The Elphinstone Review

Volume 6
May 2020

UNIVERSITY OF
ABERDEEN

The Elphinstone Review │ Volume 6: May 2020

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Editorial

This 6th volume of *The Elphinstone Review* aims to represent the great scope and quality of academic work produced by undergraduate students at the University of Aberdeen. The aim of this publication is to reinforce academic excellence in our community, bring the best writing from different areas of study together, to create an accessible and interdisciplinary journal that encourages intellectual excitement, curiosity, and motivation among our readers. Each one of the twelve papers you will find in this Volume contributes with a unique perspective to the journal.

We would like to express our gratitude to Christopher Knight, from the School of Language, Literature, Music and Visual Culture for his kind support and administrative assistance. We would also like to thank the Development Trust Student Experience Fund for making the printing of this journal possible. The availability of Dr Nancy Wachowich and Dr Marta Trzebiatowska as academic advisors has also been greatly appreciated.

We thank everyone who has shown interest in being part of this publication. We are especially grateful for the work put in by our team of editors and authors, in bringing these published articles to their final and best form. Making this Volume of *The Elphinstone Review* has been challenged by the global situation; we acknowledge and appreciate the extra work, effort, and commitment. this year's contributors have put into creating this publication.

To our readers, thank you for picking up this copy of *The Elphinstone Review*. We hope you find yourself inspired by its contents and enjoy reading it as much as we have enjoyed putting it together.

The Elphinstone Review **Head Editors**

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The opinions expressed in the articles presented hereafter do not necessarily reflect the views of the institution, the editorial board, or the contributors. They are should be viewed as exercises of academic criticism intended to spark intellectual debate.

The Art of Food and the Pursuit of Collectivity: Exploring Italian Gastronomic Traditions in an Ethnographic Perspective

Sofia Galli[1]

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Gastronomy is a form of cultural heritage related to processes of food production and traditions of conviviality, transmitted in local communities across multiple generations. Consequently, the art of food is interrelated with notions of individual and collective identity. Gastronomy incorporates both tangible and intangible heritage because it deals with both traditions and products. This paper will argue that the inherent duality of food culture lends itself to socio-political collectivity. In this framework, Italy will be presented as a country that is particularly committed to the preservation of culinary values and customs. This will be considered in the context of the effects mass-production and -consumption have on the way food is prepared and distributed. By drawing on a number of ethnographic studies, this article explores individuals' connection to territory, and their conception of authenticity. Consideration will then turn to how food can be framed as a social instrument to confront global trends – such as through the rise of the Slow Food movement. By exploring examples like olive oil in Tuscany, the salame nostrano from Bergamo, the Cinta Senese pig from Siena, and sagre (local fayres) in Piemonte, this paper delves into the growing collectivity through which locals unite with the common aim of preserving traditions, and with them identity.

Introduction

Culture is the defining trait of human existence; individuals make sense of reality and shape their identities through it. People's understandings of culture, and its practices, delineate the notion of cultural heritage, definable as a 'group of resources inherited from the past which people

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[1] Sofia Galli is a 4th year student in International Relations & Sociology. She is predominantly interested in cultural heritage and the arts. Her essay 'The Complex Nature of "Religious" Terrorism' was inserted in the 2017 edition of The International Academic, and her novel Anima e Corpo ('Soul and Body') was self-published in 2018. Sofia wrote for the Art & Culture section of The Gaudie, and her published articles include 'Strong Women in Cinema: Case Studies', 'Pause: Listen, Re-discovering Classical Music' and 'The Subversion of Symbolic Dichotomies through the Art of Marina Abramović'. Her most recent essay was published in The International Viewpoint in 2020.

identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions' (Da Re, 2017, p.641).[2] Cultural heritage is closely associated with the concept of individual and collective identity, since cultural belonging is at the base of the notion of society (Tarca, 2017). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] (2011; 2017) is committed to the conservation of tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage: the former includes monuments, manuscripts, paintings, and architecture; meanwhile, the latter comprises traditions, rituals, and performing arts. The two aspects of cultural heritage are intrinsically related: physical objects become heritage when they reflect the values of a society, which means that tangible forms of art can only be interpreted through intangible practices, and vice versa (Munjeri, 2004). Gastronomy is an interesting example of cultural heritage characterised by both physical and nonphysical attributes. Raw materials and final products can be portrayed as tangible forms of art, whereas the recipes and customs at the heart of food culture remain intangible.

This paper will look at Italian gastronomic culture, providing a brief historical background. This will then be considered in a wider framework of globalisation and sustainability, looking at the implications of that framework for Italy. Afterwards, it will explore the concepts of territory and authenticity, as well as the correlation between them. This will be fundamental to understanding the rise of the 'Slow Food' movement, which originated in Italy. Last, this paper will show how food can become a vehicle of collectivity. Thus, this paper mainly draws on a central body of ethnographies, set in different Italian scenarios, to explore the correlation between local food and identity, with the aim of elucidating how this can generate and enhance collective action. These include Cavanaugh's study on the production of salami in Bergamo, Meneley assessment of extra virgin olive oil and Slow Food, Horner Brackett's examination of the Slow Food movement, and Fontefrancesco's research on *sagre* in Piemonte. Ethnographic accounts document the behaviour of a group of people through fieldwork, interpreting actions and customs from the point of view of the

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[2] Extract from the 2005 Faro Convention, COE Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, art. 2(a).

subject. Consequently, ethnographers are able to gather day-to-day insights that could be unattainable through other methodologies. Ethnography is fundamental to conceptualising everyday practices, allowing for a more in-depth comprehension of the given research. In the case of Italian gastronomy, the ethnographic approach allows one to collect illuminating data on how locals make sense of their tangible and intangible traditions, whilst finding common denominators and cultural narratives that associate food with 'a concrete symbolic representation of local value' (Cavanaugh, 2007, p.159).

This study of ethnographies is supported by discourse analysis of various secondary resources, aiming to identify recurrent arguments and themes relating to notions of territory, authenticity, identity and collectivity. Another factor that will be considered is the globalisation-induced shift from local markets to supermarkets and from Slow Food to Fast Food, phenomena that leave fertile ground for homogenisation to arise (Horner Brackett, 2011). Lastly, this paper considers the individuals' connection to a territory and their understanding of gastronomic authenticity, the role of food as a social instrument, and the framing of 'Slow Food' as a movement to establish culinary authenticity and challenge difficulties inherent to the rise of mass-production and -consumption.

1. Italy and Food: The Scene

Food is deeply embedded in Italian cultural practice, with longstanding traditions varying across regions. Throughout the paper, some of the tangible and intangible gastronomic customs that Italians seek to protect will be assessed and linked to the politics of the past. The analysis of traditions is central to understand the conformation of a given culture. By referring to 'invented tradition', Hobsbawm (1983, p.1-2; p.264) asserts that both overt and covert practices manage to instil certain values and attitudes in individuals, which can increase collective action to preserve continuity with a relevant past. In the context of food, traditional gastronomic festivities represent a significant example of a setting where intangible forms of culture, such as grape-pressing and harvesting olives in Italy, revere the tangible products of the territory in a collective way.

The ethnographies examined here consider olive oil from Tuscany, salami from Bergamo, the Cinta Senese pig and gastronomic festivities from Piemonte, with the intention of relating them to collectivity. Such traditions contribute to the formation of the self, allowing for the preservation of ties with the former generations, and delineating concepts of similarity and difference with other people. In a country still subject to regionalism, Italians from different locations communally stand in the name of ancient traditions, each sharing a desire to treasure and uphold practices coming from the whole land. These practices are key within the framework of the politics of the past, because they construct a sense of identity, which defines, in turn, the way collective memory is 'understood, commemorated and propagated' (Smith, 2006, p.36).

To understand the significance of certain Italian traditions, it is necessary to look at some historical settings. The majority of people in the Roman Empire based their diet on grapevine, olive, and cereals, which are now among the principal elements in the Italian diet (Bezzone, 2018a). Meanwhile, the wealthier Romans would enjoy banquets and feasts, and this created an idea of conviviality that praised ingredients and company when consuming food. The advent of Charlemagne symbolised a reconciliation between the ascetic fasting of Christians with the festivities of the Romans, and the idea that food was a powerful way of honouring the Lord became embedded in the Italian mentality (Bezzone, 2018a). During the Renaissance, traditional Tuscanian foods such as olive oil, the lamb from Casentino, the bovines from Val di Chiana, the red wine from Montepulciano or Montalcino – which are still central in today's cuisine – became available in Florence's Mercato Vecchio so the market started to assume an incredibly important value for Italians (Bezzone, 2018b). These examples go to show how deeply rooted in history, religion and identity certain foods are, and thus legitimise people's disposition to protect them.

Moving forward in time, the nineteenth century was a decisive phase in the history of Italian gastronomy; during this period Italy started to become a more cohesive nation. After the 1861 unification of Italy, the municipalisation of the country led to the documentation of recipes and the development of local markets. In 1891, the recipe book *L'Artusi* was

published, and is still considered to be the cornerstone of Italian gastronomy. For the first time in history, Artusi included recipes that were not exclusively those of the wealthy cuisine, but he placed emphasis on the whole of Italian traditions (Bezzone, 2018c). The publication of gastronomic texts like this one stimulated growing connection between different poles of Italy, bringing the rural and the coastal culinary customs into the urban cities, as these were both the publication centres, and sites of greater commercial activity (Montanari, 1999). The process enabled the spread of localised traditions and allowed for the official recognition of regional productions. As a result, formerly centralised foods like pesto from Genoa, and pizza from Naples became symbols for Italy in its entirety (Bezzone, 2018c).

Progressively, Italians started to make sense of their identity through the acknowledgement of affinities and diversities in local practices. As Montanari (1999) points out: identity is determined by both ideas of belonging *and* difference. From a culinary point of view, Italy possesses primary elements that are at the base of most of the country's cuisine, such as pasta, olives, bread and grapes. However, Italy's gastronomic cultural heritage remains incredibly multifaceted, and varies from place to place. Nowadays, in a fast-changing reality characterised by the upsurge of globalised production, Italy endeavours to protect its own artisanal practices and products. As a result, Italian regional cuisine remains very much alive (Braimbridge, 2005). Nevertheless, globalisation does pose a threat in that it exerts pressure on producers and consumers to make changes in order to safeguard food heritage.

2. The Rise of Globalisation

The era of globalisation has brought major changes to food production systems. On one hand, globalisation offers new technologies and ideas that can boost national economies, reducing hunger and poverty (International Monetary Fund, 1997). On the other hand, the emergence of dominant new actors (multinationals, supermarkets, and fast food chains) causes small local agents to struggle for survival (Kennedy et al., 2004). Globalisation generates a set of mixed outcomes, but from the ethnographic

perspectives of local food productions, globalisation emerges as a challenge that needs to be restrained. In fact, the all-encompassing phenomenon of globalisation arose concerns regarding the impact on the culinary changes generated by such multi- and trans-national production system, with the main fear of losing local culture and gastronomic traditions (Kennedy et al., 2004).

Furthermore, globalisation requires increasing sustainable production, since many agricultural practices represent a threat for the environment, resulting in 'soil degradation, water shortages and pollution, and a loss of natural habitats and biodiversity' (Mercati, 2016, p.799). The process of implementing a more sustainable model within agriculture is both a necessity and an opportunity for Italian producers, who can boost the *Made in Italy* brand, and emphasise the qualities that make Italian food stand out: attachment to the land, maximisation of biodiversity, and the celebration of local cuisine and culture (Mercati, 2016). The progressive consideration of sustainability in the arena of food production and consumption places organic farming in a privileged position. Organic gastronomy thus underlines the notions of authenticity and territory, whilst utilising traditional methods that do not rely on synthetic chemicals or pesticides.

In a country where each province has a distinctive gastronomic culture, preserving culinary traditions becomes a priority for local populations who face the rise of globalised food production. In Italy, food increasingly represents a form of culture that can be associated with artistic heritage (Cavanaugh, 2007). Consequently, Italians have started to look at food as a way to reflect on issues of social, economic, and political change; they have begun to mobilise the narratives of gastronomic heritage as a means to spawn political action (Helstosky, 2004).

3. Territory and Authenticity

Territory can be defined as a 'relational space that grows in time as the product of a process of cultural sedimentation; the engine of this process is the identity relationship between a community and the space occupied by the community' (Pollice, 2005, p.107). Territory both constructs and is constructed by the precepts and traditions of the individuals living in it.

Therefore, the artistic (and in this case gastronomic) heritage of a country is closely associated with the morphology of the territory. In the Mediterranean, the three main ingredients produced by the land are olive, wheat, and grape, which yield oil, bread, and wine (Keys in Reguant-Aleix, 2012). Traceable origins of the production of olive oil in Italy date as far back as 4,000 BCE (Pettit, 2018). It follows that the preparation of these goods is not only central for the local economy, but it is at the basis of its culture, too. Consequently, olive oil has begun to symbolise, on both the emotional and the material levels, a form of local identity willing to resist food globalisation (Meneley, 2004). In Meneley's ethnographic study (2004, p.170), the extra virgin olive oil of Tuscany epitomises the idea that 'local identities are formed and embodied in certain consumables representing particular places'. In this view, real culture is associated with the notion of developing taste, which can be acquired through the consumption of traditional food. Tuscany and Umbria, where the 'Città dell'Olio' (*Oil Towns*) are found, managed to transmit the idea that buying locally-made olive oil aligns the customer with the authentic landscape, and its culinary customs (Meneley, 2004). The significance attributed to the territory validates the collective attempts to maintain and preserve locally grown products, as these contribute to the formation of the self and thus represent a unifying trait for inhabitants of the same area. Accordingly, the attachment to a territory goes further than the concept of property (Roberts, 2017). To live in the same territory means to find ways to govern the land collectively, whilst being able to establish one's own personal function in it. For these reasons, the territory itself symbolises ideas of identification and relationship with other members of the community (Roberts, 2017).

Here, the notion of territory is deeply interrelated with that of authenticity, a crucial narrative within the topic of gastronomic heritage. Authentic Italian food is associated with the existence of a set of traditional practices and rituals required to obtain typical culinary products, in a context where such practices reflect both the identity of the community and the territory retaining them (Scepi & Petrillo, 2015). Authenticity thus deals with history; it represents a depiction of the communal past, which echoes the attachment of locals to the traditions that define them as individuals. As a

result, the notion of authenticity becomes a theme capable of uniting and mobilising communities. In the attempt of preserving the iconic status of authentic food, the city of Lucca, for instance, decided to ban 'inauthentic' (i.e. touristic, multi-or trans-national) restaurants from working within the city walls (Naccarato et al., 2017). Therefore, locals can defend traditions and reinforce the common identity existing among them within the central part of the city, valuing both the authentic historical foods of the area, and the area itself. It is important to acknowledge that the notion of 'authenticity' (and, subsequently, 'inauthenticity') needs to be dealt with cautiously. In recent years, a growing number of large companies have attempted to hijack this term for commercial purposes. Instances of this trend include the employment of Italian-sounding names such as *Napolina*, and 'parmesan' to produce British and American versions of pasta and 'Parmigiano-Reggiano'. With regards to the latter, the Italian law states that the term Parmigiano-Reggiano can only be adopted for cheeses produced in one of these specific locations: Bologna, Mantua, Modena, or Parma. This is meant to maintain the integrity of the traditional product (Romani, 2017). The name 'parmesan' is, on the other hand, unregulated, but imitative of Parmigiano-Reggiano. Whilst many parmesans can be high-quality cheeses, the Italian law sought to preserve the 'authenticity' of its Parmigiano-Reggiano by regulating the use of the term. In this paper, the concept of authenticity is related to notions of territory and heritage: this means that authentic food emerges as the product of long-lasting, local traditions. With this in mind, it is beneficial to look at Cavanaugh's (2007) ethnography on the production of salami in Bergamo. Here, the understanding of authenticity is crucial, as demonstrated by the epithet *nostrano*, which is associated with the salami.

The correlation between territory and authenticity is at the base of Cavanaugh's (2007) research. The main aim of the anthropologist's research is precisely that of examining the dyadic relationship of authenticity and prestige in the local notion of *nostrano*: 'ours'. A *salame nostrano* is indivisible from its small-scale and traditional production. To the farmers who make it, salami is a synonym of friendship and family, and it mirrors Bergamo's fundamental principles of social connection and diligence. Locals claim the true experience of tasting the product can only be achieved

in the adjoining area, because such food is intrinsically tied to its territory (Cavanaugh, 2007). This assertion reflects the idea that the salami cannot be manufactured and consumed everywhere, nor can it be mass-produced, as the legitimate means of production are small-scale, from authentic raw materials, in the traditional manner. In Bergamo, local actors own and run most of the industry, and unite together for the preservation of their traditions, making this a 'valuable case of locals making choices about their own product' (Cavanaugh, 2007, p.154). This example highlights how the most effective method of responding to the threats of globalisation in the field of gastronomy is to produce high-grade, authentic products and services (Aylward et al., 2006). To do so, it is necessary to embrace a collective approach and create strategic connections through the integration of all the links in the gastronomic chain, such as farmers, chefs, suppliers and firms. Here, the concept of collectivity already emerges as a pivotal point for the preservation of local traditions. The reiteration of the themes of territory and authenticity is at the core of local, national, and international movements that have arisen to protect traditional culinary products through collective efforts. In this context, the Slow Food movement shows what the Italian attachment to local cuisine is capable of achieving.

4. The Slow Food Movement

The Slow Food movement was founded in 1986 by political activist Carlo Petrini, with the aim of promoting a re-assessment of the concept of food, conviviality, and tradition (Horner Brackett, 2011). The movement targets issues like sustainability and the loss of gastronomic customs to promote the idea that authenticity, understood as food production and consumption that remains loyal to local cultural traditions, can be achieved through local food. Hence, Slow Food mobilises the key narratives of territory and authenticity that have been discussed in the previous paragraphs and it represents an illustration of a collective attempt to preserve culinary traditions. The movement encourages the consumer to support artisanal and locally-made (i.e. 'authentic') goods, with the purpose of opposing 'homogenisation, anonymity, and placelessness of industrialised food

production' (Meneley, 2004). Slow Food is widely examined in Horner Brackett's (2011) ethnography, who analyses how this collective form of action is driven by a quest for gastronomic authenticity. According to Horner Brackett, the expression of a true agricultural past is at the core of local ideology. She argues that the Slow Food movement has generated a collective effort that emphasises how cultural narratives represent a force for political action against modern global consumerism. It is particularly interesting to underscore that this arose in a nation characterised by regionalism, where local origins of food are intrinsically tied to identity. This goes to show how the intensification of shared values can spawn collective mobilisation. Horner Brackett (2011) gives the example of the Cinta Senese pig from Siena as a common reference for farmers and customers in Tuscany, as the pig embodies a symbolic perception of local history. The animal even appears in a 1337 fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, proving how deeply ingrained it is in the regional narrative, and legitimising the community's attempts to preserve this longstanding tradition from the 'encroachment by industrial production'.

Figure 1: Lorenzetti's *Buon Governo*, 1337

The representation of the pig in the fresco validates its significance in relation to the culture and territory. The Cinta Senese is included in the *Ark of Taste*, a Slow Food project, which works to promote endangered products, livestock breeds, and rare plants (Horner Brackett, 2011). As a result, the renewed demand for the Cinta Senese allowed it to avoid

extinction. This demonstrates how the collective effort behind the Slow Food movement is attaining important results for the preservation of historical traditions and for the recreation of links with the politics of the past. Then again, it is fundamental to point out that Slow Food can be interpreted in many diverse ways. The movement has both positive and negative implications: on the one hand, it is intended as a means of preserving local gastronomic traditions, but on the other, the higher production costs entailed can limit the inclusion of less affluent members of society. Horner Brackett (2011, p.190) claims that the movement is neither static nor unilateral, but it encourages a multiplicity of intersections among 'political, cultural, and national boundaries'. In fact, the movement arose through the affiliation between local actors in various Italian areas, which highlights the fact that individuals are capable of uniting through a collective approach in the name of a common aim. Piemonte's *sagre* is a prime example of this, and thus will be used to explore in further detail the underlying dynamics of gastronomic collectively.

5. Collectivity: The Case of the Sagra

Collectivity can be defined as 'the experience or feeling of sharing responsibilities, experiences, activities' (Collectivity, n.d.). Gastronomic collectivity arises through the intention of preserving long-lasting traditions by means of shared narratives – such as territory and authenticity. The notion that communal gastronomic values enhance collective action is crucial in Fontefrancesco's ethnography of the *sagre* in the region of Piemonte. A *sagra* is a fayre where a great variety of local food is prepared, in a setting of dance and musical performances. This form of event can be perceived as a unifying moment, cherishing traditional practices and leading individuals to gather in the name of a common identity (Fontefrancesco, 2017). Food represents a social mechanism that reiterates the identity of the people who take part in the festivity, which is perceived as the link between the present and the ancestral collective past. Earlier in this paper, it was noted that Romans passed down the custom of banqueting, while Charlemagne popularised the idea that food can be a vehicle to honour God.

Fontefrancesco (2017) describes how the *sagra* restores the model of the banquet, embellishing it with religious activities, and combining it with secular forms of entertainment. The *sagra* has a bilateral effect of strengthening the sense of collectivity of resident participants and broadening the confines of the locality where the event takes place, since it opens the scope for people of other areas to come and join the festivity. In a global reality, characterised by the existence of prevailing multinationals, the small localities find in the *sagra* a means to gather, with the intent of creating interconnections to reinforce their territorial context. Therefore, the *sagra* constitutes an attempt to challenge the global homogenisation of food by celebrating the territory's traditional production and consumption. Alongside the *sagra*, also olive oil, salami from Bergamo, and the Cinta Senese pig illustrate the Italian desire to unite around traditions. The Slow Food movement symbolises this attitude, which is progressively tying more localities together in the attempt to sensitise consumers to the importance of preserving Italian gastronomic culture. The perception of food as cultural heritage, reinforced by the acknowledgment of the rise of globalisation, can work as a drive for collectivity.

Conclusion

The topic of food heritage touches upon a great variety of different social narratives: identity, commonality, territory, authenticity, and tradition. In Italy, regional (territorial) diversity supported the flourishing of a myriad of culinary traditions, which are now confronted with the rise of more homogenised and transnational means of food production and consumption. The gastronomic heritage of a country is part of the collective memory of individuals, and thus shapes their identities. For this reason, the willingness to protect culinary traditions has grown across Italy's regions, finding its embodiment in the Slow Food movement. The success of this has hinged on collectivity in the consolidation of a communal purpose.

The aim of this paper was to highlight how collective efforts can rise to protect shared heritage, using the example of Italian gastronomic culture. The use of ethnographic studies contributed details of regional practices, and

their significance to locals, thus showing how narratives of territory and authenticity contribute to collectivity. A more extensive exploration of the topic would undoubtedly help understand to what extent these customs can be secured from globalisation, and, in a more positive light, what globalisation could do to benefit traditions through the exportation of products on a wider scale. Nevertheless, this work has underscored the significance of collectivity in the preservation of gastronomic traditions in Italy, showing how food becomes a powerful vehicle – capable of connecting individuals with the unique cultural past of their country.

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Seeing the Monsters beyond the Abyss: a discussion of the use of Voyage Narratives in Imaginary Representations of Geology

Isabella Maria Engberg [1]

This paper investigates why imaginary representations of geology so often uses the motif of voyaging into another world. For this purpose, it discusses how two texts, Lord Byron's Cain (1821) and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's The Lost World (1912), engage with theories and practices of geology as well as literary motifs from the underworld journeys of epics such as Virgil's Aeneid. Both of these texts include protagonists that travel in time and/or space to uncover secrets of the Earth and its natural history. In particular, the paper finds that the recurring element of an 'abyss' and the blurredness of spatial and temporal distance in the texts provide the reader with a better understanding of the concept of deep time. The depiction of the monsters of the past that are found beyond the abyss appear as timeless as the fossils a geologist could find in layers of stone today, yet they give the fictional voyagers and readers a chance to discover prehistoric lifeforms and understand natural history for themselves. Finally, by comparing the texts to Alexander von Humboldt's instructions of balancing science and drama in his introduction of his Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America (1815-1826), the paper concludes that the literary framework of the fictional voyage provides engaging and lively means of accessing the prehistoric Otherworlds due to its dramatic movement and relatability of the travellers. In this way, the paper provides an insight into how the fictional portrayal of the emerging science of geology has been undertaken and changed within the so-called long nineteenth century.

Introduction

Lord Byron's *Cain* (1821) and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1912) were written almost a hundred years apart. During this period, geology dramatically altered humanity's understanding of Earth's natural history. However, the narrative framework of these two fictional representations of geology, where voyagers travel into otherworldly places

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[1] Isabella Maria Engberg studies German and English and will graduate from the University in Aberdeen in June 2020. Her academic interests are cross-cultural meetings and interdisciplinary work, and she aims to pursue further postgraduate study in Comparative Literature. In her spare time, she finds rest in the outdoors by orienteering, running, and hiking.

to uncover Earth's secrets, are similar. By closely analysing scenes from these two works, this paper will investigate the shared use of figurative language within the scientific field of geology and the otherworldly voyages found in geology's imaginative representations. It will propose that the narrative framework of the texts serves exceptionally well in furthering humanity's grasp of Earth's long natural history. By drawing on similarities to the Underworld of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the essay will explore the importance of depicting the observer's spatial and temporal distance from the imagined worlds of the past, as well as from their prehistoric inhabitants. Secondly, it will explore the literary advantages of using voyage narratives to carry the reader to these estranged points of disembarkment.

During the late 18th and early 19th century, geologists changed how humans perceived their place in nature. By observing the changes in Earth's crust and in particular fossils stuck in various layers of sedimentary rock (commonly referred to as strata), theories of Earth's geology and history, such as James Hutton's conception (but not coining) of deep time as well as Cuvier's later hypothesis of catastrophism, were made public (Rupke, 1983). Deep time is the concept of the long geological time span of Earth's history, and catastrophism refers to the idea that Earth has experienced sudden violent events during its history, causing the mass extinctions of organic life now perceived as fossils. According to Rupke (p.130), fossils 'revealed a historical panorama of major changes in climate […] and in the character of life itself.' Metaphorically speaking, the Earth's strata had the potential to become pages in the book of the planet's natural history. The fixed fossils of now-extinct creatures, stuck in their different pages of time, were long-lost images, words, and sentences showcasing the long historical periods of our planet (O'Connor, 2007). Rupke (p.130) goes on to explain that historical geology 'demonstrated that the early modern notion of a plurality of worlds was correct, if not in space, at least in time.' Indeed, the belief that Earth was about 6000 years old allowed no such plurality (Braungart, 2011). Therefore, the new notion of Earth's history spanning over millions of years was, and still is, difficult to imagine. To understand past time periods, spatial words were and still are used (e.g. a 'long/short time ago' or 'far-away epochs'). It is not surprising that the naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon (1778, as

cited in Braungart, 2011, p.28) already in the eighteenth century, famously called this newly-perceived rift between the distant past and the present a 'dark abyss of time'. An imaginatively constructed space in the shape of an abyss, with its mosaic connotation of the chaos from which our world was brought into existence ('abyss', 2019), has in this sense, since the very foundations of geology, been important to understand deep time.

Interestingly, the abyss as a metaphor for the interval between the present and the past worlds is evident in both *Cain* and *The Lost World*. In Act II, Cain flies with Lucifer through the 'Abyss of Space' before entering Hades, where Lucifer will tour him through 'what [he] dar'st not deny, the history | Of past, and present, and of future worlds' (Byron, 1821, p.373). In this 'Abyss of Space' Cain's mind is '[i]ntoxicated with eternity' (p.378) as he gazes back on the disappearing Earth and sees various planets in the cosmos, realising the plurality of worlds. Cain's journey through the spatially 'eternal' abyss to the otherworldy Hades blurs the boundaries between time and space. In this way, constructing Cain's conception of humanity's temporal insignificance within natural history involves creating a dark space taking the place of the unfathomable lapses of time between the present and past worlds (Karkoulis, 2007).

