offered in order to answer the research question.

The People

The theme of people (n=52) is intentionally vague to capture the numerous actors involved in any number of capacities during gentrification. To interrogate a specific group of people who may be enacting power, like investors, I can draw data from the subtheme of power as over-coding was applied. This theme contains the subthemes of Class (n=34), and LGBTQ+ persons (n=14) to illuminate differences between people. Previously I argued that LGBTQ+ persons are difficult to classify in terms of social positioning as there are both powerful and marginalized actors. And in terms of class, there is movement between classes. For these reasons, I did not want these two categories under the theme of power. For example, when Ian leads the homeless youth to organize and protest against Fiona they are enacting power in that instance, although they are generally a group attributed with little power. Given the gentrifiers in earlier seasons are lesbians the clashes between the groups often invoke sexual orientation and class.

Both class and sexual orientation are brought to bear within the context in which Frank angrily says, “Okay, no more Mr. Nice Neighbour. These scumbags have fucked with the wrong emperor” (Callaghan & Rossum, 2016). Frank has discovered that an emergency neighbourhood council meeting has been called to abolish his illicit homeless shelter. The scumbag is Lisa, who

earlier hammered a “No Homeless Shelter” sign in front of the “Gallagher home for the homeless.” Lisa is a middle-class lesbian gentrifier who exercises her class power over the disenfranchised group by organizing a neighbourhood meeting. Curran (2018) argues these types of conflicts are quite routine as “gentrification attempts to silence dissent and marginalize those who do not conform to the new norms of the neighbourhood” (p.1725). Changing norms in place also explains a similiar angry reaction from Yanis when he believes the Lisas are causing him trouble. Yanis focuses on the women’s sexual orientation and their wealth as concepts that allude to class difference: “They’re always complaining … about my yard, my fence, the colour of my house, my dogs barking, they’re calling the cops. These rich lesbo bitches always up in everybody’s business” (Wells & Chulack, 2016). Yanis is frustrated by the expectations his new neighbours have thrust upon him and is personalizing his attacks to their sexual orientation.

The following scene from “A Night to Remem—Wait, What?” speaks to class and socio-economic movement. A filthy Frank is found face-down by a Police Officer in a park. This scene promotes hegemonic ideology in support of capitalism (S5, E4; Holmes & Keen, 2015):

> Police Officer: Wakey wakey. C’mon buddy, up and at ‘em
> Frank: (groans) Morning.
> Police Officer: Well you’re in a good mood for a man covered in pigeon shit.
> Frank: I think I overdid it last night. Celebrating my last day below the poverty line.
> Police Officer: Win the lottery?
> Frank: Insurance payout. I earned it too. Broke my femur last winter, tore all
> Police Officer: Yah, good for you. You know, why don’t you wait for your limousine somewhere else?

The social and technical codes of this scene communicate realism but primarily work to differentiate class and trigger myths. The camera opens the scene with a close-up of Frank’s face against a slab of rock and then rotates 180 degrees to show Frank laying down. Next, an ES shows Frank prone on the lower marble base of a statue with the Officer standing nearby. A MS indicates Frank is waking up a bit. The camera reverses to a MS of the officer, then reverses in

same to show Frank sitting up. There are a few SRSs from a medium distance during the conversation and then a LS looking up the hill to the scene of the statue, Frank, and the officer. The setting is a park where a large statue of a man on a horse, holding a flag, is set high on a hill with stairs leading to it. In the background behind the officer upscale high-rise buildings are visible, as is a fountain. The officer is a white male and the badge on his uniform signals he is Chicago Police. Frank is beyond dishevelled as he is covered in pigeon feces, his hair is oily, and he is wearing a very stained and discoloured white undershirt – a wife-beater – light coloured striped dress pants, possibly linen which is a higher-end cloth, and bold coloured dress socks. He has no shoes.

This scene is visually resplendent with multiple codes that should trigger myths or frames. The statue holding the flag activates the ideology of patriotism. That the officer is standing over Frank initially, up a hill, puts the authority figure on high ground; he is the one with moral fortitude. Frank's filthy wife-beater signals his lower-class status, in line with Kendall's (2011) argument that working-class stereotypes will include a "lack of values, taste, and good manners" wherein these folks are shown to be "white trash, buffoons, bigots and slobs," particularly on sitcoms (p.161). Frank's appearance is a blatant frame or code for homelessness, particularly as his visage is contrasted with the beauty of the park and the affluent high-rises in the background. Wang (2018) argues the visibility of homeless bodies "induces anxiety, so these bodies must be contained, controlled, and removed" (p.271). Hence, it is a normative understanding that Frank should be moved on from the beautiful setting by an officer.

As I have argued elsewhere, the language of money is often used as a proxy for class, which is hegemonic in itself as it naturalizes a connection between income, labour, and personal will. Frank says he was, "celebrating my last day below the poverty line," so the officer asks if

he won the lottery. The officer then perhaps mockingly tells Frank to wait for his limousine elsewhere, yet the overall tone of the dialogue is congenial. There was a sigh beforehand, and the officer cuts Frank's story short, so I believe frustration is being communicated. The authority figure is annoyed that he is having to deal with "trash." Frank half salutes the officer to acknowledge the order to move on, again a hint at patriotism and deference to authority. A positive representation of an interaction between authority and the homeless works to support the officer as an upstanding citizen and morally decent, thus supporting the ideology of this scene.

The visual coding of Frank as filthy, shoeless, and sleeping or passed out in a park is juxtaposed with the other codes of beauty, affluence, and the presentation of authority. These codes work in concert to promote the ideology of poverty as a moral failing. Even when Frank got his hands on the money that would elevate his socio-economic standing, he still could not muster the moral fortitude to stay clean, in shoes, or out of the park. Instead, Frank violates the middle-class norms of moderation, courtesy, and peacefulness. Frank is a deviant against middle-class values which is a normative media framing of the homeless (Kendall, 2011). The humour of the scene allows a presentation of the poor as lazy or incapable of moral behaviour while obfuscating the structural inequalities built into capitalism that make it very difficult to escape poverty. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this is Frank's scene, which suggests the manifest dialogue and visuals do not match the latent ideology that promotes capitalism. The scene can be considered incongruent and thus unreliable. This is critical in a show meant to offer a barely working-class perspective from the subject's POV. However, it is expected that *Shameless,* even as a progressive text, will promote hegemonic ideology at times.

Having presented a scene illuminating the class of the people impacted by gentrification, I next review how LGBTQ+ persons as a group are represented via a scene from "The Two Lisas"

in which Frank and Sheila are discussing the lesbians offer to purchase Sheila's home. Sheila has come downstairs with Frank's medications on a tray, and sits to talk to him, stating she wants to sell her home to purchase a motorhome. This scene subverts the ideology of middle-class femininity (S5, E3; Callaghan & Segal, 2015):

> Sheila: Frank, look, look what I found. It's this place in California where they coat you in oil, and then they whip you with palm leaves. It's supposed to be good for your epidermis. And then I found this other place. It's a robot hall of horrors where you can buy dessert made by an actual frozen-yogurt robot. And then, Frank, look at this one. A theme park dedicated to jam! To jam, Frank! A theme park dedicated to jam!
> Frank: Sheila, I heard you. Listen to me. I'm a little busy right now. I've got my first order. I can't chat.
> Sheila: Well, Frank, when will you have time? I've been trying to talk to you all week, and those ladies want an answer.
> Frank: What ladies?
> Sheila: The lesbians who put an offer on the house. Frank. And I've got my eye on this cute little RV. It's adorable. It's a Class-C chateau, and it has a kitchen and a dinette and a bed.
> Frank: You cannot sell to the lesbians.
> Sheila: Why not? They're very attractive gays with a lot of money.
> Frank: Well exactly. When the good-looking gays start buying up our homes the whole neighbourhood is doomed. They're this cabal of sophisticates who're cashing in on their own good tastes.
> Sheila: Frank! I want us to see the world!
> Frank: I've seen it. It's a piece of shit.

The social and technical codes in this scene support realism and slightly favour Frank. The camera begins with a M-CU of Frank and then reverses to a similar angle of Sheila, but from above, which is Frank's POV as he is standing and she is sitting. Next, we see Frank from below, or Sheila's POV. A WS shows both characters and the setting they are in, which is Sheila's basement, currently hosting Frank's cobbled together home brewery contraption. When Sheila stands up the camera rises with her, zooming in on her slightly, all to communicate emphasis. SRSs are employed while the couple chat, interspersed with Frank's back or a CU of his arm and hand as he works. While the camera moves with Sheila, and each character is given a POV shot to highlight their perspective (Creeber, 2006b, p.42), the camera privileges neither, although

there are two CUs of Frank and none of Sheila. As the scene is set in the basement it is dimmer, while the overhead lighting casts shadows on Frank's face, and sunlight comes in through the windows to illuminate Sheila, all of which communicate realism.

The costuming and visual framing of the characters work to enhance their oppositional stances in the dialogue; they embody the us versus them framework. Frank is wearing beige cargo shorts, and a sweatshirt type top with the sleeves cut off – he is working-class. Sheila is the personification of a 1950s-domestic-goddess straight out of the television sitcoms that portrayed the nuclear, hetero, middle-class family. She wears a purple cardigan with ruffles over a matching floral print blouse, and her skirt is partially covered by an apron around her waist. Pearl earrings accompany her outfit and her full face of noticeable but restrained make-up. Sheila's wardrobe communicates middle-class domesticity while her caretaking of Frank and his need for medication is nurturing, which are actions associated to the feminine. Sheila does not want to jet off to travel the world, she desires a motorhome, a domestic setting on wheels. She uses feminized language to suggest the motorhome is little, cute, and adorable, remarking it has a kitchen and a bed. Her travel plans include jam, dessert, and caring for her skin, all signs of the domestic or feminine. Playing to normative gender roles, Sheila is frustrated Frank will neither listen nor talk to her. She uses the inclusive language of "us" whereas Frank speaks selfishly only for himself. The manifest presentation of Sheila and her desires scream hegemonic femininity, which focuses on the domestic sphere, nurturing others, cooking, and yielding to the male's opinion. Because these facts are emphasized, particularly Sheila's ludicrous vacation destinations, I read the scene as ironic. The scene pays homage to the sitcoms of the earlier eras of television, while mocking that which it superficially praises, the ideology of normative middle-class femininity so often seen in those sitcoms. This is an example of the carnivalized

inversions *Shameless* offers the viewer. There are several other examples that point to irony and an inversion of the apparent ideology of normative femininity. Sheila wants to leave her physical home and the larger home of her neighbourhood to explore culture, and culture is associated to the masculine, even if her chosen culture is domestically centered. In contrast, Frank wants to stay put in the domestic sphere. Frank also claims his business needs him, but this is a home-based business which is a feminized version of business. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them this scene's manifest dialogue and visuals have nothing to do with the latent ideology as I have read it, thus the scene is incongruent and unreliable.

Although my intention in choosing this scene was to analyze how the manifest content of LGBTQ+ persons involved in gentrification are treated compared to the latent ideology, the scene invoked the identify markers of class as well. On *Shameless* you cannot get away from class. Frank and Sheila are not of the same class, and the scene capitalizes on Sheila's closer-to-middle-class status to accentuate what Frank says about the potential buyers. The lesbians represent them, and are closer in class to Sheila than Frank is to Sheila. Them in this scenario is also the feminine, but a powerful, assertive, independent feminine expressing agency, which is a foil to Sheila's expression of domestic femininity.

Shameless is tapping into cultural stereotypes about gays and their superior tastes, although this is another inversion as it is usually gay men attributed with "taste." Griffin argues the television show *Normal, Ohio* "casts its gay character as an outsider in this [working-class] setting by drawing on cultural associations about homosexuality and upscale commodity preferences" (2017, p.88). The same is happening in this scene. Frank argues that this group of attractive gay trendsetters will doom the neighbourhood: "They're this cabal of sophisticates who're cashing in on their own good tastes." I argue this is also an ironic statement, as Frank is

commending the upper-middle-class lesbians for wanting to live in his lower-working-class neighbourhood. The lesbians are outsiders, they represent them, which is expressed through class and sexuality, and they provide opportunistic tension on the show through these different identify markers. Having reviewed some of the people involved in gentrification under the themes of class and LGBTQ+ persons, the next section focuses on where the process is unfolding.

The Place

The four subthemes held under the meta theme of the Southside as The Place (n=20) includes: The Block (n=14); Community or the idea of home in community (n=11); Neighbourhood (n=44); and, The Hood/Ghetto (n=17). Whichever euphemism is invoked, the Southside is rarely framed positively. An exchange between Fiona and her Parole Officer uses the trope of the white picket fence to contrast suburban bliss to the Southside: “Not many white picket fences where we come from” (Wells & Mylod, 2014). The word community is used to signify the groups of people who live on the Southside, “They wanna engage the community, provide programs for kids in need. Kids like yours” (Callaghan & MacDonald, 2017). The term neighbourhood is a mixed bag and is used both positively and negatively in scenes. Frank uses the language to set apart geographic space as having a cultural difference from other made space, “Must be wonderful living in your little fantasy world where unicorns slid down magical rainbows and everybody on the Southside gets by on the up and up. What do you think this neighbourhood runs on? It ain’t donuts.” (Holmes & Chulack, 2016). When the term “the block” is used, it is neutral, simply referring to a location. The words community, neighbourhood, and block are relatively common in everyday language and perhaps neutral, whereas words like ghetto or slum invoke strong ideological assumptions, frames, or schemas. To be clear, it is the

locals (us) who use the terms ghetto and slum, it is not labelling from outside. In fact, the Lisas tell Kevin "it's not the ghetto, it's our home" (Wells & Chulack, 2016).

