The Elphinstone Review | Volume 5: May 2019

Front Cover

Text

Financial Support from
Development Trust Student Experience Fund 2018/2019

Production design and Print by
UNIPRINT

Published by
The University of Aberdeen in conjunction with Uniprint
King's College, Old Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB24 3FX

Contents

Editorial

Mariana Consoni Rubio, Miruna Hadu and Ebba Strutzenbladh

With the V volume of *The Elphinstone Review*, our aim has been to continue to put interdisciplinarity and accessibility first. Our team of excellent editors has assisted us in reviewing and preparing for publication 12 undergraduate papers, all contributing with a unique perspective to the journal. Our edition covers topics from the Social Sciences and Humanities to the Natural Sciences, and this broad range of themes is possible due to the enthusiasm we see in student writers and editors. The ever-growing amount of submissions has given us the luxury of being able to choose from an impressive pool of articles, now presented to you with the hope that the same volume will allow you to both learn something new and return to existing interests.

We would also like to express our gratitude for the administrative support of Dr Isabel Seidel, who has made sure that the road from initial meeting to launch event has been as smooth as possible. The availability of Dr Timothy Baker and Dr Luca Moretti as academic advisors has also been much appreciated. In addition, the Development Trust Student Experience Fund has once again made the printing of this journal possible, thereby providing editors and writers with the opportunity to see our names in print after two semesters of hard work. It should also be mentioned that we owe to the Development Trust the chance to celebrate our endeavours with a launch event for everyone involved in the production of the journal.

As head editors, we have been proud to see our editorial team put in all the work necessary to make this volume what it is. We can now look back at months of hard work and enjoy the outcome, which would not have been possible without our great editors and their comments

in the reviewing process. Their efforts in preparing the articles for publication have been an invaluable help to us. With their inquisitiveness and enthusiasm, they ensured that every part of the process was stimulating and exciting. Similarly, the authors deserve recognition for their brilliant articles and their willingness to work with the editorial team to finalise their texts.

We are also delighted to contribute to *The Elphinstone Review* branching out, through the creation of a website for the journal. With the kind support of Dr Seidel and the Social Science School, *The Elphinstone Review* has now found a permanent home, easily accessible to all students. This page also features online versions of this and last year's volumes to further ensure that the journal reaches as many readers as possible.

With this, we thank you for picking up a copy of *The Elphinstone Review*. We hope that it can provide inspiration for future essays, and perhaps a dissertation, or encourage you to get involved with the journal yourself. Whatever you take away from the articles, we are confident that you will appreciate the range and quality of the work carried out at the University of Aberdeen just as much as we do.

The Elphinstone Review Editorial Board

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 to be seen as exercises of academic criticism, and intend to spark intellectual debate.

The Nigg Stone and its Cultural Milieu

Colin Page[1]

During the 7th and 8th centuries throughout the North and North East of what is now Scotland, a rich tradition of stone carving developed amongst the Pictish People. There are a few specialist museums where this art work can be seen (e.g. Meigle, Perthshire and St Vigean's in Angus). Yet throughout this area, by roadsides and in quiet country churchyards the bulk of this work will be found. This essay looks specifically at one such example, the Nigg Stone, which is located in the Old Church of Nigg in Easter Ross. This stone was described by George Henderson, one of the leading authorities on Early Medieval Art, as 'in the mastery and range of its decorative forms and the superlative technique to which nothing seems too difficult, is one of the grandest representations of the Cross in early medieval Europe.'1 The essay concentrates on the religious iconography of the stone which reinforces the view that the Pictish Kingdom was very much part of and in contact with its neighbours and with wider Christendom. The essay suggests the possibility of royal patronage due in part to the Davidic imagery found on the stone and argues that in this genre, it is unique in its depiction of both the bread and wine of the Eucharist. It also argues that just as written texts, particularly scripture, in this period are given layers of meaning, it is logical to extend this to what is a visual text.

'At Nigg I was most kindly received by the minister, the Rev. John Fraser, the monument in his churchyard is quite the finest work of Celtic art in sculpture which I have seen, not excluding the high

[1] Colin Page is originally from Perthshire but has lived most of his adult life in the Easter Ross area. Having been fortunate enough to retire early from teaching in 2016, much of his time has been taken up with study for a Bachelor of Theology degree. Although this degree is distance learning, in 2018 he travelled twice a week (250-mile round trip) to Aberdeen, to take Professor Geddes' excellent course 'The Art of Angels'. When not studying, other interests include gardening, painting, dog walking, and curling.

crosses of Ireland.'[2] J Romilly Allen, author of the seminal work 'The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland' published in 1903, would not be the last critic to comment favourably on the artistic merits of the Nigg Stone. By concentrating on the narrative iconography found on this stone, it will be argued that much can be revealed about the cultural milieu from which it was produced. Some consideration will also be given to its location and the neighbouring stones, as well as the significance of the recently discovered Pictish Monastery at Tarbat. It is also intended to explore the influences and cross fertilisation of artistic ideas from wider Pictland and beyond, arguing that this was a sophisticated culture, very much in contact with and part of a much wider Christian world.

The Nigg Stone is located in the old parish church of Nigg, on the Tarbat Peninsula, Easter Ross. Close by are two important cross slabs, at Hilton of Cadboll[3]and Shandwick and several substantial cross fragments have been found at Portmahomack. The Nigg Stone is also just about 12 miles away from a group of stones at Rosemarkie, on the Black Isle. The carving of the Nigg stone follows normal Pictish practice, with the front of the slab in high relief and the back in lower relief.[4] Bede tells us that Nechtan, king of the Picts, 'asked for builders to be sent to build a church of stone.'[5] This would have provided not only new methods of stone carving but also access to art acquired by Abbot Ceolfrith and Benedict Biscop, during their journeys to Rome. The slab was cut to have a triangular top which is unique in this area, but is found on four stones in southern Pictland, the best examples being Aberlemno and Glamis. Yet, Nigg is the only stone which treats

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[2] J. Romilly Allen, 'Report on the Sculptured Stones older than 1100 A.D', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 25 (May 1891), 426 fii.

[3] The actual stone is in the NMS, Edinburgh, although a replica is now on site.

[4] Pictish relief carving appears to date from after Nechtan's diplomatic mission to Northumbria in 716.

[5] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 276.

the triangular area as a separate field.[6] As we shall see, the composition contained within the triangular field is an exceptional piece of accomplished art (Figure 1).

In the pediment on the triangular field, there is a depiction from the story of St Antony and St Paul, taken from St Jerome's 'Life of St Paul, the first hermit'c.375. 'And as they talked, they perceived that a crow had settled on a branch of the tree, and softly flying down, deposited a whole loaf before their wondering eyes'.[7]

This story is portrayed on a number of Pictish cross-slabs, most notably St Vigean's, Fowlis Wester and Kirriemuir. This image was clearly popular and well known throughout the Pictish Church. It is also to be found on Irish sculpture but interestingly, the Ruthwell Cross is the only depiction on Anglo-Saxon work. Its rarity here may be due to the influence of the Roman mission of Augustine. The story was clearly in tune with the kind of monasticism which had developed in Ireland, stemming from influences as far afield as the Middle East. Indeed, Coptic icons show images remarkably like the St Vigean's depiction of these saints.[8] The artist of the Nigg Stone has given the story several unique features; the naturalistic placing of the palm trees on the top edge of the slab reflects another detail in the story, where we are told that Paul lived in a cave, roofed by spreading date palms, thus providing him with food, clothing and shelter.[9] Here we see the bird, which may be equated with the dove of the Holy Spirit, bring down the bread from heaven. This is no ordinary bread but a depiction of the liturgical epiclesis, where through the power of the Holy Spirit,

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[6] Isabel Henderson, 'This wonderful monument: the cross slab at Nigg, Easter Ross', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures*, ed. by Paul Binski and William Noel (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 119.

[7] St Jerome, 'The Life of St Paul the first hermit', in *The Desert Fathers*, trans. by Helen Waddell (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1957), 35.

[8] Jane Geddes, *Hunting Picts: Medieval Sculpture at St Vigeans, Angus* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), 96-97.

[9] Henderson, 120.

the bread becomes mystically the body of Christ. This is different from both St Vigean's and Kirriemuir, where the fraction or breaking of the bread is emphasised. Here, under the shade of the palms, the saints bow in reverence towards the Holy Bread and the presence of the Lord. This depiction has been clearly constructed with the intention of being a focus of eucharistic contemplation for all who encounter it.

Two aspects of this image have created some debate. Firstly, what is the bread being deposited on? Certainly, the image might fit with what we know of altar tables in this period. However, a convincing case has been made by Henderson for a chalice, as she points out that the object is not flat but dished.[10] This may be significant for our interpretation of the second problem. Why is there a notch in the left-hand section of the loaf? Henderson makes a strong case for dismissing any suggestion of deliberate or accidental damage.[11]She makes the case for this representing liturgical practice described in the Stowe Missal,[12] where a portion of the host is removed and mixed with the wine in the chalice.[13] This is connected to depictions of Longinus piercing the side of Christ, as for example on a fragment of a free standing cross from Abernethy and on the later Muiredach's cross in Ireland, where the figure of Stephaton has a chalice instead of a sponge (Figure 3). This places further emphasis on the direct connection between the Cross and the Eucharist.[14] Through Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the eucharistic participation in that sacrifice, the viewer may drink from the fount of immortality. This theme is depicted in folio 32 of the Book of Kells where peacocks as

[10] Ibid, 128.
[11] Ibid, 126.
[12] Fredrick Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 2nd edn (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1987), 101.
[13] Henderson, 125.
[14] A term used for Mass or Communion. Where Christians receive bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ. From the Greek for 'Thanksgiving'.

symbols of immortality are placed, each above a chalice from which vine scrolls emanate (Figure 4). [15]

Myer has argued at great length that the section taken from the side of the host reflects changing liturgical practice: 'it is possible that a later alteration was made in response to the practice of this specific Eucharistic rite on the Tarbat peninsula'.[16] This is unconvincing on two fronts, firstly it is highly unlikely that a different practice would appertain to the Tarbat peninsula from that of the rest of Pictland. Secondly, this practice is not unique to the Stowe Missal. It is referred to by Theodore of Mopsuestia, where he refers to the 'mixing' in the Liturgy of Antioch.[17] Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d.732), referring to the Byzantine rite, says that the bread was taken and pierced by a liturgical spear, symbolising the passion of Christ.[18] This practice was clearly widespread, even being recorded in Rome itself, 'The Pope places in the chalice the fragment of consecrated bread'.[19] Perhaps a better explanation for the missing fragment, is that this is the only depiction of Paul and Antony where a chalice is present, thus enabling the sculptor to emphasise the symbolism of the 'mixing' with its focus on the resurrection as opposed to the fraction which emphasises Christ's death on the cross.[20]

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[15] Catherine Karkov, 'The Chalice and the Cross in Insular Art', in *The Age of Migrating ideas*, ed. by Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1993), 238.

[16] Kellie Myer, 'Saints, Scrolls and Serpents: Theorising a Pictish Liturgy on the Tarbat Peninsula', in *Pictish Progress: New Studies on Northern Britain in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Stephen Driscoll, Jane Geddes and Mark Hall (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 181.

[17] Edward J Yarnold, SJ 'The Liturgy of the faithful in the fourth and early fifth centuries', in *The Study of the Liturgy*, ed. by Cheslyn Jones, Geoffery Wainwright, Edward Yarnold and Paul Bradshaw (New York: OUP, 1992), 236.

[18] Yarnold, 257.

[19] Mgr. L Duchesene, *Christian Worship, its origin and evolution: A study of the Latin Liturgy up to the time of Charlemagne*, trans. by M L McClure (London: SPCK, 1903), 184.

[20] Yarnold, 277.

The two figures flanking the Eucharistic iconography are dressed and coiffured in a style rather different from most depictions of Pictish priests. Parallels can be found on the nearby Tarbat cross fragment, which may depict the apostles (Figure 5). The garments fall in tubular folds clinging to their lower limbs, their heads are disproportional, close in style to the David figure on the St Andrew's Sarcophagus and images in the Book of Kells,[21] (Figure 4) thus suggesting a link between all these objects. This use of classical dress was of course common on many manuscripts, such as the 'David enthroned' on the Durham Cassiodorus.[22] The figures hold missals, which indicate that despite the lack of Pictish manuscripts, books were being used by the Picts. Indeed, another cross fragment from Tarbat carries eight short lines of relief lettering in Latin, invoking Christ and his cross.[23] This was clearly a literate culture, which has been reinforced in recent times by the discovery of an 8th century Pictish monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat.[24] Between 1996 and 2007, Professor Martin Carver of the University of York carried out extensive archaeological excavations. Referring to the finds at this excavation, Carver states that in the 8th century a community of craftsmen must have been present: carving in stone, making church plate and preparing vellum for gospel books.[25]

The presence of the two crouched beasts suggests a conflagration with another story from St Jerome, which tells of Antony's struggle to bury Paul, 'behold two lions came coursing towards him…then couched themselves at his feet…they began to

[21] Henderson, 126.
[22] George Henderson and Isabel Henderson, *The Art of the Picts: Sculpture and Metalwork in Early Medieval Scotland* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 130.
[23] Henderson & Henderson, 138.
[24] Martin Carver, *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 197.
[25] Carver, 92.

scratch up the ground with their paws'.[26] Here the beasts are depicted as tamed, being in the presence of Christ. There is also a reference to the canticle of Habakkuk, used in the Roman liturgy of the Mass from the 4th century, 'in medio duorum animalium' where Christ is present.[27] This image is common in the art of this period, found throughout the insular world and beyond. Examples in metalwork would be the Irish bell shrine fragment, consisting of a stylised figure flanked by long necked beasts[28] and the sword chape from the St Ninian's Isle treasure with its central panel inscription 'in nominee ds' located between two animal heads. This is a shared tradition of imagery, which further reinforces the common bonds between the Picts and their neighbours.

Turning to the iconography on the reverse of the stone (Figure 2), we find here two themes both commonly expressed on Pictish Sculpture. Perhaps one of the most popular and well executed of all Pictish iconography is the hunt. Indeed, the Picts are second to none when depicting this genre, as can be seen on the neighbouring Hilton of Cadboll stone (Figure 6). This clearly expresses the importance of a secular and elite pursuit. Indeed, Isabel Henderson has suggested parallels between the Hilton of Cadboll hunt and Virgil's Aeneid Book IV, where Dido, Queen of Carthage rides out with horsemen and hounds, her purple cloak clasped by a gold fibula.[29] As it was common for Virgil to be used for instruction in Latin, we can assume that the Picts were familiar with classical authors.[30] Although Alcock has

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[26] St Jerome, 38.

[27] Henderson & Henderson, 140. Trans: 'Between two animals.' This text is not found in the Vulgate and other later translations from the Hebrew. It is found in the earlier Vetus Latina, translated from the Greek Septuagint.

[28] Susan Youngs, *The Work of Angels: Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th centuries AD (*London: British Museum, 1989), 144.

[29] Henderson & Henderson, 136.

[30] Gilbert Markus, *Conceiving a Nation: Scotland to AD 900* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2017), 85.

suggested that it is a depiction of another queen, the Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven.[31] It is worth bearing in mind the approach to scripture at this time, where we see a tendency to shape one story in terms of another, so that layers of association and meaning are built into the narrative.[32] If it was common in this period to see different layers of meaning in written texts, then it is not unreasonable to accept that both ideas together are possible in this visual text.

On the Nigg stone the hunt is depicted on the upper and lower sections of the stone's reverse. The lower section shows a fine horseman with a hound pulling at a deer's leg. Between this hunt are placed images from the David cycle. This combination of David and the hunt finds parallels on the St Andrew's Sarcophagus (Figure 7). While the iconography on the front of the Nigg Stone proclaims salvation through the Eucharist, the reverse turns to the Old Testament figure of David as a 'type' of Christ. Unfortunately, it is difficult to make a fair assessment of this figure due to later damage. It does, however, show similarities in its composition to the David of the St Andrew's Sarcophagus.[33] It is safe to say that it is depicting 1 Samuel 17:35, a subject matter which is interestingly unknown on continental Europe.[34] It is possible that this iconography has been inspired from the south, from manuscripts such as the Vespasian Psalter, produced in Canterbury in the early 8th century (Figure 8).

Maclean has argued for the St Andrew's Sarcophagus being a tomb for the expansionist Pictish King Oengus son of Fergus who died

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[31] Leslie Alcock, *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests: in Northern Britain AD 550-850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 414, 415.

[32] Frances Young, 'The Interpretation of Scripture', in *The First Christian Theologians: An introduction to Theology in the Early Church*, ed. by G R Evans (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 35.

[33] Henderson, 'This wonderful monument' 140.

[34] Edward James, 'The Continental Context', in *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and its international connections*, ed. by Sally Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 240.

in 741.[35] In addition, Henderson dates it to the middle of the 8th century and clearly sees the imagery as being used to reinforce the role of David as a type of the righteous man, an effective ruler of a unified people and expanding Empire.[36] This imagery must open up the possibility of royal patronage. The link with the Nigg Stone has been further enhanced by the find of a fragment at St Andrews of David playing his harp in profile, which may go some way to explain the missing iconography on the Sarcophagus.[37] Arguably, of greater significance is the fragment found at Kinneddar, which would provide the most direct way for the St Andrews iconography to have reached Easter Ross. This is perhaps evidence enough for a potential David sarcophagus in Moray, although the Hendersons argue that it is more likely to have come from a cross-slab rather than a sarcophagus (Figure 9). [38] This fragment shows many similarities, yet there are sufficient differences to make it unlikely to be a direct copy or carved by the same sculptor. The Nigg composition also has the lion standing away from David's body and lacks the physical integration so characteristic of the St Andrew's image.[39] It is not possible to ascertain whether the Nigg David had a sword on his thigh but considering the similarities with St Andrews and Kinneddar it would be a fair assumption. When Adomnan tells us of Columba outside the Pictish king's fort, it is Psalm 45.3 'gird thy sword upon thy thigh,' which he

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[35] Douglas MacLean, 'Snake Bosses and Redemption at Iona and in Pictland', in *The Age of Migrating ideas*, ed. by Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1993), 252.

[36] Isabel Henderson, 'Primus inter Parus', in *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and its international connections*, ed. by Sally Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 106.

[37] Isabel Henderson, 'The 'David Cycle' in Pictish Art', in *Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by John Higgitt (Oxford: B.A.R., 1986), 105.

[38] Catherine Karkov, 'The Chalice and the Cross in Insular Art', in *The Age of Migrating ideas*, ed. by Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1993), 238.

[39] Henderson, 'Primus inter Parus', 131; 133.

is chanting.[40] This all reinforces the possibility of royal patronage and there is no reason why this should not be so in Easter Ross. Indeed, Fraser considers the David imagery as indicative of royal connections with the Monastery at Portmahomack.[41] In addition, the arguments made by Alex Woolf for locating the Kingdom of Fortriu in the Moray Firth area[42] have been accepted by a sizeable group of academics.[43] This places the Nigg Stone at the heart of this Pictish kingdom. The early 8th century appears to have witnessed a Pictish monarchy which was getting more involved in Church affairs, perhaps as a way to extend and consolidate royal authority.[44] We also know that the Pictish King Bruide mac Der-Ile and Curetan, bishop of the Picts were signatories to Adomnan's Law of the Innocents, 697.[45] This is further evidence of the Pictish monarchy working in tandem with the Pictish Church. It also shows the influence of the Church on Pictish society by this time. Indeed, if Nechtan's reforms were the stimulus for the cross-slabs, then the importance of the Pictish monarchy cannot be underestimated.

As well as the depiction of David and the Lion, the Nigg Stone shows the psalmist's harp. This helps to reinforce the liturgical imagery[46] and helps to unify the iconography on both sides of the

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[40] Adomnan of Iona, *Life of St.Columba*, trans. by Richard Sharpe (London: Penguin, 1995), 141.
[41] James E Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2009), 360.
[42] Alex Woolf, 'Dún Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts', *Scottish Historical Review, Vol 85, 2* (Oct. 2006).
[43] Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, 50; Markus, *Conceiving a Nation*, 102.
[44] Sally Foster and Sian Jones, 'Recovering the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab', in *A Fragmented Masterpiece: recovering the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab*, Heather James, Isabel Henderson, Sally Foster and Sian Jones (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2008), 207.
[45] Markus, *Conceiving a Nation*, 176. This law is one of the earliest examples of human rights, giving protection to women, children and the clergy.
[46] Images associated with aspects of Church worship.

slab.[47] There is also a figure enthusiastically striking symbols, which is reflective of Psalm 150:5 'Praise him with sounding cymbals; praise him with loud clashing cymbals!' The neighbouring Hilton of Cadboll stone also depicts musicians as heralds to the hunt. Once again, the Vespasian Psalter provides us with possible inspiration for the Davidic musicians (Figure 10). The similarity in style shows the wide availability of imagery and cross fertilization of ideas in the development of insular art. The presence in Pictish treasuries of exotic models is explained by travel, contacts and the diplomatic exchange of gifts. This is evidence that Pictish society was not inward looking but rather aware of all the cultural stimuli of a wider Christendom.[48]

Finally, while concentrating on the narrative iconography of the stone a brief mention must be made of the cross in order to appreciate the total unity of the message being conveyed. The slab appears like a carpet page in stone, not unlike folio 26v in the Lindisfarne Gospels, with boss work cut into its depth (Figure 11) .[49] The insular cult of the cross as the vehicle of salvation is found in the Anglo-Saxon poem, the Dream of the Rood, where the poet sees the cross covered with gold instead of blood, fair jewels instead of wounds, a sign of healing and immortality. The prototype for this was the cross erected in the early fifth century by Emperor Theodosius II at Golgotha, the site of the crucifixion. It became a focus for pilgrims to Jerusalem, set on a flight of steps. Its image was widely copied in subsequent years, including on highly portable objects.[50] The neighbouring Shandwick stone with its fifty-six spiral bosses is truly a Pictish 'Crux Gemmata'[51] and the recently excavated base of the

[47] Henderson, 'This wonderful monument', 141.
[48] Henderson, 'Primus inter Parus', 98.
[49] Henderson & Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, 41.
[50] Isabel Henderson, 'The Art Historical Context', in *A Fragmented Masterpiece: recovering the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab*, 139.
[51] Henderson & Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, 138. Trans: 'Jewelled Cross'.

Hilton of Cadboll stone shows that this cross had a 'Golgotha' style base. On the Nigg Stone there were eight bosses above the cross arm, which is surely no mere coincidence, as numerological theological formulation was a preoccupation of this period and the number eight signified the eight days of the Passion: from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday, the day of Resurrection. Counting all the bosses on the left there are ten, signifying the ten commandments and the Old Testament and on the right, twelve, signifying the twelve apostles of the New Testament. This reinforces the intention to connect both Testaments in the same way as is accomplished by the Eucharistic and Davidic imagery. This theme is further enhanced as the bosses are created by interlaced snakes. The snake which sheds its skin is taken as a symbol of baptism and resurrection.[52]

The Nigg Stone is a visualisation of the most fundamental of Christian truths, the Resurrection and Salvation. It clearly indicates a cultural milieu in which the Christian Church was playing a pivotal role. The iconography of the stone would indicate that patronage was coming from the monastery at Portmahomack, although likely in tandem with aristocratic, perhaps even royal patronage. This notion is reinforced when we see king and bishop as one, in their support for Adomnan's Law. It was a society which was clearly literate and in contact with wider Christendom, with evidence of influences from as far away as Egypt. It was one that shared artistic style with its neighbours but was still able to produce a distinctive Pictish approach to stone carving, capable of producing art of the highest quality.

[52] Henderson, 'This wonderful monument', 132.

Appendix

Figure 1. Front of Nigg Stone, in new position

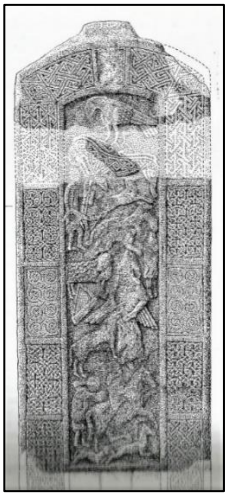

Figure 2. Reverse of Nigg Stone. I. G. Scott for NMRS.1998

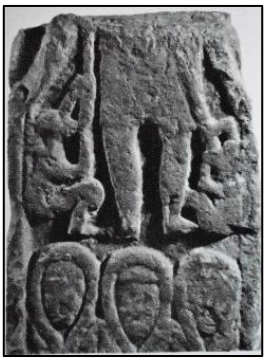

Figure 3. Fragment of a cross slab from Abernethy

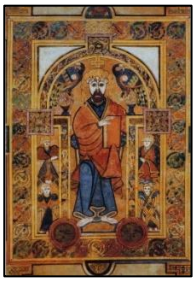

Figure 4. Book of Kells Folio 32v. Trinity College Library Dublin

Figure 5. Fragment of cross slab, Tarbat

Figure 6. Hunt scene from Hilton of Cadboll

Figure 7. The St Andrew's Sarcophagus

Figure 8. British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian Folio 53

Figure 9. Fragment of David and the Lion from Kinneddar

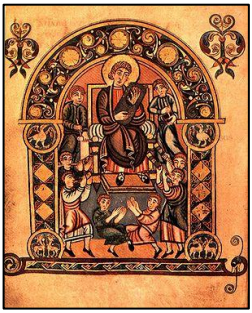

Figure 10. Folio 30 Vespasian Psalter

Figure 11. Folio 26 v Lindisfarne Gospels[53]

[53] London, British Library Cotton MS.

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“Your presence is enough to make a huge difference”: constructions of agency in voluntourism discourse

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This article critically investigates the discourse of the voluntourism industry. Voluntourism, a tourism practice that involves mostly young people from privileged backgrounds volunteering in third world countries, has been hailed by some as “benign” and “making a difference”. Criticism of the effectiveness and ethics of voluntourism has been growing, however. This study looks at textual content from websites of five voluntourism operators in order to investigate how the voluntourism event is constructed. The theoretical framework is that of Norman Faiclough’s and Teun van Dijk’s versions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative corpus analysis and qualitative CDA is employed. The analysis demonstrates that the marketised nature of voluntourism creates a tension between the need to attract as many customer-volunteers as possible and reassuring every volunteer that their contribution will “make a difference”. As is underscored by the quantitative analysis, this leads to portrayals of host communities as passive and always in need of assistance from volunteers, whose agency and impact in turn is vastly overstated. Close qualitative analysis further shows how the agency of different actors is hidden or made visible in context. It is argued that the voluntourism websites analysed recycle dominant discourses of need, development, and North-South dependency driven by the pressure to make the business of voluntourism maximally profitable on a competitive market.

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Introduction

This article casts a critical eye on the growing trend of young people from privileged backgrounds traveling abroad to volunteer in other countries. Volunteer tourism, or voluntourism, is a "type of tourism experience where a tour operator offers travellers an opportunity to participate in an optional excursion that has a volunteer component, as well as a cultural exchange with local people".[2] Volunteers, often students, pay for a trip – usually to a third world country – ranging from weeks to months with an operator that may be for-profit or non-profit.

This type of tourism is widely seen as a noble alternative to traditional tourism and is widely endorsed by public figures, universities and student unions in the UK.[3] I will argue, however, that such widespread acceptance urgently needs to be questioned. In order to attract customers, voluntourism operators (henceforth 'operators') reproduce neo-colonial discourses of need and development. In this essay, I focus on widely divergent levels of agency attributed to volunteers and host populations in the content of voluntourism websites. A mixed-methods approach combining corpus analysis and qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows me to show both the systematic nature of the erasure of host populations' agency and how it functions in context.

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[2] Sally Brown, 'Travelling with a Purpose: Understanding the Motives and Benefits of Volunteer Vacationers', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 8.6 (2005), 479-496 (480).

[3] Kate Simpson, 'Dropping Out or Signing Up? The Professionalisation of Youth Travel', *Antipode*, 37.3 (2005), 447–69. Voluntourism organisers often partner with student unions to promote their opportunities (e.g.: East African Playgrounds, 'Find a university' (no date): <https://www.eastafricanplaygrounds.org/find-a-university>; Warwick Raising and Giving, 'Volunteering' (2016): <http://www.warwickrag.com/volunteering.html >; University of Manchester Student's Union, 'Ugandan Gorilla Trek @ University of Manchester Students' Union' (2018): <https://manchesterstudentsunion.com/top-navigation/student-activities/rag/get-involved/international-challenges/ugandan-gorilla-trek2018>).

Research on voluntourism mainly comes from the field of tourism studies.[4] Much early research in this field praised voluntourism as a 'benign form of tourism' that 'makes a difference'[5] or 'seek[s] to open the eyes of affluent Westerners to global problems'.[6] Criticism of the ethics and efficiency of voluntourism has, however, been growing.[7] Media reports claim that voluntourists may take local jobs, or even that children are kept in orphanages because Western visitors make it a good business.[8]

If the critical voices are right, discourse approaches lend themselves naturally to the study of how such practices are continuously justified and constructed as altruistic. Among scholars who have, in one way or another, applied discourse analysis to voluntourism, two broad trends emerge. One part of the literature has drawn attention to the marketisation of volunteer experiences abroad. Scholars have emphasised how tour operators have co-opted practices of independent youth travelling and turned them into 'safe',

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[4] Stephen Wearing and Nancy McGehee, 'Volunteer Tourism: A Review', *Tourism Management*, 38 (2013), 120-130.

[5] Stephen Wearing, 'Volunteer Tourism', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 28.3 (2003), 3–4 (4); Stephen Wearing, *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences That Make a Difference* (Wallingford: CABI, 2001).

[6] Regina Scheyvens, *Tourism for Development: Empowering Communities* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002), 113.

[7] Daniel Guttentag, 'Volunteer Tourism: As Good as It Seems?', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36.1 (2011), 69–74; Daniel A. Guttentag, 'The Possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11.6 (2009), 537–51; Harng Luh Sin, 'Volunteer Tourism - "Involve Me and I Will Learn"?', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36.3 (2009), 480–501; Simpson.

[8] Tina Rosenberg, 'The Business of Voluntourism: Do Western Do-Gooders Actually Do Harm?', *The Guardian*, 13 September 2018: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/sep/13/the-business-of-voluntourism-do-western-do-gooders-actually-do-harm>; Matthew Jenkin, 'Does Voluntourism Do More Harm than Good?', *The Guardian*, 21 May 2015: <https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2015/may/21/western-volunteers-more-harm-than-good>.

'structured' experiences to be sold.[9] Volunteering abroad is then constructed as an investment in one's cultural capital that leads to better chances on a competitive job market.[10] These approaches, while not always drawing explicitly on CDA, are cognate with CDA research on the language of 'new capitalism'[11] and the marketisation of institutions including universities.[12]

Another dominant theme in the literature on voluntourism is reproduction of (neo-)colonial discourses and representations of the 'other'. Voluntourism discourse is seen as constructing representations of the 'third world' in need of Western help and development[13] and making historical power relations invisible.[14]

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[9] Simpson; Colleen McGloin and Nichole Georgeou, '"Looks Good on Your CV": The Sociology of Voluntourism Recruitment in Higher Education', *Journal of Sociology*, 52.2 (2016), 403–17.

[10] Andrew Jones, 'Theorising International Youth Volunteering: Training for Global (Corporate) Work?', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographer*, 36.4 (2011), 530–544; Matt Smith and Nina Laurie, 'International Volunteering and Development: Global Citizenship and Neoliberal Professionalisation Today', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36.4 (2011), 545–559; Kelsey Buchmayer, 'Voluntourism Discourse: A Case Study of ME to WE' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2017), 93–97.

[11] Norman Fairclough, 'Language in New Capitalism', *Discourse & Society*, 13.2 (2002), 163–66; Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

[12] Norman Fairclough, 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities', *Discourse & Society*, 4.2 (1993), 133–68; Eve Bertelsen, 'The Real Transformation: The Marketisation of Higher Education', *Social Dynamics*, 24.2 (2008), 130–58.

[13] Carlos M Palacios, 'Volunteer Tourism, Development and Education in a Postcolonial World: Conceiving Global Connections beyond Aid', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18.7 (2010), 861–78; Kellee Caton and Carla Almeida Santos, 'Images of the Other: Selling Study Abroad in a Postcolonial World', *Journal of Travel Research*, 48.2 (2009), 191–204; Sydney Calkin, 'Mind the "Gap Year": A Critical Discourse Analysis of Volunteer Tourism Promotional Material', *Global Discourse*, 4.1 (2014), 30–43.