The metaphoric and allusive dark space is also evident in *The Lost World*. Malone, the narrator, describes the difficulties in crossing the 'abyss' to the plateau of pre-historic life, which 'was forty feet across, but as far as [he] could see, it might as well have been forty miles' and was, furthermore, 'absolutely precipitous' (Doyle, 1998, p.89). The word 'abyss' is hardly a coincidence here; it appears four times within this short scene (in contrast to 'gulf' or 'chasm', appearing twice and once, respectively; Doyle, 1998). Furthermore, the space needs to be crossed to get to the prehistoric 'unknown' (p.89) or 'dreamland' (p.91). Like Byron, Doyle engages with the subjective conception of immense geological time as a dark space seeming to the traveller exceptionally wide, endless, or impenetrable.

The trope of showcasing an other-world for the reader's comprehension of Earth's past dates back to the antiquity of Western literature (O'Connor, 2007). For example, Virgil's Aeneas, guided by the supernatural Sibyl, goes through the 'gorge of hell itself' (Virgil, 2006,

p.448) and crosses the river Styx at another abyss-like 'point of no return' (p.450) to the Underworld. It is a place detached in time and space from his own world: he sees the 'brutal forms' (pp.321-36) of the assumed mythic or pre-historic past. He also encounters his father, the late Anchises, who not only reveals to him the Earth's creation and history, but also prophesies the future. Through the paradoxical mix of future prophecy told by a person of past life, the Underworld is shown to be timeless (Pieters, 2019) – and so is the repeated trope of timelessness, which is apparent in both Byron's and Doyle's texts.

Cain's presence in Hades, led by the supernatural being Lucifer, fuses motifs from early nineteenth century geology, Genesis, and Virgil's epic (the play does not contain tropes from this epic alone [Steffan, 1968]: Homer's Odysseus equally enters the Underworld, and in *Paradise Lost*, Raphael, like Lucifer, gives his version of Earth's history). The extinct creatures he first encounters are Byron's vision of 'pre-Adamites' (Byron, 1821, p.387), i.e. mighty human predecessors. He also sees what can now be found in his world to be fossils, which are the 'phantoms' of 'terror' appearing to him with 'eyes flashing like the fiery swords that fence them', and who lie '[b]y myriads underneath [his world's] surface' (p.392). In other words, Hades preserves the secret monstrous forms of the world's pasts like fossils stuck in strata. This detached world thus reveals Earth's history like its epic predecessors (Karkoulis, 2007), yet has a distinctly Cuverian touch of catastrophism (O'Connor, 2007) (making Lucifer succeed in 'depressing' [Byron, 1821, p.393] Cain through the anticipation of future mass extinctions). Furthermore, Byron's Hades is as timeless as Virgil's Underworld, and this cannot be fully comprehended by humans. Therefore, as he returns to Earth in Act III, Cain thinks he was gone for ages. His sister-wife Adah explains to him: 'Tis scarcely | Two hours since ye departed: two long hours | To *me*, but only *hours* upon the sun' (p.414). In this way, Byron plays not only with Cain's understanding of time and space through the portrayal of the abyss between the past and the present. He also compares humanity's short perception of time to the larger timescale of celestial bodies. Either way, it reflects the deep time's 'temporal marginalisation' (Braungart, 2011, p.28) of humanity's role in Earth's history.

Doyle's imaginative representation of geology reworks the notion that the other-world contains only now-extinct animals or human predecessors. On the plateau, the iguanodons, pterodactyls, ape men, newly discovered species, and the less identified ancient reptiles are very much alive due to their physical detachment from the known world (Jylkka, 2018). It is, however, still a space where the prehistoric past is preserved, and this otherworldly past is, equally to Byron's, isolated. Furthermore, the creatures found in this wild 'world of wonders' (Doyle, 1998, p.102) are similarly described as 'devils' (p.137) or 'monsters' (p.131). They carry the same connotations as the striking display of the monstrous past worlds found in the *Aeneid* or in Byron's Hades (O'Connor, 2007). Indeed, Malone expressly states that the plateau's 'occupants made it seem like a scene from the Seven Circles of Dante' (Doyle, 1998, p.103). Like Cain and Aeneas, learning about these creatures gives Challenger and his companions new knowledge of Earth's history to bring back to their home worlds. If only they could go back, but as the bridge over the abyss is removed, they are stuck in the timeless space of the plateau like the ancient creatures. Malone writes:

> We had been natives in the world; now we were natives of the plateau. The two things were separate and apart. […] [T]he link between was missing. No human ingenuity could suggest a means of bridging the chasm which yawned between ourselves and our past lives. One instant had altered the whole conditions of our existence (Doyle, 1998. p.94).

These sentences clearly bear connotations of evolutionary tropes (which are also present throughout the novel; Jylkka, 2018, p.228). However, with an interesting reversal of what is present and 'past life' for the protagonists. The subjectively perceived timelessness of the plateau is – as with *Cain* – also presented, and the trope of deep time as a dark space between past and present is again highlighted.

I will now discuss the function of the voyages themselves and the literary advantages that these frameworks provide in representing geology. During the early 19th Century, many geologists were bound to travel to explore Earth's crust; it was one of the science's practices (O'Connor, 2007). Whether it was travelling locally to the east coast of Scotland like James

Hutton or to entirely new continents (Rupke, 1983), naturalists would bring both knowledge of Earth's history and personal adventures back with them. One of many notable travelling naturalists was the Prussian, Alexander von Humboldt. He was widely celebrated in the scientific community internationally as well as in Victorian Britain. Lyell, Agassiz, and Darwin were avid readers of both his scientific discoveries and, even more so, the personal narrative of his journey to South America (Wilson, 1995, in the introduction to Humboldt, 1995). Interestingly, even Byron confirms his stardom in *Don Juan*, satirising him to be 'the first of the travellers' to measure the 'intensity of blue' with an 'airy instrument' (Byron, 2000, p.546). Although it was most probably not this single naturalist traveller that prompted Byron to have Cain undertake a journey across the abyss in search of knowledge, it is clear that the journeys of the naturalists were inspirational and widely read among scientists and non-scientific literates alike. Part of what made the science that these naturalists described accessible was the spectacular and succesive events of the voyage (O'Connor, 2007). Furthermore, the new impressions the voyage left on the traveller were necessary to provide entertainment for the reader. In the introduction of his personal narrative scientific voyage to South America, Humboldt describes this need for an accessible gateway to the science he wanted to present:

> The more travellers research into natural history, geography or political economy, the more their journey loses that unity and simplicity of composition typical of the earlier travellers. It is now virtually impossible to link so many different fields of research in a narrative so that what we may call the dramatic events give way to descriptive passages. Most readers, who prefer to be agreeably amused to being solidly instructed, gain nothing from expeditions loaded with instruments and collections (Humboldt, 1995, pp. 11-2).

Humboldt highlights the tension between the stillness of the description of science and the popular demand for a subjective narrative of his journey with dramatic and lively movement. Moving these thoughts to *imaginative* representations of science (and in particular geology, renowned for its fossils timelessly stuck in rocks), there seems to be an even greater

demand for authors to emphasise human experience and an appealing string of events to non-naturalist readers.

In its second act, portraying geological visions, Byron's *Cain* engages the reader by emphasising the subjectivity and drama of the voyage narrative – elements encouraged by Humboldt. As has been argued before, Act II takes place in a timeless space. To counteract this stillness in time, it is fitting that the journey element, which pushes the narrative forward, happens in the very same act. The fast sequential images of pre-historic life seen by Cain in Hades function like a visionary slide show, which is simultaneously voiced by Lucifer's didactic and allusive descriptions of mass extinction (O'Connor, 2007). The phantoms of humanity's predecessors, as dramatically inspired from the epics, are thus depicted as visionary, short, and dramatic snapshots, rather than the long descriptive passages of which Humboldt warns (O'Connor, 2007, pp.376-7). Furthermore, the reader only sees the variety of geological visions being presented through Cain's viewpoint. For example, Cain asks:

> What are these mighty phantoms which I see
> Floating around me? – they wear not the form
> Of the intelligences I have seen
> Round our regretted and unenter'd Eden (Byron, 1821, p.387).

Lucifer answers that they were previous life, now extinct. Cain answers 'Tis awful!' (p.389). Here, the image described by Cain, *not* Lucifer, appears at first wondrous, but it is gradually tinted through Lucifer's allusive descriptions, and consequently, Cain's subjective reactions (which as seen in the above quote are based on already present negative presumptions). All geological visions experienced by the reader, then, are in fact envisioned through the eyes of subjective characters with personal agendas. The reader has no choice but to relate to Cain (Steffan, 1968), which does not prove difficult, since he is as sympathetically torn and doubtful as other romanticist literary figures and acquirers of hidden knowledge, e.g. Goethe's popular *Faust* (Taylor, 1821). The emphasis on subjective impressions is also evident in the story's form as a play. Except for one to five words at the beginning of each scene, Byron gives no stage directions to visualise the prehistoric

scene itself; it is all mediated through characters. Cain's subjective interpretation of the geological visions, not the images on their own, are in deep connection to his already unsteady mind portrayed in Act I (Byron, 1821). It is this psychological journey, ending with the murder of Abel, that connects the story. Overall, it may be said that the reader stays engaged with the play's representation of geology and natural history because Cain's voyage is subjective, relatable, and it moves swiftly through otherwise timeless visions of prehistory.

In Doyle's *Lost World*, the voyage framework is clearly inspired from real-world scientific travel narratives such as Humboldt's. Indeed, the travellers set out to prove the scientific postulate by Professor Challenger, claiming that a detached world with non-extinct reptiles (i.e. dinosaurs) exists (Doyle, 1998). Similarly to *Cain*, it is the personal impressions and interactions of the travellers' dramatic journey that truly captivates readers. Doyle, however, works differently, using suspense (possibly inspired from contemporary 'imperial romances [Duncan, 1998, in the introduction of Doyle, 1998] such as those of Jules Verne) to display these fast-shifting human impressions of the prehistoric scenes. Suspense also pushes the drama of the story forward:

> We were all sleeping round our dying fire when we aroused […] by a succession of the most frightful cries and screams to which I have ever listened. […] It was ear-splitting as any whistle railway-engine; but whereas the whistle is a clear, mechanical, sharp-edged sound, this was far deeper in volume and vibrant with the uttermost strain of agony and horror. […] A cold sweat broke out over my body, and my heart turned sick at the misery of it (Doyle. 1998, p.109).

By invoking various lively senses with illustrative comparisons targeted at the reader, Doyle draws them into the horrific, recurring visions and soundscapes of the prehistoric plateau. Furthermore, the humorous and ironic portrayals of the two professors debating rivalling scientific theories on no-longer extinct animals bring lively human traits into the prehistoric world (Doyle, 1998). It is the life and drama of the human impressions of the plateau that transport the readers to the world of the past themselves, along with the 'realist' device of journalistic reportage which frames the whole

voyage narrative. Indeed, the novel's form, being a personal journal or report to the fictional *Gazette*, plays with the importance of suspense, sympathy, and relation to the travellers. Malone often addresses the reader directly to evoke sympathy. At the end of chapter nine, he writes in his postscript to his editor (and, in turn, to fictive as well as real readers): 'I see no possible hope of our return' (Doyle, 1998, p.95). The reader will have to turn the page to find out if Malone survives. The suspense, lively human traits, and the subjectivity of the voyage bring vivid and humane feelings as well as dramatic movement into the otherwise pre-historic world beyond the abyss.

To conclude, voyages into another world used in imaginary representations of geology engage with both the theories and practices of geology, as well as literary motifs and techniques dating back to antiquity. In both *Cain* and *The Lost World*, notions of spatial and temporal distance are blurred for the portrayal of deep time's placement between the worlds of past and present. The other-worlds depicted by Doyle and Byron are timeless: it is a place for prehistoric inhabitants to be discovered by travellers and readers alike. Lastly, the voyage itself is a useful literary framework for representing geology; it appeals to the reader through the relatability of the travellers as well as the lively drama it exposes within the worlds of prehistory.

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Why is immigration perceived as a contemporary challenge in the EU?

Pavel Dostalík [1]

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The strenuous and conflictful process of solving the issues resulting from the migration crisis of 2015 in the European Union (EU) has identified an institutional weakness of the European system. Using the lenses of the norm theory, a constructivist approach in International Relations, the values of the EU in regard to migration are evaluated and the institutional development in relevant areas is assessed. The process of norm internalisation on the European level, referred to as Europeanisation, generated growing consistency of state behaviour in various policy areas. Despite Europeanisation of migration related policies, the migration crisis of 2015 and its aftermath have revealed the diverse national approaches towards the issue and the inability of the European institutional framework to accommodate those approaches under the pressure of an unfolding crisis. Solidarity, mutual trust and cooperation as well as respect for human rights – values constituting the 'normative power' status of the EU – were put in question as Member States prevented the Union from adopting a complex and long-term solution. Migration related norms were internalised only to an extent that did not allow for further integration. Instead, socio-cultural contexts as well as the way media portrayed the migration crisis, different to each Member State, fuelled national responses. The geopolitical instability in Union's neighbouring regions keeps the possibility of new migration waves high and, consequently, the European actors divided.

Introduction

The European Union (EU) has been facing significant challenges in the past years, notably the 2015 refugee crisis and its consequences such as a rise of Euroscepticism. This paper examines why migration has become a major source of division among the EU Member States and why it is likely, yet not categorical, that this division will prevail and weaken the European project. The source of division became the relocation scheme, attributing a

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[1] Pavel Dostalík is a third-year Politics and International Relations student at the University of Aberdeen and a writer for the International Viewpoint, a student-led publication. His research focuses on topics related to European Union politics and affairs, mainly institutional dynamics and external relations.

number of displaced persons with the right for international protection to a Member State. This measure was introduced to unburden the most affected areas in the spirit of solidarity.

Considering this scenario, this paper firstly explores the development of a common migration and asylum approach on the European level driven by common values. Secondly, I consider the constructivist theory of International Relations, specifically norms, as a way of understanding the construction and definition of the actors' behaviour in an institutional framework. By analysing the existing literature through the lens of this theory, and exploring institutional dynamics in the area of migration and asylum in the European Union, I draw attention to the limited ability of the Union to harmonise Member States' approaches towards migration and relocation of migrants. Thirdly, the major events of the crisis illustrating the internal division are described proving the incomplete nature of norm internalisation - a crucial process for Union's consensus-based cooperation in a majority of policy areas. Lastly, the paper addresses the persisting challenge of migration due to the instability in neighbouring regions of the EU and the geopolitical turbulences, as both aspects maintain the risk of mass migration high. Such circumstances keep the Union in a strenuous position as it seems unable to resolve the internal conflict about how to tackle migration.

1. European Union Values Overview

The European Union represents an international organisation driven by common values (Oshri, Sheafer & Shenhav, 2015). This characteristic aspect of the Union is enshrined in key documents on which the organisation is based. The Preamble to the Treaty on European Union of 1992 confirms the 'attachment to the principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and of the rule of law' of its Member States (European Union [EU], 1992, p.12). Values have also played a crucial role in the enlargement process. States aspiring to join the Union, for example, are required to meet the Copenhagen criteria laid out in 1993. Together with geographic, economic and legislative criteria, political aspects are also

considered, and, among them, sub-criteria like democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities (European Parliament, 2019).

Additionally, the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 laid out Union's commitment to adopt 'appropriate measures' concerning asylum in accordance with the Geneva Convention and the Protocol Relation to the Status of Refugees. Article 73k (2) (a) of the Treaty requires the European Council to adopt 'measures on refugees and displace persons […] promoting a balance of effort between Member States in receiving and bearing the consequences of received refugees and displaced persons' (European Union [EU], 1997, p.29). This comprehensive and specific standpoint together with the requirements of EU Membership create an expectation of a high level of value-based homogeneity among the Member States of the Union. Yet, during the 2015 migration crisis, a major dispute among the Member States over how to tackle the unexpected number of people migrating to Europe occurred leaving the Union of values in question (Maldini & Takahashi, 2017).

2. Migration and Asylum through the lenses of Norms

In the following paragraphs, I will approach the institutional development of European migration and asylum structures, and consequences of the migration crisis starting in 2015 through the lenses of norms, a constructivist theory of International Relations. Katzenstein (1996) states that a norm is a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors within a given identity. According to the author, depending on the situation, norms can produce 'constitutive effects' which define the identity of the actor. Alternatively, he completes that norms can represent standards articulating expected enactment of an already existing identity. These effects, he says, are not mutually exclusive, but allow norms to both define identities and prescribe actors' behaviour. Discussing this constructivist concept in the context of the European Union, Member States stand for individual actors existing within the given identity, the EU. The constructivist approach recognises norms as a significant mechanism of understanding the nature of

international politics (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Moreover, the international structure is dependent on and determined by the distribution of ideas beyond the domestic level. Change of norms constitutes what realists would view as a shift in the balance of power (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Migration and asylum policies have constituted a significant area of European integration. The first articulation of a structure governing migration among the states belonging to the European Economic Community appeared in the Treaty of Rome in 1953. According to Hooghe et al. (2008), the initial European cooperation regarding migration was attempting to manage the internal movement of people. However, as international migration was on the rise since the 1960s, the focus shifted towards people coming to Europe from outside its borders. The authors still say that whether this was due to economic or labour migrants, political asylum seekers, or those reuniting with their families already living in Europe, the number was ever-increasing. The European Council meeting in Strasbourg in December 1989 resulted in more European determination to harmonise asylum policies of the Member States. At the same time, the way European leaders perceived the topic of migration and asylum changed. In 1992, it was the Foreign Ministers who had to tackle the migration issues, rather than the labour ministers who had previously been responsible for this agenda (Joppke, 1998). This demonstrated, as Joppke (1998) explains, that migration belonged to the concerns of 'high politics' of international security instead of 'low politics'. Accommodating migrants and asylum seekers in compliance with human rights constitutes one of the aspects giving the European Union the status of a 'normative power' – a group of states sharing certain norms. Indeed, by providing migrants and asylum seekers with high standards of protection and treatment, the EU was attempting to set both a domestic and a global norm whilst 'living by example' (Manners, 2008). These aspirations were systematised, for example, by the establishment of the High-Level Working Group on Asylum and Migration in 1998 aiming to 'institutionalise centralised responsibility and a concerted framework of action for all relevant EU institutions dealing with asylum and migration policies' (Lindstrøm, 2005, p.595).

Whilst it is apparent that migration and asylum policies kept gaining significance on the European level – which was gradually enhanced by Member States entrusting relevant national competencies to European institutions as noted by Lindstrøm (2005) – further analysis is required to declare that there is a specific norm, or a set of norms, defining identity and prescribing behaviour of the Member States. Such analysis relies on *process tracing* research method, commonly used to analyse official documents issued by the EU and Member States, as well as elite interviews or participatory observation (George & Bennett, 2004). Although it is not the purpose of this paper to carry out such in-depth analysis, it can be stated that the above-mentioned development of the European Union's approach to migration constitutes a process of norm emergence. The European institutions have functioned as 'norm entrepreneurs' pushing a common approach, driven by values, and ensuring its adoption by the actors, Member States. According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, p.900) 'norm entrepreneurs' seek to gain the support of state actors 'to endorse their norms and make norm socialisation a part of their agenda', which, in the European case, happened on multiple levels. The next section further develops on the international dynamics of norm diffusion and introduces the process of Europeanisation of migration policy.

3. Facing the Crisis: European Values in Question

'Norm entrepreneurs' operate to ensure that emerged norms enter a 'cascade', a process of dynamic imitation on the inter-state level (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). In organisations like the European Union, there are accompanying factors such as the pressure of conformity driving Member State leaders to adopt decisions aligned with what is considered 'appropriate'. Political actors behave with regards to their reputation as members within an institutional framework and 'to the legitimacy of their preferences and behaviour' (Schimmelfennig, 2001, p.48). Political and strategic choices are subject to institutional framework, which determines a particular socio-cultural context (Thielemann, 2003). The institutional framework is mainly shaped by norms, suggesting that Member States resort

to prioritise norms over a political cost-benefit calculation driven solely by national interest (Thielemann, 2001). Furthermore, cooperation within an institutional framework allows the development of processes of socialisation and collective learning among the individual actors. These processes eventually lead to domestic changes. In the context of European institutions, this process represents Europeanisation (Börzel & Risse, 2002), that is, where institutional supranational norms are internalised on the domestic level. As internalisation leads to domestic changes, Saurugger (2010, p.473) suggests that the process of Europeanisation is not only a discursive process but a 'dynamic development linked to power relations'.

How successful has the process of norm emergence and, more importantly, their internalisation on the domestic level in the European Union been in the light of the 2015 migration crisis? In order to answer this question, the constructivist theory of norms has progressed in regard to the 'life cycle of norms'. The emergence of norms and their later internalisation do not resemble 'a linear development' as introduced in some of the earlier constructivist literature on this matter (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). It needs to be acknowledged that the process is 'regularly challenged by a diverse set of actors' (Saurugger, 2010, p.472). Due to the diverse socio-cultural nature of EU Member States and their number, it is impossible to find identical processes of Europeanisation and norm internalisation. The implications of the uneven diffusion of norms concerning migration and asylum policies would not become visible under regular circumstances. However, the events starting in 2015 put the European Union into an unprecedented situation in which it had the chance to assume its 'normative power', supported by the values shared by its Member States (Ceccorulli & Lucarelli, 2017).

The European migration crisis refers to the biggest wave of migrants, either fleeing the conflict in Syria or seeking better economic conditions coming from the Near East and Africa, since the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s (Faiola, 2015). The unprecedented influx of migrants as well as the number of those who lost their lives on the way to Europe, mostly by drowning in the Mediterranean Sea, exerted pressure on the EU to take swift action. The President of the European Council Donald Tusk called for the Heads of Member States to gather at an extraordinary

meeting of the European Council on the 23rd of April, 2015, to tackle the 'dramatic situation in the Mediterranean' by suggesting four steps: fight human trafficking, boost border operations Triton and Poseidon, cooperation with the countries of origin, and 'reinforce European solidarity', which would be manifested through 'resettlement, relocation and processing of asylum applications' (The European Council, 2015a). Donald Tusk acknowledged that the path to reinforcing European solidarity would be complicated. As a legal response on the European Union level, the European Commission published the European Agenda on Migration specifying the immediate action that was deemed necessary to tackle the crisis and provide long-term solutions.

The Commission highlighted the importance of mutual trust between Member States for a successful and effective approach to migration. According to the Commission, the 'EU has common rules which should already provide the basis for mutual confidence, and further development of these rules will allow for a fresh start' (European Commission, 2015, p.12). In the proposal of the Commission, the idea of European resettlement scheme was introduced assigning a number of persons to be distributed across the Member States. The Commission's arguments for such measures are driven by solidarity, a value present in both the Single European Act of 1986 and the Treaty on European Union of 1992; and a concept expanded in the Treaty of Lisbon of 2006 as 'a value binding together member states and as a value binding together the citizens of each and every member state' (Sangiovanni, 2013, p.214). The Commission referred to the common values and unity in these early proposals in order to generate a comprehensive solution for the significant challenges the Union was facing.

Concurrently, mounting resistance became apparent in Member States like Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic or Slovakia (Maurice, 2015). These four Central European countries belong to a loose association, the Visegrad Group. They use its unity in numerous policy areas in order to promote their common interests. The Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, labelled the measures proposed by the Commission, namely the distribution of immigrants and refugees among the Member States, as 'mad and unfair' (Peter, 2015) in May, 2015. Additionally, the idea of a European

institution deciding on the number of refugees distributed to a Member State was rejected by the Polish Prime Minister, Ewa Kopacz. Robert et al, (2015) explain that in Poland, the rejection of such a scheme was accompanied and supported by an ongoing anti-Muslim campaign aggravating the public's perception of the crisis. A softer – yet negative – approach was adopted by Bohuslav Sobotka, the Czech Prime Minister, who emphasised not the importance of resettlement (Robert et al, 2015), but the significance of external help provided by the European Union in the areas of origin of those migrating to Europe. The authors also complete that the Slovakian Prime Minister, Robert Fico, did not reject the idea of solidarity and action driven by it. However, The Prime Minister stated that there only can be action on a voluntary basis. As the number of arriving migrants grew rapidly, so did internal pressures in the Union. Over the following months of the crisis, hundreds of thousands of migrants and asylum seekers entered the territory of the European Union, reaching a total number of 1.005.504 arrivals over the course of 2015 (Miles, 2015).

Relocation quotas, proposed by the Commission, appeared in the centre of the conflict. However, due to the urgency of the situation, Member States needed to come to an agreement on this matter, but as leaders of Member States were unable to do so, individual national governments resorted to adopting measures on state levels. In late August 2015, German Chancellor Angela Merkel announced the decision to suspend the Dublin Procedure for Syrian refugees, which allowed for the refugees to remain in Germany without returning to the first Member State they entered (Dockery, 2017). Contrary to the German approach, Hungary launched construction of a border barrier on its border with Serbia, and later with Croatia too, arguing that the European Union's response was 'too slow' (Nolan, 2015). An exceptional and intense debate in the European public space and the media across Europe took place portraying the influx of migrants in different ways. The way the news was reported was significantly influenced by the local context, including political culture of the Member State and the extent to which it was affected by the crisis (Berry et al., 2015). As the values of unity and mutual trust were quickly deteriorating, a European solution was required. German Foreign Affairs Minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, was

one of the first officials who publicly suggested that the voting procedure in the European institutions might need to be modified in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty. A qualified majority vote was seen as a way forward to ensure that 120.000 refugees could be resettled across Europe in spite of the resistance in some Member States (Weaver, 2016). Essentially, the views of the Member State representatives and the European citizens remained divided.

During the extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council on the 14th of September, 2015, ministers of Member States discussed relocation of 120.000 refugees across Europe, as proposed by the Commission in May, 2015. Nonetheless, they did not reach a unanimous consensus at that moment. The meeting resulted, by qualified majority, in the Council committing to relocate 40.000 refugees from Greece and Italy over two years. Only eight days later, another Extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council took place. During this meeting, a qualified majority of Member States agreed to establish a relocation mechanism from Italy and Greece to other Member States applying to 120.000 persons 'in clear need of international protection' (The European Council, 2015b, p.7). Some of the vocal critics, most notably Poland, that had initially opposed the proposal, subsequently voted in favour. Such a shift suggests a level of pressure of conformity present in the institutional context leading to norm internalisation, in this case only to a certain extent. Solidarity, responsibility and mutual trust – drivers of European cooperation usually based on consensual agreements – did not motivate the votes of all Member States. This became apparent shortly as Slovakia and Hungary launched legal action against the European Council questioning the legal ground of the decision. Poland expressed support to Slovakia in front of the Court. However, the legal complaints were dismissed by the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in 2017 in a ruling which confirmed that the actions taken by the European Council were lawful (European Court of Justice [ECJ], 2017). Three Member States, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, have not taken necessary steps to comply with the relocation scheme leading to the European Commission – an institution responsible for ensuring Member

States' compliance with the adopted legislation – launching infringement procedures against the three of them (The European Commission, 2017).

The insufficient harmonisation of migration and asylum policies caused by both the institutional obstacles of the EU and the different socio-cultural contexts in individual Member States was demonstrated during the events of 2015 and remains visible by ongoing internal conflict. The relocation scheme, which set the initial goal of resettling 120.000 persons from Italy and Greece, has not reached its goal yet, as only 34.700 people have been relocated inside the Union by October, 2019 (The European Commission, 2019). Naturally, the EU has resorted to other measures in its Agenda on Migration to tackle the challenges it has been facing. Most notably, it adopted the concept of Hotspots - where migrants undergo the initial registration before proceedings regarding their right to asylum - and the Agreement between the European Union and Turkey of March 2016 on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation (The European Commission, 2018). In the Agreement, a 'one-to-one initiative', concerning exclusively Syrian refugees, was introduced referring to exchanges of irregular migrants who entered the Union's territory in Turkey. Although the number of migrants entering Europe has declined, the Union's strategy to externalise the problem of accommodating refugees cannot be seen as a long-term one. Current unstable relations between the European Union and Turkey put the durability of their Agreement into question. A scenario which would see Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's President, allowing more than 3.600.000 refugees into Europe could be destructive for the Union (Trew, 2019). Uncertain future of and persistent instability in the region of origin of the majority of the migrants represents another concerning aspect. The ongoing Syrian Civil War remains unresolved and dramatically affects people in the region. The events of autumn 2019, most notably the announced withdrawal of the United States' military forces, and the following Turkish military operation in north-eastern Syria contributed to potential escalation (United Nations News, 2019) and deteriorated the humanitarian crisis (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2019).