Shameless used the words ghetto, hood, or slum 19 times to refer to spatial location, and while these words trigger specific associations for viewers, they may or may not reflect realism. For example, Kevin says to the Lisas: "It's the ghetto, lots of noises in the ghetto. Automatic gunfire, people begging for their lives" (Wells & Chulack, 2016). Of all the scenes coded, automatic guns are used once to destroy a coffee shop and no one ever begs for their life. Film scholar Barbara Mennel (2008) argues the "discourse on ghettoization is entrenched with class and racial stratification" (p.168). By and large *Shameless* is a white neighbourhood, so stratification in the neighbourhood along the lines of race is rare, whereas multiples scenes implicitly link class to the ghetto, as seen in this exchange from "Rite of Passage" which espouses hegemonic ideology in support of capitalism (S5, E5; Frankel & Graves, 2015):

> Mickey: Look who it is. Wrapping up his ghetto summer tour before he heads off to the ivy tower.
> Lip: It's ivory tower, all right? If you're gonna talk shit, at least do it right.
> Mickey: I've had it with you fucking Gallaghers.
> Lip: I've just had a long day at work. Work, Mickey. You ever heard of that? I just came here for a fucking beer, all right?
> Mickey: You built up a big thirst selling out your neighborhood, huh?
> Lip: Look, I don't like this place changing just as much as you.
> Mickey: Yeah, but when the yuppie floodgates open, it's gonna be us out here drowning while you work on becoming a member of the future McMansion owners of America.
> Lip: I'm just as fucking Southside as you are.
> Mickey: Really? So, what are you doing to stop these gap-wearing assholes from taking over the hood, huh?
> Lip: Jack shit, what are you doing other than running your fucking mouth?
> Mickey: I'm gonna make this place even shittier, so no one will wanna live here.
> Lip: Yeah? How you gonna do that? You gonna bury radioactive waste? You gonna dump chemicals into the water? Carcinogens? DDT?
> Mickey: Where do you think we can get DDT?
> Lip: Vietnam maybe.
> Mickey: Fuck it. We'll just have to mess shit up here.…What about you, Southside? Put up or shut up.

The technical and social codes in this scene suggest it is Lip's scene, told from the perspective of us. The camera favours Lip by moving with his perspective, the few CUs in this scene are of him, and the scene opens with the camera moving backwards in a MS as Lip enters the Alibi. It then shows an ES of the bar, which is the setting. Often, the SRSs during the conversation are M-W. Near the end of the scene, Mickey conversationally includes his friends so the camera widens and pans to show the viewer to whom he is speaking. It then moves with Mickey. Lip is presented as being of a higher class than Mickey through wardrobe. Lip is wearing a button-down short-sleeve shirt which is cleaner and more upscale looking than Mickey's open button-down black shirt with the sleeves cut-off worn over a tattered black t-shirt.

This is a robust example of the us versus them binary wherein Mickey has moved Lip to them. The verbal sparring leaves no question that Mickey believes Lip has abandoned the neighbourhood and its moral dogma. Lip is a sell-out. Mickey assesses Lip is no longer a permanent resident with the language "ghetto summer tour." At the end of the exchange when Mickey says "What about you, Southside? Put up or shut up," he is not only goading Lip, but othering him by mockingly calling him Southside. Mickey has determined that if Lip is not with the Southside he must be actively against it, which is due to Lip's summer job "clearing a path for the yuppies by tearing down our neighbourhood brick by brick" (Frankel & Graves, 2015). The term McMansion in the dialogue is noteworthy as this is a pejorative term for large bland homes marketed to the upper-middle-class which is antithetical to the homes in the neighbourhood. Lip plays into the differences by taunting Mickey's botching of the term ivory tower. Mickey challenges Lip about what actions he has taken "to stop these gap-wearing assholes from taking over the hood" and Lip fires back with another masculine insult that

Mickey is just running his mouth. On the surface these class differences are couched in a version of masculinity, that of toxic masculinity.

However, the ideology that is communicated supports capitalism, particularly the meritocracy and/or the American Dream. Mickey mocks the ivory tower and in a later but related scene from the same episode says to Lip "Southside huh? … college bitch." This feminized insult further alienates Lip as not us. It is clear that Lip's path to an elite consumption position is linked to his intellectual pursuits, which will award him educational credentials and a well-paying occupation. The viewer might remember that in a prior season, the hyper-intelligent high-school student Lip earned a four-year scholarship to college. In contrast, Lip suggests Mickey does not know what work is, thus individualizing a lack of labour and income as a personal choice rather than a scarcity of decent paying employment. The ideology of the meritocracy works hand-in-hand with American Dream ideology: if an individual works hard enough they will be able to rise to economic or political power. They will be able to live the "good life" independent of their class origin. Meritocracy and American Dream ideologies support capitalism by obfuscating social stratification and privilege and individualizing life outcomes. As there is little to no redemption on *Shameless*, in future episodes the viewer will see that Lip does not succeed in college and will end up back in the ghetto. In this scene though, reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this is Lip's scene so it should be told through the perspective of us, but this is a troubled us, and Mickey is rejecting Lip as us. The manifest dialogue and visuals of us is in conflict with the latent hegemonic ideology of capitalism, so I argue the scene lacks congruency and is unreliable.

The dialogue in the above-analyzed scene touches on the nodes of ghetto, neighbourhood, and the Southside, missing only the nodes of block and community, but it transmits a specific

idea of the ghetto. Bryan S. Turner (2010) writes, "the modern ghetto … is a spatial arena of poor housing, low employment, family breakdown, inferior schooling, and youth alienation" (p.250), all social issues explored on *Shameless*. Turner connects these urban enclaves to gentrification through the "significant interaction between life chances, poverty, and racial discrimination on one hand and the mortgage and housing markets on the other" (p.250). Jackie Wang (2018) argues "the media construction of urban ghettos … as 'alternate universes' marks them as zones of unintelligibility, faraway places removed from the everyday white experience" (p.273). Wang critiques these constructions of poor urbanity as places "where the social order is drastically different, and the links between social structures and the production of these environments is conveniently ignored" (p.270). Certainly, the manifest dialogue exchange between Mickey and Lip illuminates a different social order, where becoming an educated other is threatening to the locals. Yet, the latent ideology suggests the people of the ghetto do not work hard at getting an education and improving their chances.

Mennel (2008) argues "films made by the entertainment industry" "fetishize, exploit, and circulate commodified images of the ghetto" (p.152). She traces screen images of the ghetto to films produced in the 1990s meant to satisfy a national curiosity in the U.S. about the young black male – the "superpredator" (Wang, 2018). These films serviced "a fantasy about the ghetto as a taboo zone in need of explication and translation" (Mennel, 2008, pp.155-156). These were stories of violence associated with "drugs and gang warfare and are set in decaying urban locales made to represent such problem as policing, drugs, gentrification; lack of jobs, resources, and education; incarceration and gang warfare" (p.156). This descriptor generally vibes with *Shameless*'s representation of a post-industrial rust-belt ghetto. Mennel is deeply critical of this film genre for failing to offer the "artistic portrayal of the ghetto based on realism" (p.163) that

independent art-house cinema offered. Still, *Boyz N the Hood* (1991) placed “the politics of gentrification … [as] the political centerpiece of the film” (p.160), thus offering mainstream audiences some scope of the actual consequences of urban blight to neighbourhoods of colour in the big cities. *Shameless* deserves the same critique as a culture industries production, but, like *Boyz N the Hood*, it is offering a discourse on gentrification from the point of view of those impacted, which appears to be rare in mainstream television.

Against the media construction of the ghetto as a place of fear, wanton crime, and racialized violence, on *Shameless*, fellow Southsiders adhere to a creed of care and responsibility to each other. This is their strict moral code. In the first season, Ian says, “Hey Mickey, why don’t you steal from a neighborhood you don’t live in? Have some civic pride” (O’Malley & Dahl, 2011). When Lip is found to be caring for a large family of homeless children, he says to the visiting social worker, “the neighbourhood’s gotta stick together” (Pimental & Hemingway, 2014). In a later scene about the laundromat than that which is about to be analyzed, Fiona tells Margo, “people in the neighbourhood depend on it” (Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016). While these dialogue examples can be understood as the us versus them binary, they demonstrate that the fear written onto the ghetto is labelling from outside. Fear of place is not the internal or subjective perspective on *Shameless*, even if the characters use the terms ghetto and slum.

The following scene from “Ride or Die” occurs during the opening night at the laundromat Fiona has just purchased and renovated. The scene was chosen as it manifestly challenges the Lip/Mickey scene above by demonstrating the Southside can defy the standard media representation of the ghetto. The scene offers a progressive discourse by subverting the ideology of individualism (S7, E10; Morrisseau & Fuentes, 2016):

> Fiona: We’ve only made a profit so far of, of 20 bucks at the mat tonight, how’s that possible?

> Debbie: A couple more weeks like this and you're cash. Are you stressed because of that Margo lady?
> Fiona: Well, I'm thinking about her offer.
> Debbie: What about Etta?
> Fiona: Well, I didn't say I was taking it but I'm trying to think of good reasons not to.
> Debbie: 'Cause we're Southsiders and we don't sell out. 'Cause your sister's making really good tips.

Social cohesiveness is verified in the scene by the consistent M/WSs of multiple people, the monolith dress code, and the variety of people present. An ES shot of the laundrymat is made after panning up from a CU of someone setting down a bottle of wine. A MS shows multiple people including a woman DJ'ing. There are several W/M-LSs of the scene, and the first shots of Debbie and/or Fiona are also from a bit of distance. This works to situate them amongst the crowd. Even during their conversation, the shots of the women are MS, and the camera also shows Etta and others in the laundrymat in a M/WS. The opening camera shot and the diegetic sounds of dance music and general partying establishes a celebratory and joyous scene. There are numerous background actors given the scene is of a party, and in every camera angle both male and female persons, white and of colour are visible. Most if not all of the actors are wearing the dress code of the Southside: jeans and long-sleeve button down plaid shirts. Etta stands out as the exception, but for a reason, as she is not a customer in this scene. Fiona made a commitment to house Etta if she bought the laundrymat, and Debbie's dialogue is reminding her of this obligation, another nod to social cohesiveness. Debbie is working to assign washing machines, the crowded space is of people doing laundry and enjoying themselves, while Fiona is seen to the side of Wendall's with receipts and a calculator, working.

This scene juxtaposes with the prior Lip/Mickey scene in almost every way. The party at the laundromat is positive, upbeat, and female dominated, despite also featuring alcohol and a public setting. The scene features people of both genders and multiple ethnicities whereas the

hegemonic scene was primarily white. This scene shows family members working together. This scene exemplifies many traits of hegemonic femininity, whereas the Lip/Mickey scene is toxic masculinity. Debbie's closing line, which is delivered as the only CU in the entire scene, is "cause we're Southsiders and we don't sell out." Meaning, we belong to each other and we do not let down the others to whom we are responsible. In short, this scene is inclusive, subverting the ideology of the individual so rampant in Western industrialized society and prevalent on *Shameless,* while still narrating a working-class identity.

The group is prioritized over the individual in this scene, hinted to in the title of this episode - "Ride or Die" - a Western slang term for extreme loyalty. When we are responsible to others in our role, we are connected into the social world. Fiona is a service provider to her neighbours, and in this role of business owner she is obligated to care for others in her social sphere. Group loyalty is a middle-class norm, and the only one consistently maintained on *Shameless*. The current scene is important as it counteracts the many scenes of the ghetto in which *Shameless* plays into the normative media framing critiqued by scholars. It also works in concert with the dialogue I noted that expresses a level of care and responsibility which works to challenge a normative understanding of the ghetto as "zones of unintelligibility" (Wang, 2018, p.273). Most viewers will understand group loyalty as it is a predominant norm. The other middle-class norm at work in this scene is that of responsibility. So, while this scene can be argued to be hegemonic because it communicates middle-class norms in a show that narrates a working-class identity, it incorporates these norms according to the internal logic of the Southside. Additionally, the scene works to defy the ideology of the individual so resplendent in capitalism, like the American Dream or the meritocracy that the prior Lip/Mickey scene perpetuated. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this scene's manifest

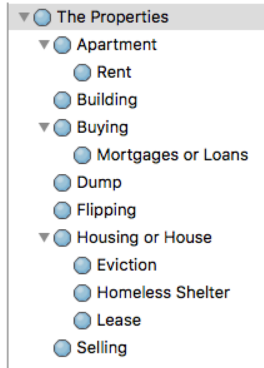
dialogue and visuals match its latent ideology and the scene can be considered congruent and thus reliable.

My data indicates there are more scenes that perpetuate harmful images and dialogue of the Southside as a dangerous ghetto than not. Although this section reviewed data associated to the place of the Southside, its results revealed that this place gains meaning through the people in it and their interactions. Will the same hold true for the properties of the Southside? Do the people make the home? Under a neoliberal regime that financializes properties, will home prove to matter? Surely this is what the fight over gentrification is; the right to a home?

The Properties

The theme of Properties (n=32) holds data in 12 sub-themes split into three levels. Figure 1 below shows the visual organization of the nodes. The subthemes are: Apartment (n=25), Building (n=36), Buying (n=63), Dump (n=20), Flipping (n=5), Housing/House (n=75), and Selling (n=37). Apartment has another level to differentiate the code of Rent (n=20), whereas Buying contains another level for Mortgages/Loans (n=23). Housing/House has the additional levels of Evictions (n=11), Homeless Shelters (n=17), and Lease (n=12). The textual analyses herein explore properties as the material site of contestation in gentrification storylines. Given the range of properties coded, I decided to pull both scenes from one storyline which examines the loss of a public school due to gentrification. The title of the episode used in this section is "You'll Never Ever Get a Chicken in Your Whole Entire Life" (S7, E7; Pimental & Wells, 2016). In this brief storyline, Frank embroils himself in a fight against a new private school in the neighbourhood.

Figure 1. The Nodes Within the Theme of The Properties from NVivo



The socio-cultural changes that occur during gentrification impact schools (Florida, 2017), as gentrification "is shaped by much bigger and broader forces, among them the large-scale public and private investments that structure the choices individuals make, and in doing so, alter the trajectories of neighbourhoods" (p.65). The first scene chosen works to challenge the normative belief that the lower-classes who remain in the area always benefit from the influx of a higher class, despite Florida's claims to that end. Liam goes to school, cannot enter the building, and finds Frank at his homeless shelter to ask for help. This scene subverts the ideologies of equal opportunity and the innocence of childhood during a conversation between Frank and the Janitor:

> Frank: What's going on?
> Janitor: They sent out letters letting folks know the school was closed.
> Frank: Why?
> Janitor: Not enough kids to keep the place open.
> Frank: Since when?
> Janitor: Since the new private school opened up. Bougie parents sending their kids over there now.
> Frank: A private school? In this neighbourhood?
> Janitor: Yeah, new money moving into the yards. Bunch of Richie-Riches.
> Frank: Where's my son supposed to go?
> Janitor: Well they're bussing kids over to Lincoln Douglas elementary.
> Frank: That's a 30-minute bus ride.
> Janitor: Not counting the stops.
> Frank: Probably overcrowded.
> Janitor: Forty kids to a class I hear.

Frank: So, this private school. Where is it?
Janitor: Took over the Blessed Virgin from the diocese.
Frank: The B, I went there! The archbishop sold it? What happened to the nuns?
Janitor: Ah, they shipped them off to assisted living. They were all a couple of hundred years old. Not enough poor kids in the neighbourhood to keep the doors open.

