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Founded in 2015, The Elphinstone Review started as an Arts and Social Sciences journal. Since then, however, we have expanded our scope and are interested in receiving submissions from all subject areas. As a result, the editorial board each year ideally consists of students from all schools and all levels of study.

We hope you will enjoy this year's volume of The Elphinstone Review. Our hope is that you will find yourself inspired by its content and appreciate the outstanding work produced at The University of Aberdeen.

THE **ELPHINSTONE REVIEW** | Volume X, May 2024

ISSN 2058-8348

1495
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

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The Elphinstone Review

Volume 10
May 2024

ISSN 2058-8348

1495 UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN
DEVELOPMENT TRUST

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The Elphinstone Review | Volume 10: May 2024

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Financial Support from
Development Trust Student Experience Fund 2023/2024

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

Tony McIlwraith and Veronika Wendler

Welcome to the milestone tenth volume of *The Elphinstone Review*, where we proudly present a testament to the academic passion of the undergraduate students at the University of Aberdeen. Within this edition, we showcase twelve interdisciplinary papers spanning Philosophy, Psychology, History, Literature, Geography, Biology, Management, Politics, and International Relations. Through the dedicated efforts of our editors and writers, we have been able to overcome some of the challenges of this year's journey toward publication; and we are herein able to celebrate the illuminating work produced this past year at Aberdeen. Initially tasked with reviewing 40 outstanding papers submitted to our journal in February, the authors of our selected twelve papers can take great pride in their achievement. This success not only showcases their academic talent but also underscores the creativity and innovation deserving broader recognition, a testament to both their efforts and the rigorous revision processes undertaken by our editorial team.

As we reflect on this volume, it is important to acknowledge the contributions and support from individuals and organizations that made this endeavour possible. We extend our sincere gratitude to Wendy Arthur from the School of Education, whose assistance has been indispensable in bringing forth the present volume of *The Elphinstone Review*; and, to Alison Hay, who designed the wonderful cover of this volume. Additionally, we wish to express our appreciation to our former Head Editors, Santa Walker, and Johanna Alt, for their guidance throughout the journey. Finally, we are deeply grateful for the generous support provided by *The Development Trust Student Experience Fund*, which enabled both the printing of this volume and the launch event.

We aim for our readers to discover stimulating and reflective concepts, discussions, and explanations throughout this edition. If any of you are inclined to participate in shaping next year's publication—whether as an editor or as a writer—we encourage you to reach out without hesitation and become actively engaged in the process.

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

Courtly Love and Homosocial-Sexual Desire: Comparisons Between the European Middle Ages and Classical Islamic Period

Isabelle Hampton-Zabotti[1]

Courtly love is a classic feature of many well-known European Medieval tales—from Lancelot to Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, stories of passionate, noble love, knights, and kings, are as enthralling as they are mystical. What is less known is that courtly love was also relevant in reality, where the elite of Medieval societies looked for ways to demonstrate their romantic and sexual superiority over the base and common peasanty. This essay challenges the traditional courtly love definition, with reflections on Stephen Jaeger concept of 'ennobling love' as model within clerical and aristocratic male homosocial-sexual relationships. This essay applies this broadened definition to the Classical Islamic period and reflects on the similarities and differences between the Christian and Islamic contexts, particularly on the subject of male desire for other males. It aims to challenge heteronormative understandings of love in both contexts and celebrates a poetic tradition forgotten in a current period of intolerance.

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Introduction

Love had importance in European courts, cathedrals, and monasteries for what Stephen Jaeger describes and demonstrates as "aristocratic self-representation" (Jaeger, 1999: 6). Love was the currency aristocrats used to socially climb, specifically courtly love, which elevated the nobles from the common people. It exalted nobles within the court who received, and could also successfully enact, courtly love (Jaeger, 1999: 38-39). It is transformative, sometimes pedagogical, and exhibits the battle between the base and the sublime—with the latter ultimately triumphant. It was also a means by which figures affiliated with the Church could express the depths of their devotion (to God, to the King, or to one another) and their mastery over sin (Jaeger, 1999: 134-144). Yet, courtly love is riddled with contradiction: it can be public and private. It can be erotic and asexual, or sexual, but not obscene. It can speak on virtue but feature infidelity. It can be deeply mystical and metaphysical but also distinctly profane and worldly. The net cast by the term 'courtly love' is wide and encompasses a number of conventions over the long period of the Middle Ages. Over time, some of these traditions convened while others diverged. While courtly love is generally considered a European tradition, in Classical Islam[1] a similar phenomenon occurred, with its own court traditions and literary practices. In particular, the interweaving and dialectical relationship between eroticism, spiritualism, and the court is evident in both Arabic and European traditions.