Conclusion

We can conclude that the issue of migration is significant and dividing. The European public remains concerned about immigration as 34% (thirty-four per cent) of Europeans find it the most pressing problem (Deutsche Welle, 2019). Divided opinions, reflected in various political approaches to the issue, manifest the unsuccessful internalisation of a European norm. This area inherently touches upon the question of national sovereignty and is of such pressing importance for Member States that it prompted some Governments to enter legal disputes within the Union.

The introduced concepts of norm internalisation – such as acting based on what is considered 'appropriate' (Schimmelfennig, 2001) or the preference of consensual norm diffusion over a strategic cost-benefit calculation guided by national interest (Thielemann, 2001) – identified the shortcomings on the European level in the area of migration. This is due to the incomplete integration and the limited ability of the Union to overcome socio-cultural differences which serve as obstacles to the adoption of a common approach. The division is undermining the value-based core of European cooperation – solidarity among Member States and mutual trust – and this puts in risk the development of the European project as well as its 'normative power' position globally. Lastly, the high risk of future irregular migration to the European territory and the Union's inability to achieve norm internalisation constitute the main reasons why migration remains a challenge.

Further research on this issue might provide a deeper understanding of the different socio-economic approaches towards migration. Evaluating varying cultural (religious, historical) developments in Member States and their influence on public perception of migration from outside the EU can be further explored. An enhanced insight into the process of norm internalisation in Member States' politics can be examined with regards to their duration of membership, inspecting a possible correlation between the amount of time as a Member State of the European Union and the level of norm internalisation. Moreover, due to the evolving nature of the issue, a process tracing of further institutional development would enrich the

understanding of the abilities of the EU to intensify the process of norm internalisation when it is not facing an ongoing pressing crisis. Alternatively, a comparison of European Union's reactions to other crises, such as the Eurozone crisis of 2009, Brexit, or the coronavirus outbreak, to its reaction to the migration wave of 2015 might provide a broader context and implication of the Union's behaviour in times of crisis.

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Comparing the Origins and Ideology of the UK Independence Party and Alternative für Deutschland: Is it justified to include respective parties as members of the 'Extreme Right' Party Family?

Harry Bowles [1]

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Thematically focussing on the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in Britain and Alternative für Deutschland (AFD) in Germany, this study aims to determine the justification to include these parties as members of the 'Extreme Right' through a qualitative discourse analysis. Firstly, by outlining country specific backgrounds and a comparison of the foundations of respective parties, the essay provides a conceptual analysis of the historical origins and opportunity structures available in each context. Secondly, to conceptualize the analysis by utilising Mudde's (2007) framework of nativism, populism and authoritarianism; focussing specifically on nativism and populism, the article outlines the evolutionary process respective parties have undertaken and the consequential shift towards more extreme agendas. The study contends that both cases have undertaken radical change. To remain relevant following the Brexit referendum, UKIP have firmly become part of the extreme right family, inciting populist language and nativist discourse through speeches, social media posts and relationships with anti-Islam groups such as the EDL. This trend has been similar in the case of AFD who have weaponised the migrant crisis and placed increased importance on the incompatibility between the German people, immigrants and asylum seekers.

Introduction

The extreme right surge across Western Europe has captured some of the most economically prosperous, socially liberal and integrated states across the continent. Until recent years, several countries appeared immune from this party family – notably Sweden, Germany and Britain. Although, the recent success of the Swedish Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) has bucked this trend (Widfeldt, 2018, p.545). In Germany and Britain, the

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[1] Harry Bowles is a fourth-year Politics and International Relations student. His research interest is on multi-level party politics, elections, and public policy. He is the President and Co-Founder of Aberdeen Student Parliament, a society that hosts parliamentary debates and workshops on drafting legislation and public speaking. He enjoys reading, politics and sports.

success of the extreme right is less straightforward. Both countries have shown robust opposition throughout the second and third waves of the ideological surge of the Extreme Right. However, the rise in support for Alternative für Deutschland (AFD) in Germany and the influence of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) on the outcome of the Brexit referendum make both countries interesting cases to analyse in the context of the fourth phase of the rise of the extreme right.

This study is clustered into three major sections. Firstly, it illustrates the origins of both parties as single issue, anti-EU organisations. Secondly, a comparison of the ideological changes that both parties have undertaken was made. Finally, the study scrutinised the extent to which they belong to the extreme right party family. This was done within the extreme right party framework conceptualised by Mudde (2007). Although Mudde's framework contains three elements – nativism, populism, and authoritarianism – to provide a detailed analysis, the study assessed the AFD and UKIP in the context of nativism and populism and finally showcased 'how they qualify as members of the extreme right'.

1. Background

The post war period created a profound awareness of fascism and the consequences of such regimes. In Germany, years of economic growth and a collective memory of guilt, overshadowed fringe groups of extremist skinheads and Neo-Nazi hooligans (Backes, 2018, p.453). However, 'new movements represent a new era of fighting and different battles in Western Europe' (Prowe, 1994, p.312). These new movements can be interpreted as extreme right political parties, aiming to mobilise voters on issues of immigration, law and order, minority rights, opposition to fundamental values of liberal democracy, pluralism, anti-postmaterialism, and opposition to the European Union (Rydgren, 2008; Betz, 1994; Vasilopoulou, 2018).

In Britain, electoral attempts from the Greater British Movement (GBM), National Front (NF) and the British National Party (BNP) have been historically unsuccessful despite marginal successes in European and Council elections for the latter (Goodwin, 2011; Dennison & Goodwin,

2018). In Germany, radical right representation has derived from, the Republicans, German People's Union (DVU) and the National Democrats (NPD). Similarly, support for these parties has been weak and presents Germany, like Britain as an anomalous negative outlier in a statistical model of extreme right voting in Western Europe (Arzheimer, 2009).

The reasons for fickle extreme right success in the British and German contexts are complicated. Foremost, the German electoral system requires parties to reach the 5% threshold to enter the Bundestag. Structural barriers are also problematic in the UK case as the First Past the Post (FPTP) voting system makes gaining seats problematic as the percentage of votes rarely reflects seats gained (Clark, 2018). In the case of Germany, it appears clear that Nazism remains a taboo beyond an alienated fringe, a prophylactic which has inoculated much of the population (Eatwell, 2000). This taboo has made much of the electorate cautious about the potential rise of extremist views and the electoral threshold was designed to keep extremist ideologies out of the Bundestag.

1.1 Origins

UKIP was founded by left-wing professor from the London School of Economics, Alan Sked. The party was established in 1993 as a group of former Anti-Federalist League members united over the common goal of strongly opposing the EU (Clark, 2018, p.134). According to Ford and Goodwin (2014) Sked strived to distance the party from the stigmatisation of the radical right and thus avoided 'British' in the name. UKIP were often compared with the 1950s Poujadist movement in France. The authors also say that this comparison derived from parallels of support from self-employed, small business owners - coupled with 'the people being betrayed by the elite' rhetoric. Initial success for UKIP was slow as they were overshadowed by the Referendum Party through the nineteen-nineties and in 1997, Alan Sked was ousted as leader, due to his intellectual and autocratic approach (Goodwin & Dennison, 2018, p.528). Following Sked's departure, UKIP were commonly dubbed as extreme right due to speculation of affinity and collusion with the BNP and former leader Sked expressed UKIP had

'been infected by the far right'. However, growing discontent towards the EU into the millennium marked a change of fortune.

In 1999, the European Parliament switched to a proportional representation system, reducing the barriers to entry for smaller fringe parties. This change allowed UKIP to gain 12 seats in 2004, adopting the mantra of being the only British Party to oppose the EUs Eastern enlargement programme (Goodwin & Dennison, 2018, p.529). In 2006, Nigel Farage became leader of the party as UKIP began to broaden policy objectives and manifesto promises, a trend that would persist throughout each of Farage's reigns as leader (UKIP, 2010; 2015). Maintaining highly simplistic anti-immigration, anti-establishment and populist messages, UKIP continued the primary objective of strong EU opposition up to and beyond the Brexit Referendum. The ability to remain relevant and perceived as more moderate than the BNP and other fringe parties had been one of UKIPs main strengths, until a recent move towards the far-right.

The formation of AFD came twenty years after UKIP in 2013, campaigning for a dissolution of the Eurozone and a radical reconfiguration of German foreign policy (Chase & Goldenberg, 2019). The party was founded by Bernd Lucke and supported by business leaders, journalists and a large group of Economics academics. The ability to avoid Nazi connotations has been a useful asset for the party. Arzheimer (2015) links this to the party being formed by 'moderates' with very high SES (educational attainment, financial security, and subjective perceptions of social status and social class), considerable civic skills and some political experience. This is contrasted by other German 'extreme right parties who have always had a fixation on the past' (Backes, 2018, p.456). This historical outlook had maintained a cordon sanitaire between the radical right parties and breaking into elected positions and thus distanced fringe parties from breaking into the Bundestag (Eatwell, 2000).

The AFD formed only six months ahead of the federal election and came tantalisingly close to the electoral threshold of 5% - with 4.7% of the vote (Backes, 2018, p.455). Nine months on, the party polled 7% in the 2014 European parliamentary election (Arzheimer, 2015). This success was considerably faster and electorally more prosperous than UKIP. In 2017, the

party won 12.6% of the vote and gained 94 seats. This is contrasted by UKIPs similar feat of 12.6% of the vote in 2015, however, the UK outfit only returned one seat (Clark, 2018, p.137). This took UKIP twenty-four years to achieve and only took four years in the case of AFD. Furthermore, internal changes took place much faster in the AFD case. In 2015, founder Lucke left the party over claims they had become too extreme and in 2017, then leader, Frauke Petry resigned from the party the day after winning her parliamentary seat for the same reason.

  The impact of both parties creates diverging opinions but the origins of each, mark important changes to the political landscape of contemporary British and German politics (Backes, 2018; Goodwin & Dennison, 2018). Importantly, both UKIP and the AFD were founded as single-issue (Mudde, 1999), anti-European Union (EU) parties. Opposition to the EU is defined as Euroscepticism and can be divided by hard and soft lines, this is the first deviation between UKIP and the AFD. Where UKIP employed a level of 'Hard Euroscepticism', defined as 'relying on principled opposition to EU integration and employing outright support for the country's withdrawal from the EU' (Taggart, 1998). The AFD formation was based on 'Soft Euroscepticism' (Arzheimer, 2015, p.535), relating to concerns over one or more EU policy area(s), creating contingent or qualified opposition to the EU (Vasilopoulou, 2018, p.123). This distinction is important when separating the origins of both parties.

  Furthermore, the origins of both cannot be defined by traditional opportunity structures (Betz, 1994; Kitschelt, 1995). Instead, they should be linked with issue ownership of European Union opposition. Issue ownership relies on parties campaigning on issues in a spatial environment where competitors (other parties) lack clear or successful policy plans on an issue (Kitschelt, 2018, p.180). Eatwell has argued that extreme right parties can establish themselves on single issues and mobilise voters when other parties fail to represent the consensus of the electorate (Eatwell, 2003). Eatwell's claim is supported by the rise of UKIP and AFD as single-issue parties, satisfying the demand for anti-EU sentiment in respective countries. Other mainstream parties in both cases had failed because of their weak opposition to the EU. Representing anti-EU sentiment in respective countries while

maintaining less extreme rhetoric than opposing parties – NPD in Germany and BNP in Britain – has allowed both AFD and UKIP to take votes from these far-right groups, simultaneously attracting voters from the centre-right spectrum. Since their respective formation, AFD and UKIP have been moving closer to the far-right party family (Lees, 2018; Mudde, 2017a). An analysis of the ideological patterns in Mudde's (2007) framework offers a more astute insight into the shift that both parties have undertaken.

1.2 Ideology

Focussing on ideologies, it is imperative to utilise a consistent framework for both AFD and UKIP. Mudde's seminal (1995) study provided a plethora of characteristics within the extreme right party family. This work was refined in Mudde's (2007) work, conceptualising nativism, authoritarianism, and populism as a new structure for classifying Extreme right parties. This has won international acclaim because it accommodates a wide range of parties while identifying important differences between them (Arzheimer, 2015). However, Carter criticises Mudde's framework, arguing that (1) considerable amount of work dealing with definitions has been published since Mudde's studies; (2) dissolution of extreme right parties, along with the formation of new parties such as the AFD in Germany, show Mudde's definitions as outdated (Carter, 2018). Contrary to Carter's criticism, this essay argues that Carter's findings largely corroborate Muddes work. In a study of fifteen influential works from leading academics in the field, Carter finds largely the same 'properties included as definitions of right-wing extremism/radicalism' as Mudde (1995; 2007), thus rendering the idea of Mudde's work as outdated a redundant argument (Carter, 2018, p.161).

Firstly, according to Mudde (2007, p.19), the lowest common denominator for the party family is 'nativism', an ideology that combines nationalism and xenophobia. Nativism is a broad concept that subsumes racism, ethnocentrism, and anti-immigrant sentiment, holding that non-native elements (persons, ideas, or policies) present a threat to the nation (Arzheimer, 2015). The classification of UKIP and AFD as nativist is

difficult and there is no clear or empirical consensus among academics. This essay will argue that a linear focus on manifestos of UKIP and AFD does not categorise them within the nativist framework.

Focussing on UKIP manifestos between 2010 and 2015, it is difficult to identify a nativist narrative. The 2010 manifesto focussed on other fundamental policy areas away from solely immigration and the 2015 manifesto only featured a section about leaving the EU on the final two pages (Clark, 2018; UKIP, 2015). Evans (2014) claims UKIP manifestos are largely concentrated on EU opposition. However, it is imperative to also consider the multiple policies on healthcare, welfare, education, housing, energy, farming, tourism, crime and justice, and employment and small business (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2015). Furthermore, only one of the eight 'key policies' from 2015 was based on immigration and demanded banning foreign 'criminals entering or remaining in Britain' (UKIP, 2015, p.11) a policy that was hardly distanced from the mainstream, as 46% of people surveyed ranked immigration as the main issue a year later (Ipsos Mori, 2016). Few UKIP promises at this time attempted to inflict an ideological fear of others or a separation between the 'in-group' of natives and an 'outgroup' of foreigners, both necessary requirements to be considered nativist.

This trend is consistent with the early years of the AFD. The 2013 Manifesto and European Parliamentary campaign for 2014 were titled 'Mut zu Deutschland' meaning 'dare to stand by Germany' and transpires into the idea that German's are systematically discouraged to have national pride (Arzheimer, 2015, p.448). The AFD want Germany to push for more assertion in the European Parliament and have a greater say over decisions made. Further, the manifesto demands the European Parliament should launch an enquiry into the details of financial bailout measures and presses to breakdown the flawed 'Alterparteien', known as the alliance between Germany's established parties and the EU (2015, p. 448). These demands are more anti-establishment and question the relationship between hierarchical institutions rather than pose as nativist demands. The notion that the old established parties fail to correctly represent the German people is a populist claim, articulating the idea of betrayal and not racism, ethnopluralism or

sentiment of anti-immigration as the definition of nativism requires (Mudde, 2007, p.18).

The AFD rejects Turkish EU membership, however, the section on 'immigration and asylum' show, the party 'supports principles of free movement and choice of residence for all EU citizens' (Arzheimer, 2015, p.551). AFD favour a points-based system of immigration for non-EU citizens and more recently, explicitly rejects 'Islam' as a religion belonging to a different culture (Tillschneider, 2016). This rhetoric pushes the idea of cultural differences, making 'out-groups' incompatible with the national way of life. However, the AFD refute this, claiming, 'people belonging to the Islamic faith might be accepted as long as they live with us peacefully and are integrated' (AFD Landesverband Baden-Wurttemberg, 2015, p.24). Despite patterns of extreme right ideology, Arzheimer (2015) struggles to qualify evidence of early AFD campaigning and manifestos as belonging to the extreme right party family.

Furthermore, more recent manifestos from both parties presents similar findings, despite the clear ideological shift towards the extreme right. The AFD put forward a very comprehensive 94 page manifesto, available in seven languages and covering a wide breadth of policy plans (AFD, 2019). Similarly, the UKIP 2019 manifesto published on December 2nd, covers 35 'topics' over 48 pages. Closely scrutinising both manifestos shows no clear nativist sentiment.

Contrary to the above analysis, this essay presents that the study of manifestos highlights only a limited picture of the wider contribution of these parties. Instead, to fully assess both parties within a nativist and populist framework, a deeper understanding of ideologies can be obtained through analysing speeches, social media pages and media interviews. These areas showcase a different response and provide evidence that only focusing on manifestos distorts the ideological positions of both parties.

Goodwin and Dennison (2018, p.535) argue that 'increased campaigning on issues besides EU membership, means academics increasingly label UKIP as a full-fledged member of the European radical right party family'. This view can be evidenced by UKIP leader, Gerard Batten's belligerent tirade, referring to Islam as a 'death cult' and calling for

members of the Muslim community to renounce large proportions of the Quran (Guardian, 2018). This ideological shift can be linked with attempts to remain relevant following the Brexit Referendum (Mudde, 2017a, p.2). Batten's leadership continues a UKIP trend of ideological nativism over recent years.

What has also changed is the party's overt organisational links to more extreme elements of Britain's far right scene (Allchorn, 2018). Allowing staunch anti-Islam figure and former English Defence League (EDL) leader, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon[2] join the party, highlights the inherent nativist turn towards ethnocentrism the party has taken. Policies such as a Britain wide ban on building more Mosques, along with speeches inciting hatred and separation towards the Muslim community as an 'out-group', presents evidence that UKIP have become intrinsically xenophobic and thus qualifies the party as extreme right under Mudde's minimal definition of nativism (2007, p.15).

Similarly, the AFD have also experienced an ideological shift towards a more extreme agenda. Despite 'Soft Eurosceptic', origins and a collection of sophisticated manifestos (Arzheimer,2015, p.535), the AFD have moved the discussion from criticism of the EU to a nativist ideology of anti-immigration and ethnopluralism (Lees, 2018, p.298). This development occurred in light of the 2015 migrant crisis. Early language contained populist messages of the way Merkel's government had let the German people down by not controlling the migrant problem. However, the discourse became more extreme as the AFD began to list the threat of 'Jihadist terrorists' and claimed that the migrant crisis threatens the security and safety of the German national people; positioning migrants as 'dangerous' (BBC, 2020). Furthermore, the party is linked with right-wing extremist and anti-Islam organisation, Pegida. Pegida, like the English Defence League, have been prolific critics of Islam and multiculturalism (Guardian, 2018).

It is also important to consider Populism, which is defined as 'separating two homogenous and antagonistic groups into the 'pure people' against the 'corrupt elites' (Mudde, 2007, p.29). It is imperative to examine

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[2] Referred to colloquially as Tommy Robinson.

both parties on the extent to which they qualify as populist. Arzheimer importantly shows that the 2013 AFD manifesto does not contain a single reference to the 'elites' or 'political class' and does not conform with traditional notions of populism, aiming to appeal to emotions (Arzheimer, 2015, p.546) or solve complex problems with simple solutions (Mudde, 2004). This view is supported when scrutinising the most recent manifesto, containing detailed economic planning and protectionist policies, utilising technical language (AFD, 2019). This is contrasted by UKIP manifestos which tend to use more simplistic language, opposing the ruling elites. The UKIP website asserts:

> UKIP believes in allowing 'our people' their traditional rights of freedom of expression, belief, conscience and speech... [our] rights have been eroded over recent decades by the burgeoning concepts of so-called 'hate speech' and 'hate crime', driven by the political doctrine of Cultural Marxism, which seeks to close down discussion and alternative views, so that only one extreme left-wing 'politically correct' viewpoint is allowed (UKIP, 2019, p.12).

This critique of current meta-politics blames the political elites who have halted free speech and indoctrinated a left-wing perspective on the people. This language is particularly 'populist' and supports much of UKIPs earlier criticisms of the established mainstream parties and betrayal of the people in the 2008 financial crisis and the expenses scandal (Clark, 2018, p.136).

Furthermore, analysing social media activity of both parties presents UKIP as applying a more populist narrative to political messages. UKIP tend to use quick and abrupt language, arguing 'immigration is out of control' and UKIP is 'the only voice for small business' (UKIP, 2019). This simple rhetoric is designed to resonate with voters on an equal and conversational level, known as 'Stammtisch', referring to a bottom-up tactic (Mudde, 2004). This is contrasted by the AFD Facebook page which features well edited and professional videos, accompanied by detailed text, critiquing the mainstream 'old' parties (AFD, 2019). Both styles are populist but the AFD implement more sophisticated content.

1.3 How Both Parties Qualify as Members of the Extreme Right

It is central to consider that the outcome of becoming more extreme for both parties has had opposite effects. As Mudde (2017a, p.2) had predicted, 'UKIP seems increasingly pushed into a radical right direction and might move there after Brexit'. To remain relevant following the loss of their most salient issue, EU opposition, UKIP have become increasingly extreme (Dennison & Goodwin, 2018, p.543). In 2018, former leader, Farage claimed UKIP must 'reform or die', however, the radical right shift has not increased support for the party as defecting supporters have shifted support to the newly formed Brexit Party, who appear to have stolen much of their core voter base (Guardian, 2018). Current evidence presents UKIP as a rapidly declining party that could be on the brink of redundancy.

Conversely, the attachment to the issue of the migrant crisis has naturally created a more controversial and culturally driven agenda from the AFD. Arzheimer (2015, p.540) had initially believed that the AFDs reputation 'rests on the party's continuing ability to ward off "extremists", or at least activities that are perceived as too extreme in the German context'. However, the evidence for success is contrary to Arzheimer's view. Studies in Germany since the 1960s have shown that as many as 15-20% of Germans harbour extreme right values, but the best extremist performance in a Bundestag election, until very recently, was just over 4% way back in 1969 (Eatwell, 2000).

The AFD have managed to become one of the leading opposition parties and have strongly established themselves as part of the German democratic process. The party's continued rise is mirrored by an increase in extreme values and thus a correlation can be drawn between increasing levels of nativism, focussing on Islam and migration, leading to electoral success (Lees, 2018, p.300). This argument must be treated with care as UKIP gained votes around a time when immigration was considered an 'important issue' (Ipsos Mori, 2016), nevertheless, declined considerably in the British context. However, in Germany, evidence presents that the importance of migration is unlikely to slow down (Grandi, 2019) and thus employing nativist stances appears to be supporting the AFD in a pertinent time for

migration. This stance, coupled with a sophisticated implementation of populist language, now qualifies the AFD to be included as a member of the extreme right party family.

Conclusion

Categorising both UKIP and the AFD is a difficult task due to the complexity within them. Respective parties began as Eurosceptic single-issue organisations with the aim of opposing varying factions of the European Union. As illustrated, both parties have experienced diverging levels of early success. Structural constraints such as the electoral system in the UK and the 5% threshold in Germany acted as early barriers for both parties. Despite this, AFD have been more electorally successful and have established themselves in the Bundestag. This is contrasted by UKIP who appear to be becoming less relevant following the UK Independence Referendum on Europe.

The origins and early establishment of both parties do not qualify as part of the extreme right ideology. Analysing both parties' manifestos in isolation does not convey either as extreme right. However, as both parties have evolved, endemic ideologies have changed. To remain relevant, UKIP have become part of the extreme right family, increasingly inciting populist language and nativist sentiment through speeches, social media posts, and relationships with anti-Islam groups such as the EDL. This trend has been similar in the case of AFD who have weaponised the migrant crisis and placed increased importance on the separation between the German people and immigrants and asylum seekers. Evidence from this study indicates that, whilst not originally extreme parties, it can be now justified to include both as members of the 'extreme right' party family in Western Europe.

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The Nexus between Discrimination and Statelessness: a case study on the Romani people of Europe

Lea Anna Berndorf [1]

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This article hypothesises that the underlying factor of statelessness among Romani people in Europe is discrimination. Therefore, it attempts to shed light on the following questions: To what degree and in which way does discrimination relate to or even cause statelessness? What are the characteristics of and motivations behind this discrimination? In order to gain an in-depth understanding of Romani culture and the Romani concept of belonging and statehood, a comprehensive review of ethnographic literature is conducted. In essence, the findings are that discrimination is an important factor to consider when assessing statelessness, that such discrimination is based on the concepts of stereotyping and prejudice, and that this discrimination, in combination with other factors, leads to the exclusion of Romanis from the benefits of citizenship. However, a solution to this problem is difficult to find. As the ethnographic literature reveals, in some cases Romani people do not seek membership of a state and prefer to remain independent and separate from the non-Romani communities. The author thus argues that solutions to the dilemma of Romani statelessness in Europe can only be found in dialogue with the Romanis themselves and in consideration of the particularities of Romani culture.

The world, as we currently know it, is structured around the concept of the nation-state. In theory, every human being is living within the borders of a state and should, therefore, be a citizen of (at least) one. In reality, however, millions of people around the globe and some 600,000 in Europe alone are stateless (UNHCR, n.d.), i.e. they are individuals who 'are not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law' (UNHCR, 2014, p.6). The most common causes of statelessness traditionally brought forward are state succession, conflicting criteria of nationality between states, lack of documentation, and administrative obstacles. Yet in most cases, this categorisation will not suffice to explore the deeper origins

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[1] Lea Anna Berndorf is originally from Germany and will finish her MA Politics and International Relations at the University of Aberdeen in 2020. Her main academic interests lie in the politics of memory and memory culture, especially in regard to collective Holocaust memory in Germany, and the politics of the Middle East with a focus on contemporary Israel.

of the lack of citizenship, which are often rooted in discrimination. Therefore, I focus this research on the correlation between discrimination and statelessness and conduct a case study on Europe's largest stateless minority, the Romani people.[2]

The European Roma Rights Centre (2017, p.11) claims that a closer look at each of the common causes of Romani statelessness reveals underlying discriminatory processes and, similarly, De Chickera and Whiteman (2016, p.100) assert that 'statelessness cannot be eradicated unless discriminatory societal attitudes which view some people as less worthy of inclusion than others are comprehensively tackled'. Starting from the assumption that discrimination plays a role in the persistent issue of Romani statelessness, two questions guide my research: To what degree and in which way does discrimination relate to or even cause statelessness? What are the characteristics of and motivations behind this discrimination? In order to answer these questions, I analyse and triangulate anthropological, sociological, political and ethnographic literature.

In part 1, I provide a review of the relevant theoretical literature consulted, before analysing the Romani people's history and present situation in regard to discrimination in part 2. In part 3, I introduce three pieces of ethnographic research that provide a useful insight into Romani perceptions of belonging, ethnicity and exclusion, and examine in how far they clash with non-Romani perceptions. In part 4, I critically assess potential solutions and finally conclude, in part 5, by suggesting answers to the research questions.

1. The social construction of states, ethnicity and discrimination

The literature I use to support my argument can be divided into three categories: the constructivist conceptualisation of (nation-) states,

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[2] The people I am referring to are a heterogeneous and diverse trans-national minority. Although there are several different names for this group (e.g. Gypsies, Zigeuner, gitani or ciganos), I will call them Romani people/Romanis, drawing on the explanation by Hancock (2002, p.xix) that 'all groups use the adjective Romani to describe themselves'.

anthropological approaches to ethnicity and identity, and the meaning of discrimination.

The basis of my argument is Alexander Wendt's (1999, p.1) constructivist assertion that states are socially and historically constructed on the basis of shared ideas rather than given by nature. It follows that the concept of citizenship is a social construct, as well, emerging from 'prevalent ideas within states [that] define relations between ethnic and national groups' (Ahmedi, 2018, p.208). Thus, besides a construct of ideas, there is no naturally given ground or objective reason for in- or exclusion from citizenship. Nevertheless, Article 15 of the 1948 United Nations' (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states that 'everyone has the right to nationality' and that 'no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality' (United Nations, 1948). Hence, it is widely accepted as a norm that nationality is a basic human right.