The technical codes of lighting, sound, and some of the camera work promote realism and privilege Liam. The ES foregrounds Liam and Frank but the empty schoolyard and school are visible. Next, the viewer sees a CU of Frank from slightly below, and then a CU of Liam. The camera pans to follow them as they walk towards the building. When Frank stares inside the school we see his face through the window from inside. Several times during this scene we see the adults from a low angle, prioritizing Liam's POV. There are two odd camera shots/angles near the end of the scene, one from inside the school of Frank and Liam that is shot from below Liam's POV, and the closing shot is a MS of Liam and Frank's mid-section angled upwards. Most of the other camera shots are a MS or some variation of, and once the dialogue commences no true CUs are filmed. Only diegetic sound is heard in the scene, and the outside lighting is not too bright. When the Janitor is seen from inside the lighting is dimmer and there is some slight shadowing on this face, but not on Frank or Liam's. The janitor is dressed in dark overalls over a white shirt, and Liam is wearing cotton pants, and a grey hoodie unzipped over a shirt, along with a backpack. The costuming for both are fitting for their characters of janitor and student but Frank looks very rough. His hair is greasy, he walks with a cane and a limp, there is blood on the white t-shirt he wears under an undone, flannel, plaid, long-sleeve shirt, his arm is in a sling, and he is carrying a dirty shoe (Frank's other foot is encased in a walking cast but that is not actually visible in this scene).

The dialogue, technical codes of television, and the social codes of reality coalesce to privilege Liam's POV and orientate the viewer to consider and empathize with Liam's

perspective. The few very low angled shots are meant to communicate weakness or powerlessness (Creeber, 2006b, p.42), and given there are so few CUs, the technical focus of the scene comes from the POVs it uses. The focus of the conversation is the lack of "poor kids in the neighbourhood" that would have kept Liam's school open, and the "Ritchie-rich" parents that have moved into the area and sent their children to a private school. In conjunction, these statements position the rich as robbing the poor, or Liam specifically, of the opportunity of education. Another supporting statement in the dialogue that centres Liam is Frank's annoyance at how long the bus ride must be, to which the janitor counters it is even longer with stops. The viewer next hears the classrooms are overcrowded.

Liam's learning process will be undermined in a crowded classroom, and his time for childhood play and learning is reduced if he is spending over an hour a day on the bus to attend school. Two ideologies are being challenged here, and they work in concert, that of equal opportunity and that of childhood as a time of innocence. The scene shows the privilege the rich enjoy in accessing one version of childhood, while the poor are constrained by access to resources. There is a taboo in Western culture to see children as anything other than innocent and deserving but this scene shatters the illusion that all children are equal.

There are several different arguments about the myth of childhood innocence but all scholars agree it is elitist ideology. Robin Bernstein (2010) argues the myth of childhood innocence is recent, dating back to the 19th century in the U.S., and is linked to racism. Specifically, Bernstein argues children work "strategically" in political arguments because their "innocence" makes them apolitical. In this way, "if they weren't innocent, then they weren't children" (para.9). Further, it was only "white childhood that was entangled with innocence," so "if they weren't white, they weren't innocent" (para.9). Other scholars link the innocence of

childhood through religion to sexuality. And in yet another vein, Julie Garlen (2020) argues this myth stems from 19th century thinking on “child labour, health and education” (para.7). It is a “white, middle-class, Euro-centric and hetero-patriarchal worldview that excluded the lived realities of all but the most privileged” (para.6). Using either Bernstein or Garlen’s logic, the myth of childhood innocence is elitist ideology. However, in this scene, that myth is challenged by Liam’s lower-class and black body. The camera work centres Liam thus placing him into the political conversation about the funding of public education and equal access to resources.

Once again, *Shameless* is inverting social norms as by the very nature of innocence, children should be “off limits.” Within sociology, the innocence of children appears in literature on the media and moral panics, dying and death, and sexuality, to name a few areas of scholarship. This supposed innocence extends to perpetuate a myth that all children are given equal opportunity by the state. This subversive scene uses Liam to promote a political statement on the reality of school funding in the U.S. which challenges the “promise of a renewal of the world” (Bühler-Niederberger, 2015) that we hope for in children. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them this scene’s manifest dialogue and visuals tell the story of us, and the subversions to the latent ideology suggest the scene is congruent and thus reliable.

In contrast, the later scene from the same storyline perpetuates hegemonic ideologies that normalize Liam’s exclusion from an upper-class academy of learning. Frank and Liam attend the new private school and Frank tells Liam to go play while he looks around. This scene is rich with humour and contains a fabulous Frank rant in which he offers an analysis about the funding of public education through taxes. However, the scene supports the dominant ideology of capitalism alongside an ideology about race which also supports the status-quo of structural power:

> Frank: What have they done to my school?
> Liam: Wow! Oh cool! Chickens.

Frank: Go play with them son
Frank (to a little girl): Excuse me. Hey, why aren't you going to public school? Afraid of being exposed to regular kids?
Nearby lady: I'm sorry?
Frank: Is it because my son is poor or black?
Lady: Children, let's go inside.
Frank: The public-school system is being gutted by you sending your kid to this expensive private school.
Lady: Please, sir.
Frank: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. You'll pay the taxes to support public schools but god forbid you or your husband, or your wife, would actually send your child to one.
Man (enters scene): Sir, this is private property. You need to leave.
Frank: This is just a 21st century version of segregation.
Man: I'm gonna call the police.
Frank: I'm leaving. C'mon Liam. Liam, let's go.
Liam: Can I have a chicken?
Frank: No, you can't have a chicken. And do you know why? (bends down) Because these people don't want you to ever have a chicken. In fact, (starts yelling) they've spent thousands of dollars a year (stands up) so that they can buy up all the chickens in the whole world to guarantee that you will never, ever, get a chicken, ever, in your whole entire life.

This is a longer scene and the camera is very active, so I offer a summary, noting the technical codes promote realism while the social and representational codes are signalling to the ideology. Panning down from the top exterior of the building, the camera moves into an ES of Liam and Frank. A MS of the two pans with them to show the viewer what they are seeing, and stops on a W/CU of the name of the school on a sign. There is another ES of the inner courtyard of the private school. The camera pans often, moves with Frank, and does three rapid CUs of signs on the school walls, each with a single inspirational word - realize, achieve, and engage. The elite institution appears to focus on neoliberal self-actualization as much as academic learning. Once Frank is in conversation with others, the camera pans with their movement for awhile before returning to focus on Frank's movements. At times the camera is unsteady, invoking documentary realism. Near the end of the scene the camera moves with Liam, and when Frank bends to talk to Liam, the camera lowers to Liam's POV and the viewer sees a CU of him. When Frank rises near the end of his "chicken rant" the camera rises too. An Asian

woman is teaching a small group of children Tai Chi. It is an adult Asian male that tells Frank to leave the property. One male Asian child is visible, and on the school posters some children of colour are observed, but in the actual courtyard, the other adults and children are white.

There is both hegemonic ideology and subversions to ideologies within this scene. I could point to the dialogue where Frank states his child is both black and poor, or his astute analysis that “the public-school system is being gutted by you sending your kid to this expensive private school.” Without naming the structural source of the “21st century version of segregation,” Frank sharply names a divide in public education. And of course, the entire chicken rant is an analogy for the plundering of public education and keeping wealth from non-privileged folk. Kendall (2011) argues “a well-rounded education for one’s children” is a middle-class value (p.177), so it is not fitting to have the character of Frank fighting for this. It seems an extended analysis from the prior scene regarding the belief that all children have equal opportunity to equal education would be sensible. However, there are two mainstream ideologies that go unchecked that I want to analyze: the ideology of private property and ownership rights which supports capitalism, even for spaces such as schools that might seem public; and, the myth of the model minority, which is a racialized ideology about “good” minorities and “bad” minorities in the U.S..

Working to concretize who has the right to be in the space of the academy, Frank is told to leave as he is on private property. Modern capitalism is founded on the establishment of private property and in the U.S., racialized segregation dictated who could own. Hence, there is long-standing inequality in the accumulation of private property and wealth in the U.S. which dictates who can and cannot afford private school. Additionally, private property is used to determine who belongs in space and who can be excluded. Frank nods to the us versus them binary and the history of racialized ownership of private property when he says “This is just a 21st century

version of segregation" before agreeing to leave. As a barely working-class character, Frank visually does not belong in this upper-class space. Private property is a source of power, and this power is being exercised by the elites against Frank's lower-class appearance and his black son.

The ideology of the model minority is linked to racism and I argue for it given that there are three Asian characters visible at this very upscale school: an educator or administrator, a student, and an instructor or volunteer parent. This model minority stereotype is problematic as it clusters diverse ethnic groups into a monolith, that of a quiet, smart, hard-working, and respectful individual. The model minority will ultimately become an economic success, a middle-class consumer, and perhaps a future gentrifier. The model minority ideology has been used to contrast Asian immigrants with black Americans, creating a wedge between differently oppressed groups. Thus, it is fitting that no other black children were visible and Frank asks the little girl if she is afraid of being exposed to his poor black son. This myth of the model minority becomes legible when contrasted against a black body.

Both ideologies in this scene work to support some fundamental myths about who is desirable or undesirable in place through either the capitalist ownership of private property or racialized bodies. Private property is certainly at the core of gentrification, but also provides the legal power to exclude from place. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this scene's manifest dialogue from Frank and the visuals of Liam are in conflict with the latent ideology that supports capitalism and race. Given the lower-working-class focus of the scene, there is a disconnect and I do not find this scene reliable. The ability to wield power to enclose space and determine who has the right to be there, or to fight back against power, is where we turn next.

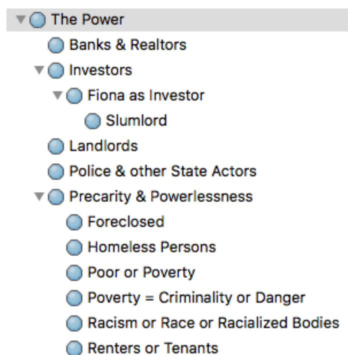
The Power

This theme holds a duality that replicates the us versus them binary. Figure 2 below offers a visualization of the organization of the 13 nodes over three levels. Banks and Realtors (n=37), Investors (n=33), Landlords (n=32), and Police and Other State Actors (n=31), generally hold the power (which is an empty placeholder). Fiona as an Investor (n=66) is a subtheme to Investors, and contains another level, Slumlord (n=6). Power is exercised by multiple players, as suggested by the subthemes, and exists in a hierarchal manner as the city can brandish power over investors, who in turn yield power over their tenants. Power also looks like (Holmes & Chulack, 2016):

> Fiona: Hey, we got permission to stay in the house until next week.
> Sheriff: From the bank?
> Fiona: No, the new owners.
> Sheriff: Bank owns this place until the inspection's done. Bank wants you gone.

In contrast, the theme of Precarity and Powerlessness (n=19) holds the subthemes of Foreclosed (n=5), Homeless Persons (n=25), Poor/Poverty (n=21), Poverty equals Criminality (n=28), Racism/Race/Racialized Bodies (n=12), and Renters/Tenants (n=17). Precarity might best be summed up when Etta says, "I wanna stay but I don't have a choice" (Frankel & Nutter, 2016). Or when Ian tells Fiona that his homeless LGBTQ+ youth are "helpless and you're not" (Steilen & Fuentes, 2017). It is the language of "the system" or "the man." I am not operationalizing the term power to align with any scholarship. Instead, I use a "common-sense" understanding of the term by using a dictionary definition of the word: the ability to act and do something, which may direct or influence the behaviour of others, or the course of events.

Figure 2. The Nodes Within the Theme of The Power from NVivo



Coded under the theme of Precarity and Powerlessness > Homeless Persons, the following scene occurs at Frank's homeless shelter from the episode "Own Your Sh*t." The first 39 seconds of the scene are not accounted for. A woman is seen knocking vigorously on the door to a home. Frank is seen weaving unsteadily amongst the cots to get to the back/side door. He opens it, she smiles but says nothing, and Frank promptly closes it again. Undeterred, the woman opens the door and walks in anyway. Frank is walking away, but he partially turns around to acknowledge his identity. This scene perpetuates the hegemonic ideology of capitalism (S7, E5; Morrisseau & Chulack, 2016):

> Woman: Mr. Gallagher?
> Frank: no, ummm, maybe?
> Woman: I'm Elena Torres, from the make-a-nest non-profit on Choice Street. Your news coverage has been making quite a stir in the social services community.
> Frank: It has?
> Elena: We've got some good news concerning your housing crisis. …
> Mr. Gallagher, perhaps you've heard of Simon Epstein, the real estate mogul?
> Frank: The billionaire who got busted emailing dick pics?
> Elena: Mr. Epstein is actually a philanthropist for the homeless. After seeing you on the news he immediately contacted our community service organization.
> Frank: You're kicking us out?
> Elena: No, no. Mr. Gallagher, Simon Epstein purchased this house for the Southside homeless.
> Frank: A billionaire with a bleeding heart and a big dick bought this place for me?
> Elena: Uh, he, (pause), he, bought it for all of you. And he's asked our organization to manage the property. We're getting calls from corporate interests who would like to

become sponsors. Because of your commitment to the homeless, this is now public housing. Mr. Epstein will drop by later today for a quick photo opportunity with you and your family.
Frank: I own this place.
Elena: Um, nope, uhhh, not just you, but yes, it is off the market and we are thrilled to be part of your cause, and we would love to participate in any way we can.

The technical codes of lighting, sound, and the camera work communicate realism but are not particularly focused on any one actor. A whip pan moves from the image of someone knocking at the back door seen from inside to Frank entering the lower level of the home. Frank is seen in MS and then a CU, both from behind. A CU of Elena, and then a MS as she enters the home, turns into a LS to situate Frank and Elena within a home with no furniture but filled with people sleeping on cots. SRSs are used throughout the conversation, sometimes from the side, and sometimes even when Frank is not speaking, but always in MS. There are no CUs once the dialogue begins. The lighting is bright with no shadows suggesting three-point lighting. Dance style music starts at the end of the scene with Frank's laughter; the lyric "go so crazy" can be heard. Frank looks disheveled. He has just woken up and is wearing boxer shorts, a white sleeveless shirt, and is barefoot. In contrast, as a representative of the employed middle-class, Elena is wearing professional business attire, carrying a clipboard, and has an expensive looking leather letter carrier bag. She is obviously wearing makeup but it is a daytime professional look.

This scene might play out in, and be about, a homeless shelter, but it is really about who has power and who does not. The social codes of "reality" expressed in the environment and Frank's appearance communicate a lack of power, particularly when contrasted with Elena's appearance. The "conventional representational codes" (Fiske, 1987, p.5) of dialogue indicate power at different points. Frank's ploy of chaining himself to the home's railing and passionately pleading to the news cameras in the prior episode is an act of speaking back to power. The media airing Frank's plight is also power in action as they have framed the story in a certain way and

through the power of gatekeeping could have kept the story off air entirely. The rich real estate mogul and corporate sponsors who are contacting the social services organization are using their power to meet their rational ends. Finally, Elena tells Frank the philanthropist who has bought the home will be dropping by later for a photo opportunity, which is also a manifestation of power as Frank cannot easily refuse the new owner of the shelter this request.