Putting aside shared roots and mutual influence[2], this essay instead will focus on courtly love through a historically thematic lens. Both traditions see love as a social form of significance—specifically, love stemming from male desire for other males—which is evidenced in written form. This essay will outline the general religious and cultural contexts of both periods and consider how same-sex desire should be understood more broadly in the pre-

[1] This term is a periodization of the Arabic world characterized by the decline of paganism and the growth of Islam from 600-1258, as outlined by Gustave E. Grunebaum in *Classical Islam: A History, 600-1258* (1970).

[2] This topic is explored in-depth in Daniel Hickman's 'Ibn Hazm: An Islamic Source of Courtly Love' (2014).

modern period. It will destabilise the concept of the West as the epicentre of courtly literature[1], and will assert that, while the Classical Islamic tradition of courtly love is not identical to the European counterpart, they share key parallels. This work will attempt to broaden the definition of courtly love, using Stephen Jaeger's concept of 'ennobling love', and apply it to Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove* as an example of Classical Islamic courtly love literature.[2]

Defining Courtly Love

The term 'courtly love' has a wide scope of interpretation, to the extent that one understanding of courtly love can easily contradict another. The term was coined in 1883 by Gaston Paris, long after the phenomenon existed. Subsequently, a number of scholars attempted to codify the term, with a notable influence being C.S. Lewis, who highlighted humility, courtesy and adultery as its main features (Lewis, 1958: 2). Further critical analysis has produced a broad range of interpretations including feminist, psychoanalytic, and even Marxist deliberations on the term. Nonetheless, no consensus has been reached.

Stephen Jaeger, in his work *Ennobling Love*, proposes one major reason for the difficulty in defining courtly love is a result of the incorrect framing of the courtly love paradigm, which has, up until recently, seen the 12th century as the origin for courtly love literature (1999: 6). This essay will

[1] This in acknowledgment of a current methodological debate in Medieval Studies which sees an increasing necessity to decolonise history and challenge teleological temporal structures. (see Helen Young's 'A Decolonizing Medieval Studies? Temporality and Sovereignty'). While not foregrounded, decolonisation, along with Queer theory, will inform my approach within this essay.

[2] Maria Rosa Menocal makes a compelling argument against previous critical works that excluded Hazm from the canon of courtly love writers and cites colonial bias as a factor. As *The Ring of the Dove* is Hispano-Arabic, there is a strong argument for it to constitute as a source European courtly literature as well.

follow Jaeger's argument, which views courtly love as one strand of a wider and longer tradition of 'ennobling love'.

To understand what 'ennobling love' is, it requires examination on the distinction between desire and act. This is of upmost importance when examining texts (fictional literature, memoirs, letters, court proclamations, and so on) from the European Middle Ages that, to a modern perspective, may predicate romantic or sexual, particularly homoerotic relations or intentions. Letters sent from male to male—from monk to monk, from subject to king—all have the initial appearance of homosexual declarations of love. For example:

> I wish my eagle might fly to pray at St. Martin's, that I might there embrace his soft wings and hold him whom my soul loves, not letting him go till I bring him to my mother's house and he kisses me and we enjoy mutual love as ordained.

The language in this letter, written in the 8th Century from the Anglo-Saxon cleric Alcuin to Arno of Salzburg, as appears sexual but is entirely platonic and even Christian. Why such sensual language from those who champion their distance from any sexual gratification, let alone gratification sought from the same sex? This is the 'ennobling love' that was the ideal of the monastic, clerical, spiritual, and aristocratic, which includes courtly love, does not attempt to cleanly delineate between romantic, paternalistic, aesthetic, or spiritual texts through language alone, as these reflect each other and utilise each other's habitus so often it is impossible to do so. It is grand, emphatic, emotive, and states or implies transformative abilities for both the lover and beloved. It can employ erotic language and mode while proclaiming to be entirely chaste, as it demonstrates the aristocrat or clergy's control over his sexual impulses. When approaching these texts, it is evident that, up until the 12th century, it is exclusively male-male relations that feature such erotic language and are still considered ennobling. Before this, European 'ennobling love' texts nearly all excluded aristocratic women, as the desire felt for the female love-object was considered far likelier to be sexually motivated—and therefore, considered base. When the 12th century courtly love that is well known today finally turned its attention to women—

and reconciled the sexual and the ennobling—the mode, language, style, ideation, and so on, stem from the 'ennobling love' tradition that was previously male-orientated.