Like states and citizenship, ethnic groups are the product of social construction. In anthropological theory, the notion of ethnicity is rather contested: the most dominant debate is carried out between the primordialist and the transactionalist perspective. According to, for instance, Anthony Smith (1986),[3] ethnic groups have 'objective' cultural roots that continue through history. Fredrik Barth (1969), however, sought to shift the focus from 'culture' to boundaries (Eriksen, 1993, p.37). Advocating a relational approach to ethnicity, he claims that ethnic groups are defined by their relationship with others which is emphasised through the social production of boundaries (1993, p.38). Consequently, Barth asserts that 'socially relevant factors alone become diagnostic for membership, not the overt "objective" differences' (Barth cited in Okely, 1983, p.67). This transactionalist perspective on Romani ethnicity corresponds to constructivist theory and matches the complexity of the Romani sense of belonging as revealed by the ethnographic accounts examined in part 3.

When assessing the correlation between discrimination and statelessness, the notion of discrimination has to be scrutinised. Mihashi (1987, p.19) defines discrimination as a 'relationship in which one group

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[3] While Smith does not consider himself a primordialist, per se, his approach is very similar and stresses continuity throughout history.

imposes extremely disadvantageous conditions on another'. This relationship operates via prejudices and stereotypes rooted in the acceptance of vague differences as significant, thus naturalising certain categorisations within social systems (Tajfel, 1969; Joniak-Lüthi, 2015, p.92). Stereotypes justify existing relationships by providing allegedly substantial explanations for processes and conditions concerning groups. Therefore, they validate certain behaviour towards their members (p.93).

Although this theorisation of discrimination may be limited as it draws on a primordialist, static perception of ethnicity, I believe that it is still relevant in order to understand contemporary exclusion of Romani people, since the majority population in Europe perceives them as a distinct cultural category, even if that is not quite the case from a transactionalist point of view. An additional consideration of transactionalist theory of discrimination, however, may be useful for further research.

2. Short History of Discrimination and the Current Situation of Romani People

The history of the Romani population in Europe is infused with discrimination based on simple prejudices. Between the 14th and 18th century, Romanis have been the victims of forced labour and slavery in various parts of Europe, particularly in present-day Romania (Hancock, 1982, pp.2-4). Such history of slavery is one of the root causes that have left them stigmatised as inferiors (Warnke, 1999, p.342). Later, during the 19th and 20th century, Romanis have traditionally occupied four categories of professions: trading, crafting, entertainment, and seasonal wage labour (p.341). Due to their high degree of mobility and flexibility they have been economically important to provide goods and services no one else could provide (Lucassen, 1998, p.153). Local professionals, shopkeepers, and the guilds, however, perceived them as dangerous to their own businesses and thus accused them of unfair competition, generating rumours that Romani travellers were thieves (pp.153-154; 171). Hence, a perpetual paradoxical relationship between sedentary societies and the Romani people developed: the Romanis are in some ways needed, yet viewed with suspicion and distrust (Warnke, 1999, p.340). Until today, the image of criminal and stealing

Romanis persists in European societies (e.g. in Germany: Mappes-Niediek, 2012, pp.90-93; in Hungary: Strausz, 2014, Feischmidt & Szombati, 2017, p.325; in Italy: Villano et al., 2017, p.38).

Furthermore, systematic exclusion of Romani people from educational systems throughout the 20th century and until today has increased their marginalisation. In the Czech Republic, for instance, the discriminatory education system denies Romanis access to the Czech language, increasing the numbers of illiterate Romanis (Warnke, 1999, p.358). Similar discriminatory patterns, including the segregation of Romani children in special schools and classes, are widespread in Central and Eastern Europe (Amnesty International, 2014, p.6). A large number of scholars criticise discriminatory educational systems across Europe disadvantaging particularly Romani children (Igarashi, 2006; Járóka, 2007; O'Nions, 2010; Curcic et al., 2014). In the 2009 'Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the education of Roma and Travellers in Europe', it is stated that 'the disadvantaged position of Roma […] in European societies cannot be overcome unless access to quality education is guaranteed for Roma […] children' (Council of Europe, 2009). That said, segregation of Romani and non-Romani children is still a common practice to avoid the demands of intercultural teaching, as teachers, in this way, do not have to engage with the cultural differences of their pupils (O'Nions, 2010, p.1). In essence, this marks one of the biggest challenges concerning Romani children's education in Europe.

The lack of education has enormous effects on Romani people's status as stateless individuals. The Czech citizenship law, first adopted in 1993 and amended several times, most recently in 2013, is a prime example of implicitly discriminatory legislation that prevents stateless Romani people from gaining citizenship: critics even claim it has been designed to specifically preclude Romani people from becoming Czech nationals (Warnke, 1999, p.157). Applicants for Czech citizenship have to show proof of a permanent residence permit for at least five years (Czech Citizenship Act, 2013, s.14/1), a clean criminal record (s.14/3), fluency in the Czech language (s.14/4), knowledge of the Czech constitutional system and cultural, geographical, and historical facts (s.14/5), a source of income

(s.14/7) and prove that their stay in the Czech Republic in the three years prior to their application was no burden to the welfare system (s.14/8).

The Czech citizenship law does not explicitly exclude Romani people from obtaining citizenship; however, they face disproportional barriers when attempting to meet the conditions. The five-year residence requirement is an obstacle, as many Romani people stay in housing classified as 'temporary' and further avoid registration with local authorities because they are scared of abuses (Warnke, 1999, p.357). Moreover, clean criminal records are harder to maintain for a group marginalised from society and prone to poverty (p.357). Due to discrimination in the workplace, unemployment rates are higher among Romani people in comparison to non-Romani Czech nationals, which is why they might be forced into petty thievery – 'subsistence stealing' – more often (Hancock, 1989, p.616). Additionally, throughout the 1990s several local authorities in the North of the Czech Republic passed decrees aimed at Romani people, criminalising acts and ritual behaviours specific to their population (Human Rights Watch, 1996). Furthermore, the aforementioned discriminatory nature of the Czech educational systems makes it hard for Romani people to learn the Czech language and acquire a sufficient knowledge of the dominant culture (as required in ss. 14/4 and 14/5). The number of hidden barriers that prevent Romani people from acquiring Czech citizenship is a prime example of structural discrimination. Although there is a constitutional guarantee of equal citizenship and legal acceptance, for many Romani people the legal requirements for citizenship are almost impossible to meet.

In the light of these considerations, structural discrimination against Romani people is one of Europe's biggest contemporary challenges. In their *World Report 2018*, Human Rights Watch (2018) assert that 'as many as 80 percent of Roma are at risk of poverty across the EU', that 'Roma continued to face discrimination, ethnic intolerance, and hate speech', 'remain stateless' and 'are effectively segregated in schools' in Croatia, and that 'Roma continued to face discrimination in housing, education, and public health care' in Hungary. The deprivation of basic rights can be a great obstruction in an individual's life, as Nadija, a 50-year old Romani woman from Macedonia, explains:

I feel bad because I am from here but they are not giving me citizenship. I feel I don't belong here. God forbid if I die, *they will not bury* me because I do not have documents. […] *I have no job*, but the most difficult part is that *I don't have any medical insurance* and I have to pay for everything myself. […] I am frustrated all the time. This is my biggest burden. I am born here, and I don't have a nationality (Murray, 2017, *emphasis added*).

Her account exposes the dual effect of statelessness for some individuals: the feeling of exclusion and lack of affiliation on an emotional level, and the lack of access to social services on a functional level. The combination of both makes the issue of statelessness so intricate.

3. Ethnography

In order to deepen the understanding of Romani people's perceptions of belonging and exclusion, I consult ethnographic accounts, as they contribute to a well-rounded picture of the current situation. Traditional works have previously focused on the Romani people's alleged historical origin from India (e.g. Sutherland, 1975; Fraser, 1992; Matras, 2002). This is problematic since it enforces a perception of the Romanis as exotic, strange people, which sees its roots in folklore literature (Okely, 1983, p.2). I agree with Okely when she claims that instead of elaborating the Romani people's alleged Indian origin, it is far more relevant to examine their economic and political circumstances in the present (p.30).

Thus, I will concentrate on accounts that employ a transactionalist perspective, namely the ones by Okely (1983), Stewart (1997), and Engebrigtsen (2007). Challenging primordialist perspectives, they argue that Romani people establish boundaries, which are often invisible to outsiders, in order to retain integrity as a community. This transactionalist argument corresponds to an idea by Claude Lévi-Strauss:

Besides those differences due to isolation, there are those (just as important) due to proximity, that is, the desire to differ, to stand out, to be oneself. […] Diversity is less a function of the isolation of groups than of the relationships that unite them (1976, pp.327-328).

This argument is pertinent to the Romanis' situation, since they live submerged in non-Romani societies across Europe. Their otherness does not lay in their distance to non-Romani people, but in their proximity and their continuous exchange and interaction with them (Okely, 1983, p.77). Besides Lévi-Strauss, Okely, Stewart, and Engebrigtsen draw on Fredrik Barth's transactionalist conceptualisation of ethnicity, emphasising the establishment and maintenance of boundaries.

Furthermore, all three ethnographers observe similar modes in which Romani people define their otherness from non-Romani society: Okely (1983) criticises the primordialist perception that 'apparently objective' criteria such as country of origin, race or exotic culture can be used to distinguish Romanis from non-Romanis p.66). According to her, these attempts do not coincide with the Romani idea of identity. The criteria of internal perception can only be revealed by fieldwork (p.76) and Okely claims that the major determinant of Romani belonging that she observed during her research in the UK is the principle of descent (p.67). For the Romanis Okely worked with, their status is primarily ascribed by birth (p.67). Similarly, Engebrigtsen (2007, p.1) argues that 'gypsiness' is the creation of specific social processes through interdependence between Romani and non-Romani people. However, for the Romani people in Romania themselves – and Stewart (1997, pp.44-45) presents evidence for that in Hungary as well – their common language, Romanes, constitutes a unifying trait (Engebrigtsen 2007, pp.134-135). They use language to draw boundaries, and because many non-Romani Romanians do not acknowledge Romanes as a language, it is the 'most effective technology of symbolic separation and of collective Roma identity' (p.137). Nevertheless, Engebrigtsen adds that the Romani people, despite their daily boundary maintenance, make an effort to also maintain the balance between economic dependency and cultural autonomy (p.138).

In addition to the self-ascribing criteria of descent and language, the ethnographies expose ritual boundaries that are usually more hidden to the outsider. The most important one is the Romanis' concept of cleanliness and pollution: in all three ethnographies they hold very specific beliefs about

pollution (Okely, 1983, pp.77-83; Stewart, 1997, pp.204-209; Engebrigtsen, 2007, pp.127-130). For example, the Romanis use different bowls to wash their clothes and their food because they believe that one pollutes the other (Okely, 1983, p.81; Stewart, 1997, p.207; Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.128). Because the non-Romani are unaware of these ritual rules and, consequently, do not obey them, the Romanis are convinced they are unclean (Okely, 1983, p.82; Stewart, 1997, p.209; Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.129). Thus, Okely (1983, p.78) asserts that the Romanis affirm their otherness to non-Romani people by observing such practices in daily life. The fact that this practice is not explicitly talked about among Romanis or in conversation with non-Romani reveals the importance of this boundary for the Romani people (Okely, 1983, p.78; Stewart, 1997, p.209; Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.129).

As analysed in part 2, institutions of the EU, national institutions, and NGOs perceive the lack of education among Romani children as a major challenge. In some cases, as in the Czech Republic, it is a real problem for stateless Romanis because mainstream education is required to complete the application for citizenship. However, the ethnographic work acknowledges that the Romanis have a very different concept of education than non-Romanis. According to Engebrigtsen (2007, p.55) the 'Roma see no use for school for their children', as 'school is a gažo thing'.[4] Public schools are seen as a threat to Romani culture and a means of non-Romani society to assimilate the Romanis and to prepare them for wage-labour, which the Romani people reject (Okely, 1983, p.161; Stewart, 1997, p.129; Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.56). This belief is fuelled by the authorities' paternalistic and patronising approach to education of Romani children and the fact that, if going to school, Romani children are often bullied or discriminated against by non-Romani children (Okely, 1983, p.162; Stewart, 1997, p.129; Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.56). The dilemma Romani people face in regard to schooling is well summarised by Engebrigtsen:

> By evading school, Roma thus evade domination by this power regime
> that they see as gažikanes (non-Rom) and the stigma and self-hatred
> reported among ethnically stigmatised children in many minority

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[4] *Gažo* is a Romani term for a non-Rom man (Engebrigtsen, 2007, p.xi).

contexts […], but they also evade the possibility of competing for a social position in the majority society (2007, p.56).

In addition to that, they also often evade the possibility to gain citizenship and thus to access public services and assistance, such as welfare services or health care.

Instead of attending non-Romani schools, Romani people generally prefer to educate their children at home. Rather than focusing on the preparation for future competition on the labour market, Romani education is adjusted to Romani occupations, which are based on the principles of self-employment, flexibility and mobility (Okely, 1983, pp.33, 161-162; Engebrigtsen, 2007, pp.55-56). Okely (1983, pp.160-163) provides a detailed description of the alternative form and content of Romani education: the primary means for education is the family trailer unit and the learning context is most often on the basis of one adult, usually a parent or relative, per child. Romani children learn by shadowing the adults during their daily work. The avoidance of public schools and practice of alternative education is another mechanism to retain cultural integrity. As a couple of Romani parents quoted in Okely explains, they did not want to send their children to school because they did not want them to be 'brought up in a way which risked losing them' (p.162).

From the analysis of ethnographic literature by Okely, Stewart, and Engebrigtsen it becomes apparent that the Romani people's worldview differs from that of dominant European cultures, regardless of the nationality of the surrounding society (British, Hungarian, and Romanian). The examples of the concepts of pollution and education demonstrate that a thorough engagement with Romani culture can help to understand their needs and behaviour better. Education seems to be one of the greatest challenges in this regard: attempts to educate Romani children either fail due to discriminatory approaches or due to the non-Romanis' patronising attitude. This leads to a perpetual dilemma: on the one hand, due to their stateless status, Romanis lack access to basic rights, such as housing, health care, voting, legal assistance etc. On the other hand, gaining citizenship (which is the only way to gain access to these rights at the moment) often requires them to get adapted to non-Romani cultures in the form of education

or hygiene. However, the Romanis' effort to retain cultural integrity and avoid assimilation prevents them from doing so.

4. Towards a European Solution

Since we live in a world structured around the concept of the nation-state, the issue of statelessness has to be resolved. Citizenship is the only way to enjoy access to vital services, such as health care, housing or legal protection. A number of scholars concerned with possible solutions for the Romani dilemma focus on the role of the EU as a supranational institution and propose allowing individuals to become EU citizens with or without a member state nationality (Dedić, 2007; Kochenov, 2009; Parra, 2011; de Verneuil, 2016). Currently, '[e]very national of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be *additional to and not replace* national citizenship' (Treaty on European Union, Art. 9; *emphasis added*). Enabling stateless persons to bypass obstacles to obtaining citizenship in a member state and directly enter EU citizenship, would require extensive changes to the entire EU framework and the EU would have to move closer towards a federal state system (de Verneuil 2016, p.5). Considering the crisis the EU finds itself in at the moment, this development seems further away than ever.

Hence, the demand for the creation of a transnational European minority status for the Romani people seems more promising (de Verneuil, 2016, p.2; Parra, 2011, pp.1686-1687). The establishment of a 'stateless nation' would give Romanis across European countries a legally recognised nationality within the EU, despite the absence of a geographical territory (Parra, 2011, p.1686). Such a form of 'post-national citizenship' could in fact reduce Romani statelessness and potentially give them a political voice on a European level (de Verneuil, 2016, p.3).

However, considering many Romanis' efforts to remain a separate unit outside the influence of hegemonic societies, it is questionable if they would agree to any measures that feel like an imposition by non-Romanis. Nevertheless, it is the European states' responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of all their people, including their minorities. Thus, they need to find a

solution to end statelessness, as it causes significant injustice among European people. Additionally, there is a vicious cycle of discrimination and statelessness as, once stateless, this status becomes a justification for continued stigmatisation (De Chickera & Whiteman, 2016, pp.104-105). As the discussion above shows, a solution can only be found in cooperation with the Romani people and under consideration of their specific needs and demands.

Conclusion

Summing up, Romani people are and have always been victims of structural discrimination in Europe. As analysed in part 2, prejudices that emerged as early as in the 14th century, persist today. Furthermore, exclusion from, for instance, education or the prevalence of discriminatory educational systems causes huge disadvantages for Romanis. A prime example of this is the Czech citizenship law. Part 3, however, revealed a dichotomy between the Romani and the non-Romani people's beliefs. The Romani people's concepts of pollution and education conflict with the majority population's assumptions. In the case of pollution, this may cause conflict with dominant non-Romani conventions of cleanliness, and the lack of mainstream education often directly prevents Romani people from obtaining citizenship. Part 4, examined two of the main solutions proposed to end Romani statelessness and emphasised the role of the EU in tackling the problem. However, the cooperation with the Romani people themselves is key to find a solution that actually benefits them.

Resulting from the research conducted, I can draw the following conclusions. Firstly, discrimination is an important factor to consider when assessing statelessness. Furthermore, such discrimination is based on the concepts of stereotyping and prejudice, which, in regards to Romani people, are deeply entrenched in European societies. Finally, this discrimination, in combination with other factors, leads to the exclusion of certain groups (in this case Romani people) from the benefits of citizenship. However, an important insight regarding the third point is gained from considering the ethnographic literature: in some cases Romani people do not seek

membership of a state and prefer to remain independent and separate from the non-Romani communities. Solutions to the dilemma of Romani statelessness in Europe can thus, only be found in dialogue with the Romanis themselves and in consideration of a transactionalist model of Romani culture.

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Thinking with Gulls: Multi-species Interactions in the Anthropocene

Hanna Gia Louise[1]

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This paper discusses the uneasy relationship between people and gulls in the contemporary coastal city of Aberdeen. In particular, it looks at the portrayal of gulls in the media as thieving pests encroaching on human territory, focusing on a BBC Scotland news clip featuring 'Sam the shoplifting seagull'. The response that the clip received from a global audience is analysed through a selection of YouTube comments. It is argued that these comments reflect broader debates in academia and local politics around how to navigate the urban landscape shared with so-called pest animals. Furthermore, gulls are an ideal animal with which to think about the challenges of excessive waste and consumption in the post-industrial world. Ultimately, it is proposed that gulls make people uncomfortable because they represent the ugly side-effects of human progress, and as such we are quick to dislike, vilify, and even call for their eradication.

Introduction

In Tim Dee's recent monograph about the uncomfortable companionship between humans and gulls, he writes that we fear gulls because they have 'gotten good at being among us' (2018, p.18). Gulls are ubiquitous in the north-eastern Scottish city of Aberdeen, a coastal region where their pesky behaviour frequently makes newspaper headlines. Local Member of Scottish Parliament Kirsty Blackman has even taken constituents' concerns over their problematic behaviour to parliament (House of Commons, 2017). This paper will focus on a BBC Scotland news clip uploaded to YouTube by user NosySnoop (2007) reporting the antics of Sam, a shoplifting seagull from Aberdeen, famed for its daily visits to a city-

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[1] Hanna Gia Louise is a fourth-year anthropology student at the University of Aberdeen. Her academic interests lie in activist anthropology, queer and feminist methodologies, and subcultural studies. Outside of university, she co-organises a popular local performance night for women and non-binary creatives called Hysteria and takes part in queer, feminist, and environmental activism. She has just completed her dissertation on spoken word poetry and queer subculture in Aberdeen. After graduating, Hanna hopes to pursue postgraduate studies in anthropological research.

centre RS McColl's branch to thieve a packet of crisps. The clip, uploaded in September 2007, received over 2 million views and a global response from viewers whose comments will be analysed in the discussion that follows.

Though unquestionably a comedy piece, this report is just one of many gull stories saturating the media. From crisp-theft to dog-snatching, (Mullin, 2015) gulls are portrayed as relentless terrorisers of the coastal town. The brazenness of gull behaviour creates an uneasy relationship between people and the indominable avifauna who thrive in human-tarnished landscapes. I am interested in what it is about gull behaviour that inspires such uneasiness in humans that our encounters with them frequently make the news. Dee (2018) suggests that gulls' feeding habits reflect the side effects of human progress that we would rather not think about: the abundance of waste and the excess of consumption.

In this paper, the 'Sam the seagull' news clip serves as a stimulus for exploring the uncomfortable relationship between humans and gulls in the contemporary coastal city. I propose that viewers' responses correspond with ongoing debates in academia and local politics on the non-human species who thrive in human-occupied environments. They also highlight broader issues at stake in the field of human-animal relations and, more specifically, the niche area of human-gull relations. There is very little anthropological literature about gulls; however, as the literature considered in this paper will demonstrate, the gull is an interesting starting point from which to explore broader issues of environment, consumption and the relationship between humans and urban-dwelling animals. This piece aims to make a case for using gulls to think through the way in which humans inhabit and interact with other beings in the built environment (Whitehouse, 2017). 'Anthropocene' is an interdisciplinary term describing the current epoch in which human industry has caused irreversible effects on the environment and the atmosphere.[2] The places gulls frequent – beachfronts littered with cafés, landfill sites, fast-food parking lots – are characteristic of human industrial progress. Through relating YouTube users' comments on the clip to broader debates in anthropology, I explore how paying attention

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[2] For a more in-depth discussion of the Anthropocene see Steffen, Crutzen & McNeill (2007) and Haraway et al (2015).

to human-gull relations in a shared urban landscape can help us to become familiar with the Anthropocene (Tsing, 2017, p.4).

1. Gulls: Weeds of the Anthropocene

Tsing describes post-industrial landscapes that have been left derelict since the closing down of industry as 'weedy landscapes' (2017, p.4) – ones in which only the most arduous and persistent types of flora can flourish. These landscapes are characteristic of the present moment, when humans frequently use and discard pieces of the natural world. She argues that such sites are effective sites for anthropologists to become familiar with the Anthropocene and the assorted cohabitations it engenders. Tsing defines weeds as 'organisms that take over after human disturbance' (2017, p.3) that emerge in manifold forms, depending upon the type of human disturbance and the way the land was used or discarded afterwards. Although academics ordinarily think of weeds as botanical species, Tsing posits that expanding the category to encompass any species that moves into a disturbed landscape presents new storytelling opportunities wherein the histories of landscapes are told from multiple perspectives (2017, p.4) Tsing's unlikely weed is the red deer, a species that flourished in her field site, a disused brown-coal mining area in Denmark. She tells the story of the landscape, what it formerly was and how it is used now by hunters (and by deer – the hunted) through the lens of understanding weeds to be species who thrive after humans have turned over the land.

Weeds are generally understood as a gardener's pest, undesirable wild things growing where they are not wanted (Janick, 1979, p.308). The practice of weeding involves the removal of unwanted fauna from a patch of ground where a more desirable plant's ability to thrive is restricted by the presence of the weed. Weeds are sticky, determined, opportunistic even.

If we consider the advance of gulls inland to be similar to the flourishing red deer population on a disused coalmine, we might consider them, too, to be weeds. Both Tsing's conceptualisation of weeds, as 'organisms that take over after human disturbance' (2017, p.3) as well as the common understanding of weeds as a pest, could be applied to gulls. Gulls

come in droves to places where humans leave remnants of wasted food uncovered. Their calls wake us in the morning as they roost in our rooftops and scavenge the streets for scraps of sustenance, thriving in environments where waste is ubiquitous.

As Tsing argues, the weedy post-industrial landscape is a site where multiple stories of worldmaking emerge when we pay attention. In Aberdeen, there is the story of the gulls and how they intrude upon our trips to the beach, turn over our bins to scavenge for discarded food, and steal from us. But this is just one of many tales etched into the city's landscape. There is also the story of human excess, of the industrialised waste that drew the gulls ever closer to us. Their presence exposes the contemporary vices of greed and wastefulness that define the Anthropocene and fuel anxieties around our planet's future that are characteristic of this era (Steffen, Crutzen & McNeill, 2007, p.616).

Whitehouse (2017) addresses how the more-than-human turn in anthropology gives greater agency to non-humans but neglects consideration of the broader environmental contexts within which humans and non-humans encounter one another. In studying human-gull relations, Whitehouse argues, the environmental context is always important. Following this, I propose that the shared urban landscape of a seaside city is a plentiful site for considering the broader environmental contexts of human-gull relations. The instances where humans and gulls encounter one another, react to, and engage with one another, offer insight into the uneasy companionship between humans and the other species that thrive in areas where our presence has irrevocably altered the landscape.

2. Gulls in the media

Gulls are inescapable in a seaside city like Aberdeen. They are a sticky, pesky weed. For every ice-cream or chip guzzling beachgoer, there are several beady-eyed gulls poised to swoop and snatch at any moment. Colloquially, we call them seagulls; however, this is an informal term for a variety of species belonging to the broader gull (or Laridae) family (RSPB, 2019). In the UK there are seven gull species known to breed and at least ten

others who are temporary visitors to our coasts. The beach-dwelling chip-thief associated with the name 'seagull' is likely to be the herring gull, a large and imposing bird with silvery plumage and a loud call. As the focus of this paper is the tensions within human-gull relationships, an extensive knowledge of gull species is not required. However, for the purpose of our discussion, it is worth noting that 'seagull' is not a species but an informal term for a variety of gull species, most notably those who look like the infamous crisp-pilfering Sam.

Negative depictions of gulls in the media are frequent. Though many of these portrayals are humorous, the underlying message is that gulls are intimidating, aggressive animals. Whitehouse (2015) notes that 'opportunistic' is a term often used to describe gulls, recalling their tendency to follow fishing boats in the hope of scavenging a scrap or two, and to chase farming machinery as it turns over soil, exposing insect prey. Gulls are adaptive, eating whatever foodstuffs are available, so their characteristic opportunism serves them well in the urban landscape. Many gull species include kleptoparasitism (a form of feeding where the creature takes food that was caught by another animal) among their sustenance strategies (Deering, 2017, p.1). As Deering argues, it is their eating habits that most significantly impact our opinion of gulls. The kleptoparasite is the ultimate opportunist, swooping in to take whatever food items are accessible, regardless of whether said items are lying on the street or in the hands of a passer-by. Gulls are depicted not only as pests, but intelligent pests capable of calculated behaviour, whose motivations for action are depicted as oddly human-like. Deering writes that 'Gulls are pigeon-holed as masters of intimidation, winged raiders, and greedy, swaggering, cunning beasts' (2017, p.1). This perception comes across in the satirical news story of Aberdeen's thieving seagull which, although intentionally humorous, portrays the gull as possessive of an agency and capacity for intentionality rarely afforded to the non-human. I am interested in why gulls are portrayed as deliberate terrorisers of civilised human society, what drives this discomfort around gull behaviour to the point where human-gull encounters regularly make the news.

In *Landfill*, Dee addresses the shared history of humans and gulls. Gulls are the only birds who have moved closer towards us while other species have shrunk away, their ways of life disrupted and destroyed by our actions. The omnipresence of gulls in coastal towns and cities reflects the kind of environment we humans have created: one in which kleptoparasites gorge on waste, growing fat on the same convenience foods that we do. Through analysing responses to Sam the Seagull, the following discussion will attempt to tell an alternative story about Aberdeen's shared landscape: one that disrupts the narrative of gulls as problem animals and instead uses the gull as a stimulus to think about issues of waste, consumption and urban living. I ultimately suggest, following Dee (2018), that if we think through gull behaviour, we might just discover some uncomfortable truths about our own.

3. Sam the Shoplifting Seagull

Introduced as a story about 'the incredible shoplifting, crisp-munching seagull from Aberdeen', the clip begins with footage of an arrogant gull stretching his wings and hopping towards the scene of the crime, an R.S. McColl's shop on Union Street. Classic crime-drama music plays in the background for comedic effect as the reporter explains, 'With all the cunning and guile you can imagine, the bird man has pilfered more than twenty bags in the last few weeks.' (NosySnoop, 2007)

An amused shop-assistant then explains that the gull's crisp choice is always Doritos – tangy cheese flavour. In response to the reporter asking if it's the same gull every day, or 'a gang,' the shop-worker replies, 'I think it's the same one, I recognise it every time. He just, he gives you the look every time when he's coming in.'