Several points in the dialogue espouse ideology in support of capitalism, particularly neoliberalism. Under neoliberalism, the market is expected to take care of all social needs, and private philanthropy is considered a better answer than the government. Along with donations from the rich, corporate donors or sponsorship have become a norm, even in university settings through public-private partnerships. The manifest content of dialogue suggests the rich will save us, which is precarious as it leaves the well-being of the many in the hands of the few. Further, trickle-down economics has thus far not materialized in any significant manner. Philanthropy is not the answer to social welfare because it is not guaranteed and cannot be controlled in the same way the state can exact, collect, and re-distribute taxes. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them*,* this is Frank's scene, representing the homeless us, but the latent ideology supports capitalism. Consequently, a disconnect exists and I find this scene unreliable.

This scene plays out exactly as Kendall articulates in the media admiration frame: "the media may serve as a public relations outlet for the wealthy, helping to smooth the rough edges of their business dealings and (sometimes) unscrupulous acts by letting others know about their good deeds" (p.34). The "good philanthropist" in this scene is in a precarious position due to public recognition of his engagement in disreputable sexual power dynamics, which is the reason for the photo opportunity. Further, if Mr. Epstein has made a fortune as a real estate mogul, it has

not been sheltering the homeless or providing low-income housing. Likely, it has been through developing gentrifying neighbourhoods or engaging in the financialization of housing.

The homeless are infantilized in this scene. Frank's group needs to be saved and then managed by others. Kendall (2011) reports media framing of the homeless includes stories that posit the group as irresponsible, unreliable, and incompetent. In short, not capable of running a shelter for themselves. The media's focus on individual personality characteristics individualizes homelessness, suggesting it results from mental health dysfunction, or drug and/or alcohol abuse. Homelessness is hegemonically understood as an individual problem, not a situation resulting from systematic barriers or structural inequalities. The ideology of individualism is seen in both the reason for, and solution to, homelessness.

This scene also taps into the myth of welfare dependency, which Kendall (2011) explains is a media focus on the individual's moral failings and negative attributes. The myth of dependency suggests people will become accustomed to relying on handouts even when they do not need them. A slang and gendered term that typifies this stereotype and ideology is that of the "Welfare Queen," popularized in the public imagination by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. It is a fear tactic that supports austerity in capitalism and *Shameless* plays into these media tropes.

Having reviewed a scene that was coded as the homeless being powerless, I want to draw on a scene that shows the powerful wielding their might. The following scene from "Going Once, Going Twice" is partially coded under The Power > Banks & Realtors and partially under The Power > Landlords. It occurs at cousin Patrick's place of employment, after the Gallagher's have been issued an eviction notice. Fiona and her boyfriend Sean go to see Patrick about the eviction notice because he will not return Fiona's calls. This scene perpetuates both hegemonic

ideology and subversions to hegemonic ideology; it is an unclear mix (S6, E4; Holmes & Chulack, 2016):

> Fiona: I'm curious what you told the Sheriff to get us evicted?
> Patrick: Oh, that. That's not about you. I took a loan out against the house for sixty grand, didn't pay it back, so, the bank foreclosed.
> Fiona: Well, can't you work something out?
> Patrick: Why? I get $500 in rent, usually late, from cousins who want to frame me as a child molester, or, I pocket sixty large and call it a day. Ya know, I got myself a jetski. Seasons tickets to the Blackhawks!
> Sean: How's your credit?
> Patrick: Credit was in the shitter anyway (laughs). Thanks for asking.
> Fiona: Look, the house is a dump but it's been in our family for generations and it means a lot to all of us.
> Patrick: Fuck that house and fuck you con artist deadbeat family

The technical and social codes in this scene are used to transmit realism and notions of class. A close-up on machinery and a male crotch lifts to show Fiona and Sean coming into the scene from a distance. The camera whip-pans as Fiona talks to Patrick. SRSs are used, and then the camera moves to the side while Fiona is talking to focus on Sean who is farther away, making Fiona blurry. The next MS of Patrick talking is over Fiona's visible shoulder. This over-the-shoulder perspective is meant to connect characters emotionally. A side-shot shows all three characters, there is another SRS, and then a low angle shot upwards to Fiona. Lastly, all three characters are shown in mid-range again which makes Sean blurry. The lighting is bright and artificial, perhaps due to the industrial work space, which communicates gritty realism (Creeber, 2006b, p. 42). Patrick is wearing jeans, a work type shirt with his name embroidered on it, and is wearing safety glasses when Fiona and Sean first arrive. Fiona is wearing a winter jacket whereas Sean is wearing a black leather jacket over a black shirt and hoodie. Sean's grooming, wardrobe, and behaviour communicate a higher class than Patrick's blue collar work attire, but he is a secondary player in this scene. When Fiona arrives at his work station Patrick stops working. Sean hangs back at a distance.

As I am using this scene to point to power dynamics, I propose Patrick is powerless against the bank in foreclosure proceedings and their ability to impact his credit rating, but also against the child molester allegations from Debbie. Fiona is powerless against the Sheriffs who are employed by the bank to evict her. The very low shot of Fiona communicates her powerlessness in the situation. Near the end of the conversation when Patrick gets angry he first turns away from Fiona, but then turns back swearing. He is holding a hammer (which was not seen before) which he points into Fiona's face. Sean steps in between them. Patrick switches the hammer into the other hand and slams it into the table, loudly reminding the characters and viewer of the power of physical violence. Sean is only occasionally included in the camera's view, and is blurry at that because of where he is standing, which focuses the attention on Fiona and Patrick. The opening shot of Patrick's crotch, Patrick's threats and then actualization of violence, his larger physical presence, and Sean stepping in to protect Fiona, all work to communicate the ideology of heteronormative masculinity. Although Patrick acts violently, and Sean's violence is alleged and couched as protective, both are a masculine use of violence to solve problems, or at least make them go away, and save the damsel in distress.

There is a subversion to the dominant ideology of capitalism in this scene. Patrick is refusing to abide by a debt repayment obligation, which is a fundamental premise of capitalism, and an escalating revenue source of capital expansion under neoliberalism. When Patrick questions why he would want to work something out with the bank, and then laughs while saying, "credit was in the shitter anyway," he is being deviant against the middle-class norm of responsibility. Further, Kendall (2011) argues "access to home ownership and financial assets such as a savings account" (p.177) is a middle-class value of economic security and Patrick is throwing away this access to wealth to enact revenge against his cousins with his short-term

thinking. These norm violations might be at odds with the working-poor representations on *Shameless*, and Patrick is really only blue-collar working-class, but this violation is definitely subversive to the middle-class norms television prefers. Wang (2018) argues debt is a "method of dispossession in the age of financial capital" (p.101) that "requires that subjects first be *incorporated* into the capitalist system as borrowers" (p.113; italics in original). Patrick was a borrower, and having defaulted on his debt, he has been dispossessed of his house. Patrick's refusal to pay his debts undermines a normative understanding of debt repayments. Reading this scene through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this scene is polysemic as there is both hegemonic ideology and a subversion to the ideology of capitalism. This is a scene of us, and the lower-working-class focus aligns with a subversion to hegemonic ideology, but a disconnect is present as Fiona is agitating for Patrick to pay his debts. Overall, I find this scene unreliable.

These two scenes demonstrate that power is dispersed, shows up in unexpected places or at unexpected times, manifests in gender, and that even those who can exert power over someone are likely under the thumb of someone or something else. Both scenes espoused ideology regarding neoliberal capitalism. While the first scene supported neoliberalism through the privatization of social services, the latter scene dismisses the idea of one's responsibility to pay one's debt, which makes sense in the context of *Shameless*. Patrick is a blue-collar worker who would never be able to access those types of funds normally without borrowing against the home he inherited. The second scene also expressed the dominant ideology of patriarchal masculinity, while the first promulgated individualism as a way to understand homelessness and the path towards resolving it. In sum, these two scenes considered together largely perpetuate dominant ideology in support of capitalism and patriarchy. This is troubling for a show that espouses to narrate a working-class perspective. However, it is perhaps not unexpected given this section

was thematically exploring the issues of power that emerge on *Shameless* during gentrification. Having reviewed the four sections of the framework that work in conjunction to facilitate gentrification, we turn now to analyze the seven gentrification specific scenes from *Shameless*.

The Process

This theme is about the process of Gentrification (n=50), and includes the subthemes of the Gentry (n=31) and Profit (n=11). It could be argued that "the Gentry" does not belong in this category given these are the people enacting gentrification. As previously mentioned, there is significant over coding in this project and arbitrary decisions for organizational purposes must be made. The word gentrification appeared directly in the data seven times, and I include all seven scenes in this section, presented chronologically (seasons 2-9 inclusive).

Gentrification is verbalized for the first time early in season two, by Frank, in the episode "Summer Loving." The scene opens with a MS of a TV screen and then shifts to a CU of Frank as he sits up on the sofa after hearing Sheila yell his name. The viewer sees a MS of Frank from behind, then a LS of Frank opening the front door. Sheila is blurry in the foreground for a moment, and then another LS of Frank puts Sheila out of focus. More MS of both actors are seen, with the camera slightly angled upwards towards Frank twice. The next CU is of Frank and is still angled upwards as he is at the top of the stairs. The camera moves with Sheila as she walks towards Frank and halfway up the stairs, which turns into a CU from the side when Sheila says "I am shopping." Frank is wearing a white tank-top and long black jean-shorts, while Sheila is wearing a blouse, skirt, sweater, and sneakers, has a fanny pack around her waist, her usual amount of makeup, and is carrying groceries. Not all dialogue is included here. I contend this scene subverts the capitalist ideology of consumerism (S2, E2; O'Malley, & Wells, 2012):

> Sheila: I made it all the way to Manny's produce truck today. 214 steps. I went to just do my extra 10 steps and then I saw the eggplant, and the rows of beets and the organic squash and I just kept going.
> Frank: Manny's pushing organic now?
> Sheila: This is just the start!
> Frank: The scourge of gentrification. Next he'll be hawking the coffee grown in cat shit.
> Sheila: Frank! I am shopping. I am part of the economy. I am myself again.

Sheila is more often shot from the side, or is blurry, while Frank is offered an elevated position which suggests a power dynamic between the two that favours Frank. Because the camera has Sheila looking up at Frank, he is the superior character which prioritizes his dialogue and perspective. And his language is particularly potent and negative. The words pushing and hawking are evocative of a snake oil salesman. To suggest Manny is the scourge of gentrification because he sells organic veggies to Southside residents alludes to the socio-cultural changes of gentrification, when yuppie or hipster consumption preferences are coddled. There is nothing more hipster than exclusivity and authenticity. In fact, the mecca of organic foods, Whole Foods, is akin to a "religious experience" for white people and has "replaced churches and cathedrals as the most important and relevant buildings in society" (Lander, 2008, p.61). Lander's (2008) book is satire but is remarkably accurate regarding the changing markers of consumption during gentrification. Through his language and facial expressions of scorn, Frank is linking Sheila's consumption practices to yuppies and hipsters, and then to gentrification, a continuing theme.

Sheila's weaker position as coded technically suggest it is Frank's analysis that bears more weight in this scene. Sheila's line, "I am shopping. I am part of the economy. I am myself again" is clearly supportive of capitalism, particularly, conspicuous consumption. It suggests that Sheila was incomplete without the ability to shop in middle-class stores. However, Frank is subverting elite consumption and this scene challenges the concept of consumerism. Notwithstanding Frank's contextually unreliable narrator status, his insightful prose and the other codes noted

work to emphasize Frank’s assessment of the changing consumption patterns in his neighbourhood. Placed into the us versus them binary, this scene offers consistency between its latent and manifest content and is reliable.

The word gentrification is not uttered again for three seasons, but when it is, out of Frank’s mouth comes a full lecture, not just a scathing comment about consumption. The scene from “I’m the Liver” takes place at the Alibi and was partially analyzed for its language in chapter four. Frank is sitting at the bar. Lip enters and joins his coworkers and then Frank interjects himself into the work crew’s conversation. I contend this scene subverts the ideology of progress (S5, E2; Vernoff & Hamri, 2015):

> Frank: What are you guys building on top of the old nursing home?
> Tommy: I don’t build, I just demo.
> Frank: I'll tell you what it is. I'll tell you all what it is. It's a Starbucks. Or some sort of artisanal juicery. Or a Whole fucking Foods.
> Lip: Just drop it, Frank, all right?
> Frank: I'm talking about gentrification, my friends.
> Tommy: Genital what?
> Frank: I'm talking about the beginning of the end. I have seen this before on Fulton Street in '64. On Kirby Street in '68. Realtors started buying up property at better than market value, and within a few months, the whole neighborhood was overrun with the gentry, and we were forced out. Today, the urban gentry is moneyed lesbians. They knock on your door. They offer you twice what your home is worth, and they do it 'cause they know something you don't.
> Tommy: He like this at home?
> Lip: What, you think I'd let him live in my home? [Laughter]
> Frank: Laugh, laugh. You won't be laughing in a year. When you won't be able to afford to live here. They move in, they take over. They kick the homeless out of the park as if they don't have a God given right to sleep there. We are dinosaurs, my friend. And a big, fat comet is headed for our sweet slice of earth. And that comet is a Starbucks.

This longer scene has numerous camera cuts and angles so I only highlight the ones that are relevant to my analysis. A M/CU of Frank from the side/back switches to a W/LS of Lip entering the Alibi. A W/LS of the room switches to a MS of Lip and then reverses to the three men at the table Lip is joining. After several CUs of Frank, one of which is shot with an unsteady

camera, as is a later M/CU of two men at the table, a M/WS of Frank focuses on him making the other characters blurry. Near the end of the scene a CU of Frank is shot from the side/back view and then the camera pans down to Lip in a M/CU. The scene ends with a M/CU of Lip.

The wardrobe communicates a working-class feel, as does the setting. Most of the patrons are dressed in jeans and t-shirts, but Frank is wearing a cheap looking long-sleeve button down shirt, tie, and cotton pants, unusual for him. I suggest Frank's cheap shirt and tie is meant to elevate him from his drinking cohort, but only slightly, as he cannot look moneyed given the critique he is offering.