The social phenomenon behind relationship-building which structures patriarchal societies, to use Eve Sedgwick's term, is homo*social*, not homo*sexual* male desire (desire being an "affective or social force", not an emotion). Homosociality and homosexuality exist on a continuum with each other, not that the latter is the absence, or cause, of the former. This connection has ramifications for the structuring of power in such societies, as Sedgewick states:

> [...] in any male-dominated society, there is a special relationship between male homosocial (including homosexual) desire and the structures for maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power [...] this special relationship may take the form of ideological homophobia, ideological homosexuality, or some highly conflicted but intensively structured combination of the two.

This is a practical metric to view the dynamics of relationships in the Middle Ages in Classical Islamic and Christian historical contexts. To try to draw boundaries between a relationship being purely sexual or social is an approach that will lead to inaccurate conclusions, especially if it sees sexual acts as the basis for (homo)sexual relationships. Instead, both sexual and non-sexual relationships need to be considered without attempting to attribute an exclusive label of only romantic or only platonic (Clark, 2009: 18).

To summarise, courtly love cannot be codified into one set of behaviours or ideologies and should not see any one text as a model of the term (Jaeger, 1999: 186). Sarah Kay echoes this sentiment, stating that it is a flaw to see the term as "susceptible of codification as a system of rules or doctrine", (2000: 1). For example, a loud declaration of love may be appropriate and 'ennobling' in one context with one couple but is humiliating and demeaning if replicated with another. When focusing on codifying rules or accepted behaviour thus makes defining courtly love dependent on the writer's opinion and framing. With this in mind, Kay's conception of courtly love is useful. Its essence is "the combining of spiritual and sexual elements"

(2000: 3). She explains how this combination "'vividly invokes' this tension between desire and regulation" (2000: 3).

Sex, Desire, or Eroticism?

As many critics note, 'desire', 'love', 'sexuality', and 'eroticism' are terms highly charged with contextual and societal connotations and when attempting to express the nuances of these terms we are often limited by the language provided (Bell and Sinclair, 2014; Winters, 1996: 3). Where Kay refers to 'love', she is referring to a sexual love—fin'amour (Kay, 2000: 1). This essay will frame these definitions differently; 'love' will refer to a social ideal, which, in the context of the Middle Ages, was a performance as much as an emotion (Scheer, 2012: 19-220). 'Sexual' will directly relate to sex: it will refer to intercourse, sexual acts, and emotional desire for, and/or rejection of, sexual behaviour. This can essentially be understood as desire towards a sexual connection (be it emotional or physical). If towards a female object of desire, this is sexual connection pursued beyond purely procreative intentions. Courtly love may condemn this desire if it proves not to be 'ennobling', as this essay will demonstrate.

The definition for 'erotic' will be borrowed from Jonah Winters, who considers it as "the aesthetic of a sacralization of sexuality" (1996: 3). This definition highlights the need to separate eroticism from sexuality, whilst demonstrating how the eroticism can be used for a myriad of applications beyond sexual—such as in art, spiritualism, and education (Winters, 1996: 3). Erotic language, such as above, can be used with aims to create connection in homosocial relationships. As explained, in the Western tradition, erotic language was exclusively wielded by men for men, and only in the 12th century when it was directed towards women was it considered irrefutably sexual. As will be explored through Ibn Hazm's poetry, this is the main point of departure of the European Christian tradition from the Classical Islamic tradition. Finally, as Kay notes, courtly literature is a performance of "writerly self-awareness about love as an art of literary composition". It must be viewed simultaneously as a collection of emotions and actions, which includes successful writing on courtly love, that is then

evidenced in literature of the courtly love genre. To summarise, this work will define courtly love, existent in relationships *with* sexual connection in mind, as a particular form of love that emblematises the war between 'virtuous love' and 'sexual love', with desire as the driving force. It is a war that uses the erotic, and where, with victory, one is transformed, elevated, and sublime. With defeat, one is worsened, debased, and profane.