The following scene shows Sam brazenly demolishing the contents of the crisp bag just outside the shop. 'Time to confront,' says the reporter, before approaching the gull and asking for a comment on his criminal activities. Sam flies off without comment, leaving the remnants of the crisps for a nearby pigeon to finish off.

4. Discussion: Thinking with gulls

With over two million views since it's upload and hundreds of comments, the 'Sam the Seagull' story has reached a global audience. In a written report of the story, published on the BBC news website, the shop assistant declares that Sam has become 'a bit of a celebrity' because although seagulls are usually unpopular with locals, this particular one's antics are hilarious (BBC News, 2007). Many of the comments below the video attest to the video bringing enjoyment to viewers. CurvyAries wrote, 'This is so hilarious! I was cracking up the whole time watching this clever bird. I love how he appears to look around at the chips like he's making a specific selection.' Brian commented, 'It's cute that the seagull also shares its Doritos with the pigeons :)'.

These two comments, which highlight appreciation of the gull's cleverness and his ability to share the spoils of his thievery with other birds, are expressed in terms we might describe as anthropomorphic. As an analytical concept, anthropomorphism has been used in human-animal studies to describe the ways in which animal behaviour is understood by humans 'when non-human animals are spoken of as if they had motives, emotions and individual personalities' (Milton, 2005, p.257). Describing non-humans in these terms is considered anthropomorphic by scholars because such characteristics are not considered to be self-evident in animals, only in people. Therefore, anthropomorphism describes a kind of understanding based upon animal behaviour being interpreted as human-like. Anthropomorphism has been criticised for its tendency to reduce the human capacity for understanding non-human subjectivity to a matter of relatable behaviour that we attribute *to* a non-human. Furthermore, to describe interpretations of animal subjectivity as anthropomorphic is to make an inherent claim that animals *do not* have the capacity for motive and emotion, because the term denotes transposing this behaviour *onto* them. It does not allow for the possibility that people are truly perceiving a relatable behaviour as coming from a non-human. Therefore, anthropomorphism as an analytical tool 'obscures the real intersubjectivity' (Alger & Alger, 1999, p.203) that is possible between people and animals.

Milton (2005) proposes an alternative analytical framework, egomorphism, to describe the way people perceive animal behaviour. An egomorphic interpretation asserts that we understand others on the basis that they are '"like me" rather than "human-like"' (p.261). The attribution of motive and emotion to non-humans stems from personal experience, so how we relate to non-humans and how we relate to other humans are therefore similar. We make assumptions about their motives and reasons based on what we understand about our own. For example, we could say that a gull swooping down to steal an unassuming beachgoer's chips was a premeditated action, that the gull saw those chips and, knowing that they belonged to the person holding them, still decided to swoop. We could say this, not because to steal is inherently person-like, but because this particular gull behaved like a thief on this particular occasion. Our perception of its behaviour comes from prior experiences of similar actions. Egomorphism takes individual experience as the basis for how we relate to other beings.

In analysing viewers' comments, I found Milton's case for egomorphism to be particularly compelling. When commenters describe the gull as being a clever bird with the capacity to not only to thieve, but to make a specific selection about which flavour of crisps to thieve, they are not attributing these behaviours *to* the gull, but are actually perceiving these actions coming *from it*. The above comments are appreciative of behaviour they would find problematic in a person, yet in an animal it makes for excellent media content. However, other comments which also can be read as egomorphic are considerably less sympathetic towards a creature that, lest we forget, is part of a pest species.

AquablueShadow wrote, 'I wish they'd all go to jail, mutant seagulls ruining my life and stuff'. The word 'mutant' is a fascinating choice. Mutating, denoting a change in nature or form, could well be used to describe the evolutionary changes in the gull's feeding habits that have coincided with their migration inland. In the mid nineteenth century humans were eating gulls and their eggs; now, with much of their dietary needs being met at landfill sites, accessible bins or on the streets (and our dietary needs being met by mass-produced convenience foods) *we* have become *their* source of food (Whitehouse, 2017). Yet 'mutant' also connotes a freakishness that

inspires discomfort. This is also reflective of the human-gull relations of today. In the past seventy years gulls have taken to nesting on rooftops, raising families of mutant pest-babies whose caws will rouse us in the morning, whose stomachs will be filled with our household waste. This bothers us because we are aware that what attracts gulls to a human-inhabited environment is the abundance of waste (Dee, 2018). Rock (2005, p.339) asserts that it was the opening of new landfills in the 1950s that attracted gulls to the urban environment. The presence of gulls, therefore, reflects the wastefulness of our own lifestyle, and the modern vices of greed and consumption.

Regarding the waste-seeking urban gull, Eve offered the following input: 'Seagulls aren't even seagulls anymore. They're parking lot gulls. They spend more time in the parking lots of McDonalds than anywhere else.' It's true; we find gulls in car parks, on beaches, atop shopping centres, poised to swoop and devour, to make more local headlines with their canny, opportunistic thieving. But why have the gulls come so far towards us, why has their worldmaking become so tangled up in ours? There were the landfills, and at the peak of our filling the ground with organic waste material, gull populations soared. Now, however, we want cleaner cities. We want to hide what we have done to the environment and we desire the illusion of cleanliness. As Dee (2018) writes, 'Now the land has been filled. We are managing the end of things,' and weeds and grass grow over former waste disposal sites. As these places become abandoned sites of anthropogenic ruin, some are left to auto-rewild (Tsing, 2017, p.6) while others are actively converted into more palatable places such as country parks. The gulls are left hungry and so they move ever closer: seagull, land gull, parking lot gull. Human industry has driven away the majority of animal species, but somehow the gulls are not deterred. They have evolved to thrive alongside us, to make homes in the Anthropocene, like weeds.

What each of the above comments has shown is an interpretation of non-human behaviour on the basis of human experience. Whether it be appreciation of the comical side of scavenging gulls, or disdain for their encroaching onto human terrain, these comments show gulls being afforded a sense of agency and capacity rarely considered in relation to non-humans.

We see this reflected in the wider portrayal of gulls in the media, and the discourse surrounding their problematic behaviour. This is what makes human-gull relations so fascinating for scholars interested in the more-than-human.

A final distinct type of comment that appeared beneath the YouTube clip were the ones tipping over into compassion for the plight of poor Sam, whose 'criminal' actions are perceived as a response to a lack of alternative available food sources. As Youtube user Asa commented, we 'Can't be mad animals need to eat we ruined their environment'. In the literature and newspaper clips referenced in this paper, there is little mention of sympathy towards gulls among the urban population.[3] However, Asa's comment attests to its existence. Deering (2017, p.1) calls the contemporary human-gull relationship a matter of human versus gull. In attempts to fight back against the opportunistic pests, there have been incidences of shooting, kicking, stoning and poisoning gulls (RSPB, 2017), despite the animal's protected status. Yet conservationists have raised concerns about dwindling populations since our society became anxious to hide its waste. As Dee writes 'There has been a gull moment, and it is coming to an end' (2018, p.15). Populations peaked in the seventies and have since been in decline as we attempt to reverse the creation of the waste-havens that brought the gulls to our cities. Perhaps Asa is on to something – perhaps we only have ourselves to blame, for the story of gulls is inexplicably linked to the story of wastefulness on an industrial scale.

In this clip, the story of a seagull committing theft becomes the stimulus for which broader claims about human-gull relations in Aberdeen (and indeed similar shared urban landscapes) can be voiced and analysed. What is interesting about each of these comments is that they reflect broader debates going on at local, national and global levels. AquablueShadow's comment echoes what appears to be the general stance on gulls at local and national level: that they are irritants, problems that we wish we could

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[3] I will note that much of Dee's *Landfill* describes the work of a dedicated group of gull-ringers working to track and preserve the species, and that in describing hostility towards gulls I am referring mainly to the plethora of news stories and comments beneath them, as well as interview data in Deering's (2017) report.

eradicate; Eve picks up on the migration of gulls from coastal areas to urban environments, and the locations where we are likely to locate (and be bothered by) them; Asa's comment reflects concern for dwindling gull populations as articulated by Deering (2017), as well as a broader concern over biodiversity loss in the face of climate change in a time often referred to as the earth's sixth mass extinction (Barnosky et. al, 2011). Reflection on the scope of these responses brings us to another fascinating aspect of this clip, and the power of viral videos in general: that they allow the general population to enter into discussion and debate around issues that are usually considered within the domains of academia, science and politics (Despret, 2016, p.196).

Since the creation of YouTube in 2005, the growth in sharing videos and comments online has been remarkable. Short clips, especially funny ones, are liked, shared and upvoted across various popular social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Reddit. The surge in animal videos featuring both wildlife and pets is a fascinating point of study for researchers, particularly in light of the more-than-human turn in the social sciences. Despret (2016, p.196) is interested in the way the viral video can be a site of knowledge production. Not only is the video itself a production of a particular type of knowledge, but the way it spreads like wildfire across the internet invites more comments, more shares, and thus produces more knowledge. The internet affords not just scientific depictions of animal behaviour, but also the amateur video-maker's iPhone uploads, the potential to go viral. This redraws new and fuzzy boundaries between legitimate scientific knowledge and knowledge as popular media content. For example, a video of an animal displaying intelligence is a site of debate among scholars interested in animal behaviour. Is what's shown in the video down to training or a genuine possibility that some animals do have motives, emotional capacity, and other qualities previously only associated with humans? Interestingly, Despret notes that many YouTube comments underneath animal videos do in fact reflect broader scientific debates about animals, but in pedestrian, rather than academic, terms (2017, p.198). This is clearly demonstrated by viewers' comments under the Sam the Seagull video, which

reflect multiple overlapping debates around the presence of gulls in coastal cities.

Conclusion

The online comments on Sam the Seagull's fifteen minutes of fame offer insights into how we, as a society, conceive of gulls and their inhabitancy of a shared landscape that we all too often think of as only ours. In this paper I have explored some of the responses and situated them within discussions in more-than-human anthropology. The comments demonstrate a perception of Sam (and indeed gulls more broadly) as possessing agency and a capacity for intention that unsettles us. Although the clip was a comedic piece, it reflects the broader media trend of depicting gulls as disruptive pest animals encroaching on human territory.

I have explored some of the reasons why humans respond with discomfort, disgust, and even violence to gull behaviour. Following Whitehouse (2017) and Dee (2018) I have argued that our uneasy relationship with gulls has a lot to do with the way our own misuse of the environment through industry, waste, and excess has drawn these kleptoparasites towards us. There is a distinct lack of anthropological literature on gulls and our interactions with them; however, the dynamics of these interactions offer a fascinating insight into life in the contemporary coastal town. I believe, following Tsing (2017), that those species thriving in human-damaged landscapes are the ones we should pay attention to if we hope to become acquainted with the Anthropocene. Thinking about gulls as weeds can provide an alternative narrative of gull-populated places, one in which gulls are sticky survivors, transgressors, and indicative of human vices, not just pesky rodents who should be eradicated. Their omnipresence inspires discomfort in us because it threatens to expose the ways in which we have made a landfill of the planet. This has enormous implications for the ways in which we respond to and interact with these animals.

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Plato's treatment of women: A Feminist Perspective

Anastasia Roscia[1]

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In The Republic, *Plato imagines a utopian political order, – a just city, or 'Politeia', in which philosophers are the supreme rulers. He suggests women should be provided with the same education as men and should be included in the class of the 'guardians', or rulers, of the City. The 'philosopher kings' live a communal life in which both private property and the nuclear family are abolished, and where women and children are shared among all guardians. Women, who in Ancient Athens enjoyed very little freedom and lived in a specific part of the house called the gynaeceum, should leave behind the domestic prison of domestic life and rule the Politeia. This academic paper critically discusses and rejects the view that Plato is a feminist - both on a political and philosophical level. Plato seems to endorse feminism on a political level when he argues women should contribute to the political life of the City, however, Plato does not advocate for women's formal equality as something intrinsically valuable: rather, women's emancipation is functional to the utopian political system of* The Republic. *Although Plato exhibits "a proto-feminist" sensibility by contemplating the private, domestic sphere associated with marriage and motherhood, he ultimately rejects everything associated with womanhood and femininity. The dichotomy between female domestic life in contrast with male political life reveals Plato's intrinsic misogyny and philosophical antifeminism. He glorifies male spheres like warfare and politics, while systematically downplaying female sexuality and eliminating motherhood and domestic life from the Politeia.*

The V Book of *The Republic* has often been interpreted as 'the locus classicus for Plato's feminism' (Wender, 1973, p.75). Plato proposes controversial ideas that challenge his fellow citizens' preconceptions about sex, gender and women's social position. First, he advocates for women's inclusion in the guardians[2] of his ideal Politeia – Plato's ideal, fictional

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[1] Anastasia Roscia is a fourth-year Legal Studies and Philosophy student at the University of Aberdeen with a passion for human rights and gender studies. She was an active member of university law societies and enjoys volunteering for local charities. As a writer and Co-Head Editor for The International Viewpoint, she has published articles focused on feminism, social inclusivity, and family law.

[2] Plato in, *The Republic,* introduced an ideal city, or 'Politeia', which is 'a theoretical paradigm of a good community' (472D). Plato believes women can and should 'be selected to live

'account of a virtuous, successful city' (Brown, 2018, 4.1) – suggesting that women and girls should enjoy the same education and upbringing as men (Plato, 451E–457C).[3] Moreover, in the second wave, Plato suggests that all women and children are to be shared among all men thus abolishing the existence of the private, nuclear family (Annas, 1976). Optimistic commentators have seen in *The Republic*'s V Book 'a rare exception in Western philosophy's long history of sexist denigration of women' (Brown, 2018, 4.3) and a political, activist statement of gender equality. Furthermore, commentators such as Brown have concluded that Plato, through the introduction of female values in his work, is a feminist in a more philosophical, subtle sense.

This analysis will focus on Plato's arguments as presented in the first and second waves. The overall aim of this investigation is to prove that Plato's treatment of women is unfavourable, both on a political and a philosophical level. Plato is not a feminist in the political sense of the word; in fact, he cares little for women's rights and desires – the matter is never raised or considered (Annas, 1976). The essay will further challenge the idea that Plato's philosophy is female; Brown (1998, p. 609; p.612) suggests that Plato possesses 'an anti-masculine relationship to power' and that his philosophy is nurturing, procreative and that his Politeia is 'effeminate'. This view is too optimistic and downplays Plato's misogyny and his overall attempt to eliminate womanhood from the ideal 'Politeia' (Wender, 1973).

1. Women-Guardians: a feminist claim?

Plato has been interpreted as 'the nearest thing to a systematic feminist produced in the Ancient World' (Wender, 1973, p. 75). Plato's arguments in *The Republic* have a striking resemblance with claims that modern feminists would advocate for; however, the reasons behind these proposals are completely unrelated to genuine concerns for women's

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with the male guardians and join them in guardianship' (456B) in the Politeia and provided with the same education 'to make them good at guarding' (456C).

[3] Republished in: Plato (2008). *Plato Republic A New Translation by Robin Waterfield*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

equality or the happiness of individuals (Okin, 1977). Plato's arguments are therefore irrelevant to the contemporary debate because he does not consider or question the discriminatory treatment of women in the Athens of his time (Annas, 1976). As a result, the motivations behind his revolutionary proposals are not feminist, as Annas suggests, but rather motivated by his philosophical endeavours and view on the ideal relationship between politics and philosophy (Saxonhouse, 1976).

The flawed feminist interpretation of Plato's work is made apparent by a closer examination of his ideal *polis*,[4] in which he argues that the biological difference between men and women does not entail that women are not able to do the same tasks (Plato, 454D). This passage appears feminist because a division of duties based on biological differences has been the main contemporary objection to women joining male professions or having rights traditionally reserved to men, like the right to vote (Annas, 1976). The concept of 'phusis', or 'nature', plays a pivotal role in Plato's argument: he argues that the biological differences between the sexes amount to the same difference between men with hair and bald men (Plato, 452C) – the only true difference is that the male mount the female, whereas females give birth to their offspring (454D–E). Such a difference is trivial and has no consequences whatsoever on women's ability and potential to contribute to the political life of the Politeia. Plato's disbelief in specific civic competencies according to gender appears to be a modern endorsement of equality of opportunity (Annas, 1976); by allowing women to leave behind the domestic realm in which they have been confined, they would be allowed to thrive by taking active part in the polis.

Yet, the problems with this extreme feminist interpretation of Plato's argument are discussed by Annas in *Plato's Republic and Feminism* (1976). The philosopher's primary concern is wasted talent as women, which constituted half of the Athenian population, had to stay at home, doing nothing worthwhile (including cleaning and cooking to name a few). According to Annas (1981, p.183), Plato truly believes that 'the State will benefit if women do public, not private jobs'. The author also says that the

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[4] Ancient Greek, meaning 'city'.

idea that women should be considered the same as men, however, is not put forward with the intention to further women's position in society by undermining an instrument of male, patriarchal oppression. Annas (1976) also complements that Plato does not care about women's rights, nor is women's inferior position questioned as unjust at any point. Overall, Plato's utilitarianism trumps any feminist reading that has been associated with his V chapter of *The Republic* – highlighting the fact that he is not a political feminist in the activist sense.

2. The abolition of private property

There are other important elements in *The Republic* that disqualify Plato from the status of a true activist for women's equality. This is made evident by a careful investigation of the reasons behind his argument that private property should be abolished, and a communal life in which women and children are shared should be encouraged (Plato, 456D). The abolition of private property is not a claim for women's social and political equality; along with the proposal of women–guardians, the elimination of the private family does not constitute a common feminist agenda that would free women from a position of social and political inferiority (Annas, 1976).

Interestingly, Okin (1977, p.349) believes that Plato saw a connection between the idea of women–guardians and the end of the private household because women were 'intimately bound up with that system of private possessions' which prevented the unity of the city. Yet it is obvious that Plato was concerned with unity of the city, rather than the liberation of women from the domestic field. As Annas (1976, p.318) sums up, 'the greatest good for the state is unity', not gender equality. According to the author, Plato does not perceive the nuclear family as an oppressive tool that prevents women from taking part in the public life of the polis. Like in the case of women-guardians, the end of private property is not used to further women's rights; the liberation of women from domestic life is a mere collateral effect. Shared property would solve 'the problem of selfishness and divisive interests' (Okin, 1977, p.347) – a preventive measure against guardians who may be corrupted by the pursuit of private interests. In fact,

guardians, the rulers of the Politeia imagined by Plato, must have exclusive love for the whole community and concern for its welfare (Okin, 1977).

Furthermore, the sharing of women and wives is 'the sharing of feelings of pleasure and distress which binds a community together' (Plato, 462B–C). As Annas suggests, 'the woman's position in the household is presented as something that the man is to be liberated from' (Annas, 1976, p.312). From a legal standpoint, this makes sense because men were financially responsible for the women living in their household, including courtesans, concubines and wives, as Annas notes. Yet Plato does not challenge the fact that women were part of men's private property (also for sexual exploitation), which remains a problematic detail for positive, feminist interpretations of Plato; he never meant to free women from the oppressive walls of a claustrophobic, domestic life in which they were confined by allowing them to enter the public sphere.

3. Female philosophy?

It is apparent that Plato is not interested in advancing political manifestos of gender equality. However, he also exhibits anti-feminist principles on a more philosophical level – contrary to what Brown suggests.

Brown (1998) maintains that Plato's proposal to abolish the private family is advanced to eliminate masculine features of the Greek culture, including greed, selfishness, antagonism and competition, thus incorporating female values in the Politeia. Plato's aspiration is 'to purge the city of all conflict and to bind it together' which Brown claims demonstrates philosophers' inclination to put the community over any personal interest (Brown, 1998, p.612). The author concludes that 'the structure of the ideal city is effeminate in its replacement of politics fashion and public assembly' (Brown, 1998, p.612), and believes that Plato 'injects' female, nurturing elements in the political life of the polis – for instance by preventing selfishness and competition among the guardians through 'the abolition of property and family' which leads to 'an identity of the private interests of the rulers and of the common interests of the polis' (Arruzza, 2011, p.215).

Certainly, Plato uses gender constructs to advance his proposals of the ideal political community. For this reason, Brown's analysis is partially correct; however, her idea that 'Plato engages in a critique of the socially male modes of thinking, speaking, and acting' is flawed (Brown, 1998, p.594). In her opinion, Plato vehemently attacks the masculine features of Greek Culture and poses the basis of a more 'feminine' way of living the good life and practicing philosophy, highlighting the limitation of philosophical rationalism and warning that human beings are not just constituted by reason – thus giving space to poetry, dreams and emotions. Plato's philosophy and Politeia are 'maternal' because his philosophical style aims to educate people for their own good, rather than for personal gain or egoistic purposes, unlike a sophist (Brown 1998). The author further suggests that Thrasymachus, who is described as a wild animal and makes Socrates and Polemarcus shiver as a result of being verbally attacked by the sophist, is the symbol of sophistry; as a result, Plato attacks the Greek idea of manhood as well as the ultimate 'male' ambitions of honour, power, wealth and reputation. She later connects the criticism towards Sophism with an awareness of the dangers and limitations entailed in the use of dialectic which encourages pointless games of contradiction and useless antagonism that are intertwined with Greek masculinity.

4. Plato the Misogynist: eliminating the feminine, domestic sphere

According to Brown's (1998) reading, Plato is challenging masculine ways of thinking, living political life and practicing philosophy. He is committed to offering an alternative to sophistry by integrating female values in the Politeia. For Brown, the challenge to stereotypical masculine pursuits, like antagonism, become intertwined with gender. Given that Athens at that time was primarily male, his discourse is a subversion of the masculine discourse in favour of the Female; Brown views Plato's philosophy as less masculine and more feminine, maternal, nurturing and procreative.

Brown (1998) is convinced that challenging gender constructs allows Plato to reduce the distance between politics and philosophy. Yet

contrary to Brown's beliefs, it is evident that Plato's philosophy and politics are completely distanced from the private, domestic life that the Athenian society associated with the Female. The first and second waves are not political statements of women's equality; more importantly, these reject the female features of the Athenian society and prove that Plato cannot be a feminist on a deeper, philosophical level.

The belief that Plato's philosophy is feminine is incompatible with his misogyny and contempt towards private family, motherhood and female sexuality. Plato's philosophical anti-feminism is demonstrated by his obvious misogyny and recurring verbal attacks on women's behaviours (Wender, 1973). Saxonhouse highlights Plato's readiness to accept that women should be part of the guardian class, whilst also reminding his interlocutors that women are weaker than men (Plato, 455E; 456A; 45AA). Plato makes clear his contempt towards women when he warns them not to behave according to a 'womanly, petty mind' (469D7) on the battlefield (which is the symbolic, masculine terrain). Overall, women are seen as 'weak, devious and cowardly' (Annas, 1976, p.314). Plato's misogyny is a symptom of his obvious predilection of male values; when he criticises women's petty mentality (Plato, 469D7), he is not only criticizing women as weak and inferior creatures – he is reaffirming the Male over the Female. This is made obvious in the analysis of how Plato approaches family, women's sexuality, and motherhood. When he eliminates the private, domestic realm and allows (or forces) women to join the ranks of guardians, he implicitly criticises women by eliminating everything associated with womanhood and femininity. It is not enough for Plato to propose women's political participation if the implicit assumption is that women's traditional occupations are worthless. If Plato was a true feminist in the philosophical sense, rather than eliminating motherhood and domestic life, he would glorify or at least appreciate them.

Though Plato rejects everything associated with the domestic sphere and femininity, he is surprisingly one of the first (male) philosophers to recognize that 'the economy of desire and reproduction' might be an obstacle to women's equal opportunities in the polis (Brown, 2018, 4.3). As rightly suggested by Brown in *Supposing Truth were a Woman* (1988), Plato is also

aware of the stereotypical characteristics of Greek manhood. Moreover, he showcases a pre-feminist sensibility because feminists have been widely concerned with the role of societal constructs and how these influence our moral, philosophical, political and social landscape. His investigation into sex, sexuality, the body and the family are quite feminist; these topics were similarly 'unproblematised' before feminists decided to investigate them (McAfee, 2018). Although Plato is not a feminist, he 'shows at least proto-feminist concern' when manipulating 'the economy of desire and reproduction' (and when he puts into discussion the way families are arranged in the Politeia (Brown, 2018, 4.3).

Although Plato puts into discussion gender societal constructs associated with masculinity and femininity and displays a proto-feminist sensibility (Brown, 2018), we must be careful not to apply an overly optimistic interpretation of the V Book. In the ideal Politeia, guardians must be completely devoted to the political, male sphere of the polis rather than the private, domestic life typically associated with femininity. Moreover, it seems that he is keen on liberating women so that they can undertake public functions; women would be perhaps obliged to undertake civic duties even if they were unwilling to do so (Annas, 1976). Contrary to Brown's suggestion (1988, p.604) that Plato cares about individual needs and that his philosophy is 'nurturing' and 'maternal pedagogy', it is evident that women (and men) would be obliged 'to take the job' (Annas, 1976, p.318) regardless of their needs. Plato is aware that caring about your own family, including wives, is 'selfish' and would prevent guardians from caring about the polis. Furthermore, Plato manipulates the economy of family and reproduction to further his political vision of an ideal Politeia, thus sacrificing the guardians' private life. By downplaying the role of private family life, he essentially rejects the Female and eliminates the domestic sphere in favour of the masculine political field of the Politeia.

5. Women' Sexuality and Motherhood: the female de-sexed

Plato's opposition to the body, sex and sensuality are briefly mentioned by Brown as something that appears to 'land him firmly in the

masculinist terrain' without further explanation (Brown 1988, p.598). In reality, Plato's fierce opposition to female sexuality and motherhood make him an anti-female and anti-feminist philosopher.

Regarding the question 'for which of the professions or occupations which bear on the organization of a community are there inherent differences between men and women?' (Plato, 455A), Plato and his interlocutors neglect to mention motherhood. Feminists are mistaken when they pay exclusive attention to the part in which Plato affirms that 'there is no administrative job in a community which belongs to a woman qua woman' (Plato, 455D), focusing on his (apparent) political feminism. The real problem with Plato's approach is a downplay of female reproduction and motherhood, according to Annas (1976). Plato answers the original question by considering women's most trivial jobs, including cooking and cleaning; accordingly, Annas believes that 'there is nothing non-feminist about this argument' (Annas, 1976, p.312). There is an inherent danger in advocating for women's equality on the political and social scene, which feminists like Annas do not fully investigate. She does not think that the suppression of women's body, sexuality and domestic life is anti-feminist– this is an important misunderstanding.

Saxonhouse (1976) provides the best explanation for Plato's attempt to downplay and undermine women's sexuality: she proposes that women's equal participation in the political community equates to ignoring the peculiar natures of men and women. In fact, Saxonhouse maintains that the women that join the guardians are 'removed' from their body and sexuality, in sharp contrast with women's sexualised image of previous passage – especially those of concubines and courtesans.

Sex and the impulses of the body are seen as a dangerous distraction from the pursuit of morality and the ideal Politeia. At the beginning of *The Republic*, Cephalus is liberated by the sexual impulses of his youth, stating that 'I have broken free of that, like a slave who has got away from a rabid and savage master' (Plato, 328C). Sex has obvious negative and animalistic connotations that must be condemned as much as the 'community of pigs' (Plato, 372D); it is not surprising, then, that in the Ideal City, women and men would exercise naked without exciting men's libido, with the female

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deprived of any sexual attraction (Saxonhouse, 1976). Plato's contempt towards sex and his attempts to control his guardians' impulses put him in line with historic attempts to control women's sexuality (Okin, 1977) and signal that he is not a feminist – regardless of the constraints he puts on both men and women. For instance, he seems to imply that having intercourse with a woman is less worthy than having a philosophical and homoerotic relationship with another man (in *The Republic* there are just male interlocutors). He showcases an obvious preference towards homosexuality, both in his personal life and in his way of conceiving philosophy (Wender, 1976).