The technical code of the camera in this scene conflicts with the representational code of dialogue, and while Frank appears to be prioritized by the camera, it is only slightly. The CUs in the scene are primarily of Frank; however, twice the angle is from the back or side of him. This is meant to communicate the viewer should consider the actors visible to be on an "equal emotional playing field," and believe there is a "connection or understanding between the characters" (Lannom, 2020). The dialogue suggests otherwise. Tommy the foreman interjects with, "Genital what?" making it clear he does not know what gentrification is. Further, Frank only receives two more CUs than Lip or the background characters. The defamiliarization of the camera work may only be a consequence of quality television which works to create "a sense a visual style … through careful, even innovative, camera work" (Thompson, 2007, p.xix).

Frank's analysis of gentrification is significant as he touches on: changes to cultural amenities; the surveillance of marginalized persons; the increasing cost of housing; the changing norms the middle-class will bring – "they move in, they take over;" and, some of the actors involved in the process – the gentry and the realtors. If a viewer themselves did not know about gentrification this could be a teaching moment. Clearly a critique can be offered about the

individualization of the process Frank suggests, which lets capitalism, the developers, and the state off the hook to focus on moneyed lesbians. While I contend that Frank could have spoken about developers and urban planning rather than focusing on individual gentrifiers, or scapegoating lesbians in this fictional work (Hosek, personal communication, July 15, 2021), we also have to expect that a product of the cultural industries will not be as effective as other genres such as documentaries at exploring the complicated and multi-faceted processes of gentrification.

This scene engages with humour in some specific, and perhaps troubling ways, as I read it as satirical and ironic. Biting humour is used when the working-class men mock Frank and his notoriously precarious home situation to offset his claim that the entire neighbourhood's home situation is about to become precarious. His response, "you won't be laughing in a year" is meant to neutralize their verbal jabs. I argue Frank's comment, "they do it 'cause they know something you don't," is directed at the viewer as much as the other characters. The dialogue, the "beginning of the end" is quite dramatic and likely satire because of the politics of the topic. Irony inverts the ghetto we know as a neglected and blighted space into a, "sweet slice of earth." Satirical humour, and irony specifically, can be dangerous devices because they rely on interpretation by the viewer who can get it wrong. This scene is an example of the carnivalesque given it has inversions communicated through irony and critiques the social elites.

Elsewhere I have criticized Frank's use of natural disaster language because it ideologically situates gentrification as inescapable, which supports the notion of progress as something natural or unstoppable. To close the scene with a joke, "that comet is a Starbucks," reduces the political bite of Frank's analysis. However, because we are dealing with satire, the inversion is that we should not treat progress as inevitable. Further, none of Frank's language is

positive or suggests that what is coming will be good for the neighbourhood or its occupants. I conclude that Frank's critique of gentrification as pedagogy outweighs the risk of the joke.

In this scene, a straightforward subversion of hegemonic ideology is not available due to the creative tactics of quality television and the satire of the carnivalesque. However, I conclude the hegemonic ideology of progress is being subverted in this scene. This scene is told through the perspective of the working-poor and working-class with respect to the us versus them binary and the scene subverts hegemonic ideology. Therefore, an alignment between the manifest and latent content is evident once the satire is taken into account, suggesting the scene is reliable.

A full season later as gentrification is ramping up in the neighbourhood a carnivalesque scene from the episode "The F Word" exemplifies Bakhtin's grotesque body. Fiona is pregnant and has morning sickness. She cannot get into the upstairs bathroom, so she vomits out an upper floor window (rather than going downstairs), raining barf onto the people below. The remainder of the scene being analyzed unfolds in the Gallagher backyard. This scene offers the hegemonic ideology of individualism but also works to subvert it (S6, E3; Vernoff & Ganatra, 2016):

> Frank: Oh Jesus! Fuck! Shit. Haha. Gallagher rain. (switches to Spanish and the subtitle reads: Even my daughter's vomit can't dampen the flavor of these empanadas.)
> Fiona: Frank, what the hell's going on?
> Frank: This is Jorje Mendoza and his clan. Got evicted, bank sold it right out from under them. And the Mendoza's came home yesterday to find all their stuff on the street.
> Fiona: And how is this our problem?
> Frank: The loss of our unique community? Generations of the American melting pot getting kicked out of their homes? Gentrification is everyone's problem Fiona.
> Fiona: Frank what are they doing in our yard?
> Frank: I rented it to them. The shed, the van, under the porch, this grassy area and oh my god can they cook.

The camera shots in this scene are unique amongst the scenes reviewed. The opening shots use a drone to provide a view of the larger geographic space of the Southside, and the neighbourhood, but the camera quickly zooms in to drop from height to street level, and repeats

this several times. I suggest this orientating tactic is meant to situate the viewer into the community, which works to undermine Fiona's individual claims and support Frank's collectivist claim about gentrification impacting everyone. Skipping a few camera shots, Fiona is seen vomiting out a second story window with a L/WS. A M/WS shows the victims, and this sequence repeats. M/WSs and L/WSs show the viewer the various groupings of people around the yard. The camera pans up to Frank who is standing and follows him across the yard. We see Fiona still in the upstairs window via a L/WS and the camera switches to her perspective of the yard via the same. The SRSs used for the conversation follow this LS/WS pattern given the spatial distance between Frank and Fiona. The only true CU in this scene is of a nursing baby from the Mendoza clan, from a top-down perspective.

The scene's camera angles evoke power and precarity. High angle camera shot's, such as Fiona's POF onto the yard, is meant to communicate power, while those in the yard have less power. However, Fiona's elevated position is weakened due to her inability to control her bodily functions. The camera following Frank suggests he is important, but he is situated amongst a great number of people and has no CUs. The CU of the baby nursing, particularly the perspective of that high camera angle looking down, is again communicating a power differential. The viewer should develop empathy for the Mendoza's through the innocence of a homeless infant and consider their powerlessness in this situation.

The hegemonic ideology of individualism in this scene is both supported by Fiona and subverted by Frank's call for community. Through the dialogue, Fiona is situated as uncaring, "and how is this our problem?" whereas Frank focuses of both the individual loss to the Mendoza's and "the loss of our unique community." Frank and Fiona are at odds, and expressing the us versus them binary by invoking the group loyalty of the Southside given Frank's decree,

"gentrification is everyone's problem." Troubling the expression of loyalty is Frank's status as an unreliable narrator. The viewer knows Frank is not actually being charitable, for him it is always about money, and this dulls the potentiality of any subversion to ideology in this scene.

There is also an expression of the ideology of private property in Fiona's challenge, "what are they doing in our yard," which is supported by Frank's response, "I rented it to them." This line of thinking exemplifies the financialization of housing wherein residual income can be collected as a rentier. However, in the balance, given the evidence offered via the technical codes, I argue this scene predominantly undermines the ideology of individualism. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this scene is manifestly of us which coincides with a subversion to the latent ideology of individualism, suggesting this scene is reliable.

Later in the same episode ("The F Word"; S6, E3), Yanis is home from the hospital after his motorcycle accident. In this storyline Yanis, and the Lisas who live next door, have been in extreme conflict for several episodes. Aspects of the escalating struggle include a petition by the Lisas that would ask the police to force Yanis to clean up his yard, Yanis' dogs being seized by the city, and someone cutting the break line on his motorbike which results in a crash. The vitriol Yanis feels towards the Lisas is palpable. Lying in a hospital bed in his living room, Yanis is making graphic and ludicrous threats against the Lisas for causing the accident that has paralyzed him. Kevin is wracked with guilt and tells Yanis it was not the Lisas who cut his break line, so Veronica intervenes and tells Yanis they were out of town. This scene perpetuates the hegemonic ideology of the American Dream (Vernoff & Ganatra, 2016):

> Yanis: I know who it was then.
> Kev: Look Yanis
> Yanis: That lawyer motherfucker on the corner with the Audi, that gentrifying piece of skata[i]. I'm gonna kill his kids. I'm gonna feed him their testicles on a shish kebab.
> Kevin: Wait, what, no, that's not right. You don't bring kids, no

The technical codes communicate realism while the social code of wardrobe situates the characters in opposition to the multiple higher-class gentrifiers with whom Yanis is angry. An ES shows the three actors in Yanis' living room. A MS of Yanis in a hospital bed shows the extent of his injuries. He has numerous cuts and bruises and his right arm is in a cast. From Yannis' POV we see Kevin looking up, which transitions to a W/LS of Veronica. A few SRSs in MS occur between Yanis and Kevin, the opening shot is repeated, and then the camera bounces between all three characters, all in MS. The inside of the home is bright and Yanis has sunny sections on him while Kevin and Veronica do not. Yanis is wearing a t-shirt with a plaid shirt over top; it is noticeable that this was a long-sleeve shirt and the arms have been cut off. His gold chains are visible. Kevin is also wearing a significant amount of jewellery, and a grey t-shirt over a long-sleeve thermal shirt, and jeans. These two communicate a working-class aesthetic where jewellery is excessive and not refined. Veronica is styled ghetto fabulous as usual.

The short scene offers two clues to suggest the viewer is being positioned to empathize with working-class Yanis despite his rage, vile language, and threats that are directed against multiple, individual, middle-class gentrifiers. The sunlight shines on Yanis only, and it is his POV that is singly offered; there are no CUs in this scene.

The ideology being espoused in this scene is that of the American Dream. Yanis' anger and backlash communicates his belief that his liberty and individualism to pursue his version of the "good life" is restricted by the middle-class norms of the neighbouring gentrifiers. Additionally, Yanis focuses on the gentrifiers own American Dream to express his distaste for them. Yanis expresses his rage by commenting on the markers of the upper-class lifestyle the gentrifier lives, through consumption preferences (Audi) and occupation (lawyer). This is a clear example of the us versus them binary in action. This is a scene of us and when considered through the binary of

us versus them, with manifest content and latent ideology that do not align, this scene is unreliable. This short scene completely obfuscates the structural inequalities that over time make a neighbourhood ripe for gentrification, and focuses on individuals rather than the developers or globalized capital that often enact gentrification with the support of the state.

In the third and final gentrification scene from season six, Lip comes into the Alibi during the day and sits to have a beer and a smoke. This scene from "Familia Supra Gallegorious Omnia!" subverts the ideology of the American Dream (S6, E12; Wells & Chulack, 2016):

> Veronica (to Kevin): What's Lip doing back here in the ghetto in the middle of the day?
> Kevin (quietly to Veronica): Getting hammered, apparently.
> Veronica (to Lip): Hey. No classes today.
> Lip: Uh, it's a holiday.
> Veronica: It is? Which one?
> Lip: Well, it's got to be a holiday somewhere.
> Kermit: Bulgarian Independence Day.
> Lip: Yeah, exactly.
> Kermit: Chief Joseph's birthday too.
> Tommy: Chief fucking Joseph?
> Lip: Yeah, he led the Nez Perce in the guerilla war against the U.S. Cavalry. All fighting to keep the land the government tried to steal away from his tribe.
> Kermit: Manifest destiny.
> Lip: Nah, just gentrification with a fancier name and Native American genocides. Government of the rich people, by the rich people, and for the rich people, so help me God.

This scene is one that was initially coded as invoking real world events, which contributes to realism, while a lack of sound provides dramatic effect and highlights the dialogue. The technical code of the camera privileges Lip slightly. Although Kermit provides the viewer with several shots of the occupants of the bar through his POV, we are also offered Lip's POV once and he has two CUs. Kevin enters the bar from the back and the camera pans with him as he walks, which turns into a M/CU of Lip. The camera pans to put Kevin and Veronica in a MS but this is actually a LS with Lip out of focus to one side. Another LS, this time of the bar with the television on the far wall in focus foregrounds the back of Lips head, in M/CU, and so blurry.

More LSs of the bar keep the various actors out of focus, interspersed with MSs. There is a clear CU on Lip when he utters the word gentrification, which reverses to Kermit in a M/LS, and comes back to a CU of Lip when he says, “government of the rich people.” Despite being inside the bar it is relatively bright, although Lip’s face is not well lit, suggesting a sombre or gritty scene (Creeber, 2006b, p.42) which supports the topic at hand.

The dialogue brings out the idea of manifest destiny, which is linked to the ideology of progress as a rationale for the colonization of First Nations Peoples. However, Lip refutes this statement and says the guerilla war Chief Joseph led as a land defender was against, “gentrification with a fancier name” and genocide. The final line that begins “Government of the rich people” is key to this scene. Lip is suggesting the government works in favour of the elites, which is quite subversive, but logically in line with manifest destiny. His character is expressing a helpless rage felt by so many of the 99 per cent, particularly after the 2008 U.S. housing crisis when the governments bailed out the bankers responsible for the crisis but millions lost their homes[ii]. The language suggests if you are poor, or a First Nations person, the government will steal from you at best, destroy your culture, or kill you, which could translate in this scene to letting the working-class die financially. It is a stretch to suggest that gentrification is anywhere close to the genocide waged against First Nations persons in North American in terms of the devastation wreaked. I do not believe the intent of the scene is to suggest they are of equal consequence. Rather, I think the dialogue suggests a helplessness against state sanctioned inequality in terms of land or housing. This scene upends the notion of opportunity and equality in the U.S. creating a challenge to the ideology of the American Dream. While the dream of private property is being espoused, it is ultimately being called into question as unrealistic for some due to government interventions on behalf of the elites. As the dream does not exist for all,

capitalism is exposed as inherently unequal. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them, this scene offers the perspective of us, and because the manifest dialogue and visuals are harmonious with a subverted latent ideology, I find this scene reliable.

It is several more seasons before the word gentrification is uttered again, at which point the storylines have switched and Fiona represents them. Fiona becomes embroiled in a vicious fight with her brother over a nearby church. In this scene from "Occupy Fiona" Ian is leading a protest in the empty lot next to Fiona's apartment building. Trevor arrives from across the street. This scene perpetuates the hegemonic ideology of neoliberalism (S8, E7; Metzler & MacDonald, 2017):

> Ian on bullhorn: Occupy Fiona.
> The kids chant back: Occupy Fiona.
> Trevor (approaches yelling): Ian, Ian, Ian. What the hell's going on?
> Ian: What's it look like? Fiona stole our building to protect her precious property value so now we're taking her property value into our own hands.
> Trevor: So, you're using my kids to fight your sister?
> Ian: No. They're angry about gentrification and I'm helping them channel their feelings in positive, creative ways.

The camera work prioritizes Trevor via his POV, foregrounding him, and showing him in the single true CU of the scene, although the camera moves with Ian. A M/CU shows Ian with a bullhorn, next switching to a different angle and a W/LS which makes the crowd blurry but still foregrounds Ian. A late ES shows the tent city and crowd. Another L/WS shows Trevor walking across the street, which reverses to the same from his POV. I suspect a hand-held camera is used here as it is very unstable as it follows Trevor. The sequence is repeated, and then we see a WS of the crowd and their signs, the camera panning to show other signs. A few M/CUs of Ian, Trevor, and a young woman turns into a M/WS of the group. The camera moves with them as they walk to the front of Fiona's building. A LS of the street has Trevor foregrounded and thus blurry, off to the side. The final shot is an unsteady pan to a M/CU of Trevor.