Classical Islamic Love Theory

While this essay looks to apply the European definition of courtly love to the Islamic context, it is still worth briefly mapping out Classical Islamic thought on love. Outlined in *The Beloved in Middle Eastern Literatures* (2017), Myrne demonstrates how there were competing discourses on love during the Classical Islamic period. For brevity's sake, the focus will be on the relationship between love and sex, the most relevant tension in courtly love. These perspectives can broadly be summarised into two camps: the first believed sex was a necessary component to love—this was espoused by legal literature, but its key contingency is that the relationship is licit (Maghen, 2005 : 251–252). Some writers in the 10th century, such as Ali ibn Nasr al-Katib's *Encyclopedia of Pleasure*, had proposed how love and sex could be codified into a "sexual ethic for the elite" (Myrne, 2017: 222), a concept not unlike courtly love. It is a position also taken by Ibn Hazm, as will be shown. Then there were others who dismissed *'ishq*, passionate love, as having any potential ennobling possibilities beyond procreation, such as 10th century philosopher Ibn Sina (1945: 221–222) Finally, there were those who believed chaste love is the ideal, though did not condemn sexuality so harshly as others (Muḥammad, 1886). This appears to be similar to the sort of tensions in the 12th century concepts of courtly with the movement from chaste to fin 'amour love. However, as will be demonstrated, Classical Islamic love literature vastly differs from its European counterpart on the topic of homosexuality.

Religion and Homosexuality

It is worth briefly noting the religious and cultural contexts for understanding attitudes towards homosexuality.[1] As highlighted by David Clark, although there may be a dominant discourse at any one time in the Middle Ages, it is not the only one, particularly since most written sources originate from Christian contexts (2008: 13). Furthermore, to take a handful of homophobic or homosexual incidences as widely representative of the period's social beliefs is limiting. It is far more beneficial to imagine these as fluctuating and contradictory belief systems stemming from the same source. With this stated, there are nonetheless broad conclusions to draw:

The Bible's damnation of sodomy, from the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, does not directly connect sodomy to specifically homosexual acts. Before the writing of Philo of Alexandria in the 1st century AD, Sodom's main sin would have been inhospitality (Crompton, 2003: 112). However, Philo's interpretation to this day remains deeply significant to justifications for condemning homosexual acts and was built upon by influential theologians such as Augustine, who decreed it the "worst" of sexual sins (Crompton: 2003: 118). It is difficult to tell how much of this attitude permeated outside the Church and influenced other spheres of society. A truism is that homosexuality existed, and homosexual desire most certainly—even amongst the clergy. For example, 11th century poet and eventual abbot, Baudri of Bourgueil, was even admonished in his youth for his homoerotic poetry, an example of the conflicting attitudes of the period. Yet, though he sees the desire for men as understandable, and perhaps an even stronger temptation than attraction for women, the crime of Sodom is returned with hotter and more punishing flames of hell (Crompton, 2003: 181). Crompton summarises this tension in Baudri's and contemporaries' poetry, as

"two contrary currents [...], the classical with its casual acceptance of bisexuality and the Christian with its utter rejection of same-sex love" (2008: 181). According to Jaegar, Baudri's poetic mode overall is pedagogical,

[1] It is worth acknowledging the anachronistic nature of applying minoritizing terms such as heterosexuality and homosexuality to the Middle Ages. However, for lack of alternative language, the terms 'homosexual' and 'homophobic' will refer to behaviour and attitudes specific to same-sex sexuality.

stemming from Augustinian impulses: the more erotic the language which convey sexual desire for men, the more aware his male audience is of the strength of this temptation. where in turn, he emphasises that by never acting upon desire, one masters it and is consequently exalted (1999: 71).

The Classical Islamic religious discourse appears similar, and, aligning with Christianity, the story of Lot and Sodom in the Qur'an was the major injunction against homosexuality. However, its punishments remained vague, and the Hadith of Muhammad, his 'sayings', were required to fill these gaps. Prominent thinker Al-Shafi'i elevated the Hadith to a near-equal level with the Qur'an during the 2nd Islamic century, an action which had unparalleled influence on Islamic legal thought. One particular Hadith quotes the Prophet to have said, "Whoever is found conducting himself in the manner of the people of Lot, kill the doer and the receiver." However, another Hadith admonishing homosexual conduct does not ascribe a punishment. The inconsistencies are a part of a wider trend of Islamic legality being decided by the school of thought one associates with, as power was spread between different regions and leaders, each with their own political goals (Zaini et al., 2024: 61, 67-68). Whereas, the Catholic church in the 10th and 11th century began motions of consolidating power through introducing excommunication and interdict (ending benefits to a population due to rebellion), which eventually brought Catholicism to "its highest authority and influence in the thirteenth century" (Fanning, 2009: 3-4).