This liberation from sex and bodily impulses (especially when related to women's sexuality) relates to Plato's neglect of important biological differences between men and women. Plato ignores women's sexuality and their peculiar biological qualities by downplaying the importance of motherhood and removing female-guardians from their roles as mothers: 'Clearly the female is superior to the male of any species in her ability to bear children' (Saxonhouse, 1976, p.199). Yet, Saxonhouse further claims, in the Politeia, motherhood is reduced to the bare minimum. Plato maintains that biological function should not determine women's position in the Politeia; the drawback of women joining the polis is that they are inevitably 'de-sexed' females. Plato glorifies the masculine activities of the City when he allows women to join, leaving behind the private sphere of domestic life and family; moreover, women are also a symbol of desire, sexuality and animal impulses as exemplified by the image of the dog. This is a recurrent figure used by Plato in *The Republic* to highlight the characteristics guardians should possess – 'fierce with enemies' and 'gentle with friends' (Wender, 1976, p.76). As Wender suggests, it further reiterates the misogynistic undertones of *The Republic* when Plato suggests that women, like female guard-dogs, should be provided with the same education as men if they are expected to join the class of guardians and benefit the welfare of the city (Plato, 451D–E).

It is not of little importance that Plato rejects both motherhood and female sexuality, especially in determining whether Plato considered women in a favourable light; as Saxonhouse (1976) rightly suggests, de-

sexed women are weaker and inferior to men because they are deprived of their peculiar 'phusis' or 'nature', thus implying that women's nature is negative and something they must destroy in order to join the glorified male Politeia. Female guardians are, as Saxonhouse (1976, p.196) states, 'almost without body, and, more important, free from eros' – in other words, they achieve their status by perverting and distancing themselves from their female nature by becoming more masculine in their values and behaviours. Plato intends guardian women to be a weird anomaly - their excellence or 'aretè' (Saxonhouse, 1976, p.198) is explained by their departure from typical feminine traits such as motherhood: 'All become guardians by the sacrifice of real maternity, sexual identity, family and consequently power' (Buchan, 1999, p.123). Hence, sex with women must be controlled, according to the logic of eugenics 'procreation is to be practised with the same precision that warfare demands' (Saxonhouse, 1976, p.201) rather than for the pursuit of sexual satisfaction (Annas, 1976).

6. A case of gender "appropriation"?

Some commentators, including Brown and Swearingen, dismiss too soon the idea that Plato is 'uneasy and uncomfortable' with women's sexuality, explaining why he rejects women's sexual characteristics and appropriates others for his political, philosophical purposes.

Plato advances the idea 'of true procreation of ideas between male lovers' (Brown, 1988, p.607), thus transferring female procreation to homosexual and philosophical activities. His emphasis on homosexual love in *The Symposium* as a procreative endeavour should be read as the appropriation and alienation of women's sexuality. Brown's (1988, p.605) view that practicing this philosophy is 'an erotic endeavour' is correct, and made explicit by passages where Plato describes the philosopher as a genuine lover of knowledge. In a way, Plato renders the philosopher and philosophy in itself female (Saxonhouse, 1976). However, this cannot be understood as Plato embracing and appreciating the Female; as proven by Wender (1976) and Saxonhouse (1976), his romantic preference for men, his discontent with physical expressions of passion, his depiction of philosophy as female, and

his idea of women-guardians are not positive recognitions of women or the Female. In fact, women are alienated by their own body, sexuality and motherhood – so that a male philosopher, Plato, can transfer these instead to his (male) ideal of philosophy and City in which women are obliged to engage with masculine pursuits like politics or warfare (Saxonhouse, 1976).

Conclusion

Overall, Plato is not a feminist in the political sense, due to his indifference towards women's rights and unjust inequality; secondly, by appropriating female reproductive characteristics to promote an idea of philosophy that is essentially male, and by taking female sexuality away from women, he demonstrates anti-feminism on a deeper, more philosophical level. Contrary to Brown's view, he eliminates the female and makes his Politeia fundamentally male.

Plato is aware of the societal constructs associated with gender and the stereotypes associated with women and femininity and purposely manipulates these to reaffirm masculine values and destroy feminine values. He ultimately betrays feminist ideology by systematically downplaying the female, suggesting that female sexuality is an inherently evil thing that must be controlled, and by eliminating motherhood and domestic life from the Politeia. Moreover, he glorifies typical male terrains like warfare, politics and public life and advocates for the elimination of the private, domestic realm associated with the female. The appropriation of female reproductive characteristics is the final attack on women: far from empowering women, he makes them weaker by de-sexing them and transferring the procreative dimensions of their sexuality to the masculine terrain of philosophy and politics.

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To what extent can Christine de Pizan be considered a feminist in the Middle Ages?

Paula Louise Duncan[1]

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The study of medieval women is a fast-growing field. There is a debate, however, about the role feminism plays in such a study. By using the life and writing of Christine de Pizan, this paper discusses how feminism is best used as a means of interpretation of history. Christine is frequently cited as one of the earliest feminists. She was certainly very vocal in her rejection of misogyny. In her key work, The City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan ensured that gender inequality was challenged and that women were allowed to make themselves heard. Despite this, modern-day feminism is something with which Christine would not have been able to identify. It skews our understanding of the unique challenges faced by medieval women and does not properly consider their historical context. By applying a modern label to a historical figure, we do them a disservice but it is certainly possible to make use of feminism in a study of medieval women. By analysing the work of Christine de Pizan through feminist lenses, we can gain a much richer impression of her culture. A feminist reading of history can help identify misogyny as perceived by those experiencing it as well as gaining a better understanding of the experiences of medieval women. Similarly, from the reactions to such treatment in works as* The City of Ladies*, we can better examine the attitudes and values of those women without distorting their words with modern feminist preconceptions.*

Introduction

Even the most cursory glance at the current newspaper and magazine articles makes it apparent that the word 'feminist' is hotly contested; its definition, usage, and relevance are all widely debated (Scharff, 2019; Jones 2019). This is also evident in the study of the Middle Ages and can be understood clearly in the case of Christine de Pizan. As a woman who made a living in a male-dominated field, by writing in support of women, she comes as a natural interest to feminist scholars. But can a person who was

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[1] Paula Louise Duncan is a fourth-year History and Theology student from Inverurie, Aberdeenshire. Her main academic interests are church history and women's religious experiences. She is currently writing her dissertation on the medieval pilgrimages of Margery Kempe. She plans to return to Aberdeen as a postgraduate in Divinity.

born 500 years before the first usage of the word be called a feminist? (Goldberg Moses, 2012). Some authors state categorically that she is: Susan Singe Morrison (2016) unquestioningly describes Christine de Pizan as a 'vocal feminist' (p.161). She is even hailed as 'first feminist philosopher' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Burkett and Brunell, 2019). However, Glenda McLeod (1991, p.117) argues she should instead be celebrated for her 'unique role in the history of feminist thought', but calling her a feminist is not sympathetic to Christine's experiences. After considering both arguments, this essay will suggest a middle ground, incorporating the work of Judith M. Bennett (1993) who argues that instead of trying to apply a label to a historic figure for whom the feminist movement did not exist, we should apply feminist hermeneutic in our interpretation of history. This allows a modern historian to consider their subjects more sensitively in their own context, without shaping the narrative to fit a modern label.

1. The Life of Christine de Pizan

It is first important to consider a short biography of Christine de Pizan and the historical context in which she lived. Susan Groag Bell (2004) characterises Christine de Pizan as 'not only a female author but a laywoman who, as a widowed mother of three, supported herself and her family with her pen, tied to both the French court, while her writing brought her into the "world of scholars"' (p.9). This alone gives an idea of just how unusual Christine de Pizan was: she made herself known in the world of academics as well as fulfilling more typically female roles as a wife and a mother. There are far fewer sources written by women than men in the Middle Ages and this in itself makes Christine's case particularly fascinating (Bennett, 1993). She is not, however, considered to be representative of the typical life of a woman in the Middle Ages. Christine's noble background gave her more privileged access to education than most medieval women. Four years after her birth in Venice in 1364, Christine's family relocated to Paris, owing to her father's appointment as court physician to Charles V. The association with the French court meant that her family enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle, participating very much in the court culture. Christine recorded her

recollections of being introduced to the King, which showed that she was very much a part of this community (Bell, 2004, p. 12).

Palace life afforded Christine greater access to written materials, especially in the library at the Louvre. While female literacy was generally increasing in the late 14th century, Christine's breadth of reading made her more unusual. For most, literacy was largely vocational. For example, the rising merchant class meant women learnt to read to assist with bookkeeping (Willard, 1984, p.33). At this time, many elite women learnt to read in preparation for religious life in a convent where the reading of the Bible and Psalter would be essential (Ward, 2002, p.4). Christine, on the other hand, was encouraged by her father to read more broadly – as he believed 'that education would do girls more good than harm' (Bell, 2004, p.12). Christine certainly seemed to have engaged with a wide range of literature and demonstrated a thorough understanding of these works throughout her writing career. In her 1405 book, *The City of Ladies*, she discusses whether Aristotle's Metaphysics disagrees with Plato's theories (de Pizan, 2005, p.6). She was competent and academically-minded with the means and support needed to pursue her interests.

Aged fifteen, Christine married Étienne de Castel but it was short-lived; Étienne died of the plague after only ten years of marriage. Christine remembered their time together fondly as a 'decade of personal happiness' (Willard, 1984, p.35). There is evidence to suggest that Christine's husband may have taught her a 'secretary's hand', aiding her in her later occupation as a scribe and also making it more likely that some of the remaining manuscripts are in her own writing (Bell, 2004, p.31). It would seem that not only Christine's father but her new husband too was supportive of her academic pursuits. Following Étienne's death, Christine was forced to seek employment to support her children and her older relatives. At this point, she describes herself as becoming 'a man', forced to enter a working world dominated by men (Bell, 2004, p.14). Working to support the family was typically a man's responsibility. It is, however, a role that falls to a woman after her husband's death. While it was not unusual for women to become solely responsible for their family's income, Christine's writing makes it clear that it was difficult, as most had not been educated or included in this

work until their husband's passing. She writes that it is imperative that a woman 'should have a firm grasp of her husband's business and financial affairs so that she will be able to handle them competently on her own' (Bell, 2004, p.15). Nonetheless, Christine did well by first seeking work as a scribe and then supporting herself through her writing.

2. The Misogynistic World of Christine de Pizan

To understand more fully why Christine de Pizan might be considered a feminist, it is important to discuss the circumstances that make this possible. As already discussed, she was unique in that she was able to make a career from her writing but it is the content of her publications that is the most important. Much of her work is a reaction against the patriarchal society and misogynistic culture of the Middle Ages. Jeanne L. Schroeder (1989) describes the construction of patriarchy in the Middle Ages as a process by which femininity becomes 'deprivileged' and masculinity is idealised. Interestingly, the definition of what is considered feminine is in constant flux over time and place. Consequently, those behaviours that do not match the current standard of hegemonic masculinity also change. What does not change, however, is the perceived superiority of masculinity (Schroeder, 1989). Christine argues against this on two fronts: in literature and religion.

The critical publication is, in this case, *The City of Ladies*, which is a particularly strong example of Christine's objections, published to identify where gender causes inequality and attempting to create an avenue for women's voices to be heard (Kellogg, 2003, p.129). The book opens with a recollection of reading The Lamentations of Matheolus, in which the author outlines his strongly negative and aggressive opinions about women (de Pizan, 2005, p.2). Matheolus is certainly not alone in espousing these strong views. Consider where Christine (2005, p.2) writes: 'An extraordinary thought became planted in my mind which made me wonder why on earth it was that so many men, both clerks and others, have said and continue to say and write such awful, damning things about women and their ways. [...] It is all manner of philosophers, poets and orators too numerous to mention,

who all seem to speak with one voice and are unanimous in their view that female nature is wholly given up to vice'. Christine (2005, p.3) tells how she began to feel 'disgust and sadness' and began to 'despise [herself] and the whole of [her] sex as an aberration in nature' as a consequence of reading such numerous volumes damning women. Her first refutation of misogyny in literature comes in her argument that men are writing these works predominantly for other men and this helps to perpetuate damaging stereotypes about women (Blamires et al, 2002, p.280). Christine (2006, p.14) argues that works such as Ovid and Cecco d'Ascoli should not be held in such high regard owing to their 'extraordinarily unpleasant' portrayal of women, because these texts influence generations of men to think in the same prejudiced way. With women denied access to education and consequently denied a voice in the academic world, there was no way for them to defend themselves. Christine sought to redress this balance.

Secondly, Christine (2005, p.3) confronted misogyny in religion: she lamented that the wealth of misogynistic texts led her to think that 'God had created a vile thing when He created woman.' There are two tropes of womanhood in the West during the Middle Ages; women were compared either to Eve (portrayed as a deceitful temptress) or as Mary (a caring and loving mother). It is the influence of Eve's supposed weakness that, according to Jennifer Ward (2002, p.2), underlies much of the misogyny in literature during the Middle Ages. St. Thomas Aquinas (1947) was particularly vocal in casting women in the role of subservient to men, arguing that their only purpose was to serve men by carrying children. The implications of this attitude meant that women became considered as lesser citizens, inferior in every way to men. Throughout *The City of Ladies*, Christine (2005, p.15) begins to construct an alternative narrative that emphasises women's spiritual equality to men and acknowledges that they are capable as much as men are. The problem, as Christine saw it, was the attitudes of men. It is for this view and her writing on the matter that Christine became the source of feminist debate.

3. Christine de Pizan: A Feminist?

With this background in mind, we can now turn to the debates surrounding Christine de Pizan's status as a feminist. Rosalind Brown-Grant (2000, pp.128-129) states that The City of Ladies is often the focal point of such debates and has led to the most controversy in the feminist argument. However, feminism is incredibly difficult to define and has been articulated differently by numerous authors; to some, it encompasses only a specific political movement but to others, it is an ideology that goes beyond the term itself (Goldberg Moses, 2012). However, what emerges in each definition is that feminism always attempts to reject inequality perpetrated by masculinity (Schroeder, 1989). Despite Christine writing against this inequality in the Middle Ages, it is difficult to come to a consensus among historians as to whether she can be called a feminist.

Susan Singe Morrison (2016, p.161) describes Christine as a 'vocal feminist'. She is certainly not alone in this view, several authors state categorically that Christine de Pizan can be called a feminist despite belonging to the Middle Ages. This argument is based on the notion that one only has to take a stand against patriarchal institutions or traditions to be a feminist. This certainly is not an exclusively modern argument. This line of thought has been propagated since at least 1896, when Marya Chéliga wrote that 'the feminist movement, without being designated by that title, is evident across all epochs […] The program of Proxagora, repeated by Aristophanes, differs in no way from that of today's militants' (Goldberg Moses, 2012). It is the intention of a person that makes them a feminist, rather than being able to identify with the label.

Conversely, historians argue that Christine's inability to self-identify as a feminist is crucial; she cannot be a feminist when the word was only invented in the 1880s (Goldberg Moses, 2012). Bell argues that while much of Christine's writing is echoed in twentieth-century feminism and that she certainly argues for women's rights, this is not enough to call her a 'feminist' within the context of the Middle Ages. Christine could not 'envision an organised women's movement' which seeks to 'overthrow the entire patriarchal edifice' as per the modern agenda (Bell, 2004, p.23). Christine is

bound by her own culture and her own expectations of that culture; she does not seek political reform as such, or equality legislation: she is asking for education and acknowledgement of female spiritual and intellectual equality. She values and accepts traditional gendered roles for both men and women, considering them to be reflecting God's wishes (de Pizan, 2005, p.19). As already discussed, she sees the importance in the traditional home-making roles of a mother and a wife and she does not argue that these should not be women's roles. Brown-Grant (2000, p.81) writes that modern historians 'can often be disappointed by the seemingly timid response […] from those writers of the period who sought to defend women', such as Christine de Pizan. That is to say, Christine is being criticised today for her lack of radicalism that complies with a modern worldview. Nevertheless, the opposite is true. Christine's writing was radical and did a great deal to challenge the misogyny in her society in a way that was accessible to her at that time. We should not, therefore, skew our reading of history by trying to make it comply with modern definitions of feminism. It will not, and cannot be, the same experience in the 21st century as it was in the Middle Ages (Bennett, 1993). For authors such as Bell and Brown-Grant this makes it possible to say that Christine de Pizan was not a feminist in the Middle Ages. It is important to be clear that this does not mean these authors do not appreciate Christine's advocacy of her fellow women, but rather that a modern label cannot be applied to her situation.

4. Best of Both: Feminism as a Methodology

It is possible, however, to reconcile these two viewpoints. Judith M. Bennett's methodology can offer a compromise between the opposing positions of Morrison and Bell. She writes that instead of trying to fit Christine into a feminist mould, we should use feminism as a means of interpreting the past. She writes: 'the separation of medievalism and feminism is both artificial and counterproductive. Feminist work in medieval studies is a thriving enterprise with a distinguished past and a promising future' (Bennett, 1993). It can be a way of filling the gaps in our knowledge

by seeking to further understand the position of women in the Middle Ages (Bennett, 1993).

This is an important distinction to make: Christine can play an important role in feminist studies without needing to be defined as a 'feminist' herself. Instead, a feminist hermeneutic can be applied to our reading of medieval history in the same way as one might study the past through the lens of a social historian, or a cultural historian. Bennett (1993) argues her case in writing: 'feminists, then, are revising the field of medieval studies from three directions: adding new information, answering old questions in new ways, and creating entirely new research agendas.' Feminism can help find a new perspective and analysis of a historical person or situation. If Christine de Pizan were to be studied through a feminist lens, she could be celebrated for her achievements in a way that is more sympathetic to her own experiences and society. For example, there were very few female voices in the literature of the Middle Ages. Feminism allows a historian to attempt to see why this might be the case, and in what way Christine de Pizan differed. A feminist Middle Ages study would consider the feminine response to hegemonic masculine privilege and prejudice offering a new narrative, from a new angle.

An example of such a study is the work of Rosalind Brown-Grant in her book Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women. Throughout this book, she uses a feminist perspective to understand, firstly, the misogynistic society in which Christine de Pizan lives. Secondly, she celebrates Christine's work as a remarkable feat of advocacy for women in its own right within the context of the Middle Ages. By appreciating Christine's work as a feminine argument against misogyny, comparing her to authors in her own time, her radical defence of women is still more striking (Brown-Grant, 2000, p.81).

It is also important to note that a feminist approach does not exclusively study women but men and masculinity too - and the relationships between genders. It is for this reason that the previous paragraphs have used the terms 'feminine' and 'masculine', rather than 'female' and 'male'. Ultimately, anyone who did not comply with the masculine hegemonic value at any given time would have been subject to prejudice. There is evidence to

show that some women were treated very differently – with higher-ranking women being considered 'like men' (Schroeder, 1989). Therefore, it is clear that the masculine traits were celebrated, as well as being born with a biologically male body. Using this approach in our history writing allows for a more nuanced study into the imbalances of power and systems of oppression in the Middle Ages. It is not necessary, however, to call Christine de Pizan a feminist. She is an important figure because of her response to misogyny and this can be celebrated in its own right.

Concluding Remarks

Feminism is not irreconcilable with studies of the Middle Ages but it serves best as a framework with which to study the period. This can be understood in the case of Christine de Pizan: while some authors argue that, based on her values and arguments, based on her values and arguments, she must be a feminist, it is not always useful to apply modern terms and concepts to historical actors. Instead, a feminist approach to the study of the Middle Ages makes for a more sympathetic analysis of figures such as Christine, which takes into account their own culture and setting too. By adopting a historiographical approach such as that of Judith M. Bennett, we can begin to analyse misogynistic behaviour in the Middle Ages and better understand the point of view of individual authors such as Christine de Pizan.

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Politicising Girlhood: Emancipation and Indoctrination in the League of German Girls

Caroline Beaumelou[1]

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While the Hitlerjugend, or Hitler Youth has been frequently studied in both academic and public historical contexts, there has been little research on its sister-organisation, the League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel, or BDM). This state-enforced mandatory group offered girls activities, such as hiking, choir, 'völkish' and nationalist history lessons, as well as vocational training. Its main goal was the political indoctrination and fostering of National-Socialist ideals in young girls – the better to inspire them to be proper Nazi housewives. However, to many of its' young adherents, the BDM was a means of emancipation: a place where they could be on equal footing with boys and find freedom from the oppressive structure of the 1940s household. Using oral history transcripts and close-readings of contemporary training materials, this essay critically analyses how the BDM was simultaneously effective and ineffective in producing a generation of indoctrinated young girls; effective in that many women refer to it as 'the best time in [their] lives' regardless of National-Socialist associations, and ineffective in that Nazi Party membership for women went down due to the BDM's fostering of ideals of self-sustainability, independence, and camaraderie in young girls.

Introduction

The Hitlerjugend, or Hitler Youth (HJ), is well-known even outside of the German-speaking realm. The shocking images of demonstrations, schoolboys with machine guns in their knee-socks and shorts, even being called to defend the Fatherland when the front was otherwise left without defence against the incoming Red Army, left a strong impression on the common memory of the National Socialist period. There are many studies on the effect that the HJ left on its former adherents, both physically and

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[1] Caroline Beaumelou is a fourth-year MA (Hons) student in German and History at the University of Aberdeen. Her academic interests include women's history, the German-speaking world, and the environmental humanities, all of which culminated in her dissertation 'Environmental Awareness and Women in a Divided Germany, 1986-1989', which she hopes to one day turn into a mini-series. When she is not studying, Caroline enjoys reading obscure German exile poetry, coding with Twine, and rewriting Dungeons & Dragons sourcebooks to fit her own campaign.

emotionally; on the indoctrination that the children underwent and how it worked as an effective arm of the Nazi Propaganda machine. Unsurprisingly, there are far fewer studies centred on the HJ's sister organisation, the Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM), and on the BDM-Werk Glaube und Schönheit (GuS), which linked the slightly older young girls into the Nationalsozialistiche Frauenschaft – predictable, as before the 1980s, there was little concern with questions of gender in the field of history, and only in the past few decades have the intersections with National Socialism started to be investigated in detail. In a time where political indoctrination of children happens, or is accused of happening, with the widespread use of the Internet, and where children and young people are becoming more and more involved in politics, this author believes that the historical examination of children in a context of indoctrination is particularly relevant. This essay will focus on the Bund Deutscher Mädel explicitly and exclusively, and examine the ways in which this compulsory organisation served simultaneously as an arm of the propaganda state, and how its very nature was used by the child members as a means of emancipation. The BDM used otherwise anodyne childhood experiences to convey an enforced image of childhood and adulthood (or of girlhood and womanhood) as was useful to the National Socialist government, but those same fun activities appeared to the girls as a freedom from the pressures of the household, war, and the State. Using original BDM guidebooks as a primary material as well as oral history memoirs from former adherents, the final part will show that the desired political indoctrination did not necessarily take effect.

1. Just Fun and Games? Girlhood, Politicised

Very recently, climate activist Greta Thunberg was inappropriately compared to a figure in a Nazi era propaganda poster – both girls shared a manner of dress and of hairstyle, and the point being made was that young Greta is being manipulated by a greater power in the same way that innocent children were manipulated by the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda). Obviously, this point was out of bounds, but the entire world remembers how

successfully National Socialism used propaganda as its main weapon – and children as a part of that propaganda. As early as 1925, Adolf Hitler dedicated an entire chapter of his Bildungsroman-cum-Manifesto Mein Kampf to the power of propaganda and how deftly it can be wielded: the chapter begins with 'Bei meinem aufmerksamen Verfolgen aller politischen Vorgänge hatte mich schon immer die Tätigkeit der Propaganda außerordentlich interessiert' (Hitler, 1933 p.193). [Ever since I have been scrutinising political events, I have taken a tremendous interest in propagandist activity.] Alongside his idealised image of manhood – athletic, handsome, militaristic, National Socialist men – went the Nazi image of womanhood, which shifted many times, as the position was difficult to maintain. Superficially, the difference was minimal: women must be athletic, beautiful, supporting their military husbands and making babies who would grow into military men themselves! (Hofmann, 2016, p.1016-17). But women could not be too athletic, as that was bordering on too much emancipation, with female athletes becoming too butch and mannish; instead sports that emphasised health and grace, like hiking, swimming, and gymnastic dance, were encouraged (Hofman, 2016 p.1017). In fact, the propaganda image of women changed depending on what was most needed at the time, to put it simply: feminist emancipation was seen as the work of Jews to corrupt the nation, except when Hitler needed female voters, and then suddenly woman was at the heart of the future, side-by-side with the men (Hofman, 2016, p.1016).

The BDM served to help mould 'racially pure' German girls into the active cogs of German society they were expected to be – mothers, caretakers, supporters of their husbands – through various activities that seemed innocent at first glance:

> Athletics and hiking would help girls develop the healthy, fit bodies the state needed. Through music and service-oriented work within the BDM, Nazi leaders introduced young girls to the broader National Socialist worldview. For older girls and young women, the Nazis placed special emphasis on the girls' responsibilities as mothers of the next generation and as preservers of German culture. The BDM constituted one component of a vast agenda for the Nazi reconstruction of German society (Mouton, 2005 p, 62).

Before going into detail about BDM activities, it is worth noting that as of 1936, participation in the BDM and HJ was mandatory – all girls who were considered worthy and capable of joining, meaning that they were in good health and less than 1/8th Jewish per Nazi racial laws, had to be a part (Hitler, 1936). Those who still did not join, typically due to the political stances of their parents, were shunned by their social milieus: one woman remembers being humiliated by Nazi professors after her Catholic father forbade her from taking part in BDM activities (Mouton, 2005 p.69), and those who held their daughters back from participation faced heavy fines and imprisonment for doing so (Hitler, 1939).

BDM activities were two-fold: on the one hand, physical activities such as sports – including swimming, hiking, rowing, and gymnastics among others – were organised on Sundays. Other, more 'intellectual' pass-times – including chorale groups and song, sewing and cooking classes, and an hour per week dedicated to learning 'völkisch' (German history that aligned with National Socialist values) [2] – were on Wednesdays and Saturdays. If members requested more hours of either activity, cohort leaders often adjusted accordingly (Sahrakorpi, 2018, p.103). This began when young girls were ten: first they joined the Jungmädels (JM), where they then graduated to the BDM at the age of fourteen, and from eighteen onwards they were encouraged to join the GuS – the BDM and associated Nazi organisations did effectively encapsulate almost the whole period of 'childhood', and the entirety of the newly-used term in the 1940s of 'adolescence' (Hitler, 1939). Even outside of planned activities, there was BDM programming – magazines, radio broadcasts, training books, and pamphlets – central to all of which was 'the preparation of girls for their gendered roles in Nazi society' (Mouton, 2005, p.66). Those Heimabende (or stay-at-home evenings) and trips, partnered with the aforementioned programming and media, all put a heavy emphasis on motherhood and traditional culture: 'as members of the Volksgemeinschaft, women bore responsibility not only for

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[2] The 'Völkische Bewegung' or 'Völkisch Movement' was a racist and nationalist movement and ideology active during the 19th century and into the Nazi Era, erected in large part on the 'blood and soil' theory.

bearing and educating the next generation of National Socialist children, but also for preserving, promoting, and nurturing German culture in general' (Mouton, 2005, p.66). Chorale and singing, on top of being seen as appropriate activities for young girls, also helped foster a sense of national identity and community, as the songs performed by BDM cohorts were deeply propagandistic in nature: 'the lyrics made liberal use of words such as "freedom," "honour," "fire," "flag," "Volk," "Führer," and "Fatherland" to sway girls' emotions,' and on top of celebrating traditional German culture and 'völkisch' attitudes, many songs explicitly praised Hitler as a hero, helping the indoctrination of the young girls' minds (Mouton, 2005, p.68).

2. The Pflichtsjahr; Summer Jobs for the Reich

Additionally, young girls were sent on a 'Pflichtsjahr' (literally, 'duty year') between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, at which point they were sent either to the countryside or somewhere else in the city to assist home-mothers and farmers – the goal of this was supposed to instil in the young girl the desire to commit to homemaking, to further health through physical work in the fields, and to bring one closer to 'Heimat' and 'Vaterland', as well as playing into Hitler's four-year plan for the economy (Albrecht, 1942, p.14). To be sure, the desire to indoctrinate young girls into aspiring towards motherhood seems to have been the forefront of this plan, as Gertrude Albrecht states in the official handbook for the 'Pflichtjahr', that in order for a family to benefit from a 'Pflichtjahrmädel' assigned to them.