The technical code of the camera and the representational codes of “narrative, conflict, character, action, [and] dialogue” (Fiske, 1987, p.5) appear to be in disagreement. The dialogue suggests this is Ian’s scene and is about his ability to challenge power. Yet the camera prioritizes Trevor. The camera work promotes documentary realism through its unsteadiness which lends to the drama of the protest scene. The dialogue used by Ian and the youth should trigger memories of Occupy Wall Street[iii]. Ian’s comment, “Fiona stole our building,” is a trigger to frame the wealthy and powerful as corrupt, also invoking the Occupy movement. The language Ian uses, “into our own hands” and “channel their feelings,” is agentic and neither line suggests victimization. Given these purposeful actions, this is not a scene of powerlessness, even though the LGBTQ+ youth are precarious in their housing. Rather, the youth group led by Ian is speaking truth to power, with Fiona as the manifestation of a powerful them in this scene.

The power struggle results in several ideologies being evident. By invoking Fiona’s property value, Ian is espousing neoliberal language that supports the financialization of housing despite his subversive actions. Trevor is suspicious of Ian and given Trevor is highlighted via the technical codes, his dialogue undermines Ian’s claim that this is not a sibling fight. Ian focuses on the property at hand whereas Trevor personalizes the fight. Again, gentrification is reduced to an individual. Fiona is understood through Trevor’s lens as a single actor making bad choices. Therefore, in sum, the scene supports the myth of neoliberalism as individually driven, although it marks the structural inequalities of capitalism via the financial inequality between Fiona and the homeless protestors. Reviewed through the theoretical binary of us versus them this scene is manifestly of us while the latent ideology supports capitalism. Thus, a disconnect suggests this scene is unreliable.

In the next season, Fiona is using a second mortgage against the apartment building Ian and the youth were protesting to seek out another investment. Fiona is talking with commercial real estate agent Max outside a building for sale. This scene from “Mo White!” perpetuates primarily hegemonic ideologies concerning masculinity and capitalism, with a slight subversion to the ideology of femininity, making this scene polysemic (S9, E2; Metzler & Feeley, 2018):

> Max: So, it's, uh, 540 firm, and I've got another offer on the table, so
> Fiona: What do you think the rental increase per square foot is gonna be year to year, with gentrification?
> Max: At least 20 percent. Maybe more.
> Fiona: Really? Huh. Aren't things actually leveling off, down a few percentage points last quarter? CBD heading towards an equilibrium?
> Liam: Sorry to interrupt. Fiona, gotta get you to your next closing by 1.
> Max: Who's this little guy?
> Fiona: This is my intern, Liam. He's a prodigy. Anyway, nice to meet you, Mr.?
> Max: Whitford.
> Here. Hey, you know what? You seem savvy. Why don't you let me show you something else? I got another property just off Malcolm X, not even listed yet. What do you say, can you push your one o’clock?
> Fiona: Okay, just this once.
> Max: Fantastic. I'll text you the address.

There are a great number of LSs, WSs, or three-person shots in this scene, but Fiona has three CUs and Max has only one looking up at Fiona from a low angle, which suggests she holds the more powerful position overall. A LS looks down the sidewalk of a city block. Fiona and Max exit a building in the distance and the camera follows Fiona walking. A L/WS shows Liam and the street. Fiona enters in MS without the camera moving. An ES shows the entire building they have exited. A M/CU of Max puts Fiona in a CU. The camera pans slightly. More MSs of the actors are seen, sometimes with the street in the background, along with a CU of Fiona. The camera continues to pan in this scene and is unstable at times. When Liam walks towards Fiona in a M/WS the camera backs up with him. A W/LS shows all three actors. One CU of Max is looking up at Fiona from a low angle because he has bent down to talk to Liam. A M/W/LS

moves backwards with Fiona and Liam. The camera whip-pans from Fiona down to Liam, and ends with a L/WS of all three and the street.

Fiona's wardrobe aesthetically communicates she and Max are at least close in class. Max is wearing a suit, tie, dress shirt, and has a pocket square. Fiona is wearing a feminine and classy dress with tiny flowers and birds on it. She wears red high heels, small gold hoops, and blacked-out aviator glasses. Her nails are manicured, her hair is more stylish than usual, and her makeup is noticeable as daytime professional.

As visual equals in terms of class, I read this scene as a dance of power between the masculine and the feminine, each vying to out-smart the other, evident in six points of the dialogue. Fiona begins by trying to impress Max with her knowledge, asking about the rental increase accounting for gentrification. She then challenges his response. Max tries to disrupt the power struggle by inquiring about Liam so Fiona claims he is a prodigy, her employee, and then pretends to forget Max's last name. Liam foils Max's masculine manipulation of attempting to pressure Fiona into a sale by ensuring that Fiona is too busy to be sold to. Max concedes to Fiona's game of playing aloof by appealing to her intellect and asking if she would like to see something else. She agrees, but makes it seem as though this is an exception, ending the verbal jousting with her having the upper hand.

This scene perpetuates heteronormative masculinity and femininity with a few exceptions that offer a potentially feminist twist to heteronormative femininity. Fiona will not play submissive to Max in terms of her knowledge. Fiona arrives to a business meeting with a child which potentially reduces her power by emphasizing her biological capabilities (Ortner, 1974). However, by suggesting Liam is a prodigy and an employee, Fiona is establishing that she does not play a nurturing role in the child's life. Visually, Fiona has been costumed to communicate

femininity and she is playing her good looks to her advantage, or engaging in the patriarchal bargain (Kandiyoti, 1988). However, the dark, opaque glasses are associated to masculinity, a means of emotionally distancing oneself from others, so there is an inversion to a social gender code at play. Conversely, Max is trying to get something out of Fiona, playing to heteronormative masculinity. In sum, there is heteronormative masculinity and an unsettled take on heteronormative femininity in this scene.

The scene promotes the hegemonic ideology of capitalism through the lesser ideology that continued economic growth is desired. The language of, "rental increase per square foot" and "at least 20 percent. Maybe more" expresses normative expectations for investments in Western industrial society. People do not invest their money to lose it. The point of tracking a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is to at all times have an indicator of the growth rate and size of the economy. Under the marketization of neoliberalism, the average lay person has absorbed the language and ideology of the "market" and seeks the same as global finance. This is what Fiona is expressing through her questions as a potential investor. This scene is an exception as it does not really reside in the theoretical binary of us versus them. Fiona is precarious, but she has joined the ranks of them at this point in the storyline, and as this scene's manifest dialogue and visuals work in concert with the latent ideology of capitalism, this scene is reliable.

Conclusion

The 21 textual analyses of scenes related to gentrification were organized and presented as either a pre-established code based on my literature review or a finding from the data. My findings were organized and presented under my organizational framework: The People, The Place, The Properties, The Power, and The Process. What became evident during the writing of this thesis was that the boundaries of my framework were porous and fabricated. Power was

evident in many of the scenes examined during the process of gentrification, whereas the people were evident in the scenes about the place. In each section of the framework: I explained the types of data; offered the number of datum points in each sub-theme (n=); and provided a few examples from *Shameless'*s dialogue to reveal my thinking before offering the textual analyses.

I am not arguing my analysis is representative of all the data available on *Shameless* regarding gentrification, nor that any of my readings of scenes are the only interpretations that could be made. A laboured textual analysis has not been applied to all 167 gentrification-related scenes I identified in my sampling round. Rather, 72 scenes were chosen from my open codes for a textual analysis and then 21 scenes were chosen to work within the framework.

Despite the known authorial intent to tell a story from the inside perspective of the working-poor or working-class, in these 21 scenes *Shameless* has presented as many scenes with hegemonic ideology as with subversions to hegemonic ideology. Considering the 21 scenes subversions to ideology appear in eight scenes whereas hegemonic ideology is apparent in nine scenes, leaving four that mixed ideologies. Of the four scenes with mixed ideologies, two were thoroughly unclear and offer evidence of the polysemic nature of media texts. While not consistently offering alternatives to the "common-sense' thinking on the urban restructuring of poor neighbourhoods in the U.S., *Shameless* nonetheless challenges hegemonic ideology in part.

As *Shameless* does not consistently align hegemonic ideology to the scenes representing them, and vice-versa, one cannot assume that the apparent protagonist of the scene will impact whether or not the ideology is hegemonic or a subversion exists. I expected a scene told through the POV of us would be used to offer subversions to hegemonic ideology. Conversely, I anticipated the stories told through the POV of them would perpetuate hegemonic ideology. As

the show was not reliable in its deployment of hegemonic ideology or subversions, I characterize *Shameless* as an unreliable text.

My finding of *Shameless*'s unreliability emerged by engaging the us versus them binary, which proved to be a useful theoretical tool. By placing the scene's latent ideology into conversation with the manifest narrative and coding of the scene and invoking the us versus them binary to determine whose POV is privileged (the poor and barely working-class or the middle-class) I could determine if the viewer is being offered a clear directive regarding gentrification or the show's political analysis of same. If elite ideology arises in a scene that superficially champions the working-class it is an unreliable scene as it replicates the neoliberal logics that undermine the working-classes' ability to transform their worlds. I noted throughout this chapter whether or not I found a scene reliable, which only means I judged whether or not the manifest and latent content worked in concert. For example, I considered Fiona's scene with Max, which is telling the story of middle-class investors and gentrifiers (them), to be reliable because the scene primarily perpetuated hegemonic ideology.

This tactic of assessing the manifest POV the scene is told through demonstrates that 18 of the 21 scenes analyzed focus on the perspective of us. Only two are told through the perspective of them, while one was unclear whom the scene favoured via its technical, social, and representational codes. This analysis shows the majority of scenes are unreliable given the preponderance of hegemonic ideology I uncovered. In fact, only nine of twenty scenes are reliable (I had to dismiss one scene in this analysis as its reliability was unclear given the multiple ideologies present and an unclear protagonist). However, a difference emerges in the scenes where the word gentrification is invoked, as five of the seven scenes are reliable. Only two scenes are told through the perspective of us that perpetuated hegemonic ideology.

Therefore, the scenes that manifestly use the word gentrification offer the viewer a more sustained critique of the urban restructuring process. I find the congruency of the gentrification scenes interesting as I believe it suggests that when the writers of the show used plain language they became more aware of the "real-life" classed nature they were representing. This appears to have sharpened the public policy critique and made it more accurate. I think the scenes became ideologically black and white to the writers when gentrification was named in the dialogue.

My findings suggest that despite the manifest differences between us and them in the storylines on *Shameless*, when analyzing the latent content of ideology this theoretical binary is a limited tool. The binary was useful in this research as it revealed that *Shameless* undermines its narrative POV by articulating hegemonic ideologies and/or subversions that may have little to do with the manifest content of the scene, and may or may not match the POV of the primary characters in the scene. In considering the binary and the narrative strategies on *Shameless* two other findings emerge: 1) the binary highlights fluidity between us and them, particularly when Fiona attempts to gain access to economic benefits through gentrification but is then socially sanctioned by the us she is now exerting power over; and, 2) the binary "relativizes the agency of the individualistic us and them by offering glimpses of structural factors that shape the us and them and their socio-economic geographies" (Hosek, personal communication, July 29, 2021).

The hegemonic ideologies that emerged in these scenes that were supportive of primarily capitalism and patriarchy included: individualism; the American Dream; private property; poverty as a moral failing; the meritocracy; heteronormative expressions of gender; economic growth as positive; the myth of the model minority; the myth of welfare dependency; and, neoliberalism. The one-off ideology was the myth of the model minority, which supports racism and capitalism, so it still functions to maintain the existing power structures in U.S. society.

Tellingly, this myth arose in a storyline featuring Liam, who as a poor, black male from the ghetto inhabits a dangerous body in the U.S. which offsets the model minority myth. Liam's racialized body presents a danger to others through what is perceived to be his inherent criminality, and is also endangered because young black men are murdered by the police at an alarming rate not experienced by any other racialized population. Given the overall whiteness of *Shameless*, Liam is one of the few bodies through which the myth of the model minority would be obvious.

Analyzed scenes also presented scenarios that subverted the following hegemonic ideologies: individualism; the American Dream; middle-class femininity; heteronormative femininity; equality; childhood as a time of innocence; debt repayment; consumerism; progress; and, liberty. These can also be summarized as challenging the dominant ideologies of capitalism or patriarchy. Within the subversive group one scene also undermines a myth specific to children that falls outside either capitalism or patriarchy specifically, the myth of childhood innocence, which typically supports structural elite power and is linked to racism. Liam's character was also the vehicle for this subversion.

Shameless fails to present a clear ideological stance in two ways. Sometimes multiple conflicting ideologies are present in one scene, and there is an almost perfect division between hegemonic ideologies and subversions to those. Further, the two most common ideologies across the data, individualism (n=5) and the American Dream (n=3), are both supported and subverted. Not providing consistent support or subversion for ideology muddles the political potential of the show. This is why *Shameless* can be considered a progressive text but only that. It offers challenges to hegemonic ideology at times, and at other times supports the inequalities that capitalism and patriarchy perpetuate.

Shameless appears to use hegemonic ideology for the viewer's ease rather than offering a sustained political critique of the ideologies that champion gentrification. Hegemonic ideologies tell apolitical, common-sense stories and keep the viewer watching by not alienating them. The show does not ensure that all the scenes told from the POV of them are noticeably at odds with the us perspective. Doing so would have consistently challenged the "normative" ideas that serve the social elites by aligning hegemonic ideologies only to their representation on the show. By mixing hegemonic and subversive ideologies within the classed storylines, and not clearly assigning the subversions to the us storylines, *Shameless* does not provide clear direction to its viewers on its political stance. I contend *Shameless* works to challenge ideology that serves capitalism, but in the scenes I selected it does so in a haphazard manner that reduces its potentiality.

The viewer is clearly offered a significant manifest story of gentrification, although *Shameless* disconnects the gentrifier from their contexts of globalization, neoliberalism, and housing financialization. As such, I am critical of the lack of examination of the significant state and global forces that are arguably greater than the agency of the individual character. Where *Shameless* does a commendable job is in teaching viewers about gentrification from the socio-cultural side of the process.