Yet, socially, the Classical Islamic period dramatically departs from the European Middle Agres. For the most part, sexuality between men was a privilege freely enjoyed in the Classical Islamic period. Cultural visibility of homosexuality is far more prominent in Classical Islam, and Crompton writes that:

> [...]the eleventh century was a golden age of Arabic poetry in the Iberian Peninsula. Love songs continued to pour forth under the Almoravid rulers (1090– 1145) and the Almohads (1145– 1223), homoerotic verse with the rest.
>
> (2008: 168)

One can conclude that explicitly homosexual relationships were commonplace, even in the highest of social positions, with multiple Caliphs between the 10th and 12th century evidenced to have homosexual inclinations (Crompton, 2008: 166-167). It was not exceptional to Arabic Spain, either; Farid Ud-Din Attar, the 12th century Persian mystic poet, is one example of a non-Iberian poet who composed homoerotic poetry and depicted love between men.[1] Homosexual relationships were openly pursed to the extent where they were subjected to social norms—for example, what sexual roles were appropriate for a man's age and social standing (Bauer, 2014: 113). Therefore, a conclusion that can be confidently applied to the 10th and 11th century Islamic Classical social context, and tentatively applied to the European Medieval context due to lack of evidence, is that sexual and/or romantic desire for men was viewed as entirely understandable, but to act on the desire was a separate matter. Their respective doctrines align, and homosexuality is condemned, but socially they diverge entirely. To return to Sedgwick's continuum, Figure 1 conceptualises this, with the (homo)social-sexual continuum being less distanced and "radically disrupted" in the Classical Islamic context than in it in its European counterpart (1985: 23).[2] As both societies were patriarchal, Figure 1 illustrates how both homosexual and heterosexual extensions of courtly love (including language, objects of desire, and acts) stemmed from the broader and dominating homosocial bonds.

[1] "There was a dervish, a poor simpleton, who fell in love with this great monarch's son. Too weak to chatter, he would sit and sigh, beyond all help and hope, prepared to die." *The Conference of the Birds,* Lines 4033–36

[2] Sedgwick explains an asymmetry between female and male homosocial desire: "[...] the unity [...] of the continuum between "women loving women" and "women promoting the interests of women," [...] would not be so striking if it were not in strong contrasts to the arrangement amongst males." (1985: 8) To continue this conceptualisation, patriarchal societies can be placed on a spectrum where the homosocial-sexual continuum can present from extremely to mildly disrupted.

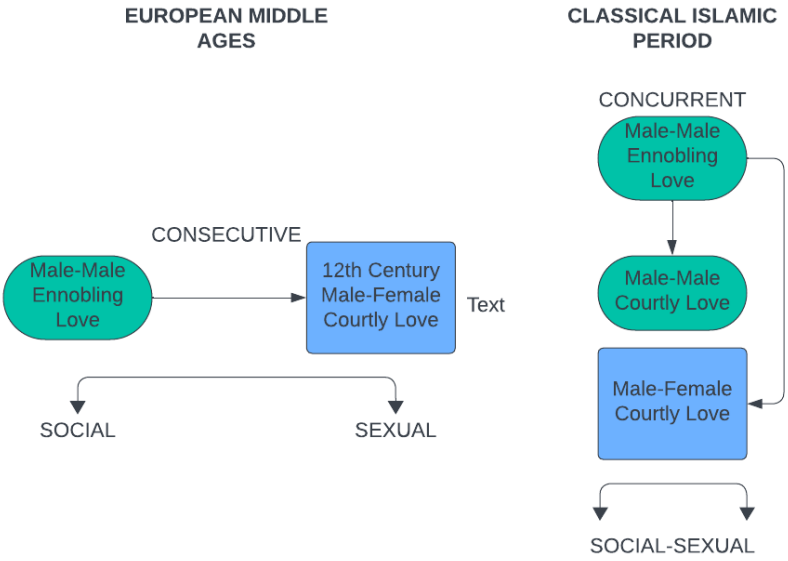

Figure 1

Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove*

With the contextual differences outlined, we will move on to evaluating the courtly love features of Ibn Hazm's *Tawq al-Hamāmah*, or its translation, *The Ring of the Dove*. Ibn Hazam was born in Córdoba, al-Andalusi, a point of socio-geographical contact between the Christian and Islamic worlds, in 994. He was a son of a vizier to the Amirid state. He grew up amidst courtly life and his father encouraged ideals of asceticism and moderation. Hazm faced imprisonment during the 1008 AD civil war for his support for the Umayyad Caliphate. He thus held a unique status, which fluctuated from insider to outsider at Spanish Islamic courts. These were all important influences for his thinking on a range of topics, which included the subject of love.