> Es müssen Kinder vorhanden sein. Kinderlose Ehepaare, Familien mit großen Kindern, können grundsätzlich keine Pflichtjahrmädel beanspruchen. Das Pflichtjahrmädel soll in erster Linie eine Hilfe für die Mütter sein. Für kinderreiche Familien mit vier und mehr kleinen Kindern sind möglichst ältere Hausgehilfinnen vorgesehen oder Mädel, die den besonderen Anforderungen gewachsen sind (Albrecht, 1942, p.23).
> [Children must be present. Childless couples and families with older children can categorically not apply for a Pflichtjahrmaiden. She must be, before anything else, a helper for a mother. For families with four or more young children, an older house-helper or Maiden will be assigned to assist in order to ensure the quality of child-rearing work.]

During this time, the 'Pflichtjahrmaiden' would live in groups together in camps – almost what we would call a modern-day summer camp – and be assigned different tasks depending on the day. Every day, however, began by greeting and saluting the Nazi flag, at both the raising and lowering of it with the sun (Reichsarbeitsdienst, Bezirksleistung Wiesbaden & Benadix, L., 1942 p.11-13), often accompanied by speeches about Germany's greatness and the contributions the girls were bringing. As Mouton points out, 'in addition to the propaganda value of organised civic labour, the National Socialists benefited from the very real contribution these girls made in alleviating the extreme shortage of agricultural workers' (Mouton, 2005, p.71).

Regarding the previous comparison of the 'Pflichtjahr' and summer camps – the modern historian and reader should understand that to the large majority of girls attending BDM camps, outings, and sessions, the HJ was something of a compulsory participation in the Girl Scouts. While those young girls that were excluded for racial reasons, or because their parents were communists or Catholics, almost certainly had a stronger awareness of the indoctrination taking place behind the innocent façade of songs sung around the campfire, the memory of the BDM is – where it has been collected, which is not often – almost entirely apolitical. Historians, also, agree that politics did not play a large formal role in the day-to-day of the organisation (Mouton, 2005, p.73). The explanation to this is likely two-fold: on the one hand, it can be argued that women writing their memoirs or giving oral history interviews likely did not realise the propagandistic potential of the activities they so loved, such as organised athletics and the character of songs sung; on the other hand, contrary to what official guides and regulations for the BDM imply, testimonies reveal that many of the young girls in question simply did not care for politics, and their troupe leaders modified planned activities accordingly (Mouton, 2005, p.73). As one young woman remembers, her troupe leader simply told the girls in her group that as long as they all knew the Führer's birthday, they need not concern themselves with any other knowledge of how the National Socialist government worked or any of its policies (Mouton, 2005, p.73). Instead,

many German women remember the BDM as a place of emancipation, of freedom from the household, and of honest camaraderie between girls regardless of social class. As Dagmar Reese points out, even the importance put on motherhood must be taken with a grain of salt, as in the 1930s and 40s it was a widespread opinion that motherhood was the reason for female existence, shocking as it is to the modern analyst, and it is likely that many of the young 'Jungmädels' held this belief themselves before it ever came up in their 'Heimabende' on the lips of their cohort leader (Reese, 2006, p. 42).

3. Mental Gymnastics; The Role of Sport

Many former adherents remember the sportsmanship – sportswomanship? – of the BDM as its most attractive draw. One woman recalls: 'Well, I joined up voluntarily, 'cause we just, well, we used to do a lot of stuff in the BDM. Like games and singing, and I really enjoyed that a lot. Quite honestly, I thought that was really marvellous' (Reese, 2006, p.61) showing that despite its obligatory nature in later years, this was hardly an activity that girls were dragged to kicking and screaming. Some, however, dreaded this sport activity – Carola Stern writes that she adopted a jokester persona specifically to hide her failure in the more physical aspects of the BDM, finding refuge instead in the camaraderie of the cohort (Mouton, 2005, p.68). While athletics were used in 'crystallising' a 'new type of girl' (Reese, 2006, p.61) – one who was more natural, who did not worry about frivolous things like fashion or cosmetics, as per National Socialist ideology – they were also, simply put, fun. Where previous generations of girls and young women were told that athletics, hiking, competitions, were things for boys, the BDM as sister-branch of the HJ put, or seemed to put, girls and boys on an equal playing field for the first time. Mouton points out that:

> The BDM appealed to many older girls precisely because it allowed them to exchange their relatively isolated domestic lives for activity and comradeship. They felt the new state wanted them too and not just boys. One woman recalled, they 'meant me; they addressed me.' She felt the Nazis summoned her to put her life 'in service of something tremendous, overwhelming, something which was called Germany.'

The BDM made girls like her feel vital to the country's future (Mouton, 2005, p.70-71).

Since girls were participating in comparable activities to boys, 'thus the BDM was a break from gender expectations… The regime gave 'every boy and girl' agency,' (Sahrakorpi, 2018, p.131) even going beyond (appearing to) break down gender barriers but also eliminating issues of social class, as working-class maidens were allowed to participate in such sports as rowing, which had previously been reserved for the elite, who could afford the training locales and equipment, through their BDM evening sports (Mouton, 2005, p.67-68).

The value of sports as a method of indoctrination and training – creating a strong sense of team spirit and 'Gemeinschaft', reuniting in competitions under National Socialist sports and banners – whilst being inexpensive and easy to organise and manage appears lost on the large part of women who are interviewed. On the one hand, memory is fickle. On the other, collective memory, particularly in Germany, tends to associate the National Socialist regime specifically and explicitly with the Holocaust, of which there is of course no link to the BDM, so the propagandistic nature of BDM activity is overlooked. Those who do remember the more nefarious elements – the oft brushed-off teaching of 'Rassengesetze' and exclusion of Jewish schoolfriends (Sahrakorpi, 2018, p.109-110), or the deeply nationalistic nature of the songs taught, which desensitised the girls singing along to the idea of a fascist dictatorship (Mouton, 2005, p.69) – instead claim victimhood 'as the naivety of childhood negates feelings of guilt about the Nazi period […] the consequences of Nazi education are rarely discussed outright.' One woman recalls being told to do a 'Hitlergruß' during a school Christmas play, the sole reference to National Socialism in her account of her BDM years (Sahrakorpi, 2018, p.112-13). Many others recall how distraught they were at the regime's fall, not because of any particular attachment to Hitler himself or his government, but because the HJ was outlawed by the Allies after the war, and they, therefore, lost all their new-found independence and friendships.

4. Political Girls, Non-Political Women

Often, when reading first-hand accounts, the BDM is remembered as being 'the best time of [the woman in question's] life' (Mouton, 2005, p.62-63). The uniform sticks out, as does the sense of community it presumed: '[it] reinforced the feeling of belonging by providing a visual demarcation of membership that girls were proud to show off' (Mouton, 2005, p.69). The BDM got young girls out of the house, and sometimes offered paths towards furthering their career where previously doors had been shut – those young girls who were troop and cohort leaders especially remember with pleasure the authority they wielded (Mouton, 2005, p.63). Yet, one question has to be raised: was the BDM effective, insofar as propaganda machines go? It was certainly effective in the sense that it unified the 'racially pure' young German girls into one group, one which marked them for years, through youthful activity and fun and games. The period of BDM participation would be defined by the National Socialists as 'adolescence', although for the women in question it was remembered more as a direct transition from the enjoyment of childhood into the concerns of an adult woman. This author would personally argue that these are the exact same thing, but the female memory-scape that is presented says otherwise (Sahrakorpi, 2018, p.112-113). Despite this, statistics present a material reality, which shows that the NS-Frauenschaft simply did not have the numbers that the BDM did. Scholars claim that while the BDM succeeded in creating a political youth of girls and young women, it failed in its role as an organ of the propaganda state (Mouton, 2005, p.65). The National Socialist views being conveyed were not completely absorbed; on the contrary, the BDM's emphasis on sport and emancipation may be seen as an unfortunate case of shooting oneself in the foot, as those girls who did not retire into private life or were forced out by the war, 'often the most dedicated BDM members—found that BDM policy itself encouraged them to challenge the adult gender roles National Socialism sought to promote' (Mouton, 2005, p.65). Furthermore, for all that the BDM encouraged women to stay at home and to become homemakers and child wranglers, on the contrary, employment numbers for women and girls went *up* in the 1930s and 1940s

– in part due to the need for workers when men were at war, but also due to a wider access to university accreditations and to the training being offered in BDM groups themselves, not only to become the socially-acceptable nurses, social workers and teachers, but other professions, too – 'Girls in the BDM were willing to work hard in the context of welfare programs, agricultural labour, and ultimately in myriad non-combat military roles – especially when doing so involved the company of other girls' (Mouton, 2005, p.79). BDM groups and 'Pflichtjahr' assignments encouraged young girls to do service work in households and help mothers with childrearing and chores, but the girls chose instead to take to the fields and the factories, preferring hard labour over the hardships of motherhood. Even Jutta Rüdiger, leader of the BDM from 1937 to 1945, was a psychologist and a lesbian who never had children herself despite promoting the pronatalist views of the Nazis for her entire career (Horst, 2013, p.256) – ultimately, even the leadership of the movement at the highest possible level did not practice what was being preached.

Conclusion

How, then, should modern historians approach the BDM? What is to be taken away from this institution's existence and the effect it had on German society and German children? Participation in the BDM was mandatory for nine out of the fifteen years that the BDM existed, so a stamp must have been left on the collective consciousness by it and its passing. Yet, few studies look into BDM with interest, and even fewer take into account first-hand testimonies, interdisciplinary approaches, or other methods of critical analysis. As comparisons to the Nazi political model and past are thrown around more and more commonly in the media, and the image of childhood changes with new technologies that are released, I think that examination of childhood in the past has a deeper value than simply fostering nostalgia – these things help us understand the generations that were shaped by those very childhoods, and the fact simply is that a great deal of women have never been questioned on how the BDM may have shaped them as people. More than that, considering that the National Socialist period is

considered by many to be 'overdone' and that there is not much left to write about, this is an entire swath of that history that has gone under-researched. What should be an essential step of the 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung'[3] has instead been left by the wayside – perhaps out of a gendered lack of interest in the experiences of girls; perhaps because the military nature of the National Socialist regime makes a look at the male HJ more interesting to mainstream academia. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that an entire generation of German girls took part, and for those women, the BDM was their childhood; the organisation structured it and had influence on it. On the one hand, it was an inherently political and propagandistic organisation, intending to raise a new generation of good, National Socialist homemakers; on the other, through organised sports, frequent meetings, and encouraging camaraderie and team-spirit, it instead emancipated those same girls, creating a culture of independence and ambition for a life beyond the homestead, a life where girls could be the equals of boys. Therefore, it can be said that the Bund Deutscher Mädel absolutely and undeniably politicised girlhood – but, it is argued, not necessarily in the way that the National Socialists hoped, nor planned.

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[3] 'Reckoning with the past', the term used for how modern Germans come to terms with the Nazi past specifically.

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Critiquing the usefulness of setting quotas in improving gender diversity in leadership positions

Linda Olivia Heyd[1]

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This essay analyses the relative usefulness of setting quotas for the purpose of improving gender diversity in leadership positions. The overall aim was to assess the effectiveness of quotas relative to other approaches towards this goal. Empirical evidence from case studies in Norway and Germany was examined in order to both practically, as well as theoretically assess how distinctive efforts affect gender diversity in leadership positions. In order to theoretically examine which different approaches could potentially address the lack of gender representation, it is essential to evaluate how female underrepresentation in leadership positions is fostered and perpetuated in the first place. Thus, this work discusses the underlying aspects of sex role stereotyping and discrimination in the workplace. Discussions surrounding this subject usually focus either on the so-called 'business case' or the moral argument on the need for gender representation. Therefore, the discussion is grouped into two categories: practical and normative arguments. Within this context, success stories from the implementation of gender quotas in Norway, as well as criticisms and accusations of tokenism and resulting stigmata are examined. To further assess the relative usefulness of quotas, evidence for their success was compared to the reported successes of voluntary targets and required reporting in different countries. It was found that despite some criticism surrounding practical application and some concerns surrounding stigmata, setting quotas has proven to be the most effective approach towards improving gender diversity in leadership positions thus far.

Introduction

In this essay, the usefulness of setting quotas in order to improve gender diversity in leadership positions will be critiqued. This will be done by first defining the concept of gender diversity, then touching on the underlying reasons for female underrepresentation in leadership positions, and ultimately critiquing the usefulness of quotas in addressing and

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[1] Linda Olivia Heyd studies Business Management and International Relations. She is especially interested in gender studies and overall identity politics, as well as practical implications within business studies. She is originally from Germany and spent years travelling and living in other countries before moving to Aberdeen.

combating these issues. This will be examined by analysing the empirical evidence in case studies concerning quota use, as well as by considering arguments for and against the utility of quotas. Lastly, the effectiveness of the quota approach will be compared to examples of other methods used to improve gender diversity.

The concept of gender diversity refers to the equal representation of people of different genders, which is usually defined by an equitable ratio of men and women (Sytsma, 2006, p.38). For the purpose of this work, the term gender diversity will be used to refer to the tightening of the gap between male and female representation in corporate leadership positions.

1. Context development

In order to critique the effectiveness of quotas, it is essential to evaluate how female underrepresentation in leadership positions is fostered and perpetuated in the first place. Discussions surrounding reasons for this imbalance sometimes include women's lack of ambition, experience, and commitment. However, these explanations have been disproven by empirical research, which suggests that underlying theories of social exclusion may offer more accurate insights on the reasons for the underrepresentation of women (Sing & Vinnicombe, 2004, p.479). According to Eagly and Heilman (2016, p.349) 'the most popular emphasis of research in this area, is that discrimination is the main obstacle that women face in becoming leaders.' Such discrimination often stems from causes such as sex role stereotyping, as many individuals associate leadership with male characteristics (Hoobler et al., 2011, p.151). Additionally, dated ideas of women being exclusively 'childrearers' and 'homemakers', but never career-orientated individuals outside of a family context (Klenke, 1996, pp.2-3) play a role as well. Discriminating against an applicant because of gender has been made illegal in most democratic nations throughout the last few decades (True, 2010, p.376), yet the problem of female underrepresentation has not disappeared as a result; internationally, there is a large imbalance in gender diversity in leadership positions. On average, only 13% of board members in industrialised markets and only 8.8% in emerging markets are female

(MSCI, 2014, p.18). According to Hoobler et al. (2011) the problem is a circular one: The existing underrepresentation of women in leadership positions signals women in lower-level positions that upper-level positions are unattainable, preventing them from applying (p.151). This contributes to the so-called 'glass ceiling', the invisible barrier that prevents women from entering senior leadership positions (French et al., 2015, p.45). Subsequently, it appears that the issue of female underrepresentation in leadership positions will not be solved without intervention. This is detrimental for the female workforce, as well as for organisations, as they miss out on the opportunity to capitalise on the potential and skills of a large percentage of their employees (Hoobler et al., 2011, p.151). Therefore, this article will critique the usefulness of gender quotas under two assumptions. Firstly, the assumption that increasing gender diversity is a desirable outcome, and secondly, that discrimination plays a fundamental role in the underrepresentation of women on boards (Cabo et al., 2010, p.77).

A gender quota is defined as 'a positive measurement instrument aimed at accelerating the achievement of gender-balanced participation and representation by establishing a defined proportion (percentage) or number of places or seats to be filled by, or allocated to, women and/or men, generally under certain rules or criteria' (EIGE, 2019), also sometimes referred to as positive action. Quotas can be used to correct gender imbalances with the use of penalties for non-compliance. However, a female applicant can only be preferentially chosen, when applicants are equally qualified (EIGE, 2019).

A relevant, suitable case study can be found in Norway, which introduced its law on quotas in 2003 and fully implemented it by 2008. The law requires businesses to have a gender balance of at least 40/60. Over the course of 12 years (2002 to 2014), the percentage of female board members in Norway increased from 6 to roughly 41 percent (Teigen, 2015, p.3). Empirical evidence indicates that increased representation of female directors offers a 'fertile ground for women to take top leadership positions' such as boards chairs or CEOs (Wang & Kelan 2013, p.449). This rapid increase in female representation is essentially unparalleled. Comparing these results to the results of countries that chose different approaches, such

as the UK and Australia, shows that countries that introduced quotas, such as Norway and France, consistently report higher levels of women on corporate boards compared to countries that introduced other methods, such as targets or required reporting (Ekin, 2018). While this may appear as a resounding success and a clear answer to the given question, there are still opponents critiquing quotas' relative effectiveness beyond indicative statistics. The discussions surrounding these criticisms can be grouped into two categories: Normative and practical arguments. Firstly, the practical category will be considered.

2. Discussion

2.1 Practical categories

It is often asserted that women who are 'preferentially selected' carry a certain stigma due to a sense of tokenism (Pratkanis & Turner, 1996, p.111). This stems from the idea that women are looked down on because of the notion that they only hold a position because of their gender, rather than talent. This can negatively impact work motivation, organisational culture and retention (Kohout & Pion, 1990, p.155). Furthermore, it was found that in some cases, female board members hired during the implementation of the quota in Norway held multiple board member positions simultaneously (Seierstad and Opsahl, 2011, p.46). Consequently, rather than elevating more women to leadership positions, these so-dubbed 'golden skirts' were used to comply with the quota. It follows that while there is a higher percentage of female board members, fewer women were elevated than the numbers might suggest. Moreover, the negative connotations attached to the label 'golden skirt' further stigmatised female board members (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011, p.47).

Deschamps (2018) argues that quotas ignore basic skill differences between the genders and fail to address outside influences, such as differences in investment in human capital, unequal distribution of household labour or psychological differences (p.3). However, besides the fact that research has shown that women and men are equally effective as leaders (Sindig et al., 2018, p.454), this argument blatantly ignores the fact

that by law, only applicants of equal qualifications may be hired through positive action. As will become evident throughout this work, several arguments against quotas ignore this fact.

Espinzoa (2010) argues that quotas do not resolve the underlying problem of discrimination and puts forward that rather than using them, there should be 'female-development programs' put in place. These would include activities that mentor women through networking and education in order to facilitate long-term change. However, it can be contended that quotas do address the underlying problem, as elevating women into visible leadership position can serve as a signal to other women and motivate them to apply for these positions. This results in a more diverse pool of applicants and thereby discourages discriminatory hiring processes. Additionally, countries who implemented quotas, such as Norway, implemented female education programs in combination with quotas (Teigen, 2015, p.7), therefore showing that the employment of one method does not necessarily prevent or invalidate another.

2.2 Normative categories

Hence, arguments of a normative nature will be considered next. Three arguments commonly made surrounding quota utility and justice can be taken from the public debate that occurred during the implementation process in Norway.

Firstly, the so-called 'justice argument', sees the strong male-dominance on boards as unjust treatment towards women because of justice being the redistribution of resources. Therefore, supporters of this argument reason that the gender quota is a necessary tool to achieve gender equality and consequently, justice (Teigen, 2015, p.9). To counter this argument, it was contended that favouring a candidate based on their gender would unfairly discriminate against men (Teigen, 2015, p.4). However, besides the fact that there are strict legal conditions surrounding the use of the quota which protect men from discrimination, it should be noted that women are actively being discriminated against (and have been for centuries), whereas men have historically been treated preferentially.

Secondly, the 'utility argument' rests on the assumption that the total talent potential is equally distributed across the genders. This means that the fact that women are vastly underrepresented on boards suggests that their talents are not being utilised. Quotas can contribute towards alleviating this, appealing to the profit-driven motivation behind gender equality. This argument was countered with the claim that the implementation of gender quotas would cause less competent women to replace competent men, due to the assumption that women did not possess the relevant skills by the time the quota would take effect (Teigen, 2015, p.9). This argument suggests that an earlier intervention in the organisational hierarchy could create a pool of qualified, experienced women. However, this would not be effective in the presence of male-favouring hiring practices and blindly ignores the fact that positive action is only legal when both applicants hold equal qualifications.

Lastly, the 'democracy argument', is concerned with the notion that gender-balanced participation in economic decision-making is an indispensable driver for democracy, especially when it comes to the boards of the biggest, most influential, commonly state-owned companies. This is often countered with the claim that the democratic rights of recruiters are being infringed on by being 'forced' to hire candidates according to the quota and not according to whom they deem best suited for the job (Teigen, 2015, p.9). However, once more, considering that positive action is only legally permitted when applicants are equally qualified, this argument can be countered with the notion that wanting the freedom to choose the male applicant as 'best suited' between two equally qualified applicants (with the only differentiating factor being gender) indicates a bias against women, as being 'best suited' outside of qualifications is a subjective concept.

Due to the considerable debate surrounding quotas, alternatives should be considered. Companies such as Volkswagen have received praise for their voluntary, unique approaches to increase gender diversity in leadership positions through family friendly policies that support female employees (Volkswagen, 2016). Quota adversaries argue that such voluntary methods, along with targets or required reporting, are better approaches to increase gender diversity on boards as they leave businesses to be innovative and self-determined, allowing business-led change through accountability

(Prügl & True, 2014, p.1144). Additionally, the voluntary approach is believed to minimise the stigma experienced by female board members. However, this can be contended. Since company boards are historically 'boys clubs' and prevalent female stereotypes still exist; female board members are likely to experience stigma no matter how they attained their positions. Opponents of voluntary measures also raise the argument that those in power, in this case male leaders, will never voluntarily give up their positions of power in order to increase diversity, as those in power historically make decisions that secure their position (Gil et al., 2008, p.230).

An insightful case study for the debate between quotas, targets and required reporting can be found in Germany. In 2001, following resistance towards a proposed quota, the German government introduced a voluntary target approach. Ten years after targets were introduced, only 5.1% of supervisory board shareholders representatives and only 3.01% of management board positions of 160 German indexed companies were female (Rushton, 2016). Following this, voluntary reporting requirements were introduced in 2011, but figures in 2015 showed negligible improvements (Lagerberg, 2015). Again, in roughly the same time frame, Norway managed to achieve an increase of over 30% through their quota (Teigen, 2015, p.8). Finally, in 2015, the German government passed legislation mandating a 30% quota of female representation on non-executive boards of listed firms. This led to a notable increase in female board representation, companies affected by the law saw an increase to 22%, whereas companies unaffected (unlisted) sat at only 13% (Burrow et al., 2018, p.2). Due to the legislation only applying to listed firms, this unique example offers a direct comparison of different approaches in the same environment (Germany) and strongly indicates that quotas are far more effective in increasing gender diversity than targets or required reporting.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while there are both supporters and opponents concerning the implementation of mandatory hiring quotas, an overwhelming amount of evidence points toward the fact that quotas are

effective in increasing gender diversity in leadership positions. The empirical evidence presented in this work clearly shows that no other approach has delivered comparable results to increase gender diversity. Considering the normative aspects of the debate; many arguments against quotas assert that hiring should be gender-blind and only qualifications and skills should be deciding factors. However, these arguments completely ignore how legislation surrounding quotas works. As legislation guarantees that preferential treatment based on gender can only take place when equal qualifications are present, hiring is, in fact, based on qualification. These arguments can therefore easily be invalidated. Therefore, it is the conclusion of this work that the benefits of mandatory hiring quotas far outweigh any drawbacks. Consequently, they are not only a useful approach to improve gender diversity in leadership positions, but moreover, they are the most effective approach available now.

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Children as the 'forgotten victims' of domestic abuse: an analysis of the significance of the Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018

Arch Mitchell Whyte[1]

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Children are often described as the 'forgotten victims' in domestic abuse situations. In recent decades, the once distinct spheres of domestic violence and child (dis)welfare have begun to overlap. An extensive body of research has emerged which indicates that witnessing adult-to-adult domestic violence is as psychologically detrimental to children as the most severe forms of physical child maltreatment, in the short and long term alike. Adopting these findings as a benchmark, recent changes to legislation introduced by the Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018 are evaluated to establish whether they successfully address this problem. This investigation focuses on the significance of the Section 5 aggravating factor and seeks to demonstrate how gaps left in the law prior to the commencement of the 2018 Act are addressed. It criticises the limitations of the criminal law as an insufficient weapon in the fight against domestic abuse and examines the ways in which the 2018 Act connects the criminal and civil law disciplines. Finally, it highlights the need for further legislative reform to construct a national statutory definition of domestic abuse which concedes the far-reaching impact of domestic abuse on children.

Introduction

'The human rights of children and the standards to which all governments must aspire in realising these rights for all children are set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child'

Sommerfeld v Germany, 2004

For many years, domestic violence and child welfare have been seen as separate and unconnected issues. Different philosophies and theories, different ways of working, and different priorities were characterised and contained in each sphere (Featherstone & Trinder, 1997). Since the 1970s,

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[1] Archie Mitchell Whyte is a third year LL.B. student at the University of Aberdeen. He is the 2017-18 winner of the Fullerton Prize for Legal Studies, awarded annually to the best student in Level 1 Legal Method. Upon completion of his DPLP he aspires to practice in the private client sector, specialising in family law or asset and wealth management.

these distinctive spheres have begun to overlap as attention has 'expanded beyond violence between adults to explore the linkages between adult violence and child (dis)welfare' (Featherstone & Trinder, 1997).

The Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018 (herein after 'the 2018 Act') is representative of the incremental implementation of many of the key provisions and principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which the Scottish Government has committed to incorporating into domestic law (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018). The 2018 Act seeks to improve how the justice system deals with domestic abuse by creating a statutory offence of domestic abuse against a partner or ex-partner, and making changes to criminal procedure, evidence and sentencing in domestic abuse cases (Hughes, 2019). Laudably, it privileges victims' narratives and recognises, for the first time, that domestic abuse is experienced as a continuum (Forbes, 2018). Paramount to the discussion herein, Section 5 of the 2018 Act also includes an aggravating factor if children are involved (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018).

This article evaluates the consequences of the 2018 Act on children in domestic abuse situations. Specifically, it will seek to demonstrate that the impact of the aggravating factors fills gaps present in the law prior to the 1st of April 2019 (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018). It will also discuss the effect of the legislation on civil areas of the law such as residency and child protection law, the limitations of the 2018 Act, and suggest further reforms necessary to better protect the 'forgotten victims' of domestic abuse.

1. Children as the 'forgotten victims' of domestic abuse

One in five children has been exposed to domestic abuse (Radford et al, 2011). Despite this, children who witness violence between adults in their homes are only the most recent domestic abuse victims to be acknowledged (Edleson, 1999). These children have been called the 'silent', 'forgotten' and 'unintended' victims of adult-to-adult domestic violence because they are not the primary casualty of the abuse (Elbow, 1982). However, there exists an extensive body of research which indicates that witnessing (not physically experiencing) violence is in itself psychologically damaging to children

(Featherstone & Trinder, 1997). An understanding of the authoritative literature on how children witness domestic abuse is foundational to policy development and essential to critically analysing legislative performance.

Witnessing a violent event is most commonly defined as 'being within visual range of the violence and seeing it occur' (Edleso, 1999, p.840). However, Ganley and Schechter (1996) highlight several additional ways that children experience adult domestic violence. These include hitting or threatening a child while in the primary victim's arms; taking the child hostage to force the victim's return to the family home; forcing the child to watch assaults against the victim partner or to participate in the abuse; and using the child as a spy or interrogating him or her about the victim partner's activities. 'Any definition of witnessing violence must include all these various ways in which children experience an abusive event' (Edleson, 1999, p.841).

The law must seek to protect children from the effects of exposure to adult-to-adult domestic abuse. Studies report a series of childhood problems statistically associated with a child's witnessing of domestic violence. The impacts on the social and emotional development as well as the physiological and physical development of child witnesses of domestic violence are 'unending' (Howell et al, 2016) and research shows the impact can begin as early as conception and carry on throughout adulthood depending on the severity of the trauma (Curran, 2013). Child witnesses of domestic violence exhibit more aggressive and antisocial behaviours as well as fearful and inhibited 'internalised behaviours' and show lower social competence than other children (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Children who witnessed violence also have been found to show more anxiety, depression, trauma symptoms, and temperament problems than children who did not witness violence at home (Hughes et al, 1989).