[14] Margaret Zeddies and Zsuzsa Millei, '"It Takes a Global Village": Troubling Discourses of Global Citizenship in United Planet's Voluntourism', *Global Studies of Childhood*, 5.1 (2015), 100–111.

These latter perspectives can be seen as part of a broader strand of discourse analysis that studies racist representations of the 'other' as well as rationalisations of unequal power relations.[15]

1. Theory, methods and data

This article consists in a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of written content from websites of voluntourism operators. CDA is a collection of approaches to studying language that highlight the relationship between discourse and power and in particular '*the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance*'.[16] I draw mainly on the theoretical and methodological frameworks of Norman Fairclough[17] and Teun van Dijk.[18] Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach to CDA emphasises the dialectical relationship between discourse and other moments of social practice: material activity, social relations and processes and mental phenomena.[19] Van Dijk, on the other hand, favours a socio-cognitive approach which foregrounds how mental models and representations mediate between discourse and the social and material world.

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[15] E.g.: Peter Teo, 'Racism in the news: a Critical Discourse Analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers', *Discourse & Society*, 11.1 (2000), 7–49; Teun van Dijk, 'Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues', in *Comparative perspectives on racism*, ed. by Jessika ter Wal and Maykel Verkuyten (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000), 91–116; Teun van Dijk, 'Racism in the Press', in *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. by Nancy Bonvillain (New York: Routledge, 2016), 384–392.

[16] Teun van Dijk, 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Discourse & Society*, 4.2 (1993), 249–83 (249). *Emphasis in original*.

[17] Chouliaraki and Fairclough; Norman Fairclough, 'A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Research', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 2nd edn (London: SAGE Publications, 2009), 162–86; Fairclough, 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse'.

[18] Teun van Dijk, 'Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Wodak and Meyer, 62–86; van Dijk, 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis'.

[19] Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 61.

For van Dijk, discourse is shaped not directly by the external world but indirectly through participants mental and subjective context models (representations of the speech situation) and event models (representations of events referred to in discourse) which include representations of setting, participants, actions, goals etc.[20] I accordingly break up the empirical part of this article into an analysis of the (generalised) context model and event model implicit in the content analysed. The assumption is that such mental models are *both* the basis of discourse production and the result of discourse comprehension.[21] My analysis thus presupposes that the discourse on voluntourism websites is shaped both by shared event models (i.e. existing structures) and by the active production of the authors leaving room for either reproduction or transformation of existing discourses.[22]

I complement the traditional qualitative CDA with a quantitative Corpus Analysis (CA). CA consists in using a computer program to extract data and patterns from large collections of authentic text – in this case, I use a custom-build corpus of 579,095 words extracted from the voluntourism websites. The use of CA in CDA is a fairly recent, but growing, trend. It has been advocated because quantitative analysis ensures that qualitative findings generalise across large amounts of data and thus also guards the researcher against accusations of cherry-picking.[23] Further, so-called concordance

[20] van Dijk, 'Critical Discourse Studies'.
[21] van Dijk, 'Critical Discourse Studies', 77.
[22] Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 48; Valentin Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (New York: Seminar Press, 1973).
[23] Gerlinde Mautner, 'Mining large corpora for social information: The case of elderly', *Language in Society*, 36.1 (2007), 51–72; Gerlinde Mautner, 'Checks and balances: how corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Wodak and Meyer, 122–143; Paul Baker and others, 'A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press', *Discourse & Society*, 19.3 (2008), 273–306.

searches which produce a list of every instance of a particular word/phrase in the corpus in its context serve as a useful tool to identify relevant extracts for qualitative analysis. For this article, the CA is carried out using the programme Sketch Engine and consists mostly in concordance searches and 'word sketches', which produce lists of how often a certain lemma occurs as a particular part of speech with other words (e.g. how often VOLUNTEER[24] occurs as object of certain verbs).

The analysis includes websites of 5 operators: United Planet, ProjectsAbroad, The Mighty Roar, Original Volunteers and East African Playgrounds.[25] The websites were chosen through purposeful sampling based on the following criteria: (1) they charge volunteers for the trip; (2) they are not run or funded by governments or public institutions, such as universities; (3) they claim that their programmes in one way or another involves "cultural exchange" meant to enrich both the volunteer and the host community. This study is based on thorough analysis of content from all five websites. However, in the interest of brevity, only some representative extracts can be analysed in-depth in this article – in particular, in section 4 I focus on only one representative extract for qualitative analysis. The quantitative part of the analysis serves to demonstrate the generalizability of the findings across all five websites.

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[24] I use small caps when referring to lemmas.

[25] United Planet is US-based, while the remaining four operators are British. Two of the operators, United Planet and East African Playgrounds, claim non-profit status with the latter also being a registered charity in England and Wales. Grouping these organisations together is justified because for-profit and non-profit organisations compete for volunteers on the same market and increasingly use the same market strategies. The extract I analyse most in-depth in section 4 is indeed from one of the operators that claim non-profit status – but exemplifies both the logic and consequences of marketised discourse. See Alexandra Coghlan and Steve Noakes, 'Towards an Understanding of the Drivers of Commercialization in the Volunteer Tourism Sector', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 37.2 (2012), 123–31.

Section 3, starts with a broad discussion/analysis of the context model implicit in the websites, taking existing literature of marketisation of volunteering discourse[26] as my starting point. Section 4 goes on to analyse how the websites construct the voluntourism event itself, testing some of the assumptions generated by the analysis of the context model. Here, I employ CA to identify general patterns in the data pertaining to the agency attributed to volunteers and host communities. This is followed by an in-depth qualitative analysis of one piece of text chosen as representative to get a richer picture of the event model implicit in the content analysed.

2. Context model

Fairclough shows how the discourse of higher education has been "colonised" by market discourse, in which the (potential) student becomes a consumer, and the university a service provider, rather than an authority.[27] In other words, the participants in discourse and the relations between them are constructed differently. I find the same features of marketised discourse in the websites analysed.

A striking feature of such market discourse is the pervasive use of positive adjectives describing the volunteer experience as 'incredible', 'amazing' etc., and the use of attractive landscape photos as backgrounds. East African Playgrounds[28], for instance, promises 'Ethical, safe and incredible international expeditions and volunteering projects. The reader and operator are, for the most part, personalised with the use of personal pronouns ('you' and 'we') – a

[26] Simpson; McGloin and Georgeou.

[27] Fairclough, 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse', 157–8.

[28] East African Playgrounds, 'Safety and Support' (no date): <https://www.eastafricanplaygrounds.org/safety-and-support-vp>.

typical feature of advertising discourse.[29] The volunteer is invariably positioned as the customer who has the power to choose between different products and must be satisfied: 'People choose us for our gold standard of safety and staff support. We take care of everything so you can focus on making the most of your time abroad'.[30] '*People choose us…'* is a direct reference to the market where competition for customers happens, and operators construct their own identity in terms of the quality of services provided for volunteers. Such language is ubiquitous throughout all five websites.

What is interesting about the identities constructed in these texts is the tension with those identities usually associated with volunteering. Normally, a volunteer would be expected to be the one providing a service to an organisation or individual(s). As providers of a consumer product, operators need to make their service available to *everyone*, yet volunteers still need to be positioned as the ones 'having something to offer'. This contradiction is navigated through the mantra of 'everyone can make a difference' – with the help of the operator, that is: 'We believe everyone has something to offer and we want to help you find out what you're capable of. With our help you'll learn new skills, meet new people, make a real difference, and have the experience of a lifetime.'[31] The tension between the supposed extraordinary effects ('make a *real* difference') and the ordinary requirements ('*everyone* has something to offer') is clear. Already at this point, we may detect potential unsavoury consequences of the marketised context model: if literally *everyone* could make a difference, there would clearly be no need to fly people from Europe

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[29] Fairclough, 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse', 146; Guy Cook, *The discourse of advertising*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2001), 157.

[30] Projects Abroad, 'Projects Abroad' (no date): <https://www.projects-abroad.co.uk/?gclid=Cj0KCQ iAi57gBRDqARIsABhDSMoy1xKVgWjQR9zRm-YcME-czJGSZG7gweJcOexEqn1k1Aj4ik7OQGgaAmmUEALw_wcB>.

[31] Projects Abroad.

to ‘developing’ countries to do so. Who ‘everyone’ refers to is evidently limited by the context model to the intended audience, i.e. potential customers.

Moving on to analyse how operators construct the voluntourism event itself, I assume that the event model is, at least to some degree, influenced by this context model. Operators position themselves as service providers on a competitive market, and hence the construct of the ‘voluntourism event’ must meet the aim of enticing as many people as possible to pay for a voluntourism experience – which entails also catering for the aims of the would-be volunteer (to ‘make a difference’, have the ‘experience of a lifetime’, boost employability etc.).

3. Event model

While above I looked at discourse as constitutive of the very practice of advertising voluntourism, I now turn to the role of discourse as a reflexive construction of the (largely) material practice of voluntourism.[32] The main concern in investigating the event model found in voluntourism websites shall be the agency of volunteers and members of the host community. Operators often use the catch phrase of ‘cultural exchange’, so in other words: in the constructed voluntourism event model, what does each part bring to this ‘cultural exchange’?

Corpus analysis can provide very useful first insights into the construction of agency. A search on the lemma VOLUNTEER (noun) reveals that it is most often the subject of action verbs such as WORK, PACK, HELP, CHOOSE and BUILD. However, many of these words are also closely associated with VOLUNTEER in a reference corpus[33]

[32] Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 61; Norman Fairclough, ‘The Dialectics of Discourse’, *Textus*, 14.2 (2001), 3–10.
[33] The 112-million-word British National Corpus.

(WORK, HELP - i.e. these words may be seen as closely associated with the very meaning of the word *volunteer* and a particular feature of the construction of the voluntourism event), while others are simply related to practicalities of volunteering abroad (PACK).

An analysis of COMMUNITY generates more informative results. COMMUNITY occurs 1,381 times in the corpus, and a concordance search shows that it refers to host communities with extremely few exceptions. The most common modifiers of COMMUNITY are adjectives LOCAL, DISADVANTAGED and RURAL (which is not the case in the reference corpus). Tables 1 and 2 show the verbs most likely to occur with COMMUNITY as either object or subject (sorted by MI-score[34]).

An immediate observation is that COMMUNITY occurs with much higher frequency as object of a verb than as subject (contrary to VOLUNTEER and also contrary to how COMMUNITY occurs in the reference corpus where the picture is more balanced). This is a clear first indication that there is a stark difference in the construction of agency of volunteers and local communities. Looking at the verbs in Table 2 strengthens our suspicion: all verbs (except for DO) are stative, with LACK and NEED possibly even indicating inability to perform certain actions. Table 1, in turn, shows that when COMMUNITY is the object of a verb, it is almost always in the position of receiving help in one way or another.[35]

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[34] MI (Mutual Information) scores measure how likely words are to co-occur compared to how frequently they appear separately. For details, see Lexical Computing, 'Statistics used in the Sketch Engine' (2015), 2: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/wp-content/uploads/ske-statistics.pdf> .

[35] Again, this contrasts with how COMMUNITY is used in the reference corpus and is not simply a feature of how we use the word COMMUNITY in general. In the reference corpus, active verbs such as GROW, ORGANISE and EMBRACE are as likely to occur with COMMUNITY as subject as stative verbs. When COMMUNITY is the object, the verb with the highest MI-score in the reference corpus is SERVE, a verb that – intuitively, at least – implies a very different relationship between agent and patient that SUPPORT.

Table 1: Verbs with COMMUNITY as object

	Freq.	MI-score
support	43	11.24
help	40	10.52
educate	10	10.12
empower	8	9.87
benefit	7	9.72
build	13	9.40
affect	5	9.15

Table 2: Verbs with COMMUNITY as subject

	Freq.	MI-score
lack	4	9.97
face	4	9.64
need	5	9.37
live	3	8.65
have	9	7.91
do	3	7.76
are	30	7.27

Concordance searches show that for the top 5 verbs in Table 1, the subject is always volunteers, the operators themselves or their work. BUILD variously refers to volunteers/operators 'building up' the local communities, or, abstractly, 'building a global community'. The subject of AFFECT is exclusively impersonal forces ('issues affecting local communities'). This small corpus analysis gives us some strong indications about how the texts construct the 'cultural exchanges' unequally. While volunteers actively *work* and *support, help, educate* and *empower* local communities, the communities themselves are seemingly passive participants in the 'exchange'. This is not a definite picture, however. To confirm that picture is accurate at all, we need qualitative analysis to see that the meanings in context are actually the expected ones. This I will turn to now.

The extract below details a project that involves building a playground in Uganda (from the website of East African Playgrounds,[36] one of the non-profit operators). It is highly representative for the five webpages analysed.

[36] East African Playgrounds, 'Volunteer Project' (no date): <https://www.eastafricanplaygrounds.org/volunteer-project>.

Be part of the community by joining the volunteer project...
The experience of cross-cultural interactions enriches your life and the world for the better. This is the reason why we provide ethical, transparent and supportive volunteering opportunities to help build a playground in Uganda. And by doing this you will see a change in yourself and the world around you.
By volunteering with East African Playgrounds on our Uganda Volunteer Project you will experience four incredible weeks. Living and volunteering within a local community to help transform a community school by building an amazing new playground from start to finish with a team of trained Ugandan builders and welders. You will also assist on our creative play programme to inspire children at a school to learn, explore and develop themselves.
[…]
You'll be guided by our Ugandan build team as well as the international leaders to volunteer alongside the children and community you will be impacting. The whole project comes together on the playground opening day when you will get to see your hard work in action as you celebrate with traditional singing, dancing, food and of course-playing on the new, high quality, safe, fun playground you've helped build.

From the first line, we can see that the text invokes the idea of 'cross-cultural interactions' making it a great testing ground for our hypothesis that such interactions are not constructed as equal. The first few lines have a strong promotional character emphasising effect over meaning. From '*Living and volunteering…*' a description of the actual 'voluntourism event' begins. The setting is a 'local community' already juxtaposing the volunteer as the mobile agent with the immobile 'local' community.[37] Volunteers will 'help transform' a school with the verb *transform* implying immense agency, which is, however, downplayed somewhat by the verb *help* which implies that

[37] Zeddies and Millei, 104–5.

the agency is not placed in one single volunteer. Note, however, that in the following gerund phrase (*by building…*), the volunteer is unambiguously the subject of *building* and there is no hedge (such as *contributing to build*). It is only added in a sentence-final prepositional phrase that the activity will be carried out together with 'a team of trained Ugandan builders and welders'. Given that the builders are the ones skilled in the activity of building, it is curious that the volunteer's agency is foregrounded here (other options were available; e.g.: 'With your assistance, the trained builders will…'). Again, in the last paragraph, the 'build team' and leaders are there only to 'guide' the actions of volunteers, who are the ones 'impacting' the community (with the community, once again, in the passive receiving role of the 'impact').

A (highly generalised) model of the volunteering event found across all websites analysed can be reconstructed. The mobile volunteer arrives in the immobile community, which is 'disadvantaged', often 'rural' and always in 'need'. Even minor actions taken by the volunteer 'impacts' the community for the better and 'makes a difference' – some operators make it explicit that no action is even needed: 'Every volunteer supports the Masai community simply with their visit […] Your presence is enough to make a huge difference'.[38] The role of the operator, employees, partner organisations or local workers working on the project is confined to guiding and assisting the volunteer in 'transforming' the world around them. In the meantime, the host communities are confined to the role of passive receptors of the volunteers' transformative support – except when it comes to appreciating the volunteer: 'The local people go out of their way to make you feel at home and any skills or interests which volunteers can bring to the project are greatly appreciated by all'[39]

[38] This extract from originalvolunteers.co.uk is taken from the corpus data.
[39] Ibid.

(confer also the 'traditional' celebration mentioned in the extract above).

4. Concluding discussion

When the 'volunteering experience' is bought and sold on a competitive market, it cannot but influence how the voluntourism event itself is constructed by tour operators. Voluntourism websites focus on the needs of the volunteer with duties or requirements being virtually absent from the discourse (a striking parallel to the marketised discourse of higher education).[40] At the same time, however, there is a need to construct the volunteers' actions as being highly impactful – after all, a wish to 'make a difference' is often the main reasons for volunteers to go abroad.[41]

Further, the more resourceful the volunteers' actions are portrayed, the more would-be volunteers may see value on having such an experience on their CV.[42] There is a clear tension between the need to construct a narrative where the volunteer makes the biggest possible impact, and the need to avoid making any demands in terms of skills or effort. The way this tension is resolved is by constructing the simplest of the volunteer's actions – even their mere presence – as making a huge impact on host communities. This comes with the cost of portraying host communities as entirely passive and immensely grateful receivers of any help whatsoever. Such a discourse is not constructed out of nowhere; it draws on and reinforces existing discourses of need, development, and North-South dependency.[43]

The construction of the voluntourism event found across voluntourism websites is one that makes invisible the agency of host

[40] Fairclough, 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse'.
[41] Brown.
[42] Jones; Smith and Laurie.
[43] McGloin and Georgeou; Palacios.

communities, including skilled local workers who likely do most of the work which volunteers are credited for. The corpus analysis as well as the detailed qualitative analysis attest to this. By combining these two methods, I have hopefully been able to put my arguments on a relatively secure epistemological footing. The corpus data show that the picture drawn generalises across a vast amount of data, but only the qualitative analysis was able to establish the way agency is hidden or emphasised in context. Most importantly, I have attempted, in line with the aim of most CDA-scholars, to identify a social wrong,[44] in this case consisting of two aspects: not only do voluntourism operators recycle and reinforce neo-colonial discourses of need and helplessness in the third world, they also profit directly from the production of this discourse.[45]

A pioneering scholar of voluntourism remarked back in 2003 that 'one may be wonder struck at how such a humble act has come to assume incredible proportions – is the world and its peoples in such deep crisis?'.[46] This study has given a very simple answer to his question: the 'incredible proportions' of the 'humble act' are a discursive construct necessary to make the business of voluntourism maximally profitable on a competitive market.

[44] Fairclough, 'A Dialectical-Relational Approach'.
[45] Be that profit in the simple, monetary sense in the case of for-profit organisations, or profit in a broader sense in the case of non-profits that never the less profit in terms of funds for their organisation.
[46] Wearing, 'Volunteer Tourism', 3.

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From waste products to a living soil: a review of the formation, the functioning and the practical utility of constructed soils

Emily Magkourilou[1]

Soil is essential for life on Earth. Soils perform vital functions such as water storage, food production, and habitat provision for organisms. However, a third of the Earth's vegetated land is currently degraded with the majority of the remaining two thirds also showing signs of low soil quality, for example, poor structure and insufficient biodiversity. Systematic studies on the human impact on the soil system were first carried out in the mid-20th century but it was not until more recently that efforts to purposefully construct soil began. This review aims to explore the factors and processes underlying the formation of constructed soils; evaluate their ability to perform some of soil's functions; and finally, examine their potential contribution in solving problems such as land degradation. This review shows that typical soil forming factors such as climate remain crucial determinants of the formation of constructed soils but because of the extent of their influence, humans, are considered an additional soil forming factor. Overall, constructed soils mimicking some of the functions displayed by natural soils, can indeed be successfully constructed if local conditions are appropriate and a suitable protocol is followed. Whilst applications of constructed soils are still at their infancy, their capacity to help in the recycling of wasteful materials, support vegetation, combat climate change, as well as their use for agricultural and urban green spaces, have been considered.

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Introduction

Humankind has to some degree or another always depended on soils. On many occasions, focus on the scientific understanding of the soil system and its management has allowed for the prosperity and advancement of civilisation. For example, as early as 6000BC, ancient cultures in Southwestern Asia used terracing in order to preserve soil and water for agricultural purposes.[2] However, as humans' potential to alter the environment has increased, so has their capacity to degrade the soil system. Currently, it is estimated that at least a third of the Earth's soil is already degraded and 1.3 million people depend on land showing declining trends of productivity.[3] Despite these alarming facts, it is only recently that discussions surrounding the impact of human activities on soil pedogenesis (i.e. soil formation) and soil biological functioning (i.e. the capacity of soil to perform functions such as habitat provision) have begun.[4] With soil as a general topic gaining ground both in scientific and public discourse, [5] questions regarding the artificial construction of soil have also emerged.

Scientific research on the human influence on the pedosphere (i.e. soil system) gained prominence in the 1970s, with some of the first published articles concerning plaggen soils,[6] mining soils,[7] and

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[2] Jonathan A. Sandor, 'Ancient Agricultural Terraces and Soils', in *Footprints in the Soil: People and Ideas in Soil History*, ed. by Benno P. Warkentin (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 505-534.

[3] United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, *The Global Land Outlook*, ed. by Ian Johnson and Sasha Alexander, 1st edn, (Bonn, Germany: 2017).

[4] Holmes Rolston III, 'Rights and Responsibilities on the Home Planet', *Zygon®*, 28 (1993), 425-439.

[5] Alfred E. Hartemink and Alex McBratney, 'A Soil Science Renaissance', *Geoderma*, 148 (2008), 123-129.

[6] J. C. Pape, 'Plaggen Soils in the Netherlands', *Geoderma*, 4 (1970), 229-255.

[7] Richard M. Smith, Earl Haven Tryon and Edward Henry Tyner, *Soil Development on Mine Spoil*, Bullettin 604 T vols (West Virginia University, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1971).

urban soils.[8] In 1980, Kosse[9] proposed a new soil order termed 'Anthrosols'. Included in the World Reference Base for Soil Resources (WRB), this describes 'natural soils modified profoundly by human activities'. However, as research investigating soil disturbance due to human activities increased (Figure 1) so did the relevant terminology (Table 1).

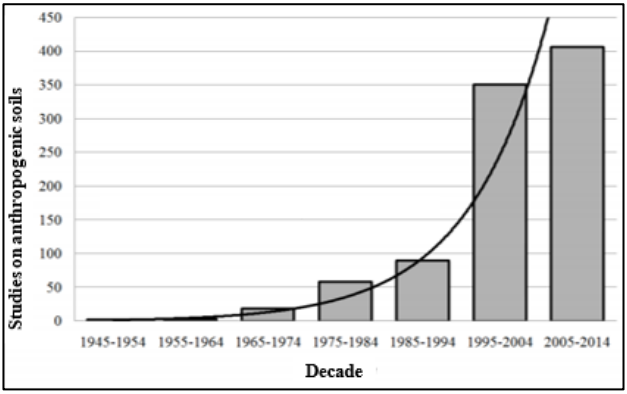

Figure 1. Number of studies on anthropogenic soils during seven decades from 1945 to 2014 (adapted)[10]

In 1995, the International Committee on Anthropogenic Soils (ICOMANTH) was established with the mission to 'define appropriate classes in soil taxonomy for soils that have their major properties derived from human activities'.[11] The term 'anthropogenic soils' was not newly coined, but it was proposed as an umbrella term describing

[8] Maechling, P., Cooke, H. and James Bockheim, 'Nature and Properties of Highly Distributed Urban Soils', *Agronomy Abstracts*, (1974).

[9] Alan Kosse, *Anthrosols: Proposals for a New Soil Order*, Agronomy Abstracts. ASA, CSSA, and SSSA, Madison, WI, 182 vols (1980).

[10] Gian Franco Capra and others, 'A Review on Anthropogenic Soils from a Worldwide Perspective', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 15 (2015), 1602-1618.

[11] ICOMANTH, *International Committee for Anthropogenic Soils*, ed. by B. Ray Briant, Circullar Letter 1, (1995) <https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/detail/soils/survey/class/taxonomy/?cid=stelprdb1262283>.

soils formed predominantly from human-derived materials (i.e. constructed soils) as well as soils which were not necessarily purposefully constructed by humans but whose major properties were still substantially shaped by human activity.[12] Nevertheless, only a few years later, the increase in the number of studies looking specifically at the construction of novel soils led to more WRB terminology. Specifically, the term 'Technosols' was introduced to describe 'soils containing many artefacts and whose pedogenesis and properties are determined mainly by their technical origin'.[13] Once again, this emphasised the distinction between human-influenced soils (i.e. Anthrosols) and human-constructed soils (i.e. Technosols) in the WRB.

Table 1. A selection of terminology surrounding anthropogenic soils listed in chronological order

Terminology	Year first introduced
Man-made soils[14]	1966
Man-influenced soils[15]	1978
Anthropogenic soils[16]	1978
Anthrosols[17,18]	1980

[12] ICOMANTH, *International Committee for Anthropogenic Soils,* ed. by John M. Galbraith, Circular Letter 7, (2011) <https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/detail/soils/survey/class/taxonomy/?cid=stelprdb1262283>.

[13] IUSS working group WRB, 'World Reference Base for Soil Resources 2006', *World Soil Resources Reports no.103,* (2006), 132.

[14] Dan H. Yaalon and Bruno Yaron, 'Framework for Man-made Soil Changes—an Outline of Metapedogenesis', *Soil Science,* 102 (1966), 272-277.

[15] Delvin S. Fanning, *Theories of Genesis and Classification of Highly Man-Influenced Soils,* Transections 11th International Congress of Soil Sci., Edmonton, Alberta, June (1978).

[16] M. R. P. Fedorishchak, 'Anthropogenic Soil Changes in the Zone of Influence of Metallurgical Plants', *Soviet Soil Science,* 11 (1978), 133-137.

[17] Nigel J. H. Smith, 'Anthrosols and Human Carrying Capacity in Amazonia', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 70 (1980), 553-566.

[18] Kosse, *Anthrosols: Proposals for a New Soil Order*.

Technogenic soils[19]	1982
Constructed soils[20]	1988
Anthroposols[21]	1996
Anthropic soils[22]	1998
Artificial soils[23]	1998
Technical soils[24]	2000
Technosols[25]	2003

That said, the present review does not aim to discuss issues of soil classification, but rather to look at constructed soils (CS) more broadly, in order to: (I) investigate the specifics of their pedogenesis; (II) consider their biological functions; and (III) examine their potential for practical uses.

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[19] G. J. Denisik and G. I. Roychenko, *The Rational use of Technogenic Soils in Podolye*, Kharkov edn, 1st Congress of the Soil Scientists and Agricultural Chemists of the Ukrainian SSR Soil Melioration, (1982).

[20] K. N. Potter, F. S. Carter and E. C. Doll, 'Physical Properties of Constructed and Undisturbed Soils', *Soil Science Society of America Journal*, 52 (1988), 1435-1438.

[21] Jean-Pierre Rossignol, 'Contrôle Et Suivi De La Qualité Des Propriétés Physiques Des Anthroposols Reconstitués Dans Les Espaces Verts Des Villes. Exemple De La Cité Internationale De Lyon', *Communication Et Actes De*, 5 (1996), 2.

[22] Laure Beaudet-Vidal, Valérie Fradin and Jean-Pierre Rossignol, 'Study of the Macroporosity of Reconstituted Anthropic Soils by Image Analysis', *Soil and Tillage Research*, 47 (1998), 173-179.

[23] Andrianus J. Koolen and Jean-Pierre Rossignol, 'Construction and use of Artificial Soils', *Soil Tillage Res*, 47 (1998), 151-155.

[24] Helmut Hauser and Dietmar Matthies, *Biomutans Floris as a Substitute for Peat and Compost in Technical Soils: Soil Physical and Mechanical Characteristics*, Essen, Germany edn, First International Conference Soils of Urban, Industrial, Traffic and Mining Areas, (2000), 315.

[25] David G. Rossiter and Wolfgang Burghardt, *Classification of Urban and Industrial Soils in the World Reference Base for Soil Resources: Working Document*, Second International Conference of the Working Group Soil of Urban, Industrial, Traffic and Mining Areas (SUITMA) of the International Union of Soil Science (IUSS), Nancy, (2003).

1. Pedogenesis: from waste products to the construction of a soil prototype

Pedogenesis – also known as soil formation or soil development – is the process by which soils are formed. It refers to all changes occurring in the physical, chemical, and biological components of soil from the initial break down of the parent materials (i.e. onsite minerals) onwards. The accumulation of biochemical processes acting upon the parent materials gradually leads to the formation of soil horizons which can be distinguished based on colour, texture, structure and chemistry (Figure 2). Traditionally, pedogenesis was thought to act over periods of centuries to millions of years, but with the increase of anthropogenic pressures on soils, changes in soil horizons can now occur over a timescale of decades.[26] In other words, human activities on land are now so widespread that soil evolution is rarely left to follow its natural course; rather, humans often actively engage with soils in order to shape their development and determine their properties.

[26] Jeffrey L. Howard and Dorota Olszewska, *Pedogenesis, Geochemical Forms of Heavy Metals, and Artifact Weathering in an Urban Soil Chronosequence, Detroit, Michigan,* 159 vols (2011), 754; Daniel Deb Richter, 'Humanity's Transformation of Earth's Soil: Pedology's New Frontier', *Soil Science,* (2007).

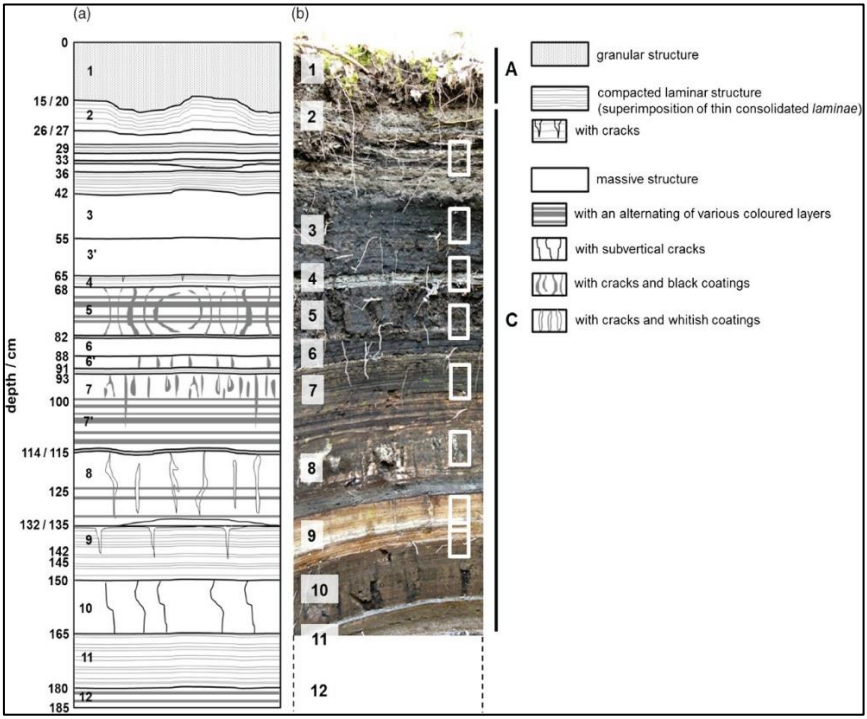

Figure 2. A Technosol profile as it has naturally developed over the course of 50 years on a former iron and steel industry pond. The variation in layer limits and structure is graphically shown in (a) whereas the real photograph of the profile is shown in (b) (adapted)[27]

Research on CS, and especially on CS pedogenesis, is both geographically restricted (Figure 3) and recent, with most relevant papers published during the past two decades.[28] Still, it is already well appreciated that typical soil forming factors, namely, climate, organisms, topography, parent materials and time[29] remain crucial determinants of CS pedogenesis. Consequently, CS pedogenesis more

[27] Hermine Huot and others, 'Characteristics and Potential Pedogenetic Processes of a Technosol Developing on Iron Industry Deposits', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 13 (2013), 555-568.

[28] Capra and others, 1602-1618

[29] Hans Jenny, 'Factors of Soil Formation: A System of Quantitative Pedology New York', *Macgraw Hill*, (1941).

often than not follows the typical patterns found in the pedogenesis of natural soils. This means that common processes such as weathering, ion exchange, aggregation and organic matter accumulation, can all occur.[30]

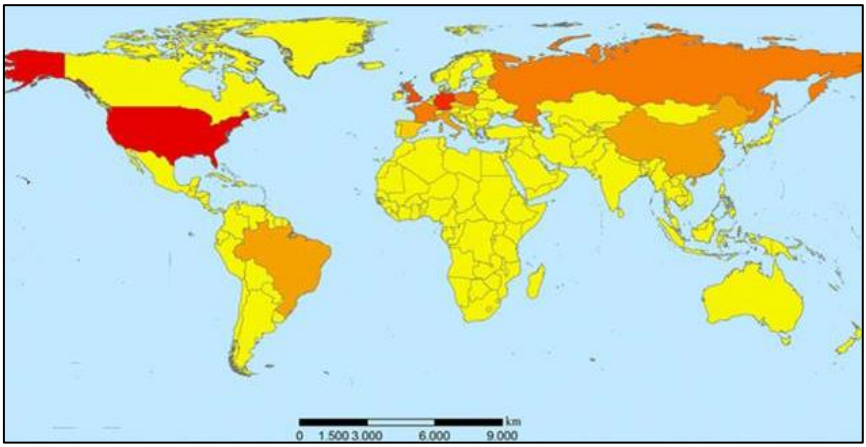

Figure 3. Global geographical distribution of a sample of 995 anthropogenic soils. Research effort is visualised with colours, where red indicates high, orange medium, and yellow low research effort (adapted)[31]

However, CS are also influenced by humans, a sixth soil forming factor which can lead to unexcepted pedological processes.[32] The pedogenesis of soil and how the different soil forming factors

[30] Lukasz Uzarowicz, 'Microscopic and Microchemical Study of Iron Sulphide Weathering in a Chronosequence of Technogenic and Natural Soils', *Geoderma*, 197-198 (2013), 137-150; Hermine Huot, Marie-Odile Simonnot and Jean Louis Morel, 'Pedogenetic Trends in Soils Formed in Technogenic Parent Materials', *Soil Science*, 180 (2015), 182-192; Grégoire Pascaud and others, 'Molecular Fingerprint of Soil Organic Matter as an Indicator of Pedogenesis Processes in Technosols', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 17 (2017), 340-351.