The Ring of the Dove was written in 1022. As a treatise on love, the work is a collection of Hazm's poetry amongst anecdotes of types of love he has claimed to witness, researched, or had been informed of by trusted confidantes. There is a strong case for *The Ring of the Dove* to be considered as an example of courtly love literature: it views love as having transformative capacities and it claims a pedagogical aim. *The Ring of the Dove* also illustrates a range of male-male love relationships—including sexual and chaste, and not limited by gender or class—as having the capacity to be ennobling. This is the major diverging point from the European tradition.

For the first case, Hazm demonstrates the transformative nature of love:

> A man in love will give prodigally to the limit of his capacity [...] How often has the miser opened his purse strings, the scowler relaxed his frown, the coward leapt heroically into the fray[...]—and all because of love!

This reflects very closely and was clearly influenced by Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love*, "Love makes a man clever, even if he was slow-witted before; the coward brave." This ennobling ability of love has a social function; love is sublime, and to enact it increases the lover's virtue consequently raises their status.

However, there are also incidents of love as potentially debasing, as one fascinating anecdote explains. Hazm tells of a story of a virtuous son of a clerk gone astray by falling in love with a goldsmith's son possessing unwanted qualities (these are not outlined). The clerk's son publicly humiliates himself, and his object of desire rejects his overly passionate advances. The failure of this relationship is not class or gender, even if they are implied to be complicating factors by Hazm's passing mention of their respective social circles. Instead, it falls under the section titled 'Divulging the Secret' and is an example of why secrecy and skill are required in ennobling love, features that become associated with European tradition in

the 12th century. It demonstrates that the basis of Classical Islamic courtly love is not class or gender, but virtue and conduct. To return to our definition of courtly love, it is an example of defeat in courtly love's war between virtuosity and sexuality. The clerk's son is debased not for his desire, but his actions, as he fails to perform love properly.

The anecdote also highlights the *Dove Ring*'s didactic elements; according to Daniel Hickman, Hazm engages in what he titles 'Augustinian voluntarism'; the sexual sin is portrayed, but it is the responsibility of the individual to act in an ennobling manner, which mirrors very closely the earlier example from Baudri. As a result, the language used is charged with erotic wordplay:

> O thou who makest of thy women's shame
>
> A net, to snare young roebucks in the same,
>
> I see thy net is torn to pieces, and
>
> Thou holdest but dishonour in thy hand.

The young boy pursued in this anecdote by an older, married man, is compared to a roebuck. Sexual pursuit is eroticised through the imagery of a wild hunt, conjuring images of domination that, in a patriarchal society, would perhaps be appealing to 'active' male partners. Therefore, while Hazm disapproves, he nonetheless eroticises the exchange and presents it as sexually exciting, though its negative consequences for one's reputation outweigh its immediate gratification. But why use such language if you do not condone the behaviour? One reason could be the use of erotic discourse to stimulate, and the redirection of this stimulation to correct and promote virtuosity. This channelling of male desire from the sexual to the social is a mark of a successful courtly love, both for the teacher and the student. While Hazm teaches through others' ennobling love, he is also practising courtly love—and triumphantly so. Similar to the earlier letter from Alcuin to Argo

and the poems of Baudri of Bourgeil, by utilising eroticism, he demonstrates a mastery over his own sexual impulses, shifts sexuality from practice to aesthetic, and directs desire as a social force for good.

Christianity viewed sex as debasing if beyond necessity, and only reconciled heterosexual sexuality into the canon of courtly love in the 12th century. Whereas, in the Classical Islamic tradition, Hazm exalts sex between couples: in the chapter 'Of Fidelity', he says that "among the laudable instincts, noble characteristics and virtuous habits by which men may be adorned, whether they are engaged in lovemaking or any other activity, Fidelity ranks high". He later remarks that "physical contact completes the circuit and thus enables the current of love to flow freely into the soul" after recalling a story about a particularly skilful lover. Far from being debasing, reaching the epitome of sublimity is only possible through a sexual activity with a loyal and virtuous partner, which would naturally be heterosexual. This is perhaps what motivates Hazm's tentative position on homosexuality; while desire for men is understandable, he himself views is second to the love reached in heterosexual union due to the fact is recognised, both legally and doctrinally, and is capable of procreation. From these analyses, one can propose that, in the Classical Islamic courtly love tradition, an individual who is skilful in courtly love—who's virtuosity can win the war over the base—takes home sexual freedom as the prize without fear of debasement.