There is also some support for the hypothesis that children from violent families of origin carry violent and violence-tolerant roles to their adult intimate relationships (Widom, 1989). Jaffe, Wilson and Wolfe (1986) suggest that children's exposure to adult domestic violence may generate attitudes justifying their own use of violence and are more likely to go on to commit violent acts towards others.

2. Protection from exposure prior to the 2018 Act

Children in Scotland have a right to be looked after and protected by their parents. They also have a right to be protected *from* their parents and the state has a duty to look after children by providing that protection (Cleland & Sutherland, 2009). Three principles, first articulated coherently in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 ('the 1995 Act'), now permeate Scots child law. The first and most fundamental principle requires courts, children's hearings and other agencies of the state to accord paramountcy to the child's welfare, save in very limited circumstances. A degree of respect for the child's liberty is found in the second principle, requiring decision-makers to give children the opportunity to express their views and to take account of these views in the light of the child's age and maturity. The third principle also reflects respect for liberty, this time by mandating that no court order should be made unless making the order would be better for the child than not doing so (Children (Scotland) Act, 1995; 2011).

The 'welfare principle' is in fact one that has characterised Scottish child law since 1925 (Green, 2009). Treating the child's welfare as paramount offsets the danger either of adopting the assumption that the interests of children and their parents are necessarily the same, or of adult rights simply being prioritised over those of children (Sutherland, 2019). The 1995 Act created a comprehensive framework of parental rights and responsibilities and a regime governing their acquisition, operation and regulation and the resolution of disputes that, in turn, furthered the protection of children by articulating the nature of duties owed to them and by whom (Sutherland, 2019).

Yet Scots law does not define welfare. Sutherland criticises that in Scotland there is 'no statutory "welfare checklist" of the kind found in many other jurisdictions' (Sutherland, 2018, p.22). It was not until the 1995 Act was amended, in 2006, with courts being directed to pay special attention to the need to protect the child from exposure to domestic abuse when assessing welfare, that the law in Scotland showed any sort of recognition of the harm caused to children as the secondary victims of domestic abuse (Children

(Scotland) Act, 1995). This statutory obligation fails to comprehensively recognise children as victims of domestic abuse and dismisses the harmful consequences of exposure to partner-to-partner violence.

3. Evaluation of The Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018

The 2018 Act 'fundamentally changed the law' by creating a specific criminal offence of domestic abuse (Hughes, 2019). Implementation of the Act was partially a response to criticism that 'the [previous] laws used to prosecute domestic abuse did not always reflect the experience of victims, especially those suffering on-going severe emotional or psychological abuse, which may be understood as "coercive control" (Stark, 2009), by their partner or ex-partner' (McCallum, 2017).

Despite the Scottish Government having a gendered policy (Scottish Government, 2015) on domestic abuse, recognising it as a form of violence against women, the 2018 Act is gender neutral, thus it applies regardless of who is engaging in the course of behaviour or who the victim is. The gateway requirement for the new criminal offence domestic abuse is that there be a 'course of behaviour' (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018). The abusive behaviour is not to be based on one incident alone but must have occurred repeatedly over a period of time. The 2018 Act defines 'abusive behaviour' very broadly. The concept of 'abusive behaviour' incorporates not only violent, threatening, frightening, humiliating and degrading behaviour -but also any behaviour which gives rise to dependency in the relationship, subordination, regulation or monitoring of the partner's behaviour, or which restricts the abused partner's 'freedom of action' (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018).

The offence in the 2018 Act does not seek to deal directly with child abuse.[2] By preference, the Act includes an aggravating factor if 'at any time in the commission of the offence' the person engaging in the course of abusive behaviour directs behaviour at a child; or makes use of a child in directing behaviour at the primary victim(Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act,

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[2] Abuse of a child is already a criminal offence which can be prosecuted under the section 12 offence in the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act 1937.

2018). The inclusion of an aggravation in relation to a child should be celebrated as the law responding to children's experiences of domestic abuse, such as that identified by Ganley and Schechter (1996). In this way, the 2018 Act successfully responds to the condemnation of earlier laws that failed to recognise the destabilising impact which domestic abuse has on children.

The aggravation is intended to ensure the new offence effectively captures the seriousness of perpetrators involving children in domestic abuse. Section 5(5) states that a child is a person under 18 years of age who is not either the perpetrator or the victim of the offence (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018). The child aggravation is therefore only engaged when the child in question is a third party. This section reflects the harm that can be caused to a child who grows up in an environment where domestic abuse is taking place by providing that the offence is aggravated where a child sees, hears or is present during an incident that happens as part of the abuse (Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act, 2018). This shows that the drafters of the legislation have responded to extensive expert conclusions and the substantial body of research suggesting that *witnessing* domestic abuse extends far beyond simply seeing the abusive act unfold.

Though many have welcomed the inclusion of a statutory aggravator, there remain criticisms that further legislative protection for children is required. Some submit that the Section 5 aggravator still does not reflect the full harm done to children through domestic abuse (MCallum, 2017, p.16). Others would have preferred to see a parallel criminal offence of domestic abuse against children to be included, and remain concerned that failing to intimately recognise children as victims of coercive and controlling behaviour within the proposed offence will make children less visible to services and places them at greater risk of continued abuse by the perpetrator (McCallum, 2017, p.17).

It has long been recognised that 'the criminal law is an insufficient weapon in the fight against domestic abuse, not least because it is necessarily reactive rather than protective' (Norrie, 2011, p. 16-17). The civil law attempts to provide some prospective protection, but there are well-recognised limitations to its effectiveness. However, some authors believe that the 2018 Act will create a useful bridge between the two disciplines

(Hughes, 2019). For example, sheriffs are now more likely to take note of the non-violent, coercive and controlling behaviours when contemplating the welfare considerations of children in contact[3] and residence cases. Many sheriffs draw a distinction in the behaviour between the adult parties of an abusive relationship and their behaviour towards the child. The aggravator links the abusive behaviour between two individuals and the child. Therefore, it is now anticipated that domestic abuse in the past relationship will not so easily be ringfenced from the, perhaps, good behaviour towards the child where the parties are now separated. In particular, if there has been a conviction of domestic abuse with the aggravation, it would be misguided for a civil court to overlook the behaviour simply because the parties are no longer in the abusive relationship, due to its credible injurious effect on the child's wellbeing.

4. Is more reform necessary?

It is submitted that the fundamental principles underpinning Scots child law are dependable. The challenge for the legal system lies in ensuring they work better, or work at all, across the board, something recently confirmed by the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2018). It must be acknowledged that steps have been made to recognise the seriousness of domestic abuse. A pivotal moment in policing was in 2013 when Chief Constable Stephen House declared domestic abuse to be one of the three priorities for Police Scotland. The reframing of domestic abuse as a violent crime – a decisive and gladly received transition from the previous legal framework, in which there was no statutory criminal offence of 'domestic abuse' or statutory definition of what constituted domestic abuse – provided recognition of the seriousness of the offence for both the general public and police officers (Lombard & Whiting, 2018).

However, both the 2003 definition volunteered by the then Scottish Executive's Strategy to Address Domestic Abuse (Scottish Government,

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[3] N.B: The Inner House of the Court of Session has held that there is no presumption that contact with a parent is in the best interests of a child. See *White v White* 2001 SLT 485, at para 491 per Lord Rodger.

2015), and the 2013 definition currently worked to by Police Scotland and the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (2019), irresponsibly neglect the victimisation of children. Concerns about the psychological abuse, as distinct from physical abuse or neglect, of a child using the 2018 offence were dismissed due to doubts as to the extent to which it would be possible to prosecute on psychological grounds alone.

Many feel this approach is insufficient and there have been calls for further legislative protection for children. For example, a submission from Barnardo's Scotland expressed concerns that 'the aggravator as currently drafted does not reflect the full experience of harm done to children through domestic abuse' (McCallum, 2017, p.16). Children 1st criticised that 'failing to recognise children as victims of coercive and controlling behaviour within the proposed offence will make children less visible to services and place them at greater risk of continued abuse by the perpetrator' (McCallum, 2017, p.17).

If a definition is stretched too wide, even with the good intention of not excluding potential victims and perpetrators of abuse, its explanatory power diminishes. This was the case of the Welsh strategy definition (Welsh Government, 2016). Moreover, as emphasised by Scottish Women's Aid in their response to the Equally Safe consultation (Scottish Government, 2015), broadening the offence to include other family members could dilute, and distract from, an understanding of domestic abuse as a symptom and cause of gender inequality.

It is outlandish that in the reconstruction of the law in this sphere a common definition of domestic abuse was not concurrently introduced. This article urges that Scotland swiftly agrees a national statutory definition of domestic abuse. Any proposed statutory definition of domestic abuse must take account of the impact of domestic abuse on children.

Conclusion

It is 'an unpalatable truth that the greatest source of actual danger to children, in Scotland, and other developed countries, at any rate, is located within the very context in which they should be at their safest, that is to say

their family environment' (Cleland & Sutherland, 2009, p.7). There is a need for the state to intervene in order to ensure that all children have an effective right to both care and protection. New legislation demonstrates a paradigm shift in how society and courts view domestic abuse. The 2018 Act is a positive symbol of legislative intent to recognise all experiences of domestic abuse. The Section 5 aggravation regarding children is particularly welcome. The harm caused to children from living with domestic violence is now widely recognised in research literature and 'there is a substantial overlap between domestic violence and the most severe forms of child maltreatment' (Radford et al, 2011, p. 47). The extent of change is not just in the criminal justice sphere but will likely influence how the civil courts deal with such matters as well. Where the law is still crying out for transformation, a wide range of non-governmental organisations and individuals are active in lobbying for reform. This abundance of interest will undoubtedly produce priceless recommendations for law reform. If Scotland fails to get the substantive law right, 'it will not be for the want of trying' (Sutherland, 2019, p.11).

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Painting Modernity: Léger and Post-World War I Euphoria

Velia Cavallini[1]

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French artist Fernand Léger lived through the 20th Century and managed to capture the ever-changing mood of the different decades. He fought in the trenches during the First World War, and was injured and hospitalised in 1917. As France won the war, between 1918 and 1920 Paris experienced a second Belle Époque, a time of great euphoria in which the ways of modernity translated into a fast-paced, hard-working and leisure-filled life. Léger's works from those years are, for us, a window on the past, from which to observe the overall sense of euphoria. In his works he poured his lingering trauma and his love for human and modern life. The essay contextualises and analyses a selection of his works from 1917 to 1920, from the end of the War to the onset of the rationality and rigour of the Call to Order.

Fernand Léger is one of the most representative French and European artists of the first half of the twentieth century. He was born in Argentan, Normandy, in 1881 and died in the Parisian suburbs in 1955. Although throughout his life he struggled for his art to be recognised and accepted, his body of work is indicative of the ever-changing social and political climate of the time. Léger's art is deeply influenced by the surrounding environment, and it is possible to recognise in it the different events and collective moods that characterised the 1900s until his death. He moved to Paris at the turn of the century, where he entered the brisk cultural and artistic scene and was overcome by the ways of modernity (Herbert, 2002). He experimented with Cubism and earned his place amongst the Orphists[2] of Delaunay, exploring the simultaneity of events and stimuli of the modern, industrial urban life through his art, characterised by a sense of joy and optimism towards the future.

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[1] Velia Cavallini is a fourth-year MA student of Film and Visual Culture and History of Art. Before enrolling at the University of Aberdeen, she earned a BA in Industrial Design. She is particularly interested in the ways visual arts and design relate to politics, and how they affect everyday life. She intends to continue her academic studies in 20th Century and Contemporary Art and share her passion with others.

[2] Orphism is a cubist influence style that used abstraction to explore colour and light (The Museum of Modern Art, henceforth MoMa).

However, his dream of a rosy future was brutally guillotined by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, and Léger himself was drafted. He fought in the carnage of the Battle of Verdun against the German army in 1916, during which he was gassed and subsequently hospitalised until 1918 (Herbert, 2002). The war, strongly affected Léger and his art, influencing his aesthetics and choice of subject-matter. Still, he maintained his sharp observational skills and his rousing energy. Both during his convalescence and after the end of the war he managed to capture the overall spirit of the French nation, more specifically of Paris. As France, after winning the bloodiest conflict the world had seen so far, was experiencing a time of rebirth. What can be observed through his artistic output between 1918 and 1920 is the mood of profound euphoria of the French people. The paper will examine the historical and social context, focusing on the communal experience of euphoria that seeps through a selection of Léger works dated 1918-1920 in order to further demonstrate how iconic and representative of its time Léger's oeuvre is.

When talking about the period of time immediately following a war, euphoria is hardly the first thing that is brought to one's attention. It is important to remember that not only France won the war, but also that it played a crucial role in the negotiation for the peace treaty that ended the conflict. Moreover, France is certainly second to no one when it comes to large national egos. Before the outbreak of the First World War, Paris was the western omphalós[3] of art, culture and entertainment. The conflict was initially thought to be a Blitzkrieg and to be won in a matter of a few weeks - a hope soon shattered by the excruciating protraction of the bloodshed (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). Nonetheless, Paris was once more the centre of the world when the peace conference was there held in 1918, a role further confirmed in June of 1919 when the peace treaty was signed in the Palace of Versailles (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). That year the military review for Bastille Day became a victory march, a celebration of France as a free country and as the most powerful European nation (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). France was living a new industrial revolution, with the enhancement

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[3] Omphalós meaning the centre of the world in Greek (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

of the railway network and the increasing production and distribution of cars, thus facilitating the movement of people and the exchange of ideas and further heightening the experience of modern life (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). The 1920s were characterised by the slow recognition and acceptance of a severe lack of political, financial and social stability, but in the two years following the war France knew a sort of new Belle Époque, in which the overall spirits were permeated by a sense of hope and euphoria (Johnson & Johnson, 1987).

As previously stated, Fernand Léger fought in the Battle of Verdun, which lasted for ten months and was nothing more than a deliberate attempt from the German army to slash the French morale (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). As a result, Verdun was elevated to symbolise the tragedy and horror of the war, and France in its entirety started to believe that if they could survive Verdun, they could survive anything and everything, in a parallel with the Nietzschean Übermensch[4] (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). In 1949 Léger wrote about the war as a life-changing experience, 'both as a man and as a painter', that not only freed him from the artistic bubble of abstraction that he felt was Paris at the time, but also levelled him with the 'whole French people', a rich array of exemplary men that gave him the 'exact sense of the meaning of practical reality' and of the 'life and death struggle into which [they] were plunged' (De Francia, 1983, p.31). The experience of the war deepened his fascination with the machine, a theme that he already started exploring alongside with Picabia in the early 1910s, as he was 'suddenly stunned' by the reflection of the sunlight on the metal of the artillery (De Francia, 1983, p.31).

Right up until 1913 his artistic development was bringing him to an almost complete formal abstraction of the subjects, but life in the trenches triggered an epiphany for which he 'really seized the reality of objects' (De Francia, 1983, p.31). Once he touched the material interconnection between the authentic French people and the machinery they were living with and

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[4] In his *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche theorised the *Übermensch* as a goal, a state for humanity to reach. The `Beyond-Man` was capable of surviving the death of God and the old moral values – in this case France and Europe as people at the time knew it – and was creating a new set of values to live by (Encyclopedia Britannica).

surviving on, he resolved to give his work the same materiality and spirit (De Francia, 1983). This resulted in the development of a specific aesthetics that combined man and machine, a continuation of Léger's Tubism, that is clearly shown in *Soldiers Playing Cards* (figure 1), painted in 1917 in Villepinte during his convalescence.

Figure 1: Léger, *Soldiers Playing Cards*
1917, Kröller-Müller Museum

Here, reality is fragmented, the perspective planes are ambiguous, and space is only intimated. The soldiers are anonymous mechanomorphic[5] creatures whose limbs and features are separated and re-composed in a beyond-cubist manner, their graphic fragmentation certainly resembling a representation of their physical injuries. Although it could also be interpreted as a harsh comment on the conditions of the wounded veterans, reduced to broken and used war machinery, the painting is a rousing celebration. Léger portrays heroes, beyond-men whose medals and uniforms are starkly recognisable, enjoying a moment of leisure that they earned. Once he was dismissed from the hospital Léger poured himself into his creative work. Strengthened by his newly found focus brought to him by the war,[6] his main inspiration was Paris, once again bursting with life and optimism, and its new industrially advanced modern way of living.

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[5] *Mechanomorphic* is the authors own word, meaning machine shaped.
[6] Léger in 1922, about the war's impact on him: 'I saw things clearly. I am not afraid to say candidly that the war brought about my fulfilment' (Diehl, 1985, p.23).

It is always necessary to take in account that Léger was not only an artist but had experience both as an engineer and an architect, so it is not surprising that from 1918 he fully embraced the 'Machine Age' and its aesthetics (Diehl, 1985, p.23). This was an exaltation of the coexistence of man and man-made, as it can clearly be seen in works such as *Propellers* (figure 2) and *The Disks* (figure 3), both painted between 1918 and 1919.
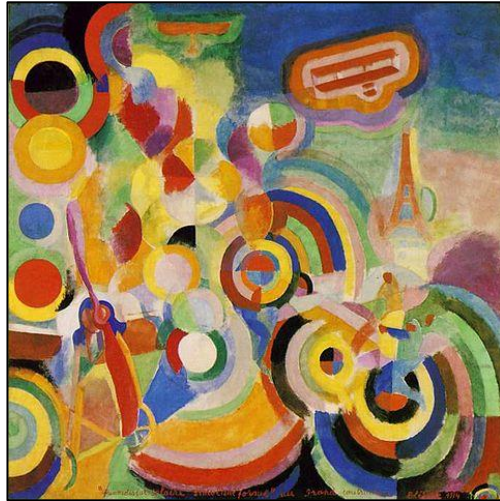

**Figure 2: Léger, *Propellers*
1918, MoMA**

**Figure 3: Léger, *The Disks*
1918-19, MoMA**

While colour was slowly but progressively disappearing from his works before 1914,[7] here it is back at full force, showing that Léger had fully assimilated the impressionist lesson on the use of complementary colours to achieve the most striking contrasts, which he used to create a loud, clashing effect that well conveys the hubbub of activities of the modern city. Both *Propellers* and *Disks* reference to Delaunay's 1914 *Homage to Blériot* (figure 4), which celebrated the achievement of the pilot and of the aviation industry, symbol of the energy and positivity of what modernity was right before the war.

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[7] As it can be seen in *The Smokers* (Léger, 1912).

**Figure 4: Delaunay, *Homage to Blériot*
1914, Kunstmuseum Basel**

Already prior to 1914 Léger realised that a sharp contrast corresponded to a high level of expressivity: in *Propellers* he took the aviation motif to insert it into a highly fragmented composition, a whirlwind of colours, sharp angles, harsh lights and ambiguous space to convey the chaotic energy of the machine. Disks is a purely geometrical, almost abstract, poster-like composition that juxtaposes Delaunay's iconic colourful circles in the foreground to a black and white grid-like background[8] in a highly compressed space. It is easy to connect those circular shapes to the roundels of war planes, but the use of such different bright colours sends a very precise message: the very first war to be fought by air was over, and it was time for the people to take control of the prodigious modern technology to create something new and positive. The overall feeling that these works spark is one of chaotic energy, of encompassing euphoria.

In his years working alongside Delaunay, Léger studied the modern concept of urban simultaneity, which was even heightened in the post-1918 Paris. Although France as a nation, very similarly to the rest of Europe, had

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[8] The Mondrianesque grid will become a recurring motif for Léger, as seen in *The Mechanic* (Léger, 1920).

paid the war an incredibly high human cost, Paris was heavily populated because of the increasing number of factories, which only added to the already rich human and cultural panorama of the city (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). That meant that the modern urban experience was at any given moment a chaotic combination of events, visuals, sounds and human and mechanic experiences, to be represented in all its raw energy and power. Between 1918 and 1920 Léger thoroughly explored the concept of simultaneity, as shown in *The City* (figure 5) and *The Tugboat* (figure 6). The paintings are the culmination of two different series of the same subjects, proof of the borderline-obsessive fascination of the artist with the theme. Both present a syncopated rhythm of shapes and colours, in which the fragmentation of the perspective planes allows for the accurate expression of the whirlwind of activities represented.

Figure 5: Léger, *The City*
1919, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Figure 6: Léger, *The Tugboat*
1920, The Musée de Grenoble

While for the past decade Cubism had developed Cézanne's multiple point of views, showing the same object from many different perspectives, Léger here showed on the bidimensional canvas not only different angles of the same event, but a dynamic, intensely deconstructed representation of many different events happening at the same time[9] (Green, 1976). In both paintings the exaltation of the unyielding activities is conveyed through, again, a clash of different shapes and flat complementary colours. Humanity is represented by grey mechanomorphic figures, completely anonymous. Although the figures closely resemble De Chirico's late 1910s mannequins, Léger was not at all interested in the metaphysical exploration of isolation and inability to communicate. Anonymity was a mere consequence of the exhilarating and fast-paced urban lifestyle. Humanity, in Léger's vision, was deeply interconnected with the blinding electrical lights, the harsh verticality of the crowded buildings and of the trellises, with the smoke from the factories and the colours and messages of the billboards. After the forced halt caused by the war, the urban life was proliferating again, as the people were euphorically making the best out of what Paris offered.

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[9] Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Léger`s life-long friend and first art dealer, defines the painter as 'undoubtedly one of the four great Cubists' (1950, p.64).

Observing his work, it is clear that the war, and Léger's closeness to his fellow soldiers, brought him to the conscious decision to never exclude the human figure from his work. Even if what he was really interested in was the plasticity of the human body rather than the psychology of the individual,[10] it was impossible for him to separate man from his social role and his interconnection with the machine. When portrayed on his own, momentarily extrapolated from the wider urban context, man is represented as a worker, back from the front and the trenches, finally back in control of his life. *The Typographer* (figure 7), painted between 1918 and 1919, and *The Mechanic* (figure 8), painted between 1919 and 1920, are severely different both stylistically and conceptually, but linked by the significance of the subject`s occupation.

**Figure 7: Léger, *The Typographer*
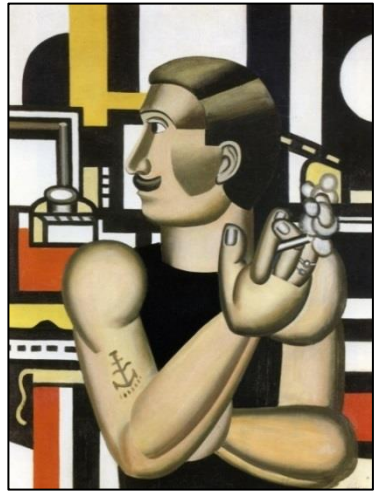1918-19, Metropolitan Museum**

**Figure 8: Léger, *The Mechanic*
1920, National Gallery of Canada**

The cultural events and entertainment activities that characterised the swirling Parisian social life were advertised through newspapers and billboards, thus the role of the typographer was crucial in the modern urban

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[10] As it became clearer and clearer in the 1920s, when Léger joined the Esprit Nouveau and followed the 'Call to Order', when he started rationalising the human figure and portraying its monumental solidity, like in the 1921-22 *Le Grand Déjeuner* (Herbert, 2002, p.115-141).

society. Léger portrayed the anonymous worker in his distinctive tubist style and brought it almost to abstraction by the dramatic fragmentation of the planes and the figure. The worker`s only recognisable mechanomorphic features are an ear and an arm, which give the viewer's eye the coordinates to visualise the rest of the figure, portrayed from the back while at work on a bold red and white lettering. The role of the typographer is given great importance by the large scale of the painting and the brilliance of the colours, almost a billboard in itself. As aforementioned, the beating heart of the city was the working class. Although in *The Mechanic* one can already notice the mood that will lead, in a few months, to the strive for stability of the `Call to Order`, the relief and euphoria of the first post-war years is still prominently visible (De Francia, 1983, p.75-76). The mechanic, conversely, to the typographer, is shown in a moment of leisure while smoking a cigarette. Leisure is extremely important in Léger's representation of modernity: it is not a desperate attempt to escape, but something that is earned through hard work and aided by the human invention and use of the machine, that works relentlessly and allows the modern man to enjoy his life (Herbert, 2002). The second industrial revolution was not exploiting human labour: it was wisely using technology for human benefit.

Continuing with the analysis of his work in the first few years following Verdun, it is clear that, as most of his artistic interests, Léger's fascination with leisure highly developed during his months in the trenches. Similar to the *Mechanic*, the subjects of *Soldiers Playing Cards* are portrayed in a moment of leisure, so much so that the only immediately recognisable elements in the 1917 canvas are, along with the heroic crosses and medals, the cards and pipes, instruments of relaxation. Of course, relaxation and fun in the post-war modern society were not just things to be found in between work tasks: the modern city was a place offering a myriad of possibilities. Not just the bars, cafés and clubs dominated the Belle Époque imagery, but also the circus, which was one of the most common chances of modern entertainment. In *The Acrobats in the Circus* (figure 9), painted in 1918, Léger captured the two acrobats mid-stunt.

**Figure 9: Léger, *The Acrobats in the Circus*
1918, Kunstmuseum Basel**

The composition and use of colour strongly remind of Propellers, while the repetition of Delaunay's coloured circles connects it to *Disks*. This connection only confirms that Léger made no formal distinction between the plasticity of the machine and the one of the human body. Similar to *The City and The Tugboat*, simultaneity is here the great protagonist. The acrobats are performing their act, the crowd watches, while the event is being advertised and while the overall energy is bursting into an overwhelming rhythmical juxtaposition of colours and shapes. It is highly significant that Léger represented the city and the circus in an almost identical way, and it must be taken as a deliberate choice. The energy and euphoria that could be felt and observed in a moment of communal leisure were the same that characterised daily life: one could wait for the next day and the mundane activity with the same wonder and exhilaration that preceded the next acrobatic act at the circus.

It is worth to draw a comparison between Léger, with his attitude towards modernity, and other artists and movements of the time. He shared his passion for the dynamism of modern life and the machine with the

Futurists. However, the Futurists focused mainly on speed and, while Léger considered his experience of the war as precious for the aesthetic and human discoveries he made, they glorified the violence of the war as an effective way to get rid of the past and build a new future.[11] Moreover, even though Léger was a close friend of Duchamp and his family, he could not have been more distant from Dada (Diehl, 1985). Dada, born during the war, was a clear symptom of the switch of conscience from the pre-war optimism, and focused with nihilistic irony on the materialistic greed of society. It is only fitting that, a few years later, Léger and his Esprit Nouveau found themselves opposite to Surrealism, born from Dada's ashes. While the Esprit Nouveau, after the 1918-1920 euphoria had run out, started searching for the much-needed stability and order in the classical tradition, Surrealism was a complete revolt against order and rationality.

In conclusion, Léger surely managed to capture the overall feeling of euphoria caused by the end – and victory – of the war. It is safe to assume that Léger himself was in those years convinced that surviving Verdun and the war meant indeed that he could survive anything and thought of himself as an *Übermensch*. Whether this feeling for the war and its aftermath was, in Léger, a genuine reflection of his optimism or a psychological reaction apt to suppress the trauma and the horrors he must have faced, it was certainly gone two decades later. Like many others, in 1940, one year into the Second World War, he escaped France to seek refuge in New York, and conveyed all his melancholy and anguish in his art, with broken lines and twisted forms (Diehl, 1985). Always deeply connected to the social and historical environment, Léger fluidly moved through the first half of the twentieth century, absorbing and expressing the common feeling of optimism in the early 1900s, the euphoria of the late 1910s, the search for stability of the 1920s and 1930s, and the great disillusionment of the 1940s. In current times, with the world under lockdown, we rely on technology to work, to communicate, to learn, to relax. Léger's bold colours, broken lines and interconnecting shapes still resonate with the postmodern viewers and their experiences. We can read in his work our relationship with the internet, our

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[11] Many of the Italian Futurists fought in the war, and some – like Boccioni – perished during it (White, Encyclopedia Britannica).

surroundings, each other. It is not difficult to imagine what kind of an artist Léger would be nowadays, as he was always so perceptive of what was happening around him. He would probably be incredibly active on social media, working with mixed media and interweaving his subjects with bold sound effects, experimenting with videos and post-production manipulations.

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