[31] Capra and others, 1602-1618.

[32] Randall J. Schaetzl and Sharon Anderson, 'Chapter 11: Models and Concepts of Soil Formation', in *Soils: Genesis and Geomorphology* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 295-346; Rudi Dudal, 'The Sixth Factor of Soil Formation', *Eurasian Soil Science*, 38 (2005), S60-S65.

interact to bring about soil evolution have been discussed elsewhere.[33] Therefore, only the specific ways by which soil factors influence the pedogenesis of CS are discussed below:

A. Parent Materials: CS consist mainly of artefacts made, defined, or extracted by humans such as bricks, concrete, or excavated bedrock (Figure 4). In many cases, CS are constructed on land whose geology does not match that of the artefacts and therefore pedogenesis is strongly influenced by the interaction between artefacts and parent rock.[34] Artificial parent materials can also result in unusual chemical composition and physical characteristics that in turn lead to unexpected soil properties such as pH, bulk density and texture. [35] Additionally, the artificial nature of the parent materials can set CS in disequilibrium with natural conditions, accelerating typical pedogenic processes and leading to a quick soil evolution.[36]

Figure 4. Technosol consisting mainly of artefacts (adapted)[1]

B. Climate: Given that CS are a result of human activity, it is not surprising that they are generally found in temperate regions (i.e. mean annual temperature > 0 °C and annual rainfall > 500 mm) where the

[33] Jenny, *Factors of Soil Formation: A System of Quantitative Pedology*; Philippe Duchaufour, *Pedology: Pedogenesis and Classification*, trans. by Paton (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012).
[34] Huot, Simonnot and Morel, 182-192.
[35] Huot and others, 555-568.
[36] Christian R. De Kimpe and Jean-Louis Morel, 'Urban Soil Management: A Growing Concern', *Soil Science*, 165 (2000), 31-40.

largest proportion of the world's population resides.[37] Urban CS, in particular, experience even higher temperatures as concrete land surfaces absorb more solar radiation than natural settings[38] and receive a higher input of water due to irrigation and water runoff from nearby impervious areas.[39] Overall, CS are found in warm and moist environments where climatic conditions often lead to fast biochemical reaction rates that in turn promote faster processes such as accelerated decomposition of material. This explains, in part, why CS exhibit a faster pedogenesis than natural soils.[40]

C. Organisms: By definition, CS are often contaminated or consist predominantly of industrial materials. However, earthworms, small arthropods, microbes as well as plant materials can be found even in the most polluted soils, and these soil biota are in fact the driving factor of CS pedogenesis.[41] Even when little life can be found at the very early stages of pedogenesis,[42] fauna and flora can colonise the soil as

[37] Christopher Small and Joel E. Cohen, 'Continental Physiography, Climate, and the Global Distribution of Human Population', *Current Anthropology*, 45 (2004), 269-277.
[38] Eulalia J. Gago and others, 'The City and Urban Heat Islands: A Review of Strategies to Mitigate Adverse Effects', *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, 25 (2013), 749-758.
[39] Capra and others, 1602-1618.
[40] Sophie Leguédois and others, *Modelling Pedogenesis of Technosols*, 262 vols (2016), 199.
[41] Jan Frouz and others, 'Soil Biota in Post-Mining Sites Along a Climatic Gradient in the USA: Simple Communities in Shortgrass Prairie Recover Faster than Complex Communities in Tallgrass Prairie and Forest', *Soil Biology and Biochemistry*, 67 (2013), 212-225; Hermine Huot and others, 'Early Transformation and Transfer Processes in a Technosol Developing on Iron Industry Deposits', *European Journal of Soil Science*, 65 (2014), 470-484.
[42] Francoise Watteau and Genevieve Villemin, 'Characterization of Organic Matter Microstructure Dynamics during Co-Composting of Sewage Sludge, Barks and Green Waste', *Bioresource Technology*, 102 (2011), 9313-9317.

it transforms into a more developed stage.[43] Overall, soil structure, weathering processes and nutrient equilibrium are all affected by soil biota,[44] for example, by the infiltration of plant roots which can create soil pores or promote soil aggregation.[45]

D. Topography: Humans tend to homogenise topography and more specifically to modify land by levelling or terracing. Consequently, CS are hardly impacted by the standard relationship between relief and drainage where materials or water typically follow a downslope movement.[46] Nevertheless, CS often have a particular internal or underground topography due to the distinct organisation and variability of artefacts used for their construction.[47] This heterogeneous internal structure can create topical pedogenic processes in areas between soil horizons and in cracks formed through soil horizons.[48] Overall, this results in CS being generally more varied than other soils and thus potentially showing distinct pedological processes even within a small distance.

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[43] Frouz and others, 212-225; Pierre Lucisine and others, 'Litter Chemistry Prevails Over Litter Consumers in Mediating Effects of Past Steel Industry Activities on Leaf Litter Decomposition', *Science of the Total Environment*, 537 (2015), 213-224

[44] Frouz and others, 212-225; Jan Frouz and others, 'Is the Effect of Trees on Soil Properties Mediated by Soil Fauna? A Case Study from Post-Mining Sites', *Forest Ecology and Management*, 309 (2013), 87-95; Huot and others, 470-484.

[45] Nouhou Salifou Jangorzo, Francoise Watteau and Christophe Schwartz, 'Evolution of the Pore Structure of Constructed Technosols during Early Pedogenesis Quantified by Image Analysis', *Geoderma*, 207-208 (2013), 180-192; Nouhou Salifou Jangorzo, Christophe Schwartz and Francoise Watteau, 'Image Analysis of Soil Thin Sections for a Non-Destructive Quantification of Aggregation in the Early Stages of Pedogenesis', *European Journal of Soil Science*, 65 (2014), 485-498.

[46] Richard Pouyat and others, 'Chemical, Physical, and Biological Characteristics of Urban Soils', *Urban Ecosystem Ecology*, 55 (2010), 119-152.

[47] Huot and others, 555-568; Marie-France Monserie and others, 'Technosol Genesis: Identification of Organo-Mineral Associations in a Young Technosol Derived from Coking Plant Waste Materials', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 9 (2009), 537-546.

[48] Huot and others, 470-484.

E. Time: In geological terms, CS are considered young soils.[49] Young soils are naturally unstable and prone to quick and sudden changes influenced by the environment, which is another contributing factor to their relatively fast pedogenesis.[50] This quick soil formation is one of CS considerable advantages because it can render them biologically functional in a short period of time, which raises the possibility of using them to combat global soil erosion.[51]

F. Humans: The human influence on soils mostly acts in relation to the aforementioned soil forming factors. However, in some cases, the influence of humans is such that its consideration as a separate factor is merited.[52] Human impact can influence the pedological processes of already existing soils either directly, through agricultural or mining activities, or indirectly, through deforestation, terracing, drainage etc.[53] Additionally, humans can purposefully construct novel soils by combining waste products with organic compost as well as with other selected ingredients (Figure 5).

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[49] Andreas Lehmann, 'Technosols and Other Proposals on Urban Soils for the WRB (World Reference Base for Soil Resources)', *International Agrophysics*, 20 (2006), 129-134.

[50] Markus Egli, Dennis Dahms and Kevin Norton, 'Soil Formation Rates on Silicate Parent Material in Alpine Environments: Different Approaches-Different Results?', *Geoderma*, 213 (2014), 320-333.

[51] Terrence J. Toy, George R. Foster and Kenneth G. Renard, 'Introduction', in *Soil Erosion: Processes, Prediction, Measurement, and Control* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 2.

[52] Dudal, S60-S65.

[53] Rudi Dudal, 'The Sixth Factor of Soil Formation', *Eurasian Soil Science*, 38 (2005), S60-S65.

Figure 5. A Technosol during (left) and after (right) construction (adapted)[54]

2. Biological functioning: from initial pedogenesis to a self-sustained living soil

For a CS to be deemed biologically useful, it needs to support a variety of functions vital for the continuation of life on Earth, such as being a medium for plant growth or a habitat for soil biota.[55] The ability of any soil to perform its functions is determined by what is termed 'soil health' or 'quality status'.[56] Thus, it is important to appreciate which components lead to soil being classed as 'healthy', as well as how soil quality can change over time due to anthropogenic influences. Although there is no consensus regarding the use of specific soil quality criteria,[57] the incorporation of both biological and physicochemical indicators is recommended for a holistic

[54] Farhan Hafeez and others, 'Taxonomic and Functional Characterization of Microbial Communities in Technosols Constructed for Remediation of a Contaminated Industrial Wasteland', *Journal of Soils and Sediments,* 12 (2012), 1396-1406.

[55] Douglas L. Karlen and others, 'Soil Quality: A Concept, Definition, and Framework for Evaluation (a Guest Editorial)', *Soil Science Society of America Journal,* 61 (1997), 4-10.

[56] Donald L. Johnson and others, 'Meanings of Environmental Terms', *Journal of Environmental Quality,* 26 (1997), 581-589.

[57] Fernando Gil-Sotres and others, 'Different Approaches to Evaluating Soil Quality using Biochemical Properties', *Soil Biology and Biochemistry,* 37 (2005), 877-887.

assessment.[58] This also applies to CS, as biological indicators have at times indicated a higher soil functioning than expected from looking at physicochemical characteristics alone.[59]

Soil biota are important as quality indicators because as well as influencing pedogenesis, they are crucial in maintaining soil functionality by means of improving soil structure[60] and soil fertility.[61] That said, in the case of CS a substantial development of aggregates (i.e. bound soil particles) can be observed after a period of five months, regardless of the effect of plants, earthworms, and compost.[62] It is believed that this formation of an initial structure is possible because of the minerals found in the artificial parent material. After the first stages of pedogenesis, earthworms and plants become more important than parent materials[63] or even climatic conditions[64] in determining the hydrostructural properties of soil, and earthworms alone have the greatest effect on soil aggregation and structural stability.[65]

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[58] Julian James Charles Dawson and others, 'Application of Biological Indicators to Assess Recovery of Hydrocarbon Impacted Soils', *Soil Biology and Biochemistry,* 39 (2007), 164-177.

[59] Sophie Joimel and others, 'Urban and Industrial Land Uses have a Higher Soil Biological Quality than Expected from Physicochemical Quality', *Science of the Total Environment,* 584-585 (2017), 614-621.

[60] David C. Coleman, Mac A. Callaham and D. A. Crossley, *Fundamentals of Soil Ecology*, 3rd edn (London: Academic Press, 2017), 386; Manuel Blouin and others, 'A Review of Earthworm Impact on Soil Function and Ecosystem Services', *European Journal of Soil Science,* 64 (2013), 161-182.

[61] Joke C. Y. Marinissen, 'Earthworm Populations and Stability of Soil Structure in a Silt Loam Soil of a Recently Reclaimed Polder in the Netherlands', *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment,* 51 (1994), 75-87.

[62] Maha Deeb and others, 'Interactive Effects of Compost, Plants and Earthworms on the Aggregations of Constructed Technosols', *Geoderma,* 305 (2017), 305-313.

[63] Maha Deeb and others, 'Interactions between Organisms and Parent Materials of a Constructed Technosol Shape its Hydrostructural Properties', *Soil,* 2 (2016), 163-174.

[64] Nouhou Salifou Jangorzo, Françoise Watteau and Christophe Schwartz, 'Ranking of Wetting–drying, Plant, and Fauna Factors Involved in the Structure Dynamics of a Young Constructed Technosol', *Journal of Soils and Sediments,* (2018), 1-10.

[65] Deeb and others, 305-313.

Whilst it is well known that compost addition can improve soil fertility,[66] in the case of CS this is only true in the presence of soil biota.[67] A recent study looking at the colonisation of a French Technosol by soil fauna found that not only did invertebrates such as beetles and spiders colonise the soil, but that their abundance and diversity was similar to that of natural soils after a period of four years.[68] Similarly, another study found Technosols to be readily inhabited by nematodes within a year, with diversity and abundance decreasing with soil depth and species diversity increasing during the four-year duration of the study.[69] In another study, urban and industrial soils in France were found to sustain a larger arthropod diversity than nearby agricultural soils. Ultimately, this suggests that CS could be potentially used to substitute degraded soils, as they can not only perform vital soil functions such as supporting life but if constructed appropriately their species diversity and abundance can exceed that of some natural soils.

Even though soil biota, in particular earthworms, are capable of colonising CS from the stage of early development,[70] measures can be taken during the construction of a CS to support the prolonged presence and richness of organisms. Results from one study showed how addition of topsoil in Technosols constructed for use in urban parks increased the abundance of ants and earthworms over a period of 20 years, whereas numbers were found to decrease if no topsoil was

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[66] Mirian Pateiro-Moure and others, 'Quaternary Herbicides Retention by the Amendment of Acid Soils with a Bentonite-Based Waste from Wineries', *Journal of Hazardous Materials*, 164 (2009), 769-775.

[67] Deeb and others, 305-313.

[68] Mickaël Hedde and others, 'Early Colonization of Constructed Technosols by Macro-Invertebrates', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, (2018), 1-11.

[69] Cecile Villenave and others, 'Rapid Changes in Soil Nematodes in the First Years After Technosol Construction for the Remediation of an Industrial Wasteland', *Eurasian Soil Science*, 51 (2018), 1266-1273.

[70] Benjamin Pey and others, 'Structure of Earthworm Burrows Related to Organic Matter of a Constructed Technosol', *Geoderma*, 202-203 (2013), 103-111.

added.[71] Similarly, it has been shown that a mix, rather than the use of a single waste product, is best for constructing a biologically functioning soil, as important soil physicochemical characteristics such as water retention capacity, bulk density, carbon content, and pH can be controlled for by the type and the ratio of the chosen wastes.[72] Lastly, adding a mineral substrate (e.g. mud polluted with iron due to mining activities) with organic wastes (e.g. sewage sludge from wastewater treatment) can increase soil productivity as this reduces the decomposition rate of organic matter by chemically stabilising it.[73] Thus, all of these points showcase the importance of the initial conditions during construction and the overall variability that can exist within CS pedogenesis.

Finally, it has been suggested that after the initial years of soil formation, CS can adequately support vegetation[74] and that in fact their biological functioning can be further improved by planting trees.[75] Cortet and colleagues[76] showed that a soil constructed primarily from industrial waste could sustain a diversified temperate forest with a fauna diversity and soil respirometry (i.e. CO_2 production

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[71] Alan Vergnes and others, 'Initial Conditions during Technosol Implementation Shape Earthworms and Ants Diversity', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 159 (2017), 32-41.

[72] Sarah Rokia and others, 'Modelling Agronomic Properties of Technosols Constructed with Urban Wastes', *Waste Management*, 34 (2014), 2155-2162.

[73] Maria C. Hernandez-Soriano and others, 'Stability of Organic Matter in Anthropic Soils: A Spectroscopic Approach', in *Soil Processes and Current Trends in Quality Assessment* (InTech, 2013).

[74] Deniz Yilmaz and others, 'Physical Properties of Structural Soils Containing Waste Materials to Achieve Urban Greening', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 18 (2018), 442-455.

[75] Jitendra Ahirwal and others, 'Reclamation of Coal Mine Spoil and its Effect on Technosol Quality and Carbon Sequestration: A Case Study from India', *Environmental Science and Pollution Research*, 25 (2018), 27992-28003.

[76] Jerome Cortet and others, *Diversified Forest Ecosystems can Grow on Industrial Waste Residues: Evidence from a Multiproxy Approach*, EGU General Assembly Conference Abstracts, 12 vols (2010), 4008.

from soil organisms) as expected from a similar forest grown on natural soil in the North-East of France. According to another study conducted in the Czech Republic, the use of deciduous trees in particular is preferable as they produce litter with low Carbon/Nitrogen ratio. This has been found to optimally support fauna driven bioturbation (i.e. mixing and reworking of soil materials) which in turn results in more organic matter going into the top soil horizon and increased microbial respiration.[77] Furthermore, CS have been found to maintain the same level of leaf litter decomposition to natural soils even if polluted with trace metals.[78] Even without the effect of trees, microbial composition and diversity in CS have been found to be very similar to natural soils after a period of just two years.[79] It is important to note, however, that due to the initial heterogeneous internal topography of CS, microbial communities can show a high spatial variability which then decreases with time as soil becomes more stable and homogeneous.[80] Additionally, as it has been noted before, not all CS share the same initial characteristics and this can lead to soil-specific pedological processes. This was demonstrated by a study conducted in Russia where the biological activity of the CS studied was found to be very low due to the underdevelopment of the microbial community.[81]

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[77] Frouz and others, 87-95.
[78] Lucisine and others, 213-224.
[79] Hafeez and others, 1396-1406.
[80] Farhan Hafeez and others, 'Taxonomic and Functional Characterization of Microbial Communities in Technosols Constructed for Remediation of a Contaminated Industrial Wasteland', *Journal of Soils and Sediments,* 12 (2012), 1396-1406.
[81] E. V. Abakumov and others, 'Biological and Sanitary Evaluation of Sibaisky Quarry Dumps of the Bashkortostan Republic', *Gigiena i Sanitariia,* 95 (2016), 929-934.

3. Practical uses: from waste products to a useful soil

Anthropogenic influences on soil typically concern issues such as soil degradation and soil contamination. However, in recent years efforts have been made to develop fully functional soils with the potential to perform vital ecosystem processes.[82] In addition, most CS are made from urban waste (e.g. sewage sludge) and waste from industrial activities (e.g. paper mills), so recycling of unwanted materials is a clear, added benefit of artificial soil construction.

As evidenced in this review, CS have been developed with the capacity to create soil porosity[83] and to undergo the typical pedological process occurring in all soils.[84] Most importantly though, many CS have been found to contain a similar[85] or even higher[86] diversity and abundance of soil fauna than that exhibited by natural soils. Ultimately, the capacity of CS to support vegetation has been demonstrated,[87] opening the way for their extensive use in urban green spaces or for the recovery of former industrial sites.

In addition, other functions and potential uses of CS have been explored. One example is using them to combat climate change, a possibility which has become more promising since the recent discovery of their capacity to store large amounts of organic carbon, especially if covered by vegetation.[88] Moreover, Technosols in Rwanda have been found to respond better to the incorporation of

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[82] Jean Louis Morel, Claire Chenu and Klaus Lorenz, 'Ecosystem Services Provided by Soils of Urban, Industrial, Traffic, Mining, and Military Areas (SUITMAs)', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 15 (2015), 1659-1666.
[83] Jangorzo, Watteau and Schwartz, 180-192.
[84] Geoffroy Séré and others, 'Early Pedogenic Evolution of Constructed Technosols', *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 10 (2010), 1246-1254.
[85] Cortet and others, 4008; Hedde and others, 1-11; Villenave and others, 1266-1273; Hafeez and others, 1396-1406.
[86] Deeb and others, 305-313.
[87] Yilmaz and others, 442-455.
[88] Frédéric Rees and others, 'Storage of Carbon in Constructed Technosols: In Situ Monitoring Over a Decade', *Geoderma*, 337 (2019), 641-648.

traditional fertiliser (e.g. farmyard manure) and to have a higher potential for soil productivity restoration than natural arable soil,[89] signifying their potential use for combating soil degradation caused due to intensive agricultural practises.

4. Conclusion

In summary, there are many different ways to construct a soil and careful consideration needs to be made particularly during the selection of ingredients, their pre-implementation treatment and the actual construction process.[90] Furthermore, in considering the number of different soil types that occur naturally, one can understand that artificial soil construction is a varied process. Whilst, soil construction can lead to the formation of a healthy and functional soil, not every soil development is a success; efforts to create healthy soil have at times resulted in little soil evolution, showcased by the development of a limited soil profile, and by poor biological functioning. Consequently, further research is needed in order to confirm the consistency of CS functioning, to consider more practical and economical uses of CS, and to expand the geographical range under which these soils are tested and implemented.

[89] Dora Neina, Andreas Buerkert and Rainer Georg Joergensen, 'Microbial Response to the Restoration of a Technosol Amended with Local Organic Materials', *Soil and Tillage Research*, 163 (2016), 214-223.
[90] Hedde and others, 1-11.

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Modern day Orientalism: U.S. foreign policy towards Syria

Lilith Maimouna Dost[1]

This article discusses Said's arguments in Orientalism *with reference to United States (U.S.) foreign policy towards Syria in the late 1990s to early 2000s. Through a consideration of the U.S. Congress bill 'The Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act' (SALSRA), the inherent Orientalist nature of U.S. foreign policy is demonstrated with recognition of the differences to U.S.-Israeli relations during the same timeframe. The three main U.S. demands for Syria in SALSRA are evaluated; (1) To end Syrian occupation of Lebanon, emphasizing the hierarchical distinction made between Orient-Occident; (2) To halt Syrian support for terrorism, highlighting how knowledge is produced on Syria as a terrorist 'Other' and functions as a legitimisation of U.S. democratisation; and (3) To stop Syrian development of Weapons of Mass Destruction, underlining how Orientalist logic is governed not by reality but by desire. Through a consideration of the relationship between power-knowledge within a Foucauldian 'regime of truth', it is concluded that Orientalism is a veridic discourse on the 'Orient'. By applying Foucault to a modern Western state, it is acknowledged how the U.S. claiming to speak 'The Truth' about Syria is an act of power, specifically one that enabled SALSRA to be implemented.*

With the publication of Said's book *Orientalism*[2] came a profoundly useful material for understanding the relationship between the 'West' and the 'Middle East'. The arguments brought forth by Said will be discussed in this paper with reference to the United States (U.S.) foreign policy towards Syria. Since the topic of U.S.-Syrian relations

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[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

is incredibly vast, the specific example of the U.S. Congress bill 'The Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act' (SALSRA) will be taken into consideration.[3] In 2003, SALSRA marked a key shift towards neoconservatism by being based on isolation rather than engagement and will thus relevantly show the Orientalism in U.S. foreign policy.[4] Whilst the focus of this paper is U.S. foreign policy towards Syria, these policies cannot be regarded in isolation and will therefore be regarded with a recognition of the differences to U.S.-Israeli relations during the late 1990s and early 2000s to demonstrate its Orientalist framework. Firstly, these differences will be established with regards to SALSRA demanding Syria end its occupation of Lebanon, which will be followed by an analysis of the distinction made between Orient-Occident in terms of superiority. Secondly, how the knowledge produced on Syria as a terrorist 'Other' in SALSRA will be demonstrated with a subsequent analysis of how these functions for the U.S. to justify democratisation. Lastly, how the Orientalist logic in SALSRA is governed not by reality but by desire will be illustrated with the U.S. requesting Syria to halt its development of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). This will allow a concluding portrayal of the relationship between knowledge and power with the help of Foucault's regimes of truth.

A primary purpose of SALSRA was to end Syria's presence in Lebanon since 1976. The bill referred to the United Nations Security Council (U.N.S.C.) Resolution 520 and called for Syrian recognition of Lebanese sovereignty. This included placing strict sanctions on

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[3] Committee on International Relations, *Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act Of 2003* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 2003).

[4] Stephen Zunes, 'U.S. Policy Towards Syria and the Triumph of Neoconservativism', *Middle East Policy*, 11:1 (2004), 52-69; Mir Sadat and Daniel Jones, 'U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Syria: Balancing Ideology and National Interests', *Middle East Policy*, 16:2 (2009), 93-105; Jülide Karakoç, 'US Policy Towards Syria Since The Early 2000S', *Critique*, 41:2 (2013), 223-243.

Syria, including the ban of all U.S. exports and investments.[5] Strikingly, however, none of the congressional supporters of SALSRA ever called upon Israel to do the same despite its 22-year occupation of Lebanese territory and likewise violation of Resolution 520. Rather than placing sanctions on Israel, the U.S. government continued to provide military and economic aid during its period of Lebanese occupation.[6] This, highlights how the U.S. foreign policy towards Syria is different when placed in direct comparison to Israel. Zunes suggests that U.S. hostility towards Syria as shown in SALSRA has more to do with Syria's unalignment with the U.S. agenda in the Middle East than preserving Lebanese sovereignty.[7] The U.S. government, it is argued, only acknowledges a violation of U.N.S.C. resolutions if the regime in question poses a threat to 'Western' hegemony. This illustrates how U.S. demands are 'targeted at specific countries based solely on ideological criteria…in favour of a hegemonic world order'.[8] Following this line of argument, since Israel is perceived as 'Westernized' by the U.S. and poses no threat to this hegemony, it's violation of Resolution 520 can be disregarded. Syria, on the other hand, is defined as an 'Orient' by the U.S. which threatens 'Western' dominance in the Middle Eastern region, resulting in policies such as SALSRA being implemented. This suggests that U.S. foreign policy is based on the Orientalist determination to undermine the Syrian government due to its identity as an 'Other'.[9] By making this distinction between states, the U.S. serves to uphold the Orientalist dichotomy of Orient-Occident as an instrument for preserving and spreading 'Western' hegemony.

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[5] Karakoç, 227.
[6] Karakoç, 227.
[7] Zunes.
[8] Zunes, 67.
[9] Zunes, 53; Sadat and Jones, 95-96; Karakoç, 227.

Through its foreign policy in the early 2000s, the U.S. consistently sustains the Orientalist duality of 'Orient' versus 'Occident' by treating Syria as different to Israel and itself. This applies to Said's definition of Orientalism as 'a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and… "the Occident"'.[10] This can be seen through the U.S. regarding Israel as 'Occidental' due to its perceived alignment with modernity and civilisation whereas Syria is presented in complete contrast as an 'Oriental Other' – containing backward and primitive characteristics instead.[11] This is founded in liberal assumptions of the 'West' and notions of its shadow 'Other'. This follows Said's argument that within an Orientalist framework, the perspectives on each are socially constructed as two mutually exclusive entities.[12] By portraying itself as having what the 'Orient' lacks,[13] the U.S aims to reinforce Western transgenerational dominance.[14] This serves to maintain Orientalism by declaring how valuable it is to imitate the 'West' by advancing from what is identified as an *underdeveloped* condition in the Middle East.[15] From a U.S. foreign policy perspective, Syria's inferiority therefore functions on the representation of being associated with the 'Orient', an 'Other' which lies outside the realm of the U.S. definition of ideal. U.S. hostility towards Syria and alliance towards Israel therefore serves to maintain the Orientalist view of 'Occidental' superiority over the 'Orient'. It aims to subjugate Syria through identification with the latter whilst bolstering Israel as the

[10] Said, *Orientalism*, 2.
[11] Karakoç, 223; Beverley Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in The Middle East*, 4th ed (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018),7.
[12] Said, *Orientalism*, 1-2.
[13] Bryan Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism, and Globalism* (London: Routledge, 1994), 4.
[14] David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[15] Bernard Lewis, 'The Roots of Muslim Rage', *The Atlantic*, 266:3 (1990), 47-60, 56-57.

former.[16] The U.S. foreign policy towards Syria, as seen through SALSRA, therefore relies on the Orientalist conception that by its 'Oriental' nature it is different to the 'Occident' and should thus be treated respectively.

Fundamental to the U.S. identifying Syria as 'Oriental' is specifically identifying it as a terrorist 'Other'. Considering the lack of a universally accepted definition of terrorism and its vague understandings, labelling Syria as 'terrorist' involves a decision that carries great political weight. A principal aspect of SALSRA was to hold Syria accountable for its alleged support for *what the U.S. defines as terrorism*, including Hezbollah in Lebanon, foreign fighters in Iraq and Hamas in Palestine.[17] In 2002, Syria was defined as a 'rogue state'.[18] Associating Syria with terrorism can further be seen throughout the U.S. State Department reports on terrorism[19] and counterterrorism.[20] What is prominent in these reports and SALSRA is specifically criticizing Syria for co-operating in the Palestinian struggle for statehood by providing support for opposition groups and thereby threatening Israeli dominance in the region.[21] A U.S. foreign policy towards Syria with Israel bias is thus shown since in this context the U.S. is making a distinction between Palestinian terrorism and

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[16] Karakoç, 223.
[17] Sadat and Jones; Karakoç.
[18] Sadat and Jones, 96-97.
[19] United States Department of State, 'Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001' (2002) <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2001/> [Accessed 24 Sept. 2018]; United States Department of State, 'Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002' (2003) <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2002/> [Accessed 24 Sept. 2018]; United States Department of State, 'Country Reports on Terrorism 2005' (2006) <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/c17689.htm> [Accessed 24 Sep 2018]; United States Department of State, 'Country Reports on Terrorism 2006' (2007) <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2006/index.htm> [Accessed 24 Sep 2018]
[20] The White Hourse, 'National Strategy for Counterterrorism' (2011) <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/06/29/national-strategy-counterterrorism> [Accessed 22 Sep 2018].
[21] Zunes, 53; Sadat and Jones, 100; Karakoç, 229-230.

Israeli military aggression. Israeli state violence is legitimized through the U.S. perception of Israel acting as a rational actor. By claiming to have authority on deciding what is considered as terrorism and what is justified defence, the U.S. preserves the Orientalist duality of terrorist-non-terrorist. Integral to this U.S. perspective is a clear manipulation of democratic-peace theory, since under this rubric, a 'Western' democracy such as Israel is by nature peaceful and can thus not be associated with terrorism, whereas Syria lacks democratic principles and can therefore be associated with terrorism.[22] This again creates a clear duality between Syria and Israel by endorsing those states identified as pertaining 'Western' and democratic values whilst condemning those labelled 'Orientals' and authoritarian. While Israel is seen as 'civilised', Syria is delegitimized by the U.S. as a terrorist 'Other'.[23] Such thinking relates to and sustains the terrorist-democracy dichotomy within Orientalism by associating 'Oriental' states with terrorism and 'Occidental' states with democracy.

It is imperative to clarify that there is a function for why Syria is defined as a terrorist 'Other' by the U.S. Relevant here is Said's definition of Orientalism as 'dealing with the Orient…by making statements about it, authorizing views on it…teaching it, settling it, ruling over it'.[24] By inventing this narrative of Syria as a barbarous 'Other' which harbours terrorism, the U.S. produces a reality which can be acted upon. This follows Said's argument that '"our" Orient becomes "ours" to possess and direct'.[25] Creating a specific version of the 'Orient' is done for the benefit of the 'Occident'. It is therefore crucial to keep in mind that when Syria is demonized in this manner, the U.S. has clear political and economic objectives.[26] Representing

[22] Sadat and Jones, 96-97.
[23] Karakoç, 225.
[24] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[25] Said, *Orientalism*, xvii.
[26] Sadat and Jones, 93.

Syria as a threat and associating it with terrorism, serves to justify U.S. actions as not only appropriate but desired; it makes these actions thinkable and practicable.[27] To clarify, the argument here is not to invalidate the claim that terrorism exists in Syria but that the image of Syria being a terrorist 'Other' is heightened by the U.S. for strategic political purposes.

This representation of Syria enables the legitimization of foreign-policy objectives such as democratisation efforts by the U.S. to replace the Syrian regime with a 'Western' model.[28] Such measures towards Syria by the U.S. can be seen for instance with the Greater Middle East Initiative. The U.S. administration implemented this policy around the same time as SALSRA to promote democracy and freedom to those countries identified as lacking 'Western' values to 'clean up the messy part of the world'.[29] Such Orientalist perspectives echo the same paternalistic justifications used for colonialism. It is vital to underline that democratisation efforts are framed within a context of generosity; the U.S. is so generous as to alleviate Syria from its clear position of suffering. Since democracy is outlined as the normal progression towards development, when Syria rejects this 'generous' offer, the regime is automatically defined as abnormal. This results in a justification for involvement in the Middle East to force democracy upon the Syrian regime as it must be uncivilised to reject the 'ideal Western model'. The language of generosity in democratisation therefore reproduces the Orientalist relationship between the U.S. and Syria in terms of superiority; legitimizing that the 'Occident' has the authority to civilize the 'Orient'.