Conclusion

This essay has demonstrated the importance of love as a social form for both European and Classical Islamic courtly literature traditions, and has done so in light of ongoing debates in Medieval Studies on teleology, queer theory, and decolonisation. Thus, it has been an entirely self-conscious critical analysis, as there are numerous instances where more depth and nuance could be explored. One area that has been intentionally omitted is the (homo)social-sexual relationships between women, due to numerous factors. Firstly, Medieval primary sources on the lives of women in general are sparse, and female sexuality documented or narrated by women is rarer still. Therefore, same-sex sexuality which, though the patriarchal 'axis of

penetration' that sexuality was viewed by in the Middle Ages, received little to no attention. Secondly, the Medievalist criticism appears to follow suit with its own form of erasure, apologetic or otherwise. While claiming lack of evidence to form conclusions, an epistemic closure on female same-sexuality in the Middle Ages has occurred, and is only just being re-opened by scholars who rightfully bring attention to this topic. Therefore, this essay acknowledges its limitations, but simultaneously, hopes to be a starting point, not conclusion, on Medieval sexuality.

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Lost in Translation - Understanding Linguistic Patterns in Ancient Narratives of Sexual Assault and Abduction

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This article compares linguistic disparities and relative connectivity within the themes of sexual assault and abduction across ancient retellings and their translations to modern languages. These include, "Hymn to Demeter", "The Rape of the Sabines", the myth of Ganymede, the myth of Leda, the myth of Europa, and "Ars Amatoria"; in modern (Polish, English) and archaic (Greek, Latin) languages. The negligent use of the term 'rape' in modern translations of ancient literature has evidently caused an androcentric normalised pattern of linguistic merging between the themes of sexual assault and abduction. This is often a case of insufficient research into historical context and etymology and perhaps the author's creative narrative leading to stylistically and linguistically distinct translations of homonyms. A potential resolution to this issue would be to adapt the term raptum in future translations of classical literature.

Introduction

In the discourse surrounding the morality of ancient perspectives on sexualities, it is essential to discuss the topic of the widely understood

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concept of sexual assault. The definition of ‘rape’ exhibits considerable variations across distinct historical periods, cultures, and geographical locations, dependent upon prevailing social norms concerning sexuality and gender, which are relatively recent constructs (Koutsopetrou, 2019). While the contemporary understanding does not exclude its ancient equivalent, it is still important to distinguish between the two concepts.

According to a simplified modern definition, ‘rape’ encompasses every act of sexual intercourse performed with force and/or without consent, a transgression legally and socially condemned in the majority of modern communities. In contrast, ancient Greeks considered ‘rape’ not as a singular, precisely defined action but rather as part of a category of insulting and violent sexual activities. Additionally, the offended party - the victim of the crime - was not necessarily the woman (with male victims of ‘rape’ being treated somewhat differently), but the patriarch of the family, thereby affecting the family’s honour. In ancient Rome, a nuanced understanding of ‘rape’ belonged to multiple offences, occasionally extending beyond sexual transgressions (Matz, 2022). The designation of ‘rape’ extended to anything that doubted a woman’s virginity on the concern of the legitimacy of offspring.

Throughout the essay, it is evident that I employ the word ‘rape’ exclusively within quotation marks. This deliberate choice is aimed at maintaining a historically accurate contextualisation of the concerning period surrounding this term, that is entirely different from our contemporary understanding. In this analysis, I will closely examine the close correlation between the ancient Roman and Greek literature concerning the themes of sexual assault and abduction in vocabulary. I will include an evaluation of the accuracy of the etymological context and the normalised pattern of androcentric translation of these terms.

The power of linguistic context in history

According to the Merriam-Webster lexicon, the etymology of the word ‘rape’ in modern English comes as a linguistic borrowing from the Anglo-French *rap* or *rape,* that was also borrowed from medieval Latin *rapum,* a noun derivative of *rapio*/*rapere.* Given that scholars are acquainted with the etymology of the word ‘rape’, there is a significant gap in academic publications addressing the subject.

X. Bai in her article, writes of parallels in the interpretation of the words ‘woman’ and ‘translation’, both connoting a sense of deficiency, signifying “not-original” and “not-man” in the myth of Europa (Bai, 2010). This phallocentric tradition intentionally reinforces the subordinate position of the female sex based on the absence of masculine traits; a normative perspective prevalent in Ancient Rome. J. Atkin considers terminology used to describe Charite and Psyche, *puella* and *virgo* used in “Metamorphoses” by Apuleius (Atkin, 2013). She clarifies that Apuleius not only used these as synonyms but also to emphasise that women were of different social classes and different characters.