The differential class norms, which are often presented through satire, and the inconsistent subversions to ideology, leave *Shameless* open to misinterpretation. These complicated scenes require the reader to work for the reward, suggesting the meaning is not guaranteed. Nor is it ever according to Hall's (1973/1991) encoding/decoding model, but *Shameless* sets up hurdles for the reader. Archie Bunker of *All in the Family* is perhaps the most famous example of satire being misread, as the character "became a beloved figure to much of middle America" (Archie

Bunker, 2021, para.26), despite the intention of creator Norman Lear to have the character parody a racist, sexist, bigot. *All in the Family*[iv] was an urban sitcom about a working-class family in U.S. that "injected the sitcom format with more dramatic moments and realistic, topical conflicts" (All in the Family, 2021, para.2), making it a precursor to *Shameless*. Kendall (2011) is critical of shows like *All in the Family* and the damage this representation can cause, whereas David Bianculli (2007) submits the show was one of the earliest considered quality television.

The power of ideology becomes evident when *Shameless* perpetuates elitist ideology within a lower-class narrative. This fact suggests that if a viewer is not actively critiquing their thinking about the show's storylines as they consume the scenes they are likely to adopt the common-sense version of their society, despite their own classed position in social stratification. Ideology is slippery, everywhere, sometimes blatant, but often quite difficult to nail down. To be frank, some of these polysemic scenes occluded their ideological critiques. We recall Adorno's (1954) concern with the potential for psychological manipulations by the medium and the Archie Bunker example suggests manifest content is likely taken as it appears at least some of the time. This enables the mass appeal of *Shameless* and constitutes its shortcomings.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

Shameless has the ability to act as a "form of 'public pedagog[y]'" and "teach viewers about certain possible subjectivities, while simultaneously reproducing and resisting others" (Khoja-Moolji, 2018, p.124), demonstrating media's role in setting an agenda for knowledge creation in culture. Using *Shameless* as my text and interrogating the individual scenes that represented the fictionalized economic and social processes of gentrification, I sought to examine what the storylines tell the viewer about the causes and consequences of the gentrification process. In order to provide an assessment for *Shameless*'s potentiality as pedagogy, I reviewed

the manifest visual elements and dialogue that contribute to the latent ideology of scenes, critiquing what the viewer was being offered through a textual analysis (Fiske, 1987).

Critiquing the ideology in a televisual text reveals the functioning of power in society and thus permits an analysis of the social world, particularly as it pertains to class, given that television "provides the materials with which we make sense of ourselves and through which we encounter other experiences" (Villarejo, 2013, p.48). An ideological critique works to understand how media stories soothe class conflict by first encouraging the masses to consent to a material reality that is disconnected from the elite classes, and secondly by naturalizing structural difference and explaining away elite dominance in society.

Through my analysis of the different ideologies evident in the storylines, I have argued for several findings, among them to accept *Shameless* as a progressive text and a quality text. I have demonstrated that *Shameless* offers its readers subversions to hegemonic understandings of our social world by offering progressive discourses that narrate a working-class identity. While I anticipated *Shameless* would use the working-class identity of its characters, their purported values, and the importance of the neighbourhood to challenge a dominant understanding of gentrification and expose the power of the actors involved, my findings demonstrated that *Shameless* also shores up hegemonic understandings of the process. *Shameless* largely focuses on the socio-cultural displacements of gentrification, while consistently individualizing the gentrifier and gentrified, thus obscuring the workings of capitalism, transnational finance, and the neoliberal financialization of housing.

Shameless alerts the viewer that they ought to be questioning what they see and hear through certain narrative devices and recurring logics. Despite most of the televisual and social codes working to promote a consistent mise-en-scène of an imagined working-poor and working-

class community in which "real-world" events occur, these codes are also defamiliarized, particularly the technical code of the camera work, which at times disrupts realism or does not align with the apparent perspective of the scene. Frank is an unreliable narrator who is shown to be feckless and manipulative as well as intelligent and engaged in the world, despite his drug and alcohol abuse. At the beginning of each episode a character breaks the fourth wall to introduce the weekly recap, but that recap consists of previously unaired scenes, potentially confusing viewers, and the character lambasts the viewer. Breaking the fourth wall in the way *Shameless* does skewers both televisual norms and the traditional middle-class norms prized by television and is an example of the carnivalesque inversions common on *Shameless*. Although class is significant to both the show and to gentrification, the show only directly mentioned class five times in my data, often euphemistically referencing consumption practices or occupation instead. The show also has three consistent elements in its gentrification storylines, but in season eight it inverts these elements in Fiona's storyline, in which there is a switch from the POV of the locals experiencing gentrification to the POV of the gentrifier. Such examples highlight the untrustworthiness of *Shameless*. Time and again, the series sets the viewer up to be alert to mistruths, reversals, satire, and irony. However, television viewers are not guaranteed to decode these sophisticated storytelling tactics as such, and this fact risks undermining the subversive commentary. Thus, while I as a viewer appreciate these aspects of quality television, strung together these aspects result in a text whose efficacy for cultural critique is tenuous.

As there is such a strong focus on class in the storylines, a clear us versus them binary emerged in the data and can be considered an umbrella structure within the gentrification storylines. This theoretical binary led to my conclusion that *Shameless* is overall an unreliable text. I examined the manifest content of a scene to reveal whose POV was being prioritized, and

I scrutinized the latent content to determine if hegemonic ideology was being perpetuated or subverted. Finally, I compared these two conclusions to determine if the levels of storytelling were aligned. Most often they were not, although the scenes wherein gentrification or the gentrifier are named were more reliable than the tangentially related gentrification scenes. I conclude that the dialogue or characters in a scene on *Shameless* do not consistently align with the ideological messaging of that scene. When this factor is compounded by the aforementioned creative devices, I determine that *Shameless* is an inherently unreliable text.

The mixing of both hegemonic and subversive ideologies within classed and conflictual storylines about power does not provide clear direction to the viewer regarding the show's critique of public policy. To do so would require consistent messaging that examines society's commonsensical ideas that serve elites. One way *Shameless* could have done this would be by aligning the hegemonic ideological expressions only to the scenes told through the POV of "them" in the us versus them binary. Given most of the scenes I analyzed are told through the POV of the working-poor and barely working-class locals, subversions to ideology would have far outnumbered hegemonic ideological explanations, and this distinction would have better clarified for the viewer both who the ideologies serve and benefit and who is exploited by gentrification. Of the scenes not discussed herein, 28 perpetuated hegemonic ideology, while 22 subverted it, and a random sampling of the scenes found many of them were inconsistent in their manifest and latent content as well. I believe *Shameless* works to challenge ideologies that serve the power structures of racism, capitalism, and the patriarchy, but given the inconsistent ideological perspectives in the scenes I selected, the political critique offered is likely to be illegible to those without pre-existing critical perspectives on gentrification.

The show sticks to representations of gentrification that might be easier for a viewer to digest, focusing on the individual and consumption. *Shameless* conceals neoliberal capitalism's persistent hunt for new ways to accrue surplus value, which is now implicated in trends in Western housing markets. Reference to transnational finance's role in large scale urban redevelopment with the support of the state is nowhere to be found on the show. When the show was critical of the economic processes of gentrification, the threat was consistently individualized. *Shameless* evaluates the socio-cultural changes gentrification brings to a neighbourhood, skewering the upper-middle-class's love of yoga, Starbucks, and Whole Foods, but again this critique was levelled against individuals. The characters are clear that a changing neighbourhood means the neighbourhood they knew is lost, but the show avoids interrogating the structural economic powers fueling the change.

I concur with Knox (2018) that the bite of *Shameless* is mitigated, in part due to the potential roadblocks the show sets in front of the viewer through its unreliability, despite the stated intention of the production team. The findings herein reveal that *Shameless* tells you repetitively through its creative devices, narrative structures, and omissions that it cannot be trusted as a mouthpiece for any particular ideology about gentrification, a fact that the ideological analyses bear out as well. I assess this complication as significantly reducing the show's impact to offer critical commentary on gentrification.

Contributions

As previously stated, there is so little academic writing on *Shameless* (U.S.) that a rare opportunity exists for this research to extend the understandings available. Chapter three contributes to the scholarship of television studies generally and enhances the scant existing literature about the show. Chapter four examines *Shameless'*s language and narrative logics and

is therefore appropriate to media and communications or television journals. This chapter also works to converse with journals that delve into issues of class, including perhaps sociological or cultural studies journals. Chapter five offered 21 examples of textual analyses, which suggests it is appropriate as a "how-to" article for a research journal, or as an article performing a socio-cultural critique via the ideology of gentrification on television. This chapter might be suitable for urban, media and communications, or television studies journals.

Limitations

This research has numerous limitations. Ultimately, this project is exploratory in nature, may challenge popular assumptions about gentrification on television, and should be considered foundational. There are a number of ways in which this research could inform future research. Due to the timing of this project, the final season has not been included. This is a loss as that season invokes gentrification significantly. The first episode's summary suggests Frank fears gentrification, and other episodes are titled "Go Home, Gentrifier!" and "NIMBY." A textual analysis of gentrification scenes from season 11 may fundamentally challenge my findings. Audience reception research could build out this project by switching the focus from an analysis of a fictional world to determine how viewers read the gentrification scenes, knowledge that may be useful to policy-makers. *Shameless* offers one of the few sustained public analyses of gentrification on television that I am aware of. *South Park* has one episode featuring Whole Food's arrival to the neighbourhood, and there is an impoverished storyline told through an eccentric character on *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt*. Researchers could bundle these different shows as well. *If* the U.K. version incorporates gentrification (I have not watched the show), a study comparing and contrasting the gentrification storylines in the U.S. and U.K. versions might prove useful in pointing to policy differences between countries, or in determining how different

economic and political situations are revealed through the gentrification scenes and ideology of the show. Lastly, the version of realism the show presents about COVID-19 might prove an interesting and general focal point to the show. The social chasms in Western society made plain by COVID-19 in terms of its impact on the working-poor, lower classes, “essential workers,” and feminized labour makes me wonder if the final season addresses any of those structural factors, given that the fictional working-class characters would have been impacted by an inability to work and a lack of a social safety net.

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Wells, J. (Writer) & Chulack, C. (Director). (2016, April 3). Familia Supra Gallegorious Omnia! (Season 6, Episode 12) [TV series episode]. In C. Chulack (Producer), *Shameless*. New York, NY: Showtime Networks.

Wells, J. (Writer) & MacDonald, I. B. (Director). (2017, November 5). We Become What We … Frank! (Season 8, Episode 1) [TV series episode]. In J. Howe & T. Murphy (Producers), *Shameless*. New York, NY: Showtime Networks.

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Appendix 1

Methods

This chapter outlines decisions made and processes undertaken during this research proposal. It is laid out chronologically and is reflexive regarding each decision I made. Sampling options and justifications are offered, the open and focussed coding is explained, the framework that emerged during the open coding and influenced the focussed coding is offered, and my memoing process is documented. I provide an overview of the computer program NVivo used during the focussed coding. Lastly, the methodology of textual analysis (Fiske, 1987) used to analyze the data is clarified. Every decision I made restricted me to a certain next step, wherein other decisions might have changed the outcome of the data collected and analysis rendered.

Positionality

As the primary decision maker on matters of process and method, the notion that I as a researcher can step outside my socialized mind and negate the cultural biases I hold is untenable. Lewis Raven Wallace's *The View from Somewhere: Undoing the Myth of Journalistic Objectivity* (2019) argues against "damaging mythology" of objectivity, stating it privileges certain power positions by "gatekeep[ing] and silenc[ing] marginalized writers (Amazon, n.d., para.1). Similar challenges echo across academic disciplines: "feminist and postmodern scholars have struggled to demystify the mode of seeing everything from nowhere" (Kern, 2010, p.367). Marjorie L. DeVault (1999) suggests we write "about others through the lens of self" (p.190). In order to minimize power, writers must situate their value judgements and biases within their scholarship. This is particularly important given my use of the subjective and interpretive method of textual analysis.

I am an able-bodied, educated, cis-gendered, heterosexual, lower-middle-class, white women analyzing the “feckless poor” (Morley, 2009, p.488) characters on *Shameless*. The data herein was filtered through my middle-class upbringing, and Hall (1973/1996) argues class is a significant influencer of worldviews. I am an interdisciplinary student grounded in a Marxist-Feminist epistemology which directs my attention to issues like class and capitalism, and women’s experiences of their material worlds. Nonetheless, I clarify that I do not label this a feminist project although I bring to my analysis some of the concerns feminist geographers and media scholars have voiced. For example, Melissa M. Valle (2018) contends that in gentrification studies, “race is often not disentangled from other factors of social difference, particularly from gender and class” (p.1250). Griffin Epstein (2018) argues, “in neglecting to center race and gender in our anti-gentrification work, myself and other white middle-class activists had perhaps always inadvertently reinscribed those structures of domination we hoped to oppose” (p.709). It became evident during the reading for this project that class and race are often interwoven and complicated in gentrification research (Valle 2018, Monroe, Sullivan, & Shaw 2011). To the best of my ability given my focus, I will attend to the “interlocking oppressions” people can face from society when they are racialized, poor, homeless, mentally unwell, or otherwise disabled (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p.87).

My research project has been decades in the making as my interest in this topic arises from knowledges I hold, my cultural consumption practices, and the curiosities I follow. I am a long-time consumer of television, and I have been both a participant and researcher of real estate. As an avid fan of house-flipping television shows, I wanted to be a gentrifier before I knew the term. I longed to find a neglected property and transform it through my imagination and labour, seeing it as a form of recycling. During my prior employment with a real estate investment

company, areas of "revitalization" were positioned as opportunities for greater financial prosperity. The narrative offered investors was that of cleaning up a neighbourhood by driving out illicit activity such as prostitution and drug use. Buying into neighbourhoods where there might be criminal activity or a lower income level was considered risky for the investor, but no mention of how this cleansing impacted the original residents was ever taken into consideration. What I noted during this occupational research was that the term gentrification appeared to be a dirty word no one used. Rather, the euphemisms of densification and revitalization were used. This knowledge was complicated by my observations of *Shameless*'s storylines and it was the juxtaposition of the disparities and seeming truths in the two discourses that piqued my curiosity.

Sampling

Data was derived from the primary source of *Shameless* (U.S.) and the finite sampling population included the ten full seasons of the show available in Canada. The first round of analysis was a review of all episodes available and was conducted in my home with my technology. In consultation with my supervisory committee, the method of purposive sampling was decided upon as other sampling methods were insufficient. Having previously watched most seasons of *Shameless*, I knew random sampling would rob the analysis of rich data given the show rarely titles their episodes in a way that elucidates the content. For example, episodes from seasons five and six which contain multiple data points are respectively titled "The Two Lisas" (Callaghan & Segal, 2015), and "Going Once, Going Twice" (Holmes & Chulack, 2016). Further, the write-up for each episode is often vague. Season seven is very productive for this research as nine of the twelve episodes were selected, yet, had I used the episode write-ups as a sampling method I would only have selected five episodes as meeting my criteria.