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[27] Dag Tuastad, 'Neo-Orientalism and the new barbarism thesis: Aspects of symbolic violence in the Middle East conflict(s)', *Third World Quarterly*, 24:4 (2003), 591-599, (592).
[28] Karakoç, 229.
[29] Karakoç, 234.

This Orientalist relationship between the U.S. and Syria is reinforced through the image of Syria as a terrorist 'Other'. During the Clinton administration, State Department officials confessed that listing Syria as a sponsor for terrorism was 'not a result of direct Syrian support for international terrorism but a means of exerting political leverage against the regime'.[30] The 'Orient' is produced as a terrorist 'Other' to allow a necessity for democratisation to bring rationality and peace to those designated as underdeveloped.[31] The justification to democratise Syria exists due to the invented image of the 'Orient'. As Said states: 'modernization and development in the Third World can never be completely understood unless it is also noted how the policy itself produced a style of thought and habit of seeing the Third World'.[32] It is thus essential to recognize the function of the knowledge produced about Syria by the U.S. when analysing US-Syrian relations. This ties into how the Orientalist logic behind implementing SALSRA is governed not by reality but rather by desire.

According to Said, Orientalist logic is 'a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires'.[33] The Orientalist logic intertwined in U.S.-Syrian relations can be said to follow this line of argument and SALSRA demonstrates this quite effectively. Despite a lack of evidence proving Syria was involved in terrorism and developing WMDs, the bill was still passed by Congress in December 2003.[34] This held the Syrian regime accountable for causing insecurity in the Middle East and threatening U.S. national security when there was little to no empirical proof to this statement.[35] For instance, the report blames Syria's involvement in the attacks of

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[30] Zunes, 54.
[31] Karakoç, 225.
[32] Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine how We See the Rest of the World (*London: Vintage Books, 1997), 29.
[33] Said, *Orientalism*, 8.
[34] Karakoç, 230.
[35] Zunes, 61.

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine when there was more evidence *denying* this claim.[36] The persistence to construct Syria as a terrorist state and neglect these findings was essential for the U.S. to request Syria to halt its development of WMDs. This was a central point in SALSRA and portrayed Syria's nuclear program as a threat despite there being no proof of nuclear weapons being developed. It was disregarded that the Syrian government had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and recognized all precautions of the International Atomic Energy Agency.[37] Furthermore, when Syria suggested a WMD-free zone in the Middle East, the U.S. disapproved of this plan as this would have put their ally Israel in jeopardy. This conveys how the U.S. demanding a Syrian disarmament strove to choose which states have military might and which do not.[38] The Orientalist logic behind SALSRA therefore tends to be governed by the value this has for the U.S. to enable intervention rather than a recognition of empirical evidence; i.e. desire rather than reality. The U.S. can be seen to construct a version of reality most beneficial for their political cause; a Syria which is involved in terrorism and developing WMDs. That this constructed reality is recognized as the ultimate truth, i.e. 'The Truth' as according to Foucault,[39] despite the evidence which brings this into question is what identifies the relationship between knowledge and power.

Whether based on evidence or not, the 'Oriental' image of Syria that is constructed by the U.S. is not one of many truths but is presented as 'The Truth'. The image of Syria as an 'Orient', which has been established to include inferiority, terrorism and otherness, is constructed by the U.S. regardless if this portrayal is unfounded.

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[36] Zunes, 64; Sadat and Jones, 97; Karakoç, 231.
[37] Zunes, 62.
[38] Zunes, 61-63; Karakoç, 223.
[39] Michael Foucault, 'Truth and Power', in *The Foucault Reader* (London: Vintage Books, 1984), 51-75.

Said's definition of Orientalism 'as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient [because it is] a veridic discourse about the Orient' is most useful here.[40] If discourse can be accepted as the productive force of how a topic such as the 'Orient' is spoken and thought about,[41] veridic discourse is the discourse that presents itself as claiming to speak 'The Truth' about the 'Orient'. Treating Orientalism as a discourse allows an appreciation for how it is productive; it produces and sustains what is seen as 'The Truth' on the 'Orient'.[42] Here one can draw links between Said's Orientalism as a veridic discourse and a Foucauldian regime of truth. Central to both Said's and Foucault's argument is that the claim to speaking 'The Truth' is linked to power.[43] It is the claim to 'The Truth' and presenting it as such that is an act of power since it discredits alternative truths, thereby constructing a hegemonic version of reality. Foucault clarifies that 'Truth' is not just simply accepted as true but rather exists within a regime of truth where there are rules which decipher what is true and false.[44] It is these rules which have the capability to disguise something as 'The Truth' regardless of how false it may be.[45] From a U.S. foreign policy perspective, a certain type of discourse on Syria is thus treated as 'The Truth' regardless if there are inherent falsities. This is because produced knowledge on Syria constructs a certain reality which reflects what is most beneficial to U.S. interests. Knowledge that exists for policies such as SALSRA, must therefore always be regarded with an appreciation of the context from which it is produced. This follows

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[40] Said, *Orientalism*, 6.
[41] Nicki Lisa Cole, 'What Is Discourse?', *Thoughtco*, 2019 <https://www.thoughtco.com/discourse-definition-3026070> [Accessed 13 Jan 2019].
[42] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[43] Andrea Teti, 'Orientalism as a form of Confession', *Foucault Studies*, 17 (2014), 193-212 (194).
[44] Foucault,74.
[45] Foucault, 73-74.

Said's definition of Orientalism as 'a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience'.[46] It is the 'Occident' which defines the 'Orient' and thus the choices involved in this construction of 'The Truth' are attached to privilege; a certain type of narrative on Syria is invented for the benefit of U.S. foreign policy objectives. The veridic discourse on Syria, then, can be seen as a technique of governance and underlines the intimate relationship between the production of knowledge and power.

In conclusion, the three main aspects of SALSRA including the demand for Syria to end its occupation of Lebanon, to halt its support for terrorism and stop its development of WMDs have each been outlined alongside Said's main arguments in *Orientalism.*[47] Firstly, it has been established that there is a distinction made between the 'Orient' and the 'Occident' which is based on a scale of superiority. This could be seen with the U.S. treating Syria as different to Israel and thereby upholding the Orient-Occident dichotomy. Secondly, it has been recognized that the knowledge on the 'Orient' is produced by the 'Occident' and serves to benefit the latter. This was demonstrated with the U.S. constructing Syria as a terrorist 'Other' as a function for justifying democratisation. Lastly, it has been conveyed how Orientalist logic is governed not by reality but by desire. This was illustrated with U.S. foreign policy objectives overshadowing the lack of empirical evidence. These three components enabled for an overall conclusion, supported by a Foucauldian framework, on the relationship between knowledge and power; how Orientalism is a veridic discourse on the 'Orient' and that these claims to speaking 'The Truth' is an act of power. The U.S. constructed a reality on Syria

[46] Said, *Orientalism*, 1.
[47] Said, *Orientalism.*

and claimed it as ‘The Truth’ to enable a foreign policy such as SALSRA to be implemented.

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The influence of lobbying in US politics

Dwight Robinson[1]

Within contemporary politics lobbying has exerted significant levels of impact over US society and the ordinary citizen's faith in democracy. This essay examines the influence lobbying has on US politics and the implications that arise from lobbying. In order to achieve this, two factors will be examined – PACs and direct lobbying – with evidence to further illustrate the influence of lobbying. Other key issues surrounding lobbying will be evaluated, such as the revolving door syndrome, electoral vulnerability of US legislators, and strategies deployed by lobbyists. Furthermore, the reason as to why the American political system is susceptible to lobbying will be explained. The analysis that the essay produces highlights unsettling implications for public faith in American democracy and the imbedded nature of lobbying within the US political system.

Since the early days, lobbying has played a crucial role in American politics. Logan and Fellow call it the 'Third House' to illustrate the significance of lobbying in US politics.[2] Lobbying is often viewed with suspicion by the general public, who identify it as the power held by interest groups which is damaging to public faith in democracy.[3] This essay will clarify what lobbying is and the ways in which it influences US politics. Ashbee provides a clear definition of lobbying as special form of interest seeking '…to persuade, or "lobby",

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[2] Edward B. Logan, and Simon N. Patten Fellow. 'Lobbying', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 144 (1929), i-91.

[3] John M. de Figueiredo and Brian S. Silverman, 'Academic Earmarks and The Returns to Lobbying', *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 49.2 (2006), 597-625.

decision-makers at the federal, state, or local level'.[4] It is clearly shown that lobbying involves *persuading* which goes far beyond the direct lobbying of hiring large corporate firms to influence policymakers;[5] it also involves Political Action Committees (PACs) which are large funds set up to finance political campaigns for elected officials, as they are a crucial form of gaining the favour of, and influencing policymakers.[6] This essay focusses specifically on influence. As Woll notes, influence is difficult to measure empirically and because of this, the essay will examine it as '[…] the exercise of power and its causal effects on policy outcomes'.[7] In this essay I will present the following thesis: *lobbying does influence US politics through special/corporate interest using Political Action Committees (PACs) and direct lobbying, to persuade policymakers to create favourable legislation for them*. In order to validate the thesis statement, two factors will be examined - PACs and direct lobbying - because they are the key components in exerting influence through lobbying.[8]

How are special interests able to influence US politics with such ease? Ashbee highlights three factors that facilitate this kind of influence: institutional architecture, structure of political opportunity,

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[4] Edward Ashbee, *US Politics Today* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 63.

[5] De Figueiredo and Silverman.

[6] Matthew D. Hill and others, 'Determinants and Effects Of Corporate Lobbying', *Financial Management*, 42.4 (2013), 931-957; John R. Wright, 'Contributions, Lobbying, And Committee Voting In The U.S. House Of Representatives', *The American Political Science Review*, 84.2 (1990), 417-438; John M. de Figueiredo and Brian S. Silverman, 'Academic Earmarks and The Returns To Lobbying', *The Journal Of Law And Economics*, 49.2 (2006), 597-625; Christine Mahoney, 'Lobbying Success In The United States And The European Union', *Journal Of Public Policy*, 27.01 (2007), 35-56.

[7] Cornelia Woll, "Leading the Dance? Power and Political Resources of Business Lobbyists", *Journal of Public Policy*, 27.01 (2007), 57-78 (57, 61).

[8] Hill and others, 937.

and resources.[9] The first, institutional architecture, refers to the porous nature of the US political system. There are many access points for special interest to influence policy such as the federal, state and county level.[10] This is illustrated by companies and other special interest groups, such as AstraZeneca, AT&T Inc. and the National Rifle Association (NRA), lobbying all fifty state capitals.[11] The second factor, structure of political opportunity, is that which allows many interest groups to have a close association with political parties, meaning that when the associated party is in government the group has greater influence over policy.[12] An example of this was seen under the George W. Bush presidency when neoconservative (Neocon) groups had influence over US foreign policy, specifically post 9/11.[13] The third factor, resources, refers to large sums of money that interest groups spend on lobbying and PACs.[14] To understand just how large these sums of money are, in the first six months of 2017 $1.67 billion was spent on lobbying, which was the highest investment in lobbying since 2012, this does not include PAC contributions.[15] The combination of these three factors explains why the US is open to lobbying and the influence of special interest.

However, is all the money, time, and effort required for lobbying worth the outcome? In the words of Reginald Jones, the former CEO of General Electrics 'I can do more for General Electric

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[9] Ashbee, 67-74.
[10] Ashbee, 68.
[11] Liz Essley Whyte and Ben Wieder, 'Lobbyists Turn Their Attention to State Capitals', *USAtoday*, (2017) <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2016/02/11/lobbyists-turn-their-attention-state-capitals/80200392/> [Accessed 26 Nov 2018].
[12] Ashbee, 69.
[13] Max Boot, 'Neocons', *Foreign Policy* (2009).
[14] Ashbee, 70-71.
[15] 'Lobbyists Go Underground', *The Economist*, (2017) <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2017/08/31/lobbyists-go-underground> [Accessed 27 Oct 2018].

by spending time in Washington and assisting in the development of responsible tax policy than I can by staying home and pricing refrigerators'.[16] More examples will be provided further in the essay, but clearly, the cost of lobbying is worth the payoff, which is influencing the creation of favourable policy. Scott states that lobbying is '[…] a pillar of any sound business strategy', demonstrating the strategic value of lobbying.[17] Therefore, Ashbee's three factors allow for the understanding of why the US is so susceptible to lobbying, and Scott and Reginald Jones highlight the worth of lobbying and its influence on US politics.

One of the key components in lobbying is PACs; which are privately funded organizations that try to influence elections through financially supporting or opposing candidates, they generally operate at the federal level.[18] PACs play a key role in influencing US politics by exploiting the electoral vulnerability of politicians.[19] In the US, politicians, especially members of the House of Representatives, are dependent on private funding to get re-elected, and PACs can provide the funding that these politicians need.[20] However, in return, the PACs gain influence over that politician, which is used to vote through favourable legislation or to support a specific interest.[21] Mearsheimer and Walt demonstrate this through the example of Senator Joseph Lieberman winning his re-election as an independent candidate after losing the Democrat party primary in 2006. Senator Lieberman was pro-Israel, while his opponent in the Democrat primary was not an

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[16] Jeffrey H Birnbaum, *The Lobbyists* (New York: Times Books, 1993), 197.
[17] Clifford D. Scott, 'Lobbying: A Critical Dimension of Business Strategy', *International Journal of Law and Management*, 57.1 (2015), 17-27 (25).
[18] Clyde Wilcox, 'Organizational Variables and Contribution Behavior of Large PACs: A Longitudinal Analysis', *Political Behavior*, 11.2 (1989), 157-173.
[19] Hill et al.
[20] Hill et al.
[21] John R. Wright, 'Contributions, Lobbying, And Committee Voting in The U.S. House Of Representatives', *The American Political Science Review*, 84.2 (1990), 417-438.

avid supporter of Israel. Due to Senator Lieberman's views, he was backed by pro-Israel PACs as an independent candidate and was re-elected in 2006. Lieberman's views in the Senate were overwhelmingly positive and supportive of Israel. [22] There is a strong connection between the PACs getting Senator Lieberman elected and his pro-Israel views in the Senate. Consequently, this demonstrates the power and influence of special interests lobbying through PACs. This poses an interesting question for US politics. As Mahoney asks: Does the US political system have a bias responsiveness in the favour of wealthier advocates? Through her *'democratic accountability hypothesis'* she argues that the US system has a strong bias toward private, wealthy advocates[23]. She backs her claim by citing that 89 per cent of corporations achieve their goals while citizen's groups attain a significantly lower rate of success.[24] Therefore, it is evident that PACs are a form of lobbying that successfully influences US politics by exploiting the electoral vulnerability of politicians. Additionally, Mahoney's democratic accountability hypothesis reveals the impact of PAC influence on the US political system, which has a bias towards wealthier interests.

The significance of PAC influence on US politics is that the wealthy have access to a greater level of influence over policy than ordinary citizens.[25] This idea of the wealthy having a greater voice than ordinary citizens is an antithesis to the idea of American democracy.[26] Evidence of the influence of PACs and the power of special interest can be seen in the recall of two State Senators from

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[22] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (London: Allen Lane, 2007).

[23] Christine Mahoney, 'Lobbying Success in The United States and The European Union', *Journal of Public Policy*, 27.01 (2007), 35-56 (52).

[24] Mahoney, 51.

[25] See note n. 20.

[26] Amy Bridges and Thad Kousser, 'Where Politicians Gave Power to The People', *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 11.2 (2011), 167-197.

Colorado in 2013. The NRA and other pro-gun special interest groups campaigned and financed for the recall election[27] of Democratic State Senators Angela Giron and John Morse; the two State Senators supported gun restrictions after mass shootings in their state. The Pro-gun lobby outspent all the citizens' groups and was able to achieve its goal of ousting the two State Senators. [28] The previous example illustrates the power of special interest to manipulate the US political system and overpower the voice of citizens to achieve their goals. Even though examples can be found of PACs funded by citizen interest groups that represent the views of the latter, such as the Sierra Club,[29] a group that supports candidates that are environmentally friendly, these groups are drowned out by the more powerful and better funded special interest PACs.[30] An example of this is the American Society for Radiation Oncology (ASTRO) setting up a PAC in 2003. ASTRO stated that their PAC was created to make sure their voice was heard by policymakers and that they could influence legislation.[31]

Furthermore, PACs play a crucial role in buying access to politicians[32]. It is difficult to measure what *'access'* is in exact terms, but Wright describes it as the advantage of getting appointments and having phone calls returned by policymakers, an important factor in the process of gaining favourable policy, for it grants access and

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[27] Recall Elections – when a large enough percentage of that constituency's voters ask for an election on their elected representative before the next scheduled election.
[28] Jack Healy, 'Colorado Lawmakers Ousted in Recall Vote Over Gun Law', *The New York Times*, Sept. 11, 2013. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/11/us/colorado-lawmaker-concedes-defeat-in-recall-over-gun-law.html> [Accessed 25 Nov 2018].
[29] 'Sierra Club', *Sierra Club*, (2018) <https://www.sierraclub.org/home> [Accessed 27 Nov 2018].
[30] Mahoney, 52.
[31] A. Agarwal, A Gupta and A.E. Hirsch, 'A 10-Year Analysis of The American Society for Radiation Oncology Political Action Committee', *International Journal of Radiation Oncology*Biology*Physics*, 90.1 (2014), s600.
[32] Wright.

therefore greater influence over legislators. Another way to characterise access, is that it gives groups who have gained favour with policymakers, preference in being heard.[33] This is problematic because the groups who gain access are usually the ones that provided the largest sums of money to help elect or re-elect politicians, i.e. wealthy special interest groups and not citizens' interest groups. This highlights just how significant a tool that PACs are and the vast influence they grant to special interest over US politics. Hill et al. characterise PACs as the first step to gaining influence and exploiting politicians who are dependent on private funding to get elected. Therefore, the impact of PAC lobbying on the US political system has resulted in the voice of wealthy funders gaining access and favour from politicians while the voice of the ordinary citizens is side-lined.

The other form of lobbying to be discussed in this essay is *'direct lobbying'*, which involves professional lobbyists influencing policymakers on behalf of special interest.[34] Ashbee calls it the *'persuasion industry'*, due to there being many competing interests, who want a seat at the table to persuade legislators.[35] Because of this large number of opposing interests there are many avenues for lobbyists to access policymakers. Most notably, lobbyists concentrate on Congress because there are numerous pressure points to exert influence, such as committees, sub-committees and individual legislators.[36] Heinz et al. found that almost a quarter of lobbyists only concentrated on persuading members of Congress, therefore highlighting the significance of Congress as a convenient avenue of

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[33] Wright.

[34] Michael D. Gottlieb and Elise Gurney, 'Lobbying Is Not Enough to Build Influence Among U.S. Lawmakers', *Harvard Business Review*, (2019) <https://hbr.org/2016/12/lobbying-is-not-enough-to-build-influence-among-u-s-lawmakers> [Accessed 20 Nov 2018].

[35] Ashbee, 63.

[36] Thomas T. Holyoke, *Interest Groups and Lobbying: Pursuing Political Interests in America* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 135.

influence for lobbyists.[37] Adding to that, Holyoke notes that 'Committees are natural targets [for lobbyist] because they are the birthplace of legislation'; committees are therefore essential to lobbyists in delivering favourable policy.[38] Likewise, policymakers have a greater incentive to listen to lobbyists over their constituents because lobbyists can help in re-election efforts through campaign finance and PACs.[39] This further illustrates how lobbying has enabled the voice of the wealthy to surpass that of the citizen and in turn significantly influenced US politics.

The overpowering of ordinary citizen's voices by lobbyists in US politics is reflected in the perceptions of lobbying held by citizens. Several reports show that ordinary citizens view lobbying with suspicion and do not trust it.[40] This is troubling as it has damaging consequences for US politics; The OECD found that negative perceptions about lobbying and a lack of transparency around it leads to the general public losing faith in democratic institutions.[41] In order to prevent the loss in faith of democracy, the general public needs to be informed about lobbying and more meaningful legislation must be implemented to increase transparency around lobbying. In the past, attempts to do so were unsuccessful; most notably, the Supreme Court of the US's (SCOTUS) ruling in 2010 on *'Citizens United v* FEC'. The Federal Election Commission wanted lobbying regulated, but Citizens United objected on the basis of first Amendment rights. SCOTUS ruled in favour of Citizens United which meant that wealthy private funders could spend unlimited amounts of money on PACs and

[37] Heinz et al., 96.
[38] Holyoke, 147.
[39] Holyoke, 156.
[40] De Figueiredo and Silverman; Scott; Logan and Fellow.
[41] OECD.org, *Lobbyists, Governments and Public Trust Volume 3: Implementing the OECD Principles for Transparency and Integrity in Lobbying* (2014) <https://www.oecd.org/gov/ethics/lobbyists-governments-trust-vol-3-highlights.pdf> [Accessed 28 Nov 2018].

campaign finance.[42] The consequence of the SCOTUS ruling was that it gave lobbyist more power, since now politicians had an even greater incentive to listen to them as PAC funding was limitless. Therefore, it is clear that direct lobbying is an important conduit for gaining influence over legislators to pass favourable bills for special interest. Furthermore, the overpowering of the ordinary citizen's voice by special interest has dire consequences in the form of a lack of trust in democracy.[43] These factors demonstrate the important influence that lobbying exerts over US politics.

Lobbyists are slowly chipping away at citizens' trust in US democracy. They do this through various methods. Namely, they tend to choose salient issues that are not in the public gaze because they have a higher chance of succeeding. This further undermines the trust of the general public in democracy because these methods reinforce the view of suspicion towards lobbying.[44] The process of direct lobbying is tactical and is not about changing the views of policymakers, rather it is about reinforcing already held views.[45] In addition, lobbyists will seek to pursue their goals where they align with policymakers as there are higher chances of success.[46] The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is a key display of aligning goals of lobbyists and policymakers. Essentially, US financial services firms worked together to lobby the US government to give them more global agreements on services through GATT (now the World Trading Organisation), which would provide the firms with greater access to foreign markets.[47] The firms used 400 lobbyists to lobby the US

[42] Ashbee, 71.
[43] OECD.org.
[44] Nathan Grasse and Brianne Heidbreder, 'The Influence of Lobbying Activity in State Legislatures: Evidence from Wisconsin', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 36.4 (2011), 567-589.
[45] Mathew cited in Wright, 419.
[46] Wright.
[47] Woll, 64-70.

government and were successful; they achieved success because both the government and the firms' goals aligned. The firms gained because they now had access to foreign markets, which increased their profits; while the US government gained from the profit the firms made as they would be investing back into the US.[48]

Furthermore, lobbyists tend to adopt long-term strategies as they prove to be more productive in achieving their future goals.[49] Long-term strategies can be as simple as having a Washington DC headquarters for direct lobbying or a headquarters in a state capital;[50] coupled with the tactics of targeting salient issues and aligning goals with policymakers, this allows lobbyists to embed themselves within the US political system permanently, which means they have a considerable advantage in access to the lawmakers in comparison to that of citizens.[51] This phenomenon is further worsened by the so called *'revolving door syndrome'*, which refers to former members of the government such as members of Congress, Congressional staffers, Executive Branch staff, and career civil servants - working for lobbying firms or special interest after leaving office. With the specialised knowledge and insider connections that ex-members of government have, they are able to further amplify the voice of special interest and drown out the voice of the citizen.[52] Therefore, the influence direct lobbying has on US politics is the same as PACs. Direct lobbying allows those with private wealth to have large amounts of influence over policy through the methods discussed in this paragraph. Adding to that, the revolving door syndrome contributes to the effect of undermining the faith of the public in

[48] See note n.45.
[49] Woll, 74.
[50] Gottlieb and Gurney.
[51] Makse.
[52] Makse.

democracy and in turn displaying the ways lobbying influences US politics.

To conclude, this essay has validated the thesis statement. Lobbying through PACs and direct lobbying has influenced US politics by persuading policymakers to create legislation that is favourable to special or corporate interest. In achieving this outcome, lobbying has also side-lined the ordinary citizen and made their voices secondary to that of the wealthy. As discussed in the essay, this is highly dangerous because it erodes the public faith in democracy.[53] PACs are the first step in lobbying as they exploit the electoral vulnerability of US politicians who are dependent on private wealthy funders for their (re)election efforts.[54] This leads to politicians listening to wealthy private funders rather than citizens, which further alienates the general public.[55] Adding to that, direct lobbying builds on the work of PACs and directly influences legislation through contact with policymakers, which reinforces the negative perception of lobbying held by the public and further damages faith in democracy as citizens are side-lined in favour of special interests.[56] Deakin wisely notes 'Politicians come and politicians go, as the public chooses. But the lobbyist – the hardy, resourceful agent of the non-public interest – goes on forever'.[57] Deakin's quote demonstrates the embedded nature of lobbying and its influence on US politics through special and corporate interest using PACs and direct lobbying, to persuade policymakers to create favourable legislation for them, which, as previously stated and demonstrated, side-lines the general public and undermines faith in democracy.

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[53] OECD.org
[54] Hill et al.
[55] Mahoney.
[56] Figueiredo and Silverman.
[57] James Deakin, *The Lobbyist* (Washington, D.C: Public Affairs Press, 1966), 1.

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Black identity politics in postmodern art: Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare

Julie Solevad[1]

This paper addresses the way that postmodern artists, such as Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare, engage in the politics of being black in postcolonial Britain and the politics of their hybridized identities. By examining the hypervisibility of blackness and black stereotypes as thematic concerns in their work, this paper argues that Ofili and Yinka use art as a political tool to overcome imposed tropes of blackness. Their use of humour, abject imagery, hybridity, and references to social and cultural issues as well as references to Britain's colonial history, criticise the power systems inherent in the very art institutions they find themselves in, and more generally, in modern British society. The abandonment of the Greenbergian school of thought led to the inclusion of marginalised people in art spheres; however, it also created ideas of how these individuals were expected to operate and what they were expected to create. With these ideas in mind, I further contend that Ofili and Shonibare deviate from imposed expectations of what marginalised artists were, and are, expected to produce.

Art has the potential to address social and political themes present in contemporary or historical concerns. After the abandonment of Clement Greenberg's Modernism, Postmodernism saw the rise of a conceptualist approach to producing art. Mirroring the rise of post-war political issues in society, such as civil rights and second wave feminism, artists injected their work with political agendas focusing on issues such as gender, sexuality, class and race. Marginalised

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groups made visible the oppressive systems of power and challenged normativity. With the independence of former British colonies came the fall of the British Empire, and post-coloniality became a subject of postmodernist art and film. This essay will explore the way in which two black British artists, Yinka Shonibare and Chris Ofili, engage with postcolonial themes and observe black British culture. I contend that Shonibare and Ofili use their art to attend to the politics of being black artists and being black in British society in general. I further argue that their art deviates from the conventions of what marginalised artists were and are expected to produce. Rather than divert away from the stereotypes caused by black hypervisibility, they directly confront and embody them in their art. I will explore this idea by looking at the following elements of their work: their use of humour and object imagery to comment on the hypervisibility of blackness in British society, their references to colonial history as well as references to contemporary culture, and lastly, their use of hybridity to overcome binary constructions of race in Britain.

Modernism in art theory can be described as 'the idea that the aesthetic faculty was autonomous of or separate from the rest of the personality'. Within a Greenbergian framework, modern art favoured formalism with an emphasis on compositional elements, primarily shape and colour, and glorified flatness and two-dimensionality. It omitted references to the real world, representations, words and 'extra-aesthetic feelings such as anger and pity'. [2] Modern art consisted almost exclusively of white male artists, and women and non-white individuals were marginalised. Postmodernism arose as a reaction to Modernism's clinical and limitative values, mirroring the counterculture that was happening in general[3] and as such, art became more conceptual and referential. This radical shift resulted in art

[2]Thomas McEvilley, 'Modernism, Post-modernism, and the End of Art', *New England Review (1900-)*, 27.1, (2006), 129-48 (131).
[3] Ibid., 139.

movements such as conceptual art, performance art, installation art, as well as various other sub-movements. Postmodern art can be understood as 'a retheorization of the proliferation of distinctions that reflects the underlying dynamic of cultural modernity, the need to clear oneself a space'.[4] This concept of space-clearing can be understood as a rejection of eurocentric hegemony and western values that existed in the Modern era and the vitalisation of non-western ideals.[5]

With contextuality and referentiality being foregrounded, the potential for artists to address social issues, particularly cultural politics of identity, became realised. Artists who were formerly marginalised (and arguably were still marginalised) were increasingly referring to concepts of cultural politics in their work. As Hopkins argues, 'cultural identity was perhaps more urgent for the large numbers of artists whose immediate predecessors had suffered under colonial rule'.[6] He describes how artists of '"hyphenated" cultural identity' were gaining an increase in recognition and dispensation but that there was a detachment in intent and outcome. [7] He gives the example of the 1984 MoMA exhibition of '*Primitivism and 20th Century Art'* which he criticizes as 'endorsing a relatively unreflective view of early modernism's reliance on appropriations from the West's colonial others'.[8] The exhibition consisted of modern art works that were created by painters and sculptors that drew inspiration from tribal art alongside, and often in direct comparison to, tribal African and North American objects. Although the exhibition included the works of marginalised groups, it did not provide a space in which artists

[4] Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Is the 'Post'- in 'Postmodernism' the 'Post'- in 'Postcolonial'?', *Critical Inquiry*, 17.2, (1991), 336-357 (346).
[5] McEvilley, 139.
[6] David Hopkins, *After Modern Art: 1945-2017*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 205.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

could address their *othered* identities or provide cultural critique. Hopkins argues there was a need for self-autonomous work to be produced by perceived *others* rather than the 'symbolic gesture'of an institution.[9] The shift towards this kind of work is seen in Black artists of the YBA collective (Young British Artists), namely Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare.

In 'Disruptive Aesthetics', Tolia-Kelly and Morris, describe the way in which Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare have produced work which has 'confronted the cultural politics of being black artists and how this politics has come to be represented in a contemporary institutional sense'.[10] Yinka Shonibare, is a British- Nigerian artist who 'sought to contest the 'authentic' ethnic origins that had preoccupied many culturally displaced artists of the 1980s'.[11] His work includes photography and the use of Dutch wax fabric called batik. Chris Ofili, also a British- Nigerian artist, is a painter who 'invests in aestheticizing…racial roots through a British cultural lens'.[12] He uses various materials such as collaged magazines, elephant dung, glitter and resin in his canvases. Both figures of the YBA movement, they rose to prominence at the turn of the twenty-first century and were the only black artists who took part in Tate's 'Sensation' exhibition in 1997.[13] Their work explores diasporic aesthetics and black imaginaries and they have both been subject to controversy.

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Divya Tolia-Kelly, Andy Morris, 'Disruptive Aesthetics? Revisiting the Burden of Representation in the Art of Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare', *Third Text*, 18.2 (2004), 153-67 (154).
[11] Hopkins, 226.
[12] Tolia-Kelly and Morris, 160.
[13] Ibid.

Figure 1. Yinka Shonibare, *How Does a Girl Like You Get to Be a Girl Like You* (1995) [14]

Shonibare tackles his hyphenated-identity while engaging blackness and its place in British history. An example of this is his 1995 work as *How Does a Girl Like You Get to Be a Girl Like You?* (Figure 1) which constitutes of a series of Victorian styled dresses that are tailored in batik fabric. This fabric has origins in Dutch colonialism but its bright colours and indigenous patterns make reference to Shonibare's ethnic background as well as Britain's colonial history.[15] The decorousness of the Victorian tailored dresses emanates images of British civility and stature, not to mention the notion of women's role as ornamental, while the fabric emits a cultural contradiction and suggests an inverse colonial ideal. As Hopkins argues, 'notions of dress, ethnic status, museum display, and artistic value are brought into collision'.[16] This cultural collision is replicated in his photographic series *Diary of a Victorian Dandy* (1998) (Figure 2 and Figure 3) where he enters into a spatially and temporally white setting.

[14] <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/86007> [Accessed 21 Dec 2018]
[15] Ibid.
[16] Hopkins, 226.

The five photographs capture the daily activities of a Victorian dandy but are reimagined with Shonibare embodying the role which is historically only occupied by white men. The photographs are titled different hours of the day and include one where Shonibare is tended to in bed by maids and a butler with the name *11.00 hours* (Figure 2), one where he is in a Victorian study surrounded by other 'dandy' men titled *14.00 hours* (Figure 3), one where he is playing billiard and gambling called *17.00 hours*, another one where is in a formal party setting called *19.00 hours*, and lastly, one where he is in a sexual orgy titled *03.00 hours*. Shonibare is the only black man in the photographs and is served and surrounded by white people. The photographs portray the coloniality inherent in Victorian society and in addition to this, they depict 'tropes of black masculinity that occurred in Victorian blackface minstrelsy and in the commercial hip-hop culture of the present'.[17] Furthermore, Wild argues that the performance is not a demonstration of black marginalisation or black exclusion from history but rather a reimagined 'parallel history of black hypervisibility'[18] in the contemporary age. Black hypervisibility relates to the extent that blackness is more visible in a predominantly white setting like Britain. As blackness is *othered*, it becomes more visible and as a result more persecuted (relating for example to the policing of black culture). In his work, Shonibare confronts this hypervisibility and engages blackness in British history which in turn comments on the contemporary conception of hyper-visible blackness in modern day Britain.

[17] Johanna Wild, 'Re-enacting Tropes of Black Masculinity in Yinka Shonibare's Diary of a Victorian Dandy ', *Critical Arts*, 31.3 (2017), 142-60 (145).
[18] Ibid., 142.

Figure 2. Yinka Shonibare, *11.00 hours*[19]

Figure 3. Yinka Shonibare, *14.00 hours*[20]

Another work of Shonibare which is particularly exemplary of the reimagining of British history is *Yinka Shonibare Dresses Britannia* (2001) where he dresses the Britannia statue that stands on top of Tate Britain Gallery in London in batik fabric. There are several elements of this composition that bear significance: firstly, the Tate Britain gallery, its name deriving from a wealthy and prominent sugar

[19] (from Diary of a Victorian Dandy (1998)) <https://africa.si.edu/exhibits/shonibare/dandy.html> [Accessed 21 Nov 2018].

[20] (from Diary of a Victorian Dandy (1998)) <https://africa.si.edu/exhibits/shonibare/dandy.html> [Accessed 21 Nov 2018].

trader, Henry Tate, is an institution which has 'defined itself through fixed and stable notions of nationhood';[21] secondly, the Britannia figure which is an emblem of the British Empire and its expansive colonial rule, epitomizing nationalism and patriotism; and thirdly, the batik fabric, exuberant fabrics that evoke 'Africanness'[22] but are in fact Dutch wax fabrics that have been appropriated in countries such as Nigeria. As Tolia- Kelly and Morris point out, the juxtaposition of the transnational fabric and the nationalistic Britannia statue destabilizes the authority of both the Tate as an institution[23] and of Britannia. As expressed by Tolia-Kelly and Morries, 'Britannia, the symbol of the coloniser, is re-contextualized through the embodiment of the colonised'.[24] What this work does precisely is to subject institutions such as the Tate to 'historical introspection'[25] and critiques the way in which such institutions were, and are, complicit in colonial and eurocentric-hegemonic systems of power. Through his work, Shonibare illuminates these systems of power inherent in institutions like the Tate, and the modern British society in general. By injecting his work with historical and cultural references he addresses the politics of blackness and enables social issues like postcoloniality and ethnicity to come to the forefront of his artistry.

While Shonibare uses historical references and remixes the past in order to confront cultural politics, Ofili makes use of contemporary pop culture references and applies a parodic approach injected with humour. In his use of humour Ofili engages directly with the 'stereotypical grotesque'.[26] As Tolia-Kelly and Morris argue, 'the

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[21] Tolia-Kelly and Morris, 155.
[22] Hopkins, 226.
[23] Tolia-Kelly and Morris, 156.
[24] Ibid, 155.
[25] Ibid, 157.
[26] Hal Foster, Rosalind E. Krauss, Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, Yve-Alain Bois, *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, 3rd edn (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2016), 743.

humour becomes unfixed when the figures and the audience become a focus of the mockery'.[27] Ofili disrupts the looking relationship by diminishing the white colonial gaze and inverting the stereotypical images of blackness in British society. Ofili's *Double Captain Shit and the Legend of the Black Stars* (1997) (Figure 4), described by Mercer as a 'carnivalesque repertoire of art historical allusions',[28] is a painting of a two black superhero figures surrounded by black stars. The 'captain shit' figure exudes overt masculinity and is a caricature imbedded with stereotypes of blackness. The black stars convey 'the many untold stories of fame in black history',[30] and seek to make visible and empower the marginalised, while making a parody out of a perceived conception of a black stereotype. Similar to Shonibare's *Diary of a Victorian Dandy*, Ofili addresses black hypervisibility by painting the 'stereotypical grotesque'.[31] By replicating these stereotypical images he is conceiving them as absurd.

Figure 3. Chris Ofili, *Double Captain Shit and the Legend of the Black Stars* (1997) [29]

[27] Tolia-Kelly and Morris, 161.
[28] Kobena Mercer, 'Ethnicity and Internationally: New British Art and Diaspora-based Blackness', *Third Text*, 13.49 (1999), 51-62 (57).
[29] <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ofili-double-captain-shit-and-the-legend-of-the-black-stars-t07345> [Accessed 21 Oct 2018]
[30] Tanya Barson, Peter Gorschlüter, Petrine Archer, *Afro Modern: Journeys Through the Black Atlantic* (London: Tate Publishing, 2010), 22.
[31] Foster et al., 743.

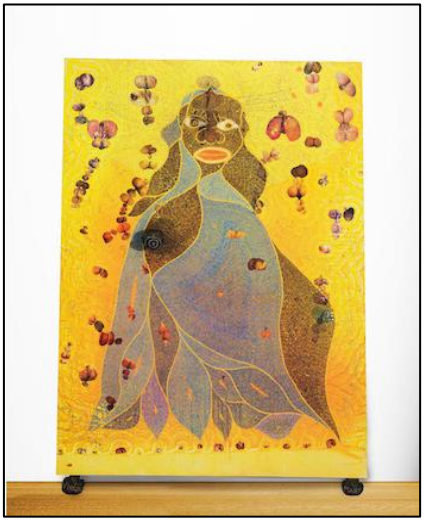

Figure 4. Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary* (1996) [32]

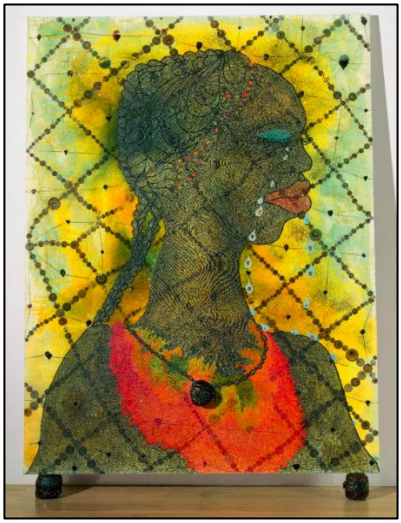

Figure 5. Chris Ofili, *No Woman No Cry* (1998) [33]

The Holy Virgin Mary (1996) (Figure 5) is another example of how Ofili injects humour into his art. The work is a rendering of the Black Madonna and as Awoyokun describes, the painting depicts a collision of 'purity and filth'.[34] The painting is a rendition of the seemingly virtuous virgin Mary; however, Ofili has incorporated elements of vulgarity and abject images into the canvas. According to Julia Kristeva's book, *Powers of Horror*, the abject is that which has been cast out, or banished, from the body.[35] This includes waste from the body or that which has been *othered.* The Virgin Mary is surrounded by collaged female genitalia cut out from pornographic

[32]<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/global-culture/identity-body/identity-body-europe/a/chris-ofili-the-holy-virgin-mary> [Accessed 21 Oct 2018].

[33] <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/ofili-no-woman-no-cry-t07502> [Accessed 21 Oct 2018].

[34] Damola Awoyokun, 'Neomodernism: Chris Ofili and the Art of the Fugue', *Critical Interventions*, 7.1 (2013), 5-28 (9).

[35] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

magazines which are shaped into angels, and the exposed breast is constructed from elephant dung.[36] The abject images of the female genitalia and the inclusion of elephant excrement, as well as the anticipated response of abjection from the viewer, confronts and absurds the stereotypical grotesque. Similarly, his work *No Woman, No Cry* (1998) (Figure 6) depicting Doreen Lawrence, the mother of Stephen who was killed in a racially charged attack by the London Police[37] includes cut-outs of Doreen Lawrence to construct tears and also makes use of elephant dung.[38] The painting makes light of the contemporary issues of police violence and institutional racism and uses abject imagery to express how this comes about as a result of blackness being othered and hyper visible. As with Shonibare's use of the batik textiles, Ofili's incorporation of elephant dung is a recurring motif in his work. The use of the elephant dung is both a reference to Ofili's Nigerian heritage and also alludes to the hypervisibility of black people as 'dirty', as abject. As Mercer argues, Chris Ofili's use of elephant dung interrupts the 'racist equation between blackness and bodily waste, which must be objected or cast out as 'other' in the mind-set that equates whiteness with purity'.[39] Ofili's art exhibits black hypervisibility and the idea of blackness as abject and confronts British society with it.

Another aspect that Shonibare and Ofili incorporate into their work is the idea of hybridity. Foster et al. describe how the concept of hybridity was used to counter western ideals of cultural pureness.[40] Hybridity was used by postcolonial artists in order to produce a

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[36] Awoyokun, 9.
[37] Ibid, 13.
[38] Niru Ratman, 'Chris Ofili and the Limits of Hybridity', *New Left Review*, (1999), 153-59, (156).
[39] Kobena Mercer, *Travel & See: Black Diaspora Art Practices Since the 1980s*, 1st edn (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 20.
[40] Foster et al., 719.

reconciliation between the global and the local[41] and to destabilise the rigidity of identity categories. It sought to move away from the notion of multiculturalism and authentic culture that dictated the e themes and subject matter in marginalised artists' work.[42] Hybridization of the concept of identity was particularly relevant to artists with third culture backgrounds. Foster et al. describes how the work of artists such as Ofili and Shonibare centralise the 'conflict between notions of identity – as given naturally or as constructed culturally'[43] which has ensued in 'divergent conceptions of the role of postcolonial art – to express and reinforce identity, or to complicate and critique its construction'.[44] Hybridity is evident in Shonibare's work where images of Empire are interwoven with images of 'Africanness' or 'blackness' in for example the previously mentioned *Yinka Shonibare Dresses Britannia* (2001) and in *How Does a Girl Like You Get to Be a Girl Like You?* (1995). The intermixing of the Britannia statue and the Victorian mannequins with the batik fabric constitutes a hybridized and reimagined version of British history. The result is a postcolonial vision of the past and a deconstruction of cultural purity. Rather than engage in a display of multiculturalism, Shonibare's work locates blackness as interlaced into British society and not as one component of it. In his photographic series, Shonibare hybridizes the black/white binary and disengaged himself from a racial dichotomy. Similarly, Ofili's incorporation of hybridity lampoons the societal tropes of blackness and realises the potential for 'unfixing blackness from the visual codes of typification'.[45] By using hybridity, both artists are able to use hybridised identities as a way to deconstruct systems of power and to empower themselves.

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ratman, 156.
[43] Foster et al., 719.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Mercer, Travel and See, 19.

Shonibare's and Ofili's use of cultural hybrids demonstrates how they both reject the conventions of what is expected of them as 'marginalised' artists. Mercer writes that 'when artists are positioned on the margins of the institutional spaces of cultural production, they are burdened with the impossible task of speaking as 'representatives', in that they are widely expected to 'speak for' the marginalised communities from which they come'.[46] Mercer argues against a binary mode of thinking when approaching art history and theory. Rather than conceive artists as belonging to a dichotomized identity category such as black/white or left/right, he argues for a non-essentialist understanding of culture[47] and that art criticism should avoid 'imposing the closure of its own conceptual system',[48] and strive towards 'entering into a critical, dialogical relationship with the voices that are doing the calling'.[49] This means that art criticism should engage in discourses that pertain to the artists that are often systematically oppressed, othered, and are made hypervisible, rather than the critical discourses and institutions that do the oppressing. The idea of 'multicultural' art engaged in these kinds of harmful discourses by imposing the burden of representation of marginalinality. As outlined by Ratman, the problem that arose with the concept of multiculturalism being introduced into the art sphere was that, although the marginalised were given space, they were limited in how they were expected to express themselves.[50] There were expectations to pursue topics such as their own marginalisation or to present positive images of marginalised people assimilating into British society. Thematic concerns or content that went outside or beyond

[46] Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*, 1st edn (New York: Routledge, 1994), 235.
[47] Ibid, 237.
[48] Ibid, 258.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ratman, 154.

these ideas were generally not accepted. Marginalised people were expected to produce marginalised art about their marginalised identities.

Shaked voices similar ideas in her book *The Synthetic Proposition: Conceptualism and the Political Referent in Contemporary Art,* where she argues that there is a tendency to overemphasize the role of identity in some artist's work and as a result, reduce the artist to their imposed identity.[51] Shaked writes that artists are able to:

> […] extrapolate from one identity to the other, to use the existence of identity, whether emanating from the subject or defined by circumstances, as a counter- hegemonic principle, and not as a defining characteristic attributed to individuals.[52]

The work of Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare is exemplary of Shaked's notion on identity politics in art. Although both artists certainly tend to the concept of identity in their work, it is more so a breakdown of identity categories. Both artists play with parodies of stereotypes and representation of the *other*, meaning themselves, as a result of the hypervisibility. Ofili's confrontation with blackness in British contemporary culture causes a disruption and violates expectations and Shonibare's remixing of the past/present, black/white, deconstructs binaries, comments on cultural liminality, and encourages retrospection.

In conclusion, with the postmodern art movement, the marginalised were able to enter the art space and oftentimes their work directly addressed their own marginalisation. However, it is important

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[51] Nizan Shaked, *The Synthetic Proposition: Conceptualism and the Political Referent in Contemporary Art*, 1st edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 52.
[52] Ibid.

not to fixate on the identity of the artist as it may only further cement these artists in containments of categories. As this paper has demonstrated, postmodern artists such as Chris Ofili and Yinka Shonibare are able to imbue their work with postcolonial thematic concerns and comment on identity. However, rather than succumb to the hegemonic expectations of 'multicultural' art and politically normative issues such as racism and immigration, they confront and challenge the very institutions and systems of power that regulate these guidelines. Although the abandonment of a Greenbergian school of thought paved the way for many marginalised groups to contribute to art and politics, it also created limitations and barriers. Shonibare and Ofili challenged these barriers and deviated from their roles as 'multicultural' artists, informing future art practices and criticisms.

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Commercial Surrogacy: a way for women to sell their labour?

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This essay discusses commercial and altruistic surrogacy arrangements in two different countries: the United States and India. In particular, it takes a closer look at the criticism received by commercial surrogacy, such as feminist scholars' concerns over potential exploitation of women's bodies and the coercive nature of the monetary reimbursements. However, this essay seeks to counter these arguments by using evidence from both psychological and ethnographical studies, which indicate that the harmfulness of commercial surrogacy is overstated. The essay will argue that, in fact, altruistic surrogacy is more harmful to women than commercial surrogacy, because it sustains the assumption that women are naturally nurturing and selfless, and that they would agree to go through a pregnancy for a friend or a family member without expecting anything in return. Therefore, the effects of viewing altruistic surrogacy arrangements as the preferable, 'correct' alternative are discussed in the context of societal attitudes. Importantly, it is argued that altruistic surrogacy maintains outdated gender norms, as the constant association of women with care for their relatives is not being challenged and this can only have a negative impact on the way we perceive women within societies.

The development of reproductive technologies has made possible for infertile couples to have children more easily. One of these techniques of assisted procreation is surrogacy, which involves a woman carrying a baby for a couple, either altruistically or in exchange for a monetary compensation. Surrogacy arrangements have received growing attention from feminist movements, as they are regarded as making

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women's bodies a commodity that can be exploited. This essay will argue that altruistic surrogacy is more harmful to women than commercial surrogacy because it maintains the idea that women are naturally nurturing and would carry a child for someone else by pure selflessness, without considering any kind of compensation. Through the study of commercial surrogacy arrangements in two countries, the United States and India, this essay will show that concerns over the potential exploitation of women have not been supported by psychological and ethnographic evidence. However, it is the lack of exploitation, and the surprise at the desire of some women to enter commercial surrogacy arrangements, that reveal the obsolete vision of women within societies.

Medically assisted procreation methods were developed in the 1970's to address infertility issues among couples. Through artificial insemination and in vitro fertilisation techniques, it became possible for sterile couples to have a baby that was biologically related to at least one of its parents (traditional surrogacy), or to both of its parents (gestational surrogacy). There are two types of surrogacy arrangements: commercial, meaning that the surrogate will receive monetary compensation for her services, and altruistic, usually performed by a close friend or a family member, as there is no other reward for the surrogate than the gratitude of the intended parents.

These surrogacy arrangements reconceptualise kinship and relatedness, as the woman who delivers the child will not be the mother. It questions what is supposed to be one of the clearest, most natural relationships, the one between a mother and her child.[2] Following the development of these new reproductive technologies, Marilyn Strathern asked 'on what grounds is the other person a

[2] Zsuzsa Berend, '"We Are All Carrying Someone Else's Child!": Relatedness and Relationships in Third-Party Reproduction', *American Anthropologist*, 118.1 (2016), 24-36 (28).

mother?',[3] as this 'natural' link will be 'remade through technique'.[4] New ways of seeing the nuclear family had to be created, and it is clear that what prevails in the end are the notions of 'intent' and 'love'. Wanting to be a parent is what makes parenthood, not biological links, and the emphasis is put on the 'the conception in the heart'.[5] Therefore, surrogacy navigates between conceptions of kinship that can change according to what best suits the situation. For instance, in the case of a gestational surrogacy; both parents have a biological link with the baby, and this is what makes them the parents, but for traditional surrogacy, the intended mother is also seen as the parent despite her lack of biological connection with her intended child.

1. Criticisms of surrogacy

Commercial surrogacy has received growing attention due to the development of an international market that has become a real business. Deonandan and colleagues, cited in Lamba, note that, for instance, in India this market is said to be worth $2.3 billion.[6] Surrogates are recruited by word of mouth from rural villages, and then leave their own families to go to live in fertility clinics, where they are inseminated with the commissioning couple's embryo. They live together during the pregnancy, receiving constant medical care to make sure the baby is in good health. These arrangements have been

[3] Marilyn Strathern, 'Still Giving Nature a Helping Hand? Surrogacy: Debate About Technology and Society', *Journal of Molecular Biology*, 319.4 (2002), 985-993 (988).
[4] Paul Rabinow, 'Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology', in *Writing Culture – the poetics and politics of ethnography*, ed. by James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 234-261 (241).
[5] Helena Ragoné, 'Chasing the Blood Tie: Surrogate Mothers, Adoptive Mothers and Fathers', *American Ethnologist*, 23.2 (1996), 352-365 (360).
[6] Nishtha Lamba and others, 'The psychological well-being and prenatal bonding of gestational surrogates', *Human Reproduction*, 33.4 (2018), 646-653 (647).

compared to a 'womb farm', or to a 'baby factory' by detractors of surrogacy in India, arguing that this type of surrogacy exploits women. Making women's bodies a commodity that can be leased has been highly criticised by feminist scholars. The argument points out the amount of money that surrogates receive in exchange for one pregnancy, around $10 000 - 15 000 USD, which can represent for up to 10 years of work for women in India.[7] This financial pressure is judged coercive because it does not allow for much choice for Indian surrogates, as it is sometimes the only way they are able to provide for their families.

Feminist scholars, such as Rothman and Roberts, have also criticised the gendered nature of the first reproductive technologies, arguing that 'new reproductive technologies privilege men's genetic desires and objectify women's procreative capacities'.[8] It is true that when these technologies emerged, only traditional surrogacy was scientifically possible, hence putting the intended mother's and the surrogate's emotional stability at risk merely to allow the father to have a genetic connection with the child. Other solutions, such as adoption could have been considered, if the desire to raise a child and care for him/her was the predominant feeling in this situation. Thus, surrogacy arrangements were deemed to 'devalue the mother's relationship to the child in order to exalt the father's', reinforcing patrilineality at the expense of women.[9] Against this patriarchal model of genetic relatedness, and to reclaim links of kinship, Barbara Rothman argued that 'any pregnant woman is the mother of the child she bears', regardless of the genetic make-up of the baby she carries.

[7] Amrita Pande, '"It May Be Her Egg but It's My Blood": Surrogates and Everyday Forms of Kinship in India', *Qualitative Sociology*, 32.4 (2009), 379-397 (383).
[8] Ibid, 385.
[9] Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1997), 249.

[10] However, this statement that pregnancy implies motherhood and 'posits attachment as the natural state of affairs' is contradicted by surrogates themselves. [11]

There is a clear distrust in women's claims that they are not attached to the child they carry. As noted by Eldelmann, 'the question of separating from the child is a central issue' in surrogacy.[12] All cases are indeed different, but psychological studies of surrogates have shown that they experience lower levels of attachment to the foetus than pregnant women, whose intention is to care for the baby after it is born. Studies on the prenatal bonding of gestational surrogates by Snowdon and Baslington, cited in Lamba, suggest that 'viewing surrogacy as a paid employment may help surrogates keep an emotional distance from the foetus', hence showing that they are capable of dissociating their 'temporary job' from their own emotions. [13] This distance helps the surrogate to relinquish the baby after its birth, hence reducing her potential emotional distress. However, this distance does not exist in altruistic surrogacy, and because the surrogate is often a close relative of the intended parents, it is very likely that she will see the baby after delivering it. The links of kinship and relatedness can become blurred, especially if the surrogate is a family member, confusing the relationships and making the composition of the family unit unclear.

Other critics have argued that traditional surrogacy might create confusion for commercial surrogates, because of the biological link they share with the foetus. However, they know that the baby is

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[10] Barbara Rothman, 'Recreating Motherhood: Ideology and Technology in a Patriarchal Society', *Canadian Journal of Family Law*, 10.2 (1989), 310-317 (223).
[11] Melvin Pollner, 'Mundane Reasoning', *Philosophy of the Social Science*, 4.1. (1974), 35-54 (44).
[12] Robert J. Eldelmann, 'Surrogacy: The Psychological Issues', *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 22.2 (2004), 123-136 (130).
[13] Lamba and others, 652.

not theirs from the beginning of the process. Indeed, the surrogates talk about 'giving it (the baby) back to its parents', as shown by the ethnographic work of Zsuzsa Berend on the website surromom.com. In their posts, surrogates constantly remind their readers that without the intended parents the pregnancy would not have taken place. Intent and love remain the most important characteristics in what makes a parent. One surrogate wrote 'the word mother, to me, means nurturing, caring for, paying the groceries for, getting up in the middle of the night, etc. I will not do any of that. The label mother has to be earned'.[14] Therefore, motherhood is understood as a nurturing behaviour rather than a biological relationship, and this relates to Marilyn Strathern's argument that biological links need to be activated in order to be valid.[15] In other words, it is not enough to carry the baby, it is the act of caring for it that makes this relationship real and valid.

The surrogates also know that decisions regarding the pregnancy are not entirely up to them. For instance, we can consider a situation where a surrogate would have to terminate a pregnancy. According to Berend's work on surrogate losses, many surrogates claim that they are pro-choice, 'but would personally never choose abortion'.[16] Creating and valuing life at every stage is very important for them, and their reason to be pro-choice mostly comes from the argument that women should be able to do what they want with their bodies, including participating in surrogacy arrangements. However, most of them say that they would consider getting an abortion if their commissioning couple asked them to, but only for a valid reason, for

[14] Berend, 30.
[15] Marilyn Strathern, *Reproducing the Future, Anthropology, Kinship and the New Reproductive Technologies* (New York: Routledge, Published by Routledge, 1992), 356.
[16] Zsuzsa Berend, 'Surrogates Losses: Understandings of pregnancy Loss and Assisted Reproduction among Surrogate Mothers', *Medical Anthropology Quartely*, 24.2 (2010), 240-262 (251).

example, if the foetus had a malformation that could lead to a severe disability. This shows a clear understanding of the extent and the limitations of their choices regarding the pregnancy, acknowledging all along that the baby is not theirs, and that it is indeed the child of the intended parents. This understanding is shared by the online community, and when one of the surrogates wrote that she did not want the commissioning couple to be present during the delivery because she was shy, the other surrogates criticised her for being selfish, arguing that the parents deserved to be present for the birth of their own child.[17]

The situation is similar in India, where surrogates compare relinquishing the child to giving away their own daughters when they get married. According to Pande's fieldwork, baby girls are 'paraya dhan' [someone else's property] from the moment they were born, and their mothers 'don't have any rights over them', only a responsibility to care for them until they get married and leave the house to live with their husband and their in-laws. [18] Therefore, the notion that the baby one carries is already owned by someone else is not a new one for Indian surrogates. Thus, the responses of both American and Indian surrogates to 'giving back' the child, either because it always belonged to the intended parents, or because culturally speaking your children do not belong to you make it clear that they know that the baby was never theirs.

Therefore, if both ethnographic fieldworks and psychological studies of commercial surrogates confirm their claims that they do not experience any superior distress about their pregnancy and the delivery of the child, and does not endanger their own families by creating a confusion between their own rights over their children and the one of the commissioning couple, where does the issue lie?

[17] Berend, 'Relatedness and Relationships in Third-Party Reproduction', 29.
[18] Pande, 386.

2. Commercial and altruistic surrogacy: a constructed difference

The next part will argue that the reluctance to accept and legalise commercial surrogacy is more about not challenging the order of society and gender roles than a concern on the protection of women. The idea that women would carry a child for money profoundly disturbs the assumption that women are naturally nurturing and selfless. The good opinion that the media and the general public have about altruistic surrogacy also stems from this assumption that is deeply rooted within societies. Laws and regulations against commercial surrogacy hence deny some women the right to make pragmatic choices about their bodies and their financial needs, while reinforcing an obsolete vision of women that still anchors them in the realm of nurturance.

The supposed difference between commercial and altruistic surrogacy is related to the motive of women to enter surrogacy arrangements. Becoming pregnant for money 'violates norms specifying that women should become pregnant for love'.[19] According to obsolete gender norms, women should be mostly interested with emotions, altruism, and concern for others, and not with the practicalities of everyday life. What is deemed wrong in commercial surrogacy arrangements is not the fact that the surrogate is 'exploited commercially, but the fact that 'she has contracted away her maternal rights, presumably for selfish, pragmatic reasons'.[20]

The concern on the potential exploitation of women's bodies through surrogacy arrangements has been criticised by Anleu by drawing a parallel with kidney donations. Research conducted in the US suggested that women are more likely to be vulnerable to

[19] Sharyn Anleu, 'Surrogacy: Not for Love but for Money?', *Gender and Society*, 6.1 (1992), 30-48 (37).
[20] Anleu, 38.

exploitation within their own families. Through indirect pressures, donors are usually encouraged to give their kidney to try to remedy past wrongs or perceived family expectations. Simmons, cited in Anleu, argues that donations are seen as 'an extension of women's usual family obligations of caring, nursing, and giving and sustaining life'.[21] Monica Konrad's research among anonymous ova donors and recipients in the UK seems to confirm this image that 'donation was something that came rather easily to women. It was a natural capacity, something women knew they could do'.[22] Relating this assumption to altruistic surrogacy, the inability to conceive of a family member can make a woman feel guilty about her own fertility, hence agreeing to surrogacy arrangements in order to compensate for this perceived unbalance. She might feel divided with mixed emotions and a feeling of duty towards her family, making it even more difficult to withdraw once the agreement is given. Thus, it is false to consider that the familial sphere is devoid of any internal pressure.

Anleu puts the difference between commercial and altruistic surrogacy in these terms:

> Commercial surrogacy contracts are designated deviant because they are deemed to contravene gender norms that specify women's place in the private sphere of the family, not the competitive marketplace emphasizing purposive rationality and impersonality. In contrast, altruistic surrogacy conforms to pervasive expectations of women's roles and does not threaten the conjugal family, as long as altruistic arrangements occur only between family members or close friends.[23]

[21] Anleu, 37.
[22] Monica Konrad, *Nameless Relations: Anonimity, Melanisia and Reproductive Gift Exchange between British Ova Donors and Recipient* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 65.
[23] Anleu, 32.

These assumptions are more harmful on the long run than the risk of commercial exploitation. As noted by Donna Haraway, representations have 'world-building consequences', and only allowing altruistic surrogacy maintains an image that will eventually have a negative impact on women's physical independence. [24] Pregnancy is seen as a natural state that is perverted by money, and the association of emotions and nurturance with womanhood hence prevents a real change both within the familial and the public sphere.

3. Outcomes for the surrogates

Furthermore, it can be argued that to a certain extent commercial surrogates get something for themselves out of surrogacy arrangements, on top of the financial reward, which contradicts the idea of a nurturing behaviour, and the whole altruistic approach to surrogacy.

In India, surrogates admit that they hope to stay in touch with the commissioning couple and to be a part of the baby's life after its birth. They receive monetary compensation for the accomplishment of the contract, yet they want to be 'someone special', and to be invited to birthday parties and celebrations after the delivery, which is reflected in their expectation to be more than just a surrogate.[25] During the pregnancy, some receive gifts from the intended parents, as a 'thank you' for their work. For instance, Pande recounts of an intended mother who offered gold earrings to her surrogate, showing her gratitude for what she was enduring. Therefore, surrogates hope to be treated like 'any other family member', and through the creation of international friendships they fantasize about improving their own

[24] Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 71.
[25] Pande, 388.

lives: 'I am sure they will take care of our younger son's health, education, everything. Because of them our lives will change.'[26]

For American surrogates, the recognition is more subtle. Whereas Indian surrogates hope to get some sort of material recognition out of the surrogacy arrangement, the motives of American surrogates can be described by the term coined by Helena Ragoné, the notion of 'public motherhood'. As reported in her ethnographic research on the support group website surromom.com, American surrogates mostly come from working-class backgrounds, and have often 'been denied access to prestigious roles and other avenues for attaining status and power'.[27] Thus, surrogates compensate this lack of social recognition from society by being acknowledged for their reproductive capacities. As mentioned by one of the surrogates who 'always had had babies so easily', it is 'the ultimate gift of love'.[28] Gift-giving as stated by Mauss 'expresses, affirms, or creates a social link between the partners of exchange'.[29] Hence, the surrogate symbolically becomes the equal of the commissioning couple, who usually have a higher social status than her, and who deeply appreciate what she is doing for them, and this is only thanks to her reproductive capacities, that she has rarely been recognised for. Although the monetary compensation plays a part in their motives, this is a way of transcending 'the limitations of their domestic roles as wives, mothers and homemakers' in showing the importance of their position, and the satisfaction that derives from motherhood.[30]

[26] Pande, 388.
[27] Ragoné, 357.
[28] Ragoné, 357.
[29] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Université de France, 1975), 172.
[30] Ragoné, 357.

Surrogates have testified to a strong feeling of sisterhood among the community, both in the US and in India. They are aware of the uniqueness of their situation, and of the power they gain from their work. As quoted by Ragoné, surrogates know that 'not everyone can do it, not everyone can be a surrogate'.[31] They take pride in doing what few women would agree to do while financially helping their families. It is true that entering surrogacy arrangements requires a particular mindset, and a specific level of altruism and dedication. This network unites women from various backgrounds in India, allowing them to overcome the barriers of social class, caste, and religion. It also creates new and sometimes unexpected links of friendship and kinship. For instance, two Indian surrogates from different religions who decided to build a business together after their pregnancies, using some of the money they had earned.[32] The American surrogacy network also testifies to strong ties, comforting and building each other up at each stage of their pregnancies.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been shown that what is considered as the most natural relationship is in fact socially constructed. The concerns over surrogates' supposed fragile mental state during and after the pregnancy have not been backed up by psychological studies nor by ethnographic fieldworks. Surrogates have proven to succeed to navigate between conceptions of relatedness, making clear distinctions between their own kin and the one of the intended parents. Nurturing behaviours, such as carrying a child for someone else without expecting anything in return are seen as women's essence, therefore the main difference between these two surrogacy types is the perception that we have of them, regarding one as normal, and as an

[31] Ragoné, 362.
[32] Ragoné, 356.

extension of women's role, and the other as deviant. To a certain extent, it can be argued that both commercial and altruistic surrogates then participate in these arrangements to earn the gratitude of the commissioning couple, but while altruistic surrogates passively confirm stereotypes linked to their gender, commercial surrogates empower their reproductive capacities and improve the life standard of their household.