Eight pre-determined codes from the literature review guided my selection of scenes in the sampling round. These codes are:

1. Tourism implicated in gentrification (Giuseppe & Doucet, 2020).
2. Yuppies buy "fabulous old but neglected brownstones in 'bad' neighborhoods, then gut and renovat[e] them" (Alexiou, 2006, p.147).
3. David Harvey (2012) argues "a process of displacement and dispossession … lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism" (p.18), suggesting capitalism itself demands or creates gentrification.
4. Neoliberalism has financialized housing thus catapulting property as an asset into the realm of global capital shelter (Kalman-Lamb, 2017).
5. Chase M. Billingham (2017) argues "the physical eviction, banishment, or arrest of low-income and disadvantaged users of urban space" (p.146) that occurs during gentrification is enacted by the intentional surveillance of these persons.
6. Liz Bondi (1999) has made plain that it is "poor women, including many lone mothers and … elderly women … disproportionately concentrated in deprived inner-urban neighbourhoods" (p.262).
7. Communities of colour which have suffered disinvestment are often the target neighbourhoods for gentrification, thus, the racialized composition of a neighbourhood is salient (Valle 2018, Monroe, Sullivan, & Shaw 2011, Epstein 2018; Sharman, 2006; & Zuhkin et al. 2017).
8. Winifred Curran (2018) argues that "place making activities are changed/destroyed and commodified" (p.1713) during gentrification.

My viewing practices for each episode varied depending on the season. Having previously watched and conducted research on earlier seasons, my memory was often jogged, and I could use this memory to jump to the next scene. For example, it is primarily Fiona and Frank that dominate the various gentrification scenes. So, if the scene was of the children, or displaying an intimate setting, I skipped ahead. In seasons seven to nine inclusive I had only watched each episode once prior and thus a close watching of the beginning of each scene was required before I could potentially skip to the next scene. Having never watched season ten, each episode required a close viewing. Of the 122 episodes reviewed, 63 episodes were chosen for dialogue documentation.

Next, I re-watched each scene to record the dialogue by hand in a notebook. Two episodes were dropped on further review while some extra scenes were documented which had not been originally noted. All told, 167 scenes across 61 episodes comprises the data for this project.

Personal Reflections

A further form of analysis in inductive research is that of my own queries, which began shortly after the data collection started. In anthropological field work, researchers write fieldnotes at the end of each day to document their participant observations. I used reflection memos sporadically throughout to document my thought processes. In these memos, I made links between episodes which would become themes and guide my coding. I noted observations about the content of the show, and I detailed my methodological practice. For example, the first memo documented four observations about the show: the dialectical nature of NIMBY'ism and the imbrication of LGBTQ+ persons in the storylines of gentrification and homelessness; the routine violations of middle-class norms; and the cringe-worthiness of much of the humour employed. The fourth observation was how grotesque the show is in terms of the fallible human body, which led me to investigate Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque. These uninhibited memos document my journey and create a form of knowledge based on intimate experience as I grappled with an unfamiliar task. Over twenty memos were written and I have returned to them throughout to revisit my thoughts.

Open Coding

Once I completed documenting each scene open coding was applied to the notebook. This process allows "for the emergence of patterns, themes, and categories" (Foster-Fishman, 2005, p.280). In practice, this entailed reading the dialogue over and over again with highlighter in hand, until I was satisfied that I had no new thoughts, had noted the similarities, made

connections between scenes, and had selected the snippets of dialogue that I believed required an analysis. This was a period where I wrote several memos to track my thoughts on emerging patterns, which became my open codes. Over the course of several weeks this opening coding process established 67 codes which I titled with one or two words. I returned to the notebook and noted in a word document each scene which illustrated the code. Then, on a sticky note I wrote a shorthand title for each code, which was then placed onto a big board so that I could visually start grouping individual codes into themes. Eventually the groupings crystalized into 10 themes: properties; poverty; housing; rental housing; investors; Fiona as investor; the Southside; gentrification; precarity/powerlessness; and power. Gentrification as a theme was the largest and became a placeholder for 16 open codes. This can be contrasted with a few themes such as rental housing and Fiona as an investor which only had four open codes under them.

The Framework

Over time I tweaked these themes and codes while I moved onto the task of transcribing the dialogue (required for NVivo). Meta themes began to emerge which collapsed the data further. A framework that provides a way of discussing and analyzing how the show invokes the various concerns in gentrification manifested: "the people" (investors, gentrifiers, locals, and the homeless); "the place" (the Southside or the neighbourhood); "the properties" (multi-family buildings, home ownership, and rental housing); and "the power" (who has it – the state, realtors, the media, banks, and investors – and who does not - the poor and precarious), all of which culminates in the process of gentrification.

Focused Coding

I used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo for focussed coding, the next step in data analysis. This program assists the researcher in delineating and making sense of non-

numerical data. Multiple files and data types can be imported and explored within the program; however, I had one single word document containing all the dialogue I had transcribed. Before I looked over any individual datum in NVivo or ran any queries, I created a mind map of my themes, based on my open coding, the visual code board I had created, and the framework I established.

Next, I ran a word frequency query with these parameters: stemmed words were grouped (i.e. rent, renting, and rented); the frequency was set to the top 1000 words (not necessary); and only words with a minimum of three characters were included (to remove words like if, as, and, or, etc.). In this list, which is organized from the greatest number of references to the least, the analyst sees how many times a word appears in the data. I next excluded proper names of cast members and this new list was used to create a visual word cloud which allowed me to see, based on the size of the word, how often it appears in the data.

Returning to the word frequency query list, I selectively chose and queried words which seemed important to gentrification by switching over to the word tree function as this offers a different visualization replete with small amounts of data. I looked over the different stems of each word and chose the most prevalent form and saved it as a node. In this way, NVivo is doing the bulk of the first round of coding for the user. This speeds up the process of focussed coding as the computer places all the data associated to that word in a node. However, the program is imperfect, as some words, like “family” appeared relatively high on the text query list, but when I reviewed the word tree the results did not seem significant enough to code given the research question. Other words like “gonna” or “right” appear prominently in the word cloud, yet those words have no value in answering my research question. This is why I created nodes from the word tree function.

Next, within each node, I wanted to bring some context to the words. To do this, I selected all the text within the node and applied a “narrow spread” and a “narrow coding context.” This asks NVivo to pull in more of the dialogue the word is found amongst. Next, I needed to clean up the data the program had coded with my text query searches because of the conceptual way in which I wanted to use certain words. For example, NVivo coded irrelevant examples of “class,” such as spin class, when I wanted to use the term to refer to a structuring social force. Another example was my node for profit, only meant to give capture investors talking about profit, but NVivo coded “non-profit” into the same node.

The program also did not code everything I sought. Using the word frequency and text search query functions is only a start to coding key themes. The next task was to conduct a manual line-by-line round of focused coding. I quickly realized spelling mistakes had forced NVivo to ignore data I wanted, or in one case, duplicated the data. For example, NVivo created overlap between “bought” and “buying” because they are not stemmed words and so were coded separately, but they are the same for my purposes. This was resolved by collapsing and merging nodes. Once I was satisfied with the data in each node, I worked to combine and group nodes into related categories by organizing them in a hierarchal manner, using my framework as the parent node. In all, I ended up with 48 nodes in NVivo for this project.

A final line-by-line reading was conducted which entailed reviewing the coding stripes I or NVivo had applied to each datum point. Once every datum point had been over-coded to every possible node it referenced, I was well into the analysis phase.

Textual Analysis

This project in its inception, concerns, theoretical foci, and method was influenced by the complementary lineages of television studies and cultural studies. Within the broader grouping

of textual analyses, I am employing a cultural studies' focus on ideology and pursuing a critical perspective, while engaging with feminist criticism and Marxist sociology (Creeber, 2006b, p.29). As argued for by numerous television scholars, media content is a text that can be interpreted in a multitude of ways given the various meanings embedded within. Hartley (2002) argues textual analysis is inherently interdisciplinary and has evolved partly from the "cultural analysis derived from Birmingham cultural studies … and from Raymond Williams (ideology/hegemony analysis)" (p.32). Creeber (2006b) argues the techniques of television are always constructed to manipulate meaning, and a textual analysis must do the work to expose manipulation so that it may be "analysed, discussed and debated" (p.43).

There are several methodologies available to decode media texts, each with strengths and weaknesses, and textual analysis is not without its detractors. One critique suggests "whether its impulse has been ideological or aesthetic … [textual analysis] has tended to produce an authoritarian, even 'correct,' reading of a text, and has tended to ascribe to the text the power to impose this reading on the viewer" (Fiske, 1987, p.45). Creeber (2006b) also problematizes an approach which might "predetermine and categorise *all* meaning for *all* viewers" (p.43; italics in the original text). As this method generally relies on the single interpretation of one reader it was critiqued by social scientists for lacking scientific methods and generalized findings (Hartley, 2002, Creeber, 2006b). However, Hartley (2002) counters this criticism, stating textual analysis is "a genre of discourse in which observers who were also participants in a cultural process under investigation could talk about questions of power, subjectivity, identity and conflict" (p.31). And Nelson (2007) maintains "it is the role of the academic study of television, in my view, to undertake both textual analysis to bring out the qualities of television programmes and to engage

in … ‘expanded criticism’” (p.163). Therefore, a textual analysis that exposes the ideology a viewer is offered as a “preferred reading” is a sound method for this project.

Creeber (2006b) credits Fiske and Hartley for their pioneering work in semiotics which has influenced the method of textual analysis via a focus on codes. Codes are a “set of signs” (Fiske & Hartley, 2003, p.41) or a meaningful system mutually understood by all members of a culture. It is important to note that codes and the “conventions of television vary greatly under different cultural, historical and economic systems” (Creeber, 2006b, p.43). Codes are configured in texts in ways which “present a unified set of meanings that work to maintain, legitimate, and naturalize the dominant ideology of patriarchal capitalism” (Fiske, 1987, p.13). As such, the primary goal of textual analysis is to interpret texts by isolating the various codes that coalesce to form a culturally cohesive narrative, mindful that multiple ideological codes can be at play. Fiske (1987) argues “ideological codes work to organize the other codes into producing a … coherent set of meanings that constitute the common sense of a society” (p.6). He further contends that the naturalized viewing position or conventional ideological position encoded into a text is that of a “white, male, middle-class American (or westerner) of conventional morality” (p.11). This suggests that because not all members of society are white, middle-class, males, there must be contradictions in texts which can be used by the viewer to create an oppositional reading.

Fiske’s (1987) 10 basic codes of television are: camera work, lighting, editing, music, casting, setting and costume, makeup, action, dialogue, and ideological codes. Fiske (1987) argues the aforementioned codes of television work in a “complex hierarchal structure” (p.4) that contains three levels: *reality* (social codes such as appearance), which are then recorded and transmitted electronically through *representation* (technical codes such as camera angles and shots), and these two levels are “organized into coherence and social acceptability by the

ideological codes" (p.4) at the third level (for example, patriarchy and capitalism). The social codes of reality include "dress, makeup, [and] environment" (p.5). The technical codes that create representations include "camera, lighting, editing, music, [and] sound" (p.5). Fiske argues "cultural criticism deconstructs this unity [of the three levels] and exposes its 'naturalness' as a highly ideological construct" (p.6). The results of my observations of each code is documented in chapter five, as necessary, to argue my final analysis of the ideological codes.

This is the first time I have used Fiske's (1987) textual analysis to analyze a media program. I worked backwards through my selected scenes, starting with the codes that had the least number of references, so that I would have good practise by the time I hit the gentrification scenes. Each code was documented in a notebook for every scene a textual analysis was applied to. I worked through the codes in the order Fiske outlines them in his book (p.6-13), often referencing Creeber's (2006b) Case Study *Analysing Television* (p.38-43) that details an application of Fiske's method. The case study also contains a figure summarizing "television techniques and their potential effects" (p.42) which was very instructive for logging details and analyzing scenes. I watched each selected scene eight times, focussing on each code individually. The ninth code - dialogue - had been documented separately and the tenth code - ideology - will be discussed shortly. I quickly realized I was not documenting anything under the code of "editing" as I was only ever looking at individual scenes and not across entire episodes. While most of these codes are straightforward and relatively simple to document, the code of camera work often proved to require extensive notetaking. That single code often took as long to document, if not longer, then the other codes. In all, I completed a textual analysis on 72 scenes.

The final step, which is a form of analysis as well as a code, required a review of my notes for each scene in order to establish what ideological code was present. Conducting the textual

analysis was the most difficult part of the data collection/analysis portion. It often felt like I was guessing as there were occasions where I could not discern what ideology was being pointed to.

Conclusion

Heeding pop culture figure MC Hammer who tweeted “when we measure, include the measurer” (twitter, February 22, 2021), I have offered a detailed overview of my data gathering and analysis process. This thesis is a construction of what I found salient in the data, what I highlight as worthy, and those decisions are birthed from my epistemological foci and my personal experiences. My conclusions are not the only possible outcomes to a project on gentrification storylines on *Shameless*. For example, my starting point for sampling was informed by my literature review. Although no findings from my reflection practice of memoing are shared or officially analyzed, the questions I asked myself and the observations I made have informed my findings. It was during the process of wading through the data during my open coding that a framework to talk about gentrification emerged, which I carried into my focused coding. I believe this framework permits a fulsome analysis of gentrification when all five aspects are investigated. The primary method for this research was Fiske’s (1987) textual analysis, an established cultural studies and television studies method. A cultural critique of the various television codes employed within *Shameless*’s narratives is meant to deconstruct the “seemingly natural unity” (Fiske, 1987, p.6) of the codes present. As my research seeks to uncover the ideology in a text, in order to assess what the storylines of gentrification tells the viewer about the causes and consequences of it, textual analysis is an appropriate method.

[i] According to urban dictionary, skata is Greek for "shit."
[ii] "During 2007, lenders began foreclosure proceedings on nearly 1.3 million properties, a 79% increase over 2006. This increased to 2.3 million in 2008, an 81% increase vs. 2007. By August 2008, approximately 9% of all U.S. mortgages outstanding were either delinquent or in foreclosure. By September 2009, this had risen to 14.4%." – From https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Financial_crisis_of_2007%E2%80%932008
[iii] The Occupy Wall Street protest began in New York City in September 2011 against economic and social insecurity before spreading globally. The New York encampment of protesters were forced out of the park they occupied on November 15, 2011.
[iv] *All in the Family* is based on a British Sitcom *Till Death Us Do Part.* The show is regarded as one of the best in North American television history and has been spoofed by *The Simpsons* among others. Norman Lear, the producer, is reported to have incorporated elements of his own life into the show. This suggests there are multiple points of similarity between *Shameless* and *All in the Family*.