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The Hindu/Muslim divide: how the British exacerbated religious tensions on the Indian subcontinent to consolidate colonial rule

Jamie Douglas[1]

This article provides a critical examination of British policies relating to the growth of communal tensions on the Indian subcontinent. The British had played a significant role in India after securing the Bengal region of Eastern India in the mid-18th century, and the British government assumed formal control over the Indian subcontinent in 1857 – a level of control which was to last for almost 100 years before India and Pakistan became independent nation-states. Indian national movements regularly challenged Imperial rule from the mid-19th century until independence was achieved in 1947. This paper aims to determine whether the British deliberately created friction between the two major religious groups on the subcontinent during the period of formal rule as a ploy to strengthen British authority. For purposes of clarification, the term 'British' and 'Colonial' are used interchangeably. Similarly, 'India' is used interchangeably with the term 'subcontinent', which refers to the territorial boundaries encompassing the British Indian Empire after 1937.

The creation of India and Pakistan as sovereign nation-states in August 1947 triggered the largest mass migration movement in recorded history. When the new borders were revealed, over 15 million people found themselves displaced. As ethnic minorities struggled to reach

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refuge in their respective new nations, outbreaks of communal violence resulted in the deaths of between 200,000 and 2 million people.[2] This paper will not focus on the intricacies of partition, which have already been extensively reviewed. Instead, the impact of British polices concerning India's Hindu and Muslim communities will be assessed to determine whether colonial policies strengthened religious divisions in order to fortify imperial rule. Policies enacted between the late 19th century and the outbreak of the Second World War will be examined. A determination will then be made as to whether British policies laid the foundations for mass religious conflict, which spawned unprecedented levels of communal violence when the new states of India and Pakistan came into being.

Communalism is the belief that a group sharing a particular religion also have 'common social, political and economic interests'.[3] As a consequence, 'a consciously-shared religious heritage becomes the dominant form of identity for a given segment of society'.[4] Proponents of communalism would therefore assert that Muslims, by virtue of their shared identity, would form a cohesive social block, and will only harmoniously interact with fellow Muslims. This then ensures, 'the interests of the people following different religions stand juxtaposed to one another and are antagonistic and mutually exclusive because of the fact of their following different religions'.[5] In essence, communalism is an all-pervasive defining characteristic which assumes religious affiliation is central to an individual's identity, shaping their world-view and determining the nature of their

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[2] Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: the making of India and Pakistan*, (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

[3] Bipan Chandra, *Communalism in Modern India*, (New Delhi: Vikas, 1984), 1.

[4] G. R. Thursby, *Hindu-Muslim relations in British India: a study of controversy, conflict, and communal movements in northern India 1923-28* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 1.

[5] Chandra, *Communalism in India*, 3.

interactions with other individuals and groups. A significant potential exits for antagonism and violence to erupt between groups which possess a different communal identity.

The Mughal Empire conquered the subcontinent by the 17th century, assuming control of a population which predominantly subscribed to the Hindu religion. The Mughal's were Muslims. Muslims believe the Islamic faith represents 'the eternal and only true religion of God'.[6] Followers, who are generally divided into Islam's Sunni or Shi'a denominations, adhere to 'Mohammad's teachings of absolute monotheism, final judgement, and the existence of paradise and hell'.[7] Hinduism offers a different theological proposition. Zaehner contends that Hinduism is multi-faceted. Unlike monotheistic, Abrahamic faiths, Hinduism is 'free from any dogmatic affirmations concerning the nature of God, and the core of the religion is never felt to depend on the existence or non-existence of God'.[8] Renou elaborates. He asserts Hinduism can appear as an extrovert religion of spectacle, abundant in expressions of mythology and involving congregational worship; or it can be expressed individually, its subjective meaning tailored to the private beliefs of the individual worshipper.[9] The key determinant separating it from Abrahamic faiths is the fact Hinduism is not dominated by the image of one prophet or omnipotent deity. During the reign of the Mughals, large-scale Muslim migration spread across India, equating to almost one quarter of the region's estimated 180 million population in 1700.[10] Hinduism and Islam postulate radically different theological propositions. The establishment of Mughal suzerainty through conquest created unequal

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[6] Ron Geaves, *Islam Today: An Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2010), 1.
[7] Ibid., 7.
[8] Robert Charles Zaehner. *Hinduism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1.
[9] Louis Renou. *Hinduism* (New York: G. Braziller, 1962), 17-18.
[10] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London: Little, Brown, 1997), 6.

power relations between India's two predominant ethnic communities. The establishment of British paramountcy in the late 18th century by an ostensibly Christian power added another complex dimension which threatened to create disruption.

During the reign of the Mughals, Bayly argues religious antagonism resulted in periodic conflict between Hindu and Muslim communities because each perceived themselves as separate entities.[11] Outbreaks of communal violence occurred sporadically under the Mughals, and these sporadic conflicts continued after the British assumed power. Bayly contends, however, that 'unilinear or cumulative growth of communal identity before 1860' as a pan-Indian social phenomenon did not exist.[12] This suggests that it was after India formerly became a Crown Colony in 1858 – when the British government assumed direct control for governing India – that the growth of communalism as a pan-Indian force occurred. Immediately after India became a Crown Colony, the British authorities reorganised the Indian Army. This was deemed necessary because Indian troops had led a massive indigenous rebellion against officials from the English East India Company in 1857. This private trading company, which was regulated and partly funded and supplied by the British government, was held responsible for allowing the rebellion to erupt. After British forces effectively crushed the rebellion in 1858, the British government designated India a Crown Colony and immediately began to reorganise the Indian Army to prevent future unrest. Farooqui concluded the subsequent reorganisation of the Indian Army began a deliberate process of social categorisation. Certain ethnic and religious groups – such as the Sikhs – were categorised as martial races. This allowed the state ascribe 'immutable

[11] Christopher Allan Bayly, 'The Pre-history of Communalism Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860' *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 19, 2 (1985), 177-203 (179).
[12] Bayly, 'The Pre-history of Communalism Religious Conflict in India, 1700-1860' *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol 19, 2, (1985), 177-203 (202).

characteristics to communities' to manage specified groups more effectively.[13] Religious identity was strengthened because it emerged as a key defining characteristic which the British promoted to secure loyalty from patronised groups.

The application of European systems of knowledge fundamentally impacted on strengthening perceptions concerning communal identity on the subcontinent. The introduction of the census – a statistical tool used to classify groups numerically – proved to be pivotal in this regard. Its function allowed the government to gather statistics to further understand the demographics of the areas under its control. Yet instead of collating statistical information in a neutral manner, the census 'engages in reshaping the world through categories and their definitions' by imposing systematic categorical distinctions on selected groups.[14] Colonial officials designed the census by inserting socio-cultural and religious categories which aligned with their interpretations concerning the subcontinent's indigenous peoples. Contrasting with the UK census, which purposely omitted religious categories, caste and religious categories featured prominently in the Indian census because the British believed these were integral in shaping group behaviour in Indian society. This assisted the way in which colonial authorities considered how 'the social world should be regulated and disciplined'.[15]The indigenous peoples internalised the categorical distinctions proposed by the colonial authorities, signalling the colonisation of the mind.[16] Accepting the validity of these categories 'led to a reification of

[13] Amar Farooqui, ''Divide and Rule''? Race, Military Recruitment and Society in Late Nineteenth Century Colonial India', *Social Scientist*, Vol 43, 3/4 (2015), 49-59 (51).
[14] R. B. Bhagat, 'Cencus and the Construction of Communalism in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 36, 46/47, (2001), 4352-4356 (4352).
[15] Sudipta Kaviraj, 'Religion and Identity in India', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol 20, 2, (1997), 325-344 (328).
[16] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (London: Harmondsworth, 1995), 42.

relationships and a disregard of the diversity within these categories'.[17] This suggests communities adhering to one religious faith lacked tolerance when interacting with communities which followed a different religious faith. Furthermore, the provision of numerical data highlighting Muslim, Hindu and Sikh population density dispersed throughout the subcontinent allowed co-religionists to perceive themselves as a distinct and homogeneous 'imagined community'.[18] Followers of shared faiths came to view themselves as sharing a common cultural nationality, which effectively contained the embryonic core of an aspiring nation-state. The colonial government's application of the census both reinforced ascribed identity and encouraged religious solidarity between co-religionists, assisting in the creation of an exclusive national consciousness based on shared religious belief.

By the turn of the 20th century, religion emerged as a powerful tool to allow the European elite to divide opposition to their rule, despite British claims stressing strict neutrality concerning religious matters. Divide-and-rule theory posits a 'unitary actor follows an intentional strategy of exploiting problems of coordination or collective action among the multiple actors' to gain and consolidate a controlling position.[19] The implementation of this strategy proved necessary because of the massive numerical disparity between Europeans and indigenous peoples. In 1921, the population of the subcontinent numbered in excess of 250 million people. This was during a period when Brown estimates less than 157,000 Europeans

[17] Thursby, *Hindu-Muslim Relations*, 175.
[18] Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 25.
[19] Eric A. Posner and Kathryn E. Spier and Adrian Vermeule, 'Divide and Conquer', *Journal of Legal Analysis*, Vol 2, 2 (2010), 417–471 (419).

governed colonial India.[20] The deliberate use of religion as part of a divide-and-rule strategy can be attributed to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906. Prior to the formation of the League, the Indian National Congress had emerged by the early 20th century as an indigenous, nationalist and secular political organisation which both criticised colonial governance and aimed to promote greater indigenous political participation within the subcontinent's governing institutions. Congress operated an inclusive membership; however, the majority of its membership were Hindus.[21] Muslims therefore desired an exclusive political platform with which to unite with the aim of redressing social problems directly affecting their community. Talbot and Singh establish, in the early 20th century, the majority of Muslims were engaged in agricultural subsistence farming, and many felt 'a sense of relative deprivation vis-à-vis the Hindu upper and middle castes, who had commercially and professionally prospered under British rule'.[22] By the turn of the 20th century, Muslim elites including the Aga Khan aimed to counteract this imbalance. He approached Viceroy Lord Minto to endorse the creation of the Muslim League – a political organisation based on religious identity that was designed to protect and promote Muslim political and economic influences. Lord Minto 'welcomed the League and promised to take cognisance of its views when framing reforms', supporting its creation because he agreed Muslims required a national political platform to promulgate their views. Jawaharlal Nehru, a prominent member of Congress who became the first Prime Minister of an independent India, contended the formation of the Muslim League had been deliberately 'engineered

[20] Judith M. Brown, 'India', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith, Brown, & William, Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 421-446 (423).
[21] James, Raj, *The Making and Unmaking*, 420.
[22] Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 28.

by the government'. [23] He asserted this had been done to ensure the Muslims of India identified their interests with those of the colonial regime, whose only concern was to guarantee 'the consolidation and permanence of British rule'.[24] At this juncture both perspectives contain elements of validity. British officials recognised Muslims were more economically deprived than their Hindu counterparts, therefore support for creating the League corresponded with the view Muslims required a political body to promote their interests. However, since the late 19th century, colonial authorities had been granting limited local government reforms, and Congress – whilst still committed for India to remain part of the British Empire – was becoming more vociferous in its criticisms of the colonial regime. By inference, British support for the creation of the League reinforced Islamic religious identity as part of a divide-and-rule strategy, presenting the Muslim League as a potential counterweight against the future ambitions of a Hindu dominated Congress when extensions to the franchise were implemented.

Until World War One, state power in India was vertically distributed, with executive authority manifesting itself at the top in the body of the Viceroy and his council. Decisions were formulated autocratically, then delegated downwards through various bureaucratic levels before policies were implemented on the ground. The considerable economic and military assistance India gave to Britain during World War One 'raised Indian aspirations for appropriate recognition within the Imperial system'.[25] As a result, Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, introduced horizontal political reforms. These included the creation of bicameral provincial legislatures designed to 'increase

[23] James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking*, 418; Jawaharlal Nehru, *Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography*, (London, 1936), 117.
[24] Nehru, *Nehru, An Autobiography*, 464.
[25] Brown, 'India',421-446 (428).

the association of Indians in every branch of the administration' and promote 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions'.[26]Although the Viceroy still maintained overall executive authority, the reforms introduced India's first significant levels of devolution. By 1918, the British establishment asserted their role in India had evolved; it was now primarily concerned with overseeing the process of devolution while ensuring the divergent interests of different caste and religious groups were respected and protected.[27] Colonial officials asserted only the British, who ostensibly claimed to operate a secular religious policy, could ensure the legal rights protecting minorities would be enforced. However, the Montagu/Chelmsford reforms exacerbated sectarian tensions. They formally fragmented the voting franchise for the legislatures by creating separate electorates for all major religious denominations; created separate electorates for caste sub-divisions for Hindus; and granted provincial governors the power over nomination for selecting candidates to represent communities the government considered under-represented.[28] Granting distinct political and legal recognition to different caste and religious communities created firm divisions between and sub-divisions within communities. Pandey contends the government's decision to safeguard minority rights encouraged 'petty local leaders, who could not otherwise carve out a career in national politics, to create and organise communal organisations where they did not exist' in order to secure special privileges from the authorities. Government endorsement concerning the enfranchisement of disparate groups

[26] Great Britain, India Office, India, *Indian constitutional reforms: The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. A brief version of the Official Report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy* (London, 1918), 5.
[27] Chandra, *Communalism in India*, 243.
[28] Dick Kooiman, 'Communalism and Indian Princely States: A Comparison with British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 30, 34, (1995), 2123-2133 (2124).

added further fragmentation to a society which already contained numerous socio-religious divisions, ensuring that 'communal distinctions became manifest and assumed political distinctions'.[29] This allowed the British to consolidate their power through institutional mechanisms, with officials emphasising that only their impartial arbitration over religions and minority disputes could guarantee justice as the process of democratisation gathered pace.

The Montagu/Chelmsford reforms set in motion 'self-sustaining processes of political change that continued into the 1930s'.[30] By 1930, Congress proclaimed it was the only organisation which represented the interests of all the peoples of India, and was now demanding complete independence from Imperial control. The British initiated a series of round table conferences in London to discuss further devolution, and British officials invited a range of Indian parties including the princes, Sikhs, untouchables and Muslims to challenge Congress claims by demonstrating Congress was one of many organisations representing Indian interests.[31] Congress initially boycotted the meetings before reluctantly sending their spiritual leader, Mahatma Gandhi, to participate at the second conference in 1931. The talks degenerated into gridlock. Nehru complained the British deliberately nominated reactionary interest groups which ensured 'no agreement was possible between the irreconcilables gathered there'.[32] This, he asserted, effectively gave the colonial authority plenipotentiary powers to dictate legislation applicable to India in the absence of indigenous cooperation. Nehru's claim holds

[29] Bishwa Nath Pandey, *The Break-up of British India*, (London: Macmillan, 1969), 101; Kooiman, 'Communalism and Indian Princely States: A Comparison with British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 30, 34, (1995), 2123-2133 (2123).
[30] Brown, 'India', 421-446 (430).
[31] Pandy, *Break-up of British India*, 133.
[32] Nehru, *Nehru: An Autobiography*, 294.

validity because the resultant Government of India Act, 1935, ensured the Viceroy still possessed the monopoly of executive power. The Viceroy still controlled India's primary revenue streams, control over foreign affairs, and maintained full control over the Indian army, which represented the state's ultimate coercive institution.[33] The Act did devolve significant powers to provincial legislatures. However, caste and communal divides were further strengthened because separate electorates were increased when the franchise was extended to include 36 million people.[34] Kooiman asserts the extension of separate electorates effectively 'created two imagined religious communities, fighting each other instead of their common oppressor'.[35] This view was shared by Nehru who stated, 'British governments in the past and present have based their policy on creating divisions in our ranks'.[36] He further contended the exacerbation of communal divisions, through the pretext of minority rights, aimed directly at 'preventing the Muslim and Hindu from acting together'.[37] The 1935 Act ensured the protection of minority rights remained 'a major part of the theory of imperialist legitimation'.[38] The extension of separate electorates reinforcing communal identity was also designed to try and prevent a unified, democratic challenge to colonial rule from emerging.

In the ensuing 1937 elections, Congress became the largest political party on the subcontinent, winning 716 of the 1585 national seats, and enabling it to form seven out of eleven provincial

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[33] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 467.
[34] Piers Brendan, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 387.
[35] Kooiman, 'Communalism and Indian Princely States: A Comparison with British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 30, 34, (1995), 2123-2133 (2125).
[36] Nehru, *Nehru: An Autobiography*, 136.
[37] Ibid., 460.
[38] Chandra, *Communalism in India*, 243.

governments.[39] The Muslim League fared poorly in the elections, and the overall results created a fear among the Islamic community that a unified, independent India would become a Hindu Raj, where the rights of minorities which protected the Muslims would not be enforced.[40] Events in the immediate aftermath of the outbreak of World War Two then ensured the widening gulf between India's two major religious communities would become unbridgeable. In 1939, Viceroy Lord Linlithgow obtusely exercised his legal authority by declaring war on behalf of India without consulting indigenous politicians. This outraged Congress, which withdrew from the government in protest before instigating a campaign of non-cooperation against the colonial power in 1940.[41] The Muslim League, led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah – who briefly became the first Prime Minister of an independent Pakistan – immediately offered to support the war-effort in return for government endorsement; a proposition which the Viceroy accepted as this ensured continued Indian participation in the conflict. A grateful Linlithgow then bolstered the League by announcing British authorities 'could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life'[42] Cooperation with the government galvanised Jinnah into proclaiming at the Lahore Conference in 1940 that a unified, independent, democratic India would result in Hindu domination, stressing Congress would 'keep us [Muslims] in the minority under

[39] Talbot & Singh, *Partition of India*, 32.
[40] Talbot & Singh, *Partition of India*, 32.
[41] Pandy, *Break-up of British India*, 157.
[42] Nicholas Mansergh, *Documents and speeches on British Commonwealth Affairs, 1931-1952*, Vol II (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 613.

the majority rule'.[43] He then declared, 'Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state', advocating that only political and legal Muslim autonomy upon independence could safeguard Muslim interests. This declaration 'enabled Indian Muslims to seize the opportunity of obtaining recognition as a distinct 'nation' – a status hitherto overridden by the claims of a supra-communal Indian nationalism'. [44] Jinnah's actions effectively called for the establishment of a future Pakistan. They were legitimated because the League's active participation in government – accompanied with Congress self-imposed exile – confirmed the League now acted as the sole guardian of Muslim aspirations. Devastating military defeats at the hands of the Japanese in Burma and the Malay peninsula early in 1942 were accompanied by the intensification of Congress' civil disobedience programme which denounced British authority. The civil disobedience campaign then evolved into Congress' Quit India campaign later that year, and the disruption this caused across the entire subcontinent indicated that British power in Asia was entering terminal decline. The geo-political and economic changes unleashed by the war had made it all but inevitable the peoples of the subcontinent would gain independence shortly after the cession of hostilities.[45] British policy co-opting the League into government deliberately garnered Muslim support for the colonial regime and was predicated on the short-term need to secure continued Indian participation in the war. The consequences of this policy firmly united

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[43] Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'An Extract from the Presidential Address of M.A. Jinnah-Lahore, March 1940*', in *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation*, ed. by Mushirul Hasan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 44-58 (54).
[44] Jinnah, 57; Fasal Shaikh, 'Muslims and Political Representation in Colonial India: The Making of Pakistan', in *India's Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation*, ed. by Mushirul Hasan (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 81-101 (88).
[45] Peter Clarke, *The Last Thousand Days of the British Empire: The Demise of a Superpower, 1944-47*, (London: Routledge, 2007), xiii-xiv.

India's Muslims behind the Muslim League, whose desire for autonomy crucially heralded the future partition of the subcontinent.

The impact of British policies decisively exacerbated communal tensions on the subcontinent between the late 19th century and the outbreak of World War Two as part of a divide-and-rule strategy. However, policies promoting communalism were not the product of a deliberately and carefully crafted grand Machiavellian scheme. British policies were emergent in nature, constantly evolving and adapting to overcome fresh challenges to colonial authority. Structural reforms in the wake of the 1857 Mutiny began a process of social division that was accelerated by the application of the census programme, which reified communal identities on a pan-Indian scale. Democratisation stimulated further reforms that exploited minority rights in order to prevent the emergence of a unified front against the colonial regime, entrenching communal divisions at socio-political and institutional levels. British policies after the outbreak of World War Two then fatally fractured the already fraught relationship between India's Hindu and Muslim communities. By expediting the alliance with Jinnah and the League, the colonial power satisfied its immediate wartime needs, however this policy guaranteed future communal conflict by unleashing an unstoppable momentum for the establishment of Pakistan.

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An essay concerning the attribution of credibility in testimonial injustice

Benjamin Podmore[1]

In her pioneering work 'Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing', Miranda Fricker formulates and investigates a form of epistemic injustice called testimonial injustice (TI). Fricker understands TI as an epistemic injustice because both involve judgements that concern assessments on a speaker's (S) capacity to know.[2] Fricker affirms and defends the claim that TI arises only in cases where the hearer (H) fails to give due credibility to S. In other words, TI occurs only in concomitance with a credibility deficit.[3] This paper concerns the credibility aspect in relation to TI and ultimately aims to provide an answer to the following question: is TI best understood as arising only in cases of credibility deficit? After presenting and clarifying Fricker's account and support for TI as defined, I will consider two criticisms. The first by José Medina, who makes a case in support of TI occurring when credibility excess is attributed, followed by Federico Luzzi, who argues that TI can occur when due credibility is attributed. Having followed this structure, I will conclude by claiming that TI is best understood as arising in cases broader than only credibility deficit attribution.

Introduction

When we have conversations with others, we often make judgements about the person who is speaking. Sometimes we do this consciously,

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[2] Miranda Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice*, 1st edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 17.
[3] Ibid., 21.

perhaps when the speaker is simultaneously chewing food, and the act conflicts with our understanding of manners in a way that is difficult to ignore. We also do this unconsciously – when we speak with our elders, for example, it seems that there is an additional level of respect in the background which influences our perception of the speaker. One of the judgements we make about those who we speak with involves assessing their credibility. Generally, this can be a positive thing to do because when we question our sources of information, we learn how to think for ourselves. On the other hand, it can be considered as negative when making unfair judgements about others leads to ethically problematic consequences.

Miranda Fricker focuses precisely on this type of judgements and formulates a theory which expresses some of their fundamental features. In what she terms testimonial injustice (TI), she describes ethical and epistemological wrongdoings in which a hearer H judges the credibility of a speaker S in a testimonial exchange.[4] Testimonial injustice is a form of *epistemic injustice* insofar as *(i)* an injustice arises in relation to the judgment of S's *capacity* that is *(ii)* epistemic because it concerns S's capacity *to know*. This paper addresses the credibility aspect of testimonial injustice and aims to support the view that testimonial injustice is best understood as a phenomenon that is not confined only to credibility deficit attribution.

1. Miranda Fricker's testimonial injustice

In Fricker's account of TI, a speaker S suffers TI if and only if S receives a credibility deficit owing to identity prejudice in the hearer H. This form of credibility attribution is characterised as 'identity-prejudicial credibility deficit'.[5] The main *type* of identity prejudice at

[4] Ibid., 1.
[5] Ibid., 35.

work is understood to be a 'negative-identity prejudicial stereotype', which Fricker elaborates as: [6]

> A widely held [systematic] disparaging association between a social group and one or more attributes [stereotype], where this association embodies a generalization that displays some (typically, epistemically culpable) resistance to counter-evidence [prejudice] owing to an ethically bad affective investment [negative-identity prejudice].

Thus, TI arises as an epistemological and ethical injustice, wherein S are wronged specifically *in their capacity as knowers* due to a *negative-identity prejudicial stereotype.*[7] This carefully defined type of prejudice is what *distorts* H's perception and credibility judgement of S, a distortion that Fricker calls a *prejudicial dysfunction*. As she points out, there are two possible outcomes: either a credibility *excess* or a credibility *deficit*.[8]

Fricker analyses this dysfunction before focusing on a central exemplifying case of TI which ultimately supports her claim that TI only arises in cases of an attributed credibility *deficit*. Fricker states that '[o]n the whole, [credibility] excess will tend to be advantageous, and [credibility] deficit disadvantageous'.[9] Two initial cases are considered that seek to dismiss the possibility of TI arising out of an attributed credibility *excess*. In the first, a General Practitioner GP is asked questions by their patients that would require further specialist training in order to answer responsibly. The GP in this case is attributed a credibility *excess* which places an ethical burden upon her.[10] The second case involves a professor asking for critical feedback

[6] Ibid., 35.
[7] Ibid., 44.
[8] Ibid., 17.
[9] Ibid., 17.
[10] Ibid., 18.

on a piece of work from a junior colleague before a presentation. If the colleague attributes a credibility *excess* during the reading so that his comments are less critical, then this may be seen as disadvantageous to the professor.[11] In response to these examples, Fricker states that despite these disadvantages (and potential ethical harms), both the professor and the GP remain overly esteemed in their capacity as *knowers*; thus, no *epistemic* injustice occurs and, consequently, no testimonial injustice.[12]

In the second exemplifying case, we are asked to imagine a member of an elite family. Such individuals experience a kind of epistemic 'inflation' attributed by the people around them, due to various social prejudices in their favour. This inflation – or *excess* – causes the development of a kind of epistemic arrogance, rendering them close-minded and dogmatic.[13] Fricker grants that perhaps these individuals are wronged in their capacity as knowers so that there is indeed an epistemic harm. However, Fricker claims that this particular case of epistemic harm is *cumulative*, thereby not being sufficiently strong to be considered part of TI proper. This is because each individual instance of credibility excess fails to wrong S sufficiently *in itself and at the time* the excess is attributed. Given this point, Fricker claims: '[t]he primary characterization of testimonial injustice, then, remains such that it is a matter of credibility deficit and not credibility excess'.[14] It is worth noting that cases wherein the attribution of a credibility deficit results in it being advantageous for a given S are also considered. However, they are dismissed by Fricker as *incidental* as opposed to *systematic* (which, as we shall see, is a condition that will arise as a defining feature of TI).[15]

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[11] Ibid., 18-19.
[12] Ibid., 20.
[13] Ibid., 20-21.
[14] Ibid., 21.
[15] Ibid., 27.

2. The central case of testimonial injustice

Fricker's claim that TI only arises in cases of an attributed credibility deficit is exemplified by the following scenario, which also brings to light the defining features of TI. In Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird,* Tom Robinson is a black gentleman, wrongly accused of raping a white lady in the 1930's. Despite sufficient evidence being put forth to the jury proving his innocence, his testimony is dismissed due to systematic prejudices relating to the colour of his skin.[16]

I will now highlight what I consider to be the defining features of Fricker's testimonial injustice:

i. Prejudice (Identity prejudice): prejudices which cause hearers to be *resistant to counter evidence*.

ii. Systematic: prejudices which are *persistent* in 'tracking' a given S through various social dimensions (ruling out incidental cases).

iii. Epistemic: being wronged in one's capacity *as a knower* (*qua* subject of knowledge).

iv. Ethical: being wronged in one's *capacity* as a knower, i.e. by being undermined, insulted, silenced, or generally hindered in displaying an existing individual capacity to know.

v. Immediately Harmful: harm is felt immediately, contrarily to cumulative harm.

These defining features are noticeably at work in the case of Tom Robinson. They shall be considered as Fricker's criterial ingredients of TI when, forthcomingly, the credibility aspect of TI is analysed through the perspectives of two dissenting critics, José Medina and Federico Luzzi.

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[16] Ibid., 23-26.

3. José Medina's critique

José Medina provides a compelling critique of TI as Fricker defines it. In order to grasp Medina's argument for TI by credibility *excess* accurately and fairly, I will first summarise the structural features of the objection. The argument is centred upon the critical assertion that Fricker's TI lacks *proportionality* regarding the attribution of credibility.[17] This stems from Medina's conception of credibility, which he regards as *comparative* and *contrastive*.[18] Credibility assessments do not happen in isolation, independently from other subjects, their social position and judgements of normalcy.[19] Rather, the assessment is compared and contrasted with what is considered to be extraordinary, normal and abnormal.[20] This claim directly opposes point 'v.' of Fricker's TI as defined, for by introducing the elements of proportionality and contextuality, Medina's conception cannot commit to the idea that cumulative harm is ethically irrelevant.

Accordingly, Medina claims that TI should be assessed based on whether subjects are attributed *proportional* credibility specific 'to their epistemic merits and the presumptions that apply to subjects in their situation'.[21] In order to justify this claim, Medina uses oppression

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[17] José Medina, 'The Relevance of Credibility Excess in A Proportional View of Epistemic Injustice: Differential Epistemic Authority and The Social Imaginary', *Social Epistemology* 25, no. 1 (2011), 20.

[18] Ibid., 20.

[19] Normalcy here is to be understood in terms of the capacity to know.

[20] Ibid., 20.

[21] Ibid., 20; In Medina's definition: 'more than the mere absence of belief or the mere presence of isolated false beliefs… [a]ctive ignorance has deep psychological and sociopolitical roots: it is supported by psychological structures and social arrangements that prevent subjects from correcting misconceptions and acquiring knowledge because they would have to change so much of themselves and their communities before they can start seeing things differently'. See José Medina, *The Epistemology of Resistance*, 1st edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 57-58.

as an exemplifying case: 'In situations of oppression, members of some groups get disproportionately more credibility and others disproportionately less; in other words, their epistemic authority is not proportionate to their epistemic capacities and assets'.[22]

Having laid out Medina's central criticism of Fricker's TI, I will now bring to the fore his argument for TI by credibility *excess*. The underpinning of Medina's argument concerns *ignorance*, stemming from a *resistance to know* – specifically, *active ignorance*.[23] This type of ignorance, Medina claims, often results from privilege, is directly related to epistemic arrogance and has to be understood as a form of *meta-ignorance* (i.e. an attitude towards epistemic attitudes).[24] Some forms of meta-ignorance include the epistemic arrogance, close-mindedness and dogmatism of Fricker's exemplifying case of the 'elite family member'. The epistemic harm that arises from these attitudes and their ultimate classification with regards to TI is the pivotal point with which Medina disagrees.

Recall Fricker's dismissal of the elite family member case, in which the individual instance of a credibility excess fails to wrong S sufficiently *in itself* and *at the time* the excess is attributed.[25] Fricker comes to her conclusion because she examines the case as an *individual instance* and rejects its *temporal significance*. Medina's disagrees with Fricker's examination and regards epistemic harms of this sort as 'not direct and immediate [but as having] a temporal trajectory [which] *reverberates across a multiplicity of contexts and social interactions*' (my emphasis).[26] By taking into account the temporal trajectory of the family members' epistemic harm, Medina

[22] José Medina, *The Epistemology of Resistance*, 1st edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 62.
[23] Medina, 'The Relevance of Credibility Excess', 26.
[24] Ibid., 28.
[25] Fricker, 21.
[26] Medina, 'The Epistemology of Resistance', 59.

brings to light a *disproportional* attribution of credibility excess, which in turn will necessarily cause H to attribute lower credibility to other S's by comparison over time. Hence, according to Medina, this should be classified as a testimonial injustice (as it satisfies the features of 'i.'- 'iv.' and the reformulated version of 'v.' of Fricker's TI as defined).[27]

I find Medina's argument convincing, insofar as he manages to push the boundaries of Fricker's conception of TI whilst maintaining what I consider to be its *core* features ('i.'- 'iv.'). It is important to note, however, that Fricker does not deny outright that cases of credibility excess attribution can lead to TI – rather, she deems such cases to be 'variant strains' of TI, namely non-central cases. In my view, failure to classify cases of TI by credibility excess as equally central suggests that injustices of this kind are less significant. Medina's argument convincingly shows that TI by credibility excess should be regarded as, at least in some cases, *equally significant*. For TI consists in both an epistemic and an *ethical* injustice, whereby the ethical consequences arguably constitute the main harm. By attributing a reduced significance to TI by credibility excess cases, a measurement of ethical severity is applied without proper justification. Fricker does not specify the determining factors which render some ethical harms less severe, and thus non-central, and others more severe and central. This is problematic because (i) the ethical harm can vary depending on the characteristics of the individual experiencing it, (ii) the measurement of differential ethical severity is applied without justification, and (iii) this allows for carelessness with regards to our ability to recognise TI.

[27] Ibid., 61.

4. Federico Luzzi's critique

Federico Luzzi is the second and final dissenting critic of Fricker's conception of TI that will be considered. In his critique, Federico Luzzi makes a case for an overlooked possibility in Fricker's work, namely that TI could occur when *due* credibility is attributed to a speaker. Two exemplifying cases are given: 'Type I' and 'Type II'.[28] In the Type I case, we are asked to imagine a society where a minority group G is stigmatized by non-Gs: 'while non-Gs believe that what Gs say is true, and routinely accept the content of Gs' testimony, non-Gs also take the view that Gs don't *know* any of the propositions they (i.e., Gs) assert [due to non-Gs dogmatically and falsely believing that members of Gs are] systematically "Gettiered" by some divine being'.[29] Luzzi clarifies that 'Gettiered' means that, from the perspective of non-Gs, Gs hold beliefs that are true and justified but not *known*.[30]

Importantly, Luzzi stresses that in both Type I and Type II cases, Gs are considered to be *equally* credible to members of their own group, thus *due* credibility is attributed in both cases.[31] The Type II case is structurally identical to the Type I but with one significant difference: 'instead of non-Gs regarding the beliefs held by Gs as Gettiered, non-Gs regard the beliefs held by Gs as true but *not doxastically justified*'.[32] In other words, whilst non-Gs regard the beliefs and claims of Gs to be true, they (non-Gs) judge the epistemic foundation – the *source* of their testimony – to be inadequate. In both cases, non-Gs attribute *due* credibility to Gs. Yet, there is a clear epistemic harm suffered by Gs. Recall the defining features of

[28] Federico Luzzi, 'Testimonial Injustice Without Credibility Deficit (Or Excess)', *Thought: A Journal of Philosophy* 5, no. 3 (2016), 206.
[29] Ibid., 206.
[30] Ibid., 207.
[31] Ibid., 207.
[32] Ibid., 207.

Fricker's TI: Luzzi points out that this case satisfies all five points and asserts that 'there is at least presumptive reason to take these to be cases of testimonial injustice proper'.[33]

In my view, Luzzi's critique is particularly compelling. His case has the strength of remaining consistent with Fricker's defined boundaries of what constitutes TI ('i.'-'v.'), whilst expanding it to include instances where due credibility is attributed (though I do not consider point 'v.' to be entirely necessary, but the removal of this condition provides no challenge to Luzzi's account). If one accepts the defined boundaries ('i.'-'v.') as the collective 'ingredients' of TI, then I agree with Luzzi that Type I and Type II cases should be considered as cases of TI. Because Luzzi's account of TI via due credibility fits comfortably into Fricker's defined TI, his claim can only be rejected by refuting TI as defined by reformulating it at point 'iv', where the requirements for a credibility assessment to be classified as harmful should be expressed more explicitly.

As an expansion of TI's definition, I consider Luzzi's contribution to be particularly valuable because it brings to light some of the subtle cognitive processes at play when somebody forms judgments about others. These aspects draw attention to the act of credibility attribution itself and suggests, similarly to Medina, that it is perhaps more complex than how Fricker presents it.

5. Conclusion

Both Medina's and Luzzi's arguments provide compelling perspectives of credibility attribution which serve as valuable potential expansions of Fricker's TI. The primary question of this paper has been whether testimonial injustice is *best understood* as arising *only* in cases of credibility deficit. Fricker's central case exemplifies the

[33] Ibid., 207.

most clear-cut case of TI and brings to light its defining features. However, her conception of TI as arising only through the attribution of a credibility deficit disregards the significance of 'variant strains'. By so doing, less obvious epistemic harms such as cumulative harm as well as the complexities surrounding the act of credibility attribution become obscured. To ignore minor or less visible harms is arguably a harm in itself and a sufficient basis on which to maintain that testimonial injustice is best understood as arising in cases *broader* than only credibility deficit attribution.

As it has been argued, both accounts represent cases of testimonial injustice, and I imagine that there may be further exemplifying cases of testimonial injustice by credibility attribution X (where X is not confined to 'deficit') that are yet to be conceptualized. In my view, these cases highlight gaps in what exactly should or can be considered as TI. On the one hand, this may be seen as problematic because of the ambiguities surrounding the borderline cases of TI. On the other hand, this ambiguity allows for compelling insights such as those put forth by Medina and Luzzi, which, when accounted for, contribute to a more cultivated understanding of testimonial injustice.

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Controlling our own dying: a human right or a privilege?

Mie Astrup Jensen[1]

Because a majority of people die in hospitals and hospices, it is often assumed that the power to control dying and death is held by medical professionals. However, there is a move in Western societies to contest this power and attain greater control over their own dying and death. Specifically, there is growing support for physician-aided suicide (PAS) where the notion of 'dying with dignity' drives many to want a peaceful death over a painful existence. Despite this support, scholars note how concepts of controlling our own dying and 'dying with dignity' are incompatible with the current structural and cultural frameworks surrounding death in Western societies. This essay argues PAS is currently more of a privilege than a human right in the West. First, it addresses key developments in the Global North that has contributed to contemporary understandings of the 'good death' in relation to PAS. Then, by using case studies, it examines how bio-medical, socio-economic, and legal frameworks influence our method of dying. Conclusively, it asserts few native Swiss- and even fewer foreigners- have access to this method of controlling their own dying.

Introduction

In the postmodern dying paradigm, Walter (1994) argues that 'power lies in the hands of whoever is in possession of the dying or dead body'.[2] Given 75 per cent of people in the West die in hospitals and hospices, it would seem that this power that Walter refers to lies with

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[2] Tony Walter, *The Revival of Death* (London: Routledge, 1994), 17.

the medical profession.[3] However, upon closer inspection, this notion is increasingly being challenged by the growing desire by people to control their own death. One of the major examples of this trend is the increasing support for physician-aided suicide (PAS) that advocates for 'dying with dignity'. Despite this growing support by the public, this idea of controlling our own dying and death is limited to current legal, socio-economic, and medical frameworks.

As a result, this essay will argue that physician-aided suicide, as a method of controlling one's own dying, is more of a privilege than a human right due to these limits. First, this essay will account for key developments in modernity that have contributed to contemporary understandings of the 'good death'. Furthermore, this essay will look specifically on how these developments have influenced the functions and structures of PAS in Switzerland and, more notably, the reasons people have for desiring this means of dying. Through the use of case studies, I will reveal the central role GPs have in enabling humanity to control their own death. Finally, I will investigate suicide tourism by focusing on Britons applying to go to Switzerland. In conclusion, I will find that in the Global North, we can only control our own dying within bio-medical, legal, and socio-economic frameworks.

1. Death paradigms

Fundamentally, the inevitable death does not fit well into the future-oriented modernity script.[4] There are seven components of death in the 21st century: medicalisation, institutionalisation, professionalisation, commodification, secularisation,

[3] Walter, 153; Ruth McManus, *Death in a Global Age* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 96.

[4] Philip. A. Mellor and Chris Shilling, 'Modernity, Self-Identity and the Sequestration of the Death', *Sociology*, 27.3 (1993), 411–31, 419.

industrialisation, and psychologization.[5] While these features are intertwined and equally important, due to the scope and focus of this essay, attention will primarily be given to the first three. Sociologically, the four major institutions- political, economic, cultural, and kinship - affect death and dying.[6] This interconnectedness means, for example, that professionals exert more power over patients' illnesses and needs, and contemporary cultural scripts create a consensus to rely on evolving death technologies.[7] Thus, the bio-medical model of the death paradigm infers death, rather than being social, is inherently biological and embodied.[8] Consequently, there has been a backlash claiming that medical technology can prolong life but with lower quality.[9]

The evolution of the good death started from a socio-religious script;[10] developed into a modern death typified by quick and painless procedures; and has now evolved into a postmodern notion of doing it 'my way'.**Error! Bookmark not defined.** Nonetheless, they all highlight notions of awareness, readiness, and being pain-free.[11] Bradbury articulates this by noting: 'When I think about my own death, I know I want to die when I have had time to prepare myself

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[5] McManus, 22.
[6] Ibid., 14.
[7] Stefan Timmermans, 'Death Brokering: Constructing Culturally Appropriate Deaths', *Sociology of Health and Illness* (2005), 993–1013 (997); Bethne Hart, Peter Sainsbury, and Stephanie Short, 'Whose Dying? A Sociological Critique of the "Good Death" ', *Mortality*, 3.1 (1998), 65–77 (72).
[8] McManus, 45.
[9] Naomi Richards, 'Assisted Suicide as a Remedy for Suffering? The End-of-Life Preferences of British "Suicide Tourists"', *Medical Anthropology: Cross Cultural Studies in Health and Illness*, 36.4 (2017), 348–62 (350).
[10] A social death where the dying person was surrounded by family and prepared to meet God; Walter, 59.
Error! Bookmark not defined. Walter, 59.
[11] Ibid.

and when I have said goodbye to those I love'.[12] The 'do it your own way' death has developed with the rise of Western values, such as individualism and capitalism.[13] A visible sign of this is the growing notion of 'dying with dignity', which highlights human values, empathy, minimal emotional and physical pain, privacy, and being active rather than passive in one's own dying – meaning people are mentally, materially, socially, and physically prepared.[14] Now, Bradbury argues, 'the good death is now the death that we choose'.[15] This central focus on the individual means that relatives and friends are increasingly advised to support the patient die in *their own way* so that it is consistent with their lived life.[16]

Two things should be noted here. First, 'dying with dignity' and the 'good death' are, as a result of modern Western society, highly subjective, since human values, pain management, and involvement cannot be quantitatively conceptualised.[17] Second, while individualisation is crucial to contemporary understandings of a good death, it ought to be located within social frameworks. Accordingly, 'free will' in dying is a result of liberal states' verification of what constitutes a good death. [18] An example of this dichotomous relationship is physician-aided suicide (PAS).

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[12] Mary Bradbury, 'Representations of "Good" and "Bad" Death among Deathworkers and the Bereaved', in *Contemporary Issues in the Sociology of Death, Dying and Disposal*, ed. by Glennys Howarth and Peter C. Jupp (New York: Martin's Press, 1996), 84–96 (84).

[13] Walter, 2.

[14] Kathryn Proulx and Cynthia Jacelon, 'Dying with Dignity: The Good Patient versus the Good Death', *American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Medicine*, 21.2 (2004), 116–20 (118); Bradbury, 85.

[15] On the other hand, bad deaths are the ones occurring at the incorrect time and place; Bradbury, 85.

[16] Walter, 2.

[17] Proulx and Jacelon, 116.

[18] Samia A. Hurst and Alex Mauron, 'Assisted Suicide in Switzerland: Clarifying Liberties and Claims', *Bioethics*, 31.3 (2017), 199–208, (204).

2. Physician-aided suicide in Switzerland

Modernity has arguably led to the loss of death traditions as a consequence of secularisation and individualisation. As a result, this change can leave people vulnerable when faced with dying.[19] Traditionally, and to some extent still, suicide has been thought of as a selfish and immoral act.[20] It was outlawed in Europe until the 19th century and repealed in England in 1961. Yet, while it is no longer a crime to commit suicide, legal conducts remain for assisted suicide. [21]

Physician-aided suicide (PAS) refers to a physician who intentionally helps a person terminate their life at the patient's competent request by providing lethal drugs used for self-administration. [22] It presents a sense of security and control by being planned while offering psychological and social ease. [23] Although assisted dying is publicly a controversial debate from ethical and religious standpoints, polls in the West show increasing support for the practice.[24] The newest poll by Dignity in Dying shows that 82 per

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[19] Mellor and Shilling, 417; Sarah Matthews, 'Old Women and Identity Maintenance: Outwitting the Grim Reaper', in *Toward A Sociology of Death and Dying*, ed. by Lyn H. Lofland (London: Sage, 1976), 105–14 (107).

[20] David A. Jones, 'Assisted Dying and Suicide Prevention', *Journal of Disability & Religion*, (2018) 1–19 (5).

[21] With increasing support, and distance from self-deliverance and other types of suicide, it is now also referred to as 'death with dignity', 'compassion in dying', 'choice in dying', 'medical assistance in dying', and 'assisted dying'; Jones, 6.; Hurst and Mauron, 201–2.

[22] Lukas Radbruch and others, 'Euthanasia and Physician-Assisted Suicide: A White Paper from the European Association for Palliative Care', *Palliative Medicine*, 30.2 (2016), 104–16 (109); Claudia Gamondi and others, 'Family Caregivers' Reflections on Experiences of Assisted Suicide in Switzerland: A Qualitative Interview Study', *Journal of Pain and Symptom Management*, 55.4 (2018), 1085–94 (1085).

[23] Hart, Sainsbury, and Short, 71.

[24] Especially when informants were asked about cases detailing life expectancy, family's attitudes, patient's requests, and organ donations; Nathalie Teisseyre, Etienne Mullet, and Paul Sorum, 'Under What Conditions Is Euthanasia Acceptable

cent of the UK public support PAS, and more than 50 per cent of doctors are neutral or supportive. [25]

Switzerland's Penal Code Article 115 permits assisted dying.[26] Unlike euthanasia[27], the course and power of administrating PAS rests with the person wanting to end their life, indicating they control their own dying.[28] This agreement is usually made by drawing on medical, professional, and kinship relations, which is often coincided with the physical and social death.[29] On the other hand, PAS is arguably *the* most scripted death due to the legal aspect, paperwork, procedures, and doctor-patient consultations.[30] Needless to say, people will be aware of these procedures and still maintain a sense of control in their dying. Thus, some advocates claim that such a culturally sanctioned self-determined death should be praised rather than criticised.[31]

Reasons for seeking assisted suicide are correlated to modern death scripts. First, with modern society, there has been a growth in wanting control of every aspect of life, as well as of death. For example, the growing number of people checking symptoms of diseases online and monitoring food intake and exercise habits

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to Lay People and Health Professionals?', *Social Science and Medicine*, 60 (2005), 357–68 (364).

[25] It is often the GP's trade unions and lawyers that are against it due to the medical oath of sustaining life. Additionally, these studies include cross-national surveys that confirm a growing acceptance of PAS; Grace Macaskill, 'Half of Brits Would Consider £10,000 Dignitas Death as Calls Grow for Assisted Dying in the UK', *Mirror* (2017), <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/half-brits-would-consider-10000-11506163>; Teisseyre, Mullet, and Sorum, 357; *The Economist*, 'Easing Death: Assisted Suicide' (London, October 2012), 1–3 (1).

[26] Hurst and Mauron, 202.

[27] Which literally means 'good death' (both social and physical death); Walter, 29.

[28] Radbruch and others, 108–9.; Nicole Steck, Matthias Egger, and Marcel Zwahlen, 'Assisted and Unassisted Suicide in Men and Women: Longitudinal Study of the Swiss Population', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 208 (2016), 484–90 (484).

[29] Walter, 51; Gamondi and others, 1086.

[30] Timmermans, 999.

[31] Jones, 8.

illustrates one-way people have tried to control an element of life – namely, in this case, how the body operates on a daily basis.[32] Fundamentally, the postmodern perspective on individualism has formed a new fascination and obsession with dying.[33] The complex position of desiring control while becoming increasingly dependent on others can contribute to requesting PAS.[34] To elaborate, 65 per cent of patients mention autonomy and control as primary reasons for requesting PAS, and 66 per cent requested it because of a fear of 'loss of self', which would reduce meaning of life and dignity.[35] Moreover, the most terminally or chronically ill wanted PAS because of their uncontrollable and unbearable pain.[36] Pain, described by 95 per cent, and especially loss of bodily control, i.e. diarrhoea and incontinence, can be directly linked to the concept of 'dirty dying' or 'a bad death'.[37] 65 per cent of participants mentioned that 'being a burden' is another reason for PAS.[38] This illustrates the Western move from traditional communal deaths to individualistic privatised dying. Thus,

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[32] Matthews, 109.

[33] Marisa Meltzer, 'How Death Got Cool', *The Guardian* (2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jan/12/how-death-got-cool-swedish-death-cleaning>.

[34] Walter, 139.

[35] This includes social dependency, loneliness, social death, hopelessness, 'and being tired of life'; Richards, 348–49; Susanne Fischer, Carola A. Huber, Matthias Furter, and others, 'Reasons Why People in Switzerland Seek Assisted', *Swiss Medical Weekly*, 139.23–24 (2009), 333–38 (336); Maggie Hendry and others, 'Why Do We Want the Right to Die? A Systematic Review of the International Literature on the Views of Patients, Carers and the Public on Assisted Dying', *Palliative Medicine*, 27.1 (2012), 13–26 (19).

[36] This consequently includes other physical and cognitive symptoms such as fatigue, diarrhoea, shortness of breath, memory loss, confusion, but especially incontinence; Hendry and others, 19.

[37] Fischer, Huber, Furter, and others, 336; Julia Lawton, 'Contemporary Hospice Care: The Sequestration of the Unbounded Body and "Dirty Dying"', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 20.2 (1998), 121–43 (131).

[38] Fischer, Huber, Furter, and others, 336; Hendry and others, 19–20; Radbruch and others, 110.

contextualising assisted suicide within the postmodern dying scripture suggests that PAS is dignified and peaceful since people are prepared for their death. Furthermore, there is a sense of control since they do it in their own way.[39]

Moreover, by looking at the demographics[40], multiple things are noteworthy. First, in the 1990s, more men requested PAS, but since 2001, women have requested it more often; now, the ratio is 10 men to 13 women.[41] In addition, assisted dying is more likely to be associated with people living alone (which confirms the link between social death and assisted suicide); Protestants or secularists; those with a background of higher education; and those that are older than 65-particularly those between the ages of 85-94.[42] So far, it can be concluded that it is a specific type of people who have access to this type of dying.

In Switzerland, it is believed that PAS belongs to the private sphere and not the medical field. [43] Switzerland has four right-to-die organisations: Exit ADMD, Exit Deutsche Schweiz, Exit International, and Dignitas. [44] These organisations require various documents that can be difficult to obtain, and PAS is estimated to cost £8,000-£10,000. [45] Rather than GPs, holistic right-to-die associations

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[39] Hart, Sainsbury, and Short, 72; Timmermans, 999.

[40] Studies indicate that sociodemographic characteristics and personal traits correlate to acceptance and support of PAS; Shane Sharp, 'Heaven, Hell, and Attitudes toward Physician-Assisted Suicide', *Journal of Health Psychology*, 00.0 (2018), 1–12 (1).

[41] Federal Statistical Office, *Assisted Suicide (Euthanasia) and Suicide in Switzerland BFS Aktuell* (Federal Department of Home Affairs FDHA, 2016), 1.

[42] Steck, Egger, and Zwahlen , 484–86; Nicole Steck, Christopher Junker, and Marcel Zwahlen, 'Increase in Assisted Suicide in Switzerland: Did the Socioeconomic Predictors Change? Results from the Swiss National Cohort', *BMJ Open*, 8 (2018) 1-11 (7).

[43] Gamondi and others, 1092–93.

[44] Susanne Fischer, Carola A. Huber, Lorenz Imhof, and others, 'Suicide Assisted by Two Swiss Right-to-Die Organisations', *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 34.11 (2008), 810–14 (813).

[45] Richards, 350.

review their application, refer them to doctors, and assist them during their dying and death. This is frequently referred to as being a civil model of PAS. [46] Consequently, doctors only assess the individual's capacity to request PAS and prescribe the drug. [47] Yet, Article 115 is not restricted to medical diseases although terminal/incurable conditions are usually required by doctors. [48] Therefore, while the individual has a voice in their dying, it is socially shaped by accessibility and gatekeepers.[49]

3. The role of physicians

Doctors determine if someone is terminally ill, which is often a requirement for PAS. The medical oath emphasises sustaining life above all else; however, it often comes at the cost of reducing individuals to scientific interests.[50] Given the bio-medical model says death is biological rather than social, doctors predominantly focus on physical symptoms. As a result, this contradicts postmodern perceptions of the good death. [51] To elaborate, the physician, being the authoritative figure, may suggest continued treatment due to the ethos of the medical profession, despite the fact that more people voice that human dignity is unrecognised and disappears when a terminally ill

[46] Gamondi and others, 1086.
[47] Steck, Egger, and Zwahlen, 484.
[48] Radbruch and others, 106; Hurst and Mauron, 205.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *Awareness of Dying* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), 22.; Robert H. Coombs and Pauline S. Powers, 'Socialization For Death: The Physician's Role', in *Toward A Sociology of Death and Dying*, ed. by Lyn H. Lofland (London: Sage, 1976), 15–36 (23).
[51] Proulx and Jacelon, 116.

person's life is sustained by technology. [52] Some even beg to die. [53] This fundamentally means that the patient is viewed as inferior to the doctor. [54] Therefore, they are not in control of their own dying. Walter supports this by observing that control in the postmodern dying paradigm is a negotiation between the patient and their carer. [55]

On the one hand, the civil model is presented as if it is individualised since the legal framework emphasises right-to-die organisations more than GPs and permits PAS occurring in the patient's home. Because of this, many perceive PAS as belonging to the private sphere.[56] However, it is crucial to note that the drugs ought to be prescribed by the physician, meaning they are in control, and doctors maintain veto power on matters concerning suicide assistance.[57] The role of physicians as gatekeepers should consequently not be underestimated. For example, Paul spoke to his GP about going to Dignitas, and the doctor refused since it went against the medical oath. [58] As a result, Paul was visited daily by Hospice At Home palliative carers. It was not as pain-free as promised, and while his wife gave him morphine, it was not enough. She later explained: 'It was horrific and about the furthest you could get from

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[52] Cases from England explains how doctors do their best to make death pain-free, however doctors cannot enable the 'ultimate act of compassion', which is PAS. They continue by noting that many relatives often declare: 'at least Sarah's no long suffering', when they could be saying 'Sarah died at just the right time' Sarah Jessiman, *Patient Commentary: 'I Don't Want to Go to Switzerland, and I Don't Want to Attempt Suicide', BMJ* (BMJ, 2018); Richards, 358; Proulx and Jacelon, 118.
[53] An example of this is the case of Dolly at hospice, who continuously begged for PAS since she became chronically incontinent and faecal vomiting as a result of her cancer disease, but when she got rejected, she had a social death by switching the world off; Lawton, 129–30; Jessiman; Glaser and Strauss, 217.
[54] Walter, 13.
[55] Hart, Sainsbury, and Short, 74.
[56] Gamondi and others, 1086.
[57] Hurst and Mauron, 205.
[58] Lloyd Riley and Davina Hehir, *The True Cost: How the UK Outsources Death to Dignitas* (London: Dignity in Dying, 2017), 26.

the nice, peaceful death that he'd wanted for himself'.[59] On the other hand, negotiation can be helpful. For example, Daniel James was a rugby player in England. He had an accident on the pitch and became paralysed from the chest down, and there was no cure nor recovery treatment. He had unsuccessfully tried to commit suicide three times. He contacted Dignitas because he needed someone else to end his life, and his doctor agreed to sign the required papers. His family begged him not to go through with it; however, his PAS happened eight months after he initially contacted Dignitas. [60] In this sense, by collaborating with the GP, Daniel controlled his own dying.

In 83.9 per cent of cases, there was at least one specific disease mentioned on PAS death certificates.[61] Among these, 42 per cent had cancer, 14 per cent had neurodegenerative diseases, 11 per cent cardiovascular diseases, and 10 per cent musculoskeletal disorders.[62] All of these mentioned diseases are considered dirty and bad deaths since they are physically unclean and uncontrollable. This further confirms that cancer is often given a distinct status compared to other degenerative diseases.[63] Consequently, by being conscious of the physician's role in the civil model, it can be inferred that certain diseases are more likely to ensure people can get PAS, and therefore it is not the individual who is in control. There has been a substantial increase in PAS over the last 15 years,[64] which supports the claim that people have a desire to control their own dying. However, assisted

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[59] Ibid., 46.

[60] Robert Booth, 'The Final Days of a Stubborn, Determined Young Man Who Loved His Independence', *The Guardian* (2008) <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2008/dec/10/assisted-suicide-dignitas>.

[61] Steck, Egger, and Zwahlen, 486.

[62] Federal Statistical Office, 2; Steck, Junker, and Zwahlen, 486; Steck, Egger, and Zwahlen, 7.

[63] Lawton, 131.

[64] Before 2000, there were about 200 assisted deaths of Swiss residents, but it is now closer to 800.

suicides only constitute only 1 per cent of deaths in Switzerland. [65] However, it is not only Swiss citizens who turn to right-to-die-organisations; rather, it is increasingly becoming an international phenomenon.

4. Suicide tourism

Suicide tourism is growing in Switzerland, where Exit and Dignitas are increasingly becoming globalised. [66] In England, it is a crime to encourage or assist suicide (also if it occurs overseas), and the maximum penalty is 14 years of imprisonment. [67] While this can be a formal reason for why it is difficult to obtain a GP's note, it does not change the fact that thousands of people are annually involved with PAS. [68] In fact, according to Riley and Hehir, 66 per cent of UK citizens would help a loved one access PAS in Switzerland regardless of the legal consequences of their actions.[69] In this respect, Sarah Wootton, CEO Dignity in Dying, explains: 'It's clearly unethical to force dying Britons to travel abroad to die through a lack of safeguard choice in this country… We have no control over the law in Switzerland'.[70] In correlation with the growing acceptance and support for PAS, 53 per cent of Britons would consider travelling to Switzerland for a PAS if they had a terminal illness.[71] Overall, 1:5 suicide tourists going to Switzerland are British, and in 2013, Dignitas

[65] Gamondi and others, 1086.
[66] McManus, 95.
[67] Riley and Hehir, 10.
[68] Ibid., 23–30; Gamondi and others, 1086.
[69] Riley and Hehir, 11.
[70] Haroon Siddique, 'One in Five Visitors to Swiss Assisted-Dying Clinics from Britain', *The Guardian* (2014), <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/aug/20/one-in-five-visitors-swiss-suicide-clinics-britain-uk-germany> .
[71] Riley and Hehir, 11.

had arranged PAS for 694 UK citizens. [72] Notably, although more than half of Britons would *consider* PAS in Switzerland, the reality is quite different. The average cost is £10,000, which means that only 25 per cent can afford it.[73] Consequently, Dignitas only administered 47 PAS for Britons in 2016.[74] Subsequently, it has been found that 300 annual suicides in the UK involve terminally ill patients, which is significantly more than the 47 Britons who had PAS in 2016.[75]

In addition, the fact that people need to travel abroad means that they ought to be healthy enough to endure this journey. This often means the scheduled dying must be set so early in advance that it may be arranged at a time before many would have wanted it. If a possible client fails to do so, PAS can become no longer a viable option.[76] This is clearly illustrated in the case of Emil's mum. His mother was terminally ill, and although they spoke about PAS in Switzerland as an option, she decided it was too expensive and the medical professionals would be able to control her pain with morphine. However, her condition rapidly deteriorated and when the pain became too much, she changed her mind. However, at that point, it was too late given the lengthy application process for PAS and her deteriorating health hindering her from travelling abroad. Emil asked his mother's carers to increase her medication, but the doctors said they would not because it would look like the medication has caused her death.[77] First, this example shows the doctors' commitment to maintaining life by undermining the patient's wishes. Second, it shows the financial discrimination between the poor and rich.[78] Therefore,

[72] Siddique; McManus, 86.
[73] Riley and Hehir, 11.
[74] Macaskill.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Riley and Hehir, 6.
[77] Ibid., 47.
[78] Macaskill.

when assessing the risks of being prosecuted, the extensive application process, and the cost, it is evident that only some can become suicide tourists.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, PAS cannot be perceived as a human right but as a privilege. This is evident on multiple levels. First, socio-economic features have clarified that only some people have access to PAS due to its cost, their worldviews, and their interaction with postmodern death paradigms. Second, while Switzerland has a civil model of PAS, doctors still act as lethal drug gatekeepers where they have the veto power to stop suicide assistance. Moreover, they have control over who can receive treatment, often prioritising dirty deaths over others. Finally, legal circumstances mean that PAS is probably the most controlled and scripted way of dying, and patients' sense of control must therefore be situated within this framework. This means that the 'good death' is highly regulated and informed by modernity's characteristics. As such, people who accept the conditions of a scripted death can therefore feel in control of their own dying.

Recognising the growing support for PAS in the Global North, we ought to facilitate a dialogue of what the 'good death' means, rather than relying on the ethical debates we see in the media. Future research could draw on the death paradigm to examine PAS as a human right and thereby further challenge the technological bio-medical model of sustaining life by all means. This would furthermore contribute to shaping our understanding of suicide tourism.

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Place as self-portrait: transcending self in two modernist writers

Enxhi Mandija[1]

Modernity, in early 20th century Europe, challenges traditional ways of seeing, exposing a self-critical question: how we see. Although markedly different, Hope Mirrlees's poem 'Paris' and Nan Shepherd's The Living Mountain offer interesting points of view from which to frame questions of subjectivity in relation to modernity. Both interested in elements of visual and spatial perception, as opposed to a hierarchical focus on time and history, they reveal an experience of the self as a continuous process of becoming in constant dialogue with its surroundings. 'Paris' reflects a growing concern with the visual in literature, both through its physical qualities and its content; The Living Mountain explores a phenomenology of the Cairngorm Mountains, describing place as inextricably linked to the self. The essay explores the different ways the texts interact with the notions of time, space and self, noticing a possible link with contemporary art practices.

Considered alongside the political, socially themed works in the shortlist, the 2018 Turner Prize winner came as a surprise for many. 'BRIDGIT' is a 32 minutes long video, entirely shot on a scruffy iPhone, that is as intimate as it is universal. Artist Charlotte Prodger's personal history is echoed in the peaks and valleys of the Scottish Highlands, in the story of a long-lost Neolithic deity – her

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consciousness, her identity are in the landscape and in history, stretched across time and space, a universal subjectivity (Figure 1).[2]

Figure 1. Screenshot of 'BRIDGIT', by Charlotte Prodger

Literary modernism is often acknowledged as being concerned with representations of consciousness through a fragmented experience of time and history. A discourse on spatiality in relation to Modernism, discussing the boundaries between self and external reality, is an interesting undertaking that yields diverse results. The works of Hope Mirrlees and Nan Shepherd, while until recently overlooked and excluded from the canon of modernist writers, reveal a concern with space in relation to the self that challenges broader assumptions about Modernism and opens new possibilities to understand a work of art. Individual experience, in Mirrlees's *Paris* and Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*, transcends the thin boundaries of skin and merges with the multifarious facets of external reality.

[2] Charlotte Prodger, 'BRIDGIT', in *LUX Scotland* (2016) <https://lux.org.uk/work/bridgit> [Accessed 25 Jan 2019].

Figure 2. Sonia Delaunay and Blaise Cendrars, 'Prose on the Trans-Siberian Railway,' 1913, detail.

As Goldman notices, modernist literary forms are dominated by the image as an aesthetic technique.[3] The collage, for instance, has a literary equivalent in the 'radically citational texts' of Joyce, Eliot and Pound;[4] experimentation with the 'visual dimensions of the verbal' in the 'visual form of writing, and the materiality of the printed word'[5] result in the visually striking poetic compositions of Apollinaire, Mallarmé or Jean Cocteau. Sonia Delaunay strives to synthesise visual and textual relations in her 1913 collaboration with Blaise Cendrars, 'Prose on the Trans-Siberian Railway and of Little Jehanne of France', where the journey described in the poem is physically accompanied by illustrated abstract panels, and the dimensions of the work challenge common modes of perception (Figure 2).[6] Hope Mirrlees's poem *Paris* (1920) is an example of poetry that questions and challenges conventions of narrative discourse with a comprehensive concern for the visual, both in the physical layout of the text and in the contents of the narration.

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[3] Jane Goldman, *Modernism, 1910 – 1945: Image to Apocalypse* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[4] Goldman, 54-5.

[5] Goldman, 11.

[6] 'Prose on the Trans-Siberian Railway and of Little Jehanne of France', in *Tate Modern*, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/delaunay-prose-on-the-trans-siberian-railway-and-of-little-jehanne-of-france-p07355> [Accessed 25 Jan 2019].

Familiar with the works of the contemporary Parisian avant-garde, Mirrlees's text is highly self-conscious of its physical layout: blank space, varying font sizes, capitals, italics, musical notation and drawing are all imbued with expressive force (Figure 3). As Briggs points out, 'the spaces on the page form a crucial part of the rhythm of writing',[7] complementing the significance of the words: the poem must be 'seen' as well as 'heard'.[8] Breaking conventions of printing, thus drawing attention to the visual element of a printed text, forces the reader to combine two different modes of perception. Pictures, because of their strictly two-dimensional quality, exhort an instantaneous evaluation of their content as the gaze aims to grasp the entirety of the surface: the prevalent dimension is that of space. Conversely, when considering a written text, we are subject to temporality: the meaning of the text is understood sequentially, since the act of reading as well as the unfolding of a narrative are regulated by the operation of time.[9] Combining visual and textual modes of perception means understanding space in terms of temporality, and time in terms of spatial relations. This is the case with *Paris*: as Enemark writes, to effectively understand the poem, 'an integrated spatial-temporal experience of non-linear seeing and speaking/hearing must be undergone'.[10]

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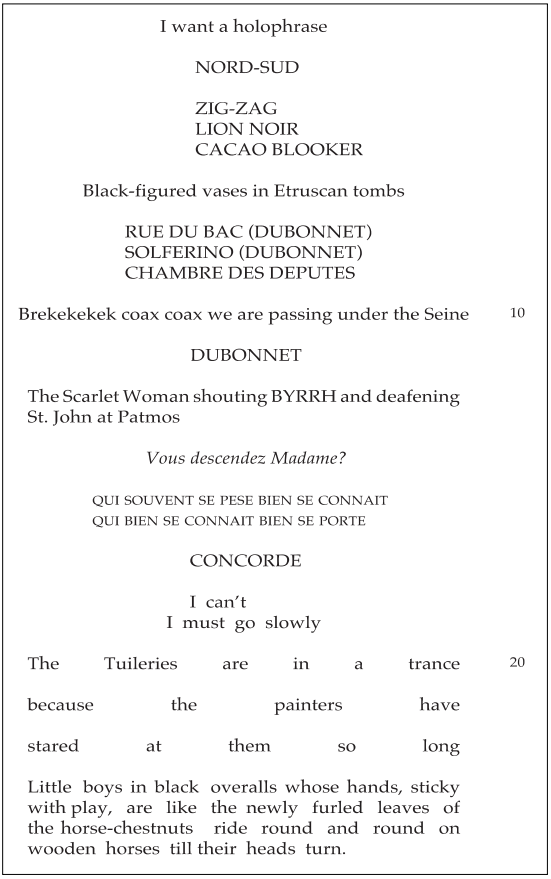
[7] Julia Briggs, '"Modernism's Lost Hope": Virginia Woolf, Hope Mirrlees and the Printing of *Paris'*, in *Reading Virginia Woolf* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 84.

[8] Briggs, 83.

[9] Studies on the comic and the graphic novel as literary forms provide interesting perspectives on the combined effect of word/image. For instance: Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics* (1993; New York: Kitchen Sink Press).

[10] Nina Enemark, 'Antiquarian Magic: Jane Harrison's Ritual Theory and Hope Mirrlees's Antiquarianism in *Paris', in Modernist Women Writers and Spirituality* (ed. by E. Anderson et al., 2016), 127.


I want a holophrase

NORD-SUD

ZIG-ZAG
LION NOIR
CACAO BLOOKER

Black-figured vases in Etruscan tombs

RUE DU BAC (DUBONNET)
SOLFERINO (DUBONNET)
CHAMBRE DES DEPUTES

Brekekekek coax coax we are passing under the Seine

DUBONNET

The Scarlet Woman shouting BYRRH and deafening
St. John at Patmos

Vous descendez Madame?

QUI SOUVENT SE PESE BIEN SE CONNAIT
QUI BIEN SE CONNAIT BIEN SE PORTE

CONCORDE

I can't
I must go slowly

The Tuileries are in a trance

because the painters have

stared at them so long

Little boys in black overalls whose hands, sticky with play, are like the newly furled leaves of the horse-chestnuts ride round and round on wooden horses till their heads turn.

Figure 3. Hope Mirrlees, 'Paris', 1920, page 3. Original typesetting.

The contrast between space/visual and time/text is replicated in the contents of the poem. In *Moving Through Modernity*, Andrew Thacker highlights the increasing importance that the image acquires in shaping the experience of modernity, as new modes of transportation and the changing configuration of the urban space in turn influence the perception of the self and its relation to the world.[11]

[11] Andrew Thacker, *Moving Through Modernity*.

This is reflected in the constant stream of images that constitute Mirrlees's picture of Paris: from a votive plaque to advertisement posters and signs in the underground stations, from paintings to statues, from memorial plaques to hand-drawn star charts. The visual journey of the narrator moves through space and records the city as a series of images, expressive of the 'intersubjective visual relations that dominate city life'.[12] Enemark, on the other hand, emphasises the treatment of time in the poem: she summarises *Paris* as an effort by 'Mirrlees the antiquary' to excavate 'a forgotten stratum of the city's history as a former Roman settlement through an engagement with ancient classical religious practices'.[13] Indeed, the images evoked transport the narrator backwards through time: Paris shifts from its Roman origins, through its Baroque, Enlightened, Romantic past, into the traumatic present and recent past.

Most significantly, however, the poem combines both dimensions (space/time) and relative modes of perception (image/text) into a movement that goes both *through* time and *through* space. The underground is one of the defining innovations in transport in the 20th century, significantly altering the perception of the city, as spatial and temporal connotations become intertwined. As Thacker writes, the distance between two places is not measured in terms of the physical, spatial distance between them, but it 'becomes distorted by the time taken to traverse them'.[14] In the poem, the underground compresses space and time through a rapid, vertical juxtaposition of visual signs, indicated by the block capitals – lines 2, 7-9, 11, 15-17 – and textual manifestations of the self – 'I want a holophrase' (l.1), 'we are passing under the Seine' (l.10), '*Vous descendez Madame*?' (l.14). Furthermore, the underground turns into a metaphysical descent to

[12] Thacker, 81.
[13] Enemark, 116.
[14] Thacker, 89.

another dimension. The train passes under the Seine with a rattling sound: 'Brekekekek coax coax' (l.10). An onomatopoeic utterance, the phrase is at the same time a quote from Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, as the chorus accompanies Dionysus on his descent into the underworld.[15] In classical mythology and literature, the souls that populate the underworld by norm live outside time, and are able to see the past and the future: the hero that descents to the otherworld is often seeking their faculty of clairvoyance in a quest for knowledge.[16]

As the poem proceeds, the boundaries between the underworld and the modern city become increasingly blurred. Figures from the past are continuously evoked; they live 'quite near' (l.66), inhabit the present, and soon enough they *become* the city. We see 'the ghost of Père Lachaise', the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV, 'walking the streets' and quickly assuming the connotations of a physical place, as he is 'hung with paper wreaths' and 'draped in a black curtain' (ll.175-6). The ghostly Père Lachaise becomes a 'stage thick with corpses' – Paris's most famous cemetery, the cemetery of Père Lachaise. Past time and present space merge again later in the poem, as we walk beneath 'houses with rows of impassive windows' that can only see ghosts (ll.348-350). The French writers – Molière, Voltaire, Chateaubriand – that once inhabited them, are reduced to the memorial plaques on their respective houses (ll.354-365). Next, Mirrlees finally disintegrates the lines between surface and underworld: 'That is not all, / Paradise cannot hold for long the famous dead of Paris… / There are les Champs Elysées!' (ll.366-368). The Champs Elysées are a well know garden and avenue in the centre of Paris, while also a reference to the Elysian Fields, the resting place of the blessed in classical

[15] Enemark, 122.
[16] See for instance Odysseus and Aeneas's descents recounted in Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* respectively.

mythology – hence the reference to Christian 'Paradise'.[17] Mirrlees's Champs Elysées are both the physical gardens and the peaceful meadows of the underworld – Paris is the underworld and the underworld is *Paris*.

In *The Living Mountain*, Nan Shepherd directly exposes and questions the relation between self and external reality. Through the non-linear structure of the book, she defies the understanding of time and space as fixed background settings that remain distinct and do not interact with the perceiving / acting self. Experience, in the book, is firmly rooted in physical perception – all life is life of the senses: 'each sense heightened to its most exquisite awareness is in itself total experience'.[18] And perception is constantly changing, never fixed: Shepherd does not climb to the peak and look at the world from there, but rather *enters* in it, 'displacing herself as the reference point'[19] and challenging the authority of a singular, predominant perspective on life. A loch, for instance, appears shallow and safe from the shore, but as soon as Shepherd and her companion step in it, 'the width of the water increased, as it always does when one is no or in it' and they discover a deep, dangerous rift (*TLM*, 12-3). The cyclical run of time, through the effects of seasons and weathers, eternally alters the experience of the mountains: 'the appearance of the whole group, seen from without, while snow is taking possession, changes with every air' (*TLM*, 34-5). This method of perception points at a heightened sense of reality as a multiplicity of points of view from which the viewer is

[17] Briggs also points out an almost exact anagram between 'Paradise' and 'Paris dies': Julia Briggs, 'Hope Mirrlees and Continental Modernism', in *Gender in Modernism: New Geographies, Complex Intersections*, ed. by Bonnie Kime Scott (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 261-303 (300).

[18] Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain* (1977; repr. 2011, Edinburgh: Canongate Books), 105.

[19] Gillian Carter, '"Domestic Geography" and the Politics of Scottish Landscape in Nan Shepherd's *the Living Mountain'*, 31.

not alienated or frightened, because she is an inherent part of their existence: as Roderick Watson writes, 'these descriptions point beyond the merely material, to a haunting sense of immanence and unity'.[20] French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, whose work on phenomenological perception can be closely aligned to Shepherd's writings, in describing perception in art, reflects that to understand 'depth' is to understand how objects are related: 'their exteriority is known in their envelopment and their mutual dependence in their autonomy'.[21] A hierarchical perspective that places objects in relation to one another must be combined with the notion of the existence of each object in its own right. This is the mode of seeing that Shepherd herself assumes, a practice of embodied consciousness: 'this changing of focus in the eye, moving the eye itself when looking at things that do not move, deepens one's sense of outer reality […] from the close-by sprigs of heather to the most distant fold of the land, each detail stands erect in its own validity' (*TLM*, 10-11).

In terms of structure, *The Living Mountain* reflects the multiplicity of perspectives and experiences recounted in its pages: it combines notions and stylistic elements of various disciplines, from geology to poetry, resulting in a variety of narrative modes.[22] The aim of the book can be hard to pinpoint: it reads as a description of the Cairngorms, yet, apart from a small map at the beginning, there are no other objective facts about the group. As Shepherd herself writes, their 'physiognomy' is not what matters, it is 'a pallid simulacrum of their reality, which, like every reality that matters ultimately to human beings, is a reality of the mind' (*TLM*, 1). She seeks a phenomenology

[20] Roderick Watson, 'Introduction' to *The Living Mountain* in *The Grampian* Quartet, (Edinburgh, Canongate Books, 1996),viii.
[21] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 'Eye and Mind', in *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, ed. by Charles Harrison & Paul Wood (1961; repr. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1992), 750-753 (751).
[22] Carter, 26.

of the Cairngorms, a description of the mountain that derives from her experiences of it through the years. As Carter notices, Shepherd 'constructs the Cairngorms in time and space by regularly walking in them and then shaping them into a narrative, highlighting an engagement with the natural world as both embodied experience and textual practice'.[23] Walking and learning the mountain, Shepherd acquires methods of self-discovery that stem from experience, and the narrative of the mountain cannot be separated from the narrative of the self: 'if the whole truth of them is to be told as I have found it, I too am involved' (*TLM*, 90). Yet this does not imply a 'holistic'[24] or 'almost animist'[25] interpretation of the world; rather, it seeks to understand reality as a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts, of which the acting self is an integral part.[26] In the mountain, Shepherd finds that 'perception alone remains. One neither thinks, nor desires, nor remembers, but dwells in pure intimacy with the tangible world' (*TLM*, 90). The boundaries between the self and external reality evaporate and disappear; yet the mountain is not a 'site for self dispersal',[27] because that would entail a perception of self as standing opposite an external world, like a figure in relation to a background. Instead, Shepherd is describing and discovering a self that exists in function of the external world and, conversely, a world that is real because it is understood through sensorial experience. As Merleau-Ponty writes, the body exists as a 'being-toward-the-world', a complex, layered entity that is in constant flux and part of the same weft of reality – yet able to understand it and perceive it through its

[23] Carter, 25-6.
[24] Carol Anderson, 'Writing Spaces,' 121.
[25] Robert Macfarlane, 'Introduction' to *The Living Mountain*, xiv.
[26] See definition of 'Gestalt' in relation to 'Merleau-Ponty' in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, via <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/merleau-ponty/> [Accessed 03 Dec 2018].
[27] Carter, 34.

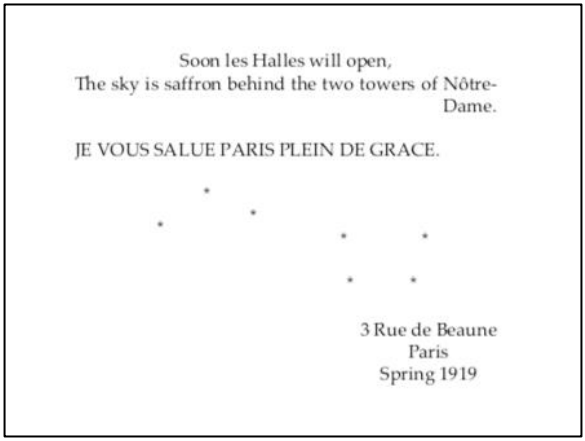
senses. ‘I am an image in a ball of glass. The world is suspended there, and I in it’ (*TLM*, 96), is Shepherd’s realisation.

In 1914, Cubist painter Fernand Léger writes that modernity ‘has altered the habitual look of things’, and art does nothing but express this. When travelling at high speeds and looking out from the frame of a window, the view ‘becomes fragmented; it loses in descriptive value but gains in synthetic value’.[28] Because modernity challenges the traditional way of seeing, the question then turns inwards into *how* we see: the tools for the perception of reality are exposed and questioned. Alongside the earthquakes of relativity and quantum theory, the discovery of the subconscious and subsequent interest in psychology, in the early 20th century, contribute ‘to assert reality as not objectively given but subjectively apprehended through the consciousness’.[29] As we have seen, this reflects closely Shepherd’s approach to the world and the self as mutually dependent: ‘place and mind may interpenetrate till the nature of both is altered’ (*TLM*, 8). Mirrlees also progressively comes to merge the external reality of the city of Paris with her own transcendental experience. ‘The Seine, old egotist, meanders imperturbably towards the sea, / Ruminating on weeds and rain…’ (ll.269-270): the Seine that transported the narrator to underworld is now ‘egotist,’ the river of the unconscious.[30] The poet herself is visually embodied in the city and vice-versa.

‘I want a holophrase’ (l.1) utters Mirrlees, before descending into her journey towards being. In primitive languages, a ‘holophrase’, as defined by the classical scholar and life-long companion of Mirrlees, Jane Harrison, is a long word that expresses complex ideas more cohesively and less analytically than in more developed

[28] Fernand Léger, ‘Contemporary Achievements in Painting’ (1914), in *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, ed. by Charles Harrison & Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1992), 157-159.
[29] Goldman, 59.
[30] Briggs, ‘Hope Mirrlees and Continental Modernism’, 296.

languages.[31] The clear announcement of intention makes us understand the whole of *Paris* as a holophrase: a poem that expresses an experience of being that transcends boundaries of self, space and time to locate the self within and as part of reality. Experience is not 'ringed round by a thick wall of personality'[32] – art, understood as a process, a journey in development, can transcend the boundaries of individuality to place the self back into the experience of the world. Shepherd writes: 'a certain kind of consciousness interacts with the mountain-forms to create this sense of beauty. […] It is something snatched from non-being, that shadow which creeps on us continuously and can be held off by continuous creative act' (*TLM*, 102). The journey of experience is a 'journey into Being; for as I penetrate more deeply into the mountain's life, I penetrate also into my own. I am not out of myself, but in myself. I am. To know Being, this is the final grace accorded from the mountain' (*TLM*, 108). Therefore, a book that so starkly recounts this phenomenology of experience, itself aims to elicit the same transcendence. Similarly, Mirrlees's journey acquires the value of an artistic / religious ritual. The epigraph and the closing line salute the city of Paris with a close echo to the Ave Maria ('NOTRE


Soon les Halles will open,
The sky is saffron behind the two towers of Nôtre-Dame.

JE VOUS SALUE PARIS PLEIN DE GRACE.

3 Rue de Beaune
Paris
Spring 1919

Figure 4. Hope Mirrlees, 'Paris,' 1920, page 17. Original typesetting.

[31] Briggs, 'Modernism's Lost Hope', 85.
[32] Walter Pater, 'Conclusion to *The Renaissance*, 1868/73', 829.

DAME' and 'PLEIN DE GRACE'), yet the self returns home in the constellation of the Ursa Maior, beyond words and directly onto the world (Figure 4).

Self-portraits, in art's long history, were often intended as technical practice (a mirror is a cheap model), non-dispendious experimentation, an artist's self-conscious way to testify their presence on earth and defy mortality. The stream of self-portraits in the canon of traditional Western art shows one bearded face after the other, mirror after mirror of the artist's torso staring right through the canvas, starkly laid against a background that fills up the blank space. Mirrlees and Shepherd offer us literary self-portraits that point the reader's gaze simultaneously at them and outwards, towards the dazzling modernity of 1920s Paris or the restless, haunting hills of Aberdeenshire. They transcend the boundaries between figure and background, self and space, reader and writer, drawing maps that truthfully express their individual experience of a self that is a multifaceted, shapeshifting being in continuous process of becoming, part of the same stream where the rest of reality grows. The art they advocate, is one of the senses. And we walk in the maps of their days.

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‘I am nothing but a bundle of nerves dressed up to look like a man’: representations of ‘Queer’ otherness in The Tenant of Wildfell Hall and The Woman in White

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The current paper examines the fashion in which Anne Brontë and Wilkie Collins presented ‘queer’ gender identities and eccentric sexualities in their respective novels, The Tenant of Wildfell Hall *and* The Woman in White. *Both of these novels were written in Victorian Britain, a world instinctively associated with conservatism and the re-establishment of traditional Christian values in which every deviation from the norm was inevitably punished and rejected. My essay challenges these oversimplified misconceptions about the Victorians, arguing that eccentric masculinities and femininities had a place in the nineteenth century, provided that the supremacy of heteronormative marriage was not threatened.*

The nineteenth century was a period of great artistic experimentation and advancement, which manifests itself in the emergence of the novel as the dominant literary form. Anne Brontë and Wilkie Collins, the authors of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *The Woman in White* respectively, created their *oeuvres* in that milieu. At first sight, they seem to have little in common: Brontë worked primarily in the highly regarded genre of realism, whereas Collins is famous for his ‘sensation’ novels, the precursor of the detective novel. However, both

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authors share one feature: for a very long time their work did not receive the merit it deserved. Anne Brontë lived in the shadow first of Charlotte Brontë, whose masterpiece *Jane Eyre* became a best-seller in the late 1840s, and then of her other sister, Emily, who rose to prominence posthumously at the beginning of the twentieth century. Wilkie Collins, on his part, was considered a writer of outrageous stories, the aim of which was to sell as many copies as possible. These attitudes have changed over the years: with the rise of feminism, *Tenant* began to be viewed as one of the earliest feminist novels, while the fact that *The Woman in White* has never been out of print ever since its publication in 1860 has caused many critics to alter their opinions regarding Collins's *oeuvre.* Yet, numerous aspects of both books have been largely underexplored, and this essay will examine one of them: the manner in which both authors built the 'queer' other in their novels. The analysis of *Tenant* will be centred on the character of Frederick Lawrence and the way his 'otherness' is constructed; the discussion on *The Woman in White* will be focused on Marian Halcombe and Frederick Fairlie. The main contention is that Lawrence, in spite of his 'otherness', presents a viable alternative to the rest of the male characters in the book, while Collins offers two different attitudes to the 'queerness' of his personages, attitudes heavily based on gender conventions.

In recent years, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* has received a great deal of critical attention, but this scholarship has mainly emphasised the novel's extraordinary narrative form, its critique of Victorian marriage, and the contrast between Arthur Huntingdon, the protagonist's first, abusive husband, and Gilbert Markham, her eventual partner. Very few critics have written on the character of Frederick Lawrence, Helen Markham's brother. Two such critics, however, are Russell Poole and Tess O'Toole, each of whom regard him in diametrically opposed ways. Poole has argued that Lawrence

plays the role of the Law, the task of whom is to create obstacles for Helen and Gilbert's love. He maintains that Lawrence's main responsibility is to make sure that Helen's desire for Gilbert, who is not her lawful husband, is 'obstructed'.[2] To a certain extent, Poole's argument is valid, since Frederick vigorously refuses to become the mediator between the separated lovers. Nonetheless, this is a fragmentary view of the character and only one of the roles he fulfils in one of the two narratives in the novel, the epistolary framing one. O'Toole, on her part, considers Frederick Lawrence, not Gilbert Markham, the 'hero' of the book. She has claimed that in Brontë's masterpiece natal and nuptial domesticities are disrupted, as opposed to 'continuous or overlapping'.[3] This is further enhanced by the narrative format, which comprises two separate accounts. Hence, this is the first aspect in which Frederick appears to be the 'other': as the only representative of Helen's kin, he is different from Arthur and Gilbert, both of whom stand for nuptial domesticity.

His difference is marked by Gilbert's attitude towards him. Initially, the resentment that Gilbert demonstrates towards Helen's brother is caused by the wrong assumption that Frederick is his rival for Helen's heart. However, even after his mistake has been revealed by Helen's diary, the novel's framed narrative, Gilbert's hostility concerning Frederick persists. O'Toole argues that Gilbert's attitude is motivated by the fact that Frederick is the only male character who refuses to partake in 'transactions over women'.[4] Interestingly, both Arthur and Gilbert, the latter supposed to be the former's opposite, engage in such activities. Arthur does so in a very abrupt fashion: he

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[2] Russell Poole, 'Cultural Reformation and Cultural Reproduction in Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33 (1993), 866-7.
[3] Tess O'Toole, 'Siblings and Suitors in the Narrative Architecture of The Tenant of Wildfell Hall', *SEL* 39 (1999), 716.
[4] O'Toole, 721.

invades Helen's privacy and steals all her money and painting equipment: '[…] palette, paints, bladders, pencils, brushes, varnish—I [Helen] saw them all consumed [in the fire]'.[5] The framing narrative itself is a transaction over women: Gilbert exchanges letters with Jack Halford, his other brother-in-law, communication of which Helen's diary is a part. As the novel was published in a period in which all property belonging to a wife became her husband's possession upon their marriage, Gilbert does not do anything illegal. Nonetheless, his morality is questioned, since the reader is unaware whether Helen has given her consent to her story being traded. Thus, Gilbert, instead of becoming Helen's saviour, could possibly turn out to be the novel's ultimate villain, who only pretends to be its hero. Moreover, Frederick is further distinguished from Gilbert by his refusal to gossip about Jane Wilson, even though Gilbert attempts to convince him to do so:

> 'I never told you, Markham, that I *intended* to marry Miss Wilson,' said he proudly.
> 'No, but whether you do or not, she intends to marry you.'
> 'Did she tell you so?'
> 'No, but –'
> 'Then you have no right to make such an assertion respecting her.' (Brontë, 417.)

Frederick does not wish to speculate about Jane Wilson, as he is well aware that this could tarnish her reputation, which may lead to her being socially isolated and marginalised. Therefore, Frederick's 'otherness' functions in an ambivalent manner: he is incapable of bonding with his brother-in-law, since he is unwilling to engage in socially acceptable codes of behaviour between men, what Eve

[5] Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall,* ed. by Stevie Davies (1848; repr. London: Penguin Books, 1996), 365. All subsequent references will be in the main body of the paper.

Sedgwick defines as ‘ male homosocial desire’, and this same unwillingness cements him as the novel’s moral hero.[6] This notion of him is further enhanced by the fact that Helen wishes her son to resemble her brother: ‘He is like you, Frederick […] in some of his moods: I sometimes think he resembles you more than his father; and I am glad of it’. (Brontë, 372.) To put it shortly, in spite of being ‘the other’ in comparison to the novel’s central male characters, his difference does not categorise him as the personage who has to be defeated and conquered, but the example of manliness.

O’Toole’s view regarding Frederick, despite being more holistic than that offered by Poole, is, nonetheless, incomplete. She emphasises Frederick’s qualities that make him the ideal husband, at least according to contemporary society. Thus, Frederick is framed as ‘the other’ in the narrative, but, on a larger scale, he is what the norm ought to be. Helen’s brother possesses another feature, which sets him apart not only from the men in the novel, but also from the Victorian notions of masculinity: his effeminacy. When Arthur becomes sick, Helen goes back to him, so that she could take care of her ailing husband. During that period, Frederick is the only connection between Gilbert and Helen. In the absence of his beloved, Gilbert forms a curious intimacy with Frederick, which he describes to his friend Halford as an ‘intimacy [which] was rather a mutual predilection than a deep and solid friendship, such as has since arisen between myself and you, Halford’ (Brontë, 40). Yet, Gilbert begins to perceive Frederick as an effeminate male substitute for Helen:

> I loved him […] better than I liked to express; and I took a secret delight in pressing those slender, white fingers, so marvellously like her own [Helen’s], considering he was not a woman, and in watching the passing changes

[6] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1-6.

> in his fair, pale features, and observing the intonations of his voice—detecting resemblances which I wondered had never struck me before. (Brontë, 413)

The modern-day reader should not immediately conclude that Lawrence's feminine traits mean that he is 'queer.' Alan Sinfield in his thought-provoking study on Oscar Wilde, entitled *The Wilde Century*, has demonstrated that effeminacy in a male character tends to denote his high social standing, rather than his sexuality, in nineteenth-century narratives.[7] In *Tenant*, Frederick Lawrence is the local 'squire', which situates him higher on the social ladder than Gilbert, whose occupation as a farmer makes him a member of the middle class. However, Frederick never reveals his own love interests: they are communicated to the reader through Helen and Gilbert. In her diary, it becomes clear that Helen wishes her brother to marry Esther Hargrave, Helen's 'sister in heart and affection' (Brontë, 373). Gilbert, on his part, relates to the reader that Jane Wilson, an ambitious young woman, is interested in Lawrence. Yet, it is curious that Gilbert himself, at one point, feels attracted to Frederick, especially considering his failure to establish friendship with his brother-in-law. All these ambiguities are utterly perplexing to the reader, but this might be the way in which Anne Brontë disguised her heroic 'queer' character.

Michel Foucault in his seminal work, *The History of Sexuality*, stated that the language deployed to talk about homosexuality was codified for the first time in 1870, long after the publication of *Tenant*.[8] Nevertheless, the fear of contemporary society that a man may become effeminate is well illustrated by the remark made by Mrs Markham,

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[7] Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 78.

[8] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 43.

Gilbert's mother, concerning Helen's parenting methods: '[B]ut you will treat him [little Arthur] like a girl—you will spoil his spirit, and make a mere Miss Nancy of him' (Brontë, 33). Furthermore, not only does Gilbert mention Frederick's feminine appearance, but he also comments on his good taste in decoration: 'The room was spacious and handsomely furnished—very comfortably, too, for a bachelor' (Brontë, 408).

One should bear in mind that Gilbert and his mother stand for the dominant middle class norms of masculinity, according to which bachelors were not supposed to concern themselves with trivial domestic activities such as interior design. Looked upon from this perspective, one might conclude that the effeminate Frederick Lawrence represents not only his social class, but also what is now called a 'closeted gay', whose own agency is denied. In Brontë's novel, however, he is probably the only positive male personage, a claim, buttressed by the fact he marries Esther in the end, which appears to be the universal happy ending available to Victorian novelists.

In a stark contrast to the positive image of the effeminate Frederick Lawrence, Wilkie Collins's character in *The Woman in White*, who possesses similar traits, Frederick Fairlie, is utterly useless in every aspect of his life. He eventually dies, a fate, which highlights the unacceptability of such a male figure in society. Unlike Lawrence, who selflessly helps his sister to escape from a husband who tortures and oppresses her, Frederick Fairlie describes himself as a 'bundle of nerves dressed up to look like a man'.[9] His constant complaints regarding the way light and noise vex his nerves cause the reader's laughter, and, to an extent, this is one of his functions in the book: to

[9] Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, ed. by John Sutherland (1860; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 356. Any further references will be in the main body of the essay.

be a source of comic relief.[10] However, his preoccupation with his own being renders him totally unable to fulfil his familial duties: he is the legal guardian and uncle of Laura, the emanation of femininity in the novel. He fails to protect her from the marriage to Percival Glyde, an impostor who is only interested in obtaining Laura's money and property.

What is more, he shows very little interest in his niece's future: his answer to his lawyer's visit concerning the nuptial agreement between Laura and Percival Glyde is '[d]on't bully me' (Collins, 160). This makes the character look grotesque, to the point of ludicrousness. His self-professed uselessness, in conjunction with the fact that he has never been married, does not have children of his own, and obvious effeminacy leads the reader to conclude that he is an idle aristocrat, the life of whom has no purpose or meaning. Similar to Frederick Lawrence, the argument that effeminacy here is utilised to signify Fairlie's social status might also be entertained, but, unlike Lawrence, Fairlie dies a bachelor. This is fairly untypical of a man of high social status in Victorian Britain, and that marks his 'otherness' in the novel. In this case, the notion that Fairlie represents a 'queer' may be supported more strongly than in Lawrence's situation. The critic Ardel Haefele-Thomas states that Collins's portrayal of Frederick Fairlie 'could certainly be read as homophobic'.[11] Yet, Fairlie seems absolutely disinterested in forming any type of bonds with human beings; the only thing he cares about is his collection of Rembrandt etchings. Therefore, Frederick Fairlie is not as much homosexual as he is asexual, which combined with his lack of occupation, since he is an aristocrat, and inability to perform his duties, results in his unfortunate end.

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[10] Ardel Haefele-Thomas, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 11.
[11] Haefele-Thomas, 12.

Another character in Collins's novel, however, does provide the reader with a positive image of 'otherness': Marian Halcombe, Laura's half-sister. She is Frederick Fairlie's complete opposite: she is intelligent, resolute, active, and persistent. Moreover, similar to Fairlie, she does not fit into the Victorian notions regarding gender: her 'grace[ful]' figure is juxtaposed with her 'ugly' face (Collins, 31). Haefele-Thomas categorises Marian as genderqueer.[12] She simultaneously exhibits male and feminine traits. This 'otherness' of hers, however, does not turn her into a monster, but is rather the reason why the novel has never been out of press. Marian fulfils all of the roles which Laura's uncle was supposed to play. She is the authority in Limmeridge House: she is the one who welcomes Walter, the novel's protagonist, into the house; Marian also urges him to forget Laura, as she has already been engaged to another man: 'Crush it [his love] […] Tear it out; trample it under the foot like a man!' (Collins, 71). Furthermore, Marian attempts to guide Laura by offering her legal advice, thus fulfilling Fairlie's responsibilities. All of these qualities make Marian an immensely likeable character, in spite of her unconventional appearance. Many critics have concluded that not Laura, but Marian, is the central female personage in *The Woman in White*, a feeling further enhanced by the novel's end, where Marian, not Laura, is seen with Walter and Laura's child.[13]

Marian's manly looks is not the only characteristic that makes her 'other.' The novel is teemed with examples of the sisters' closeness and same-sex desire: '"Wrong, Marian, wrong! I ought to deceive no one—least of all the man to whom my father gave me, and to whom I gave myself." She put her lips to mine, and kissed me' (Collins, 165).

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Richard Barickman, Susan MacDonald, and Myra Stark, *Corrupt Relations: Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Collins, and the Victorian Sexual System* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 117.

Regardless, the modern-day reader ought not to be surprised that Marian meets a happy end. Eve Sedgwick in her book, *Between Men*, states that sexual tinges in homosocial bonds between women are not unusual, because women have historically occupied the domestic environment, and have not posed any serious threat to heteronormative marriage.[14] William Cohen elaborates more on the topic, saying that sex between women was 'unthinkable' in Victorian Britain.[15] As a result, both Laura's and Marian's fates are happy: the former marries and has children, while the latter becomes Laura and Walter's children's educator.

In a nutshell, Brontë and Collins used the concept of 'otherness' with different agendas. Frederick Lawrence, being a man of relatively high social status, has to marry; otherwise, he would pose a danger to the Victorian heteronormativity, due to his visible position in contemporary society. Whether he is a 'closeted' gay or not is a question open to interpretation, but the fact that he has no agency in the narrative in regard to his love interests is a strong indicator that he may be 'queer'. Frederick Fairlie certainly does not adhere to the Victorian notions of masculinity: his passivity, selfishness, and effeminacy turn him into a grotesque, with no place in society. In stark contrast to him, Marian Halcombe, regardless of her extraordinary appearance and sexuality, finds a niche in life. Thus, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *The Woman in White* put forward richly nuanced attitudes toward their 'different' characters, which poses questions regarding overly simplistic modern-day evaluations of the Victorians.

[14] Sedgwick, 3.
[15] William A. Cohen, *Sex Scandal: The Private Parts of Victorian Fiction* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 5-6.

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