In his analysis of a similar approach, T. Winter explores lyrical losses in translation through an insightful comparison of translations in “Carmen 16” by Catullus, focusing on the first and last line: *Paedicabo ego vos et irrumabo* (Winter, 1973) [aptly translated as “I will ass-fuck you and I will mouth-fuck you” (Fletcher, 2017)]. T. Winter asserts that a significant part of this poem remained omitted in English translations until the twentieth century. He delineates the various mistranslations of the repeated verse until Sisson’s attempt “All right, I’ll bugger you and suck your pricks” (Winter, 1973), J. J. Bateman considered it the most adept translation at the time. T. Winter concludes that Catullus' poetry translations of earlier periods were profoundly influenced by applications of social and lyrical norms. The exclusion of the initial and final verses, at times larger parts, imbues a mysticised fog to these sentences, elevating their importance and rendering the single line sufficient to stand independently as Catullus’ poem.

According to S. Ross, the issue of the oppressive impact of words has eluded a satisfactory analysis by any philosopher (Ross, 1981). Some scholars claim that the oppressive connotations embedded in common language stem from etymology. Disagreeing with this perspective, S. Ross suggests that the cause of the oppressive nature of the word is not its etymology but its contemporary associations, largely overlooked by most speakers unaware of its etymological history.

I disagree with S. Ross's stand, attributing responsibility for linguistic bigotry not to contemporary English speakers but to the precursors of the original term 'rape'. Derived from the Latin *rapere* or *raptum*, 'rape' was conceived by those who initially employed it. Furthermore, while common speakers may be oblivious to the etymology of the word 'rape', it is imperative to recognise the historical context and nuances of words and phrases in translation, instead of encouraging their interchangeable usage. The accountability lies with writers, translators, and editors who, in failing to distinguish between translation, approximation, and conjecture, negligently merge terms related to abduction and sexual assault. This rhetorical imprecision not only fails to contribute to the earnest consideration of sexual assault but also risks belittling the victims by diminishing the sexual nature of the crime or unnecessarily assigning a sexual assault crime to abduction.

Nonetheless, translation from one language to another, particularly when involving archaic languages, cannot be strictly literal. J. Derrida suggests that a true 'transport' between languages, wherein the signifying instrument remains untainted, is an unattainable ideal. (Derrida, 1987). Whereas, the works of W. Benjamin and R. Jakobson assert that even amongst the same linguistic community, certain words and phenomena are subject to diverse interpretations. "To be lost in translation" thus necessitates acknowledging both the contingency of language and our inherent incapacity to entirely encapsulate meaning within our frames of reference (Farquhar, & Fitzsimmons, 2011). Therefore, the power of language in shaping our conception of reality through translation and

transformation, underscores its capacity to construct our understanding using various rhetorical devices, subsequently subject to individual interpretation.

If our main objective is to translate a text while preserving its truest meaning, rather than presenting an alternative variant, the challenge arises in determining the potential loss or non-existence of the original version of the myth. Additionally, confirming whether the first author of a particular myth did not write a retelling, either based on the factual original or, perhaps yet another variation of said myth, poses a significant inquiry. Then, the question would be how many iterations the myth has undergone, that we are unaware of. These inquiries, although valid, may remain unanswered.

Understanding rape and abduction in ancient literature

The majority of 'loves' between Gods and humans were questionably consented or clearly non-consented acts of sexual intercourse, to produce male children, demigods otherwise known as heroes, i.e. Heracles (Robson, 2002). Furthermore, most acts of 'rape' discussed in ancient mythology that were committed by the Gods mostly on humans but also other goddesses, or other mythological beings were acts of bestiality.[2] It is also crucial to acknowledge that the themes of bestiality are not present in all versions of the same myth.[3] Arguably, the words describing 'rape'/abduction were often interchangeably used, and especially visible in comparison of various translations both in modern and ancient languages, including English, Polish; Latin, and Ancient-Greek.

In the "*Hymn to Demeter"*, an unidentified author composes a stylistically Homeric hymn, providing a comprehensive account of the abduction myth involving Persephone and Hades. In the English translation, the act of abduction is narrated using words such as "he caught her up reluctant and bare her away", "heard the thrilling cry of my daughter [...] as of one seized violently", "he bore me away, all unwilling", with the

rapid narrative insinuating unexpectedness of the abduction. While the hymn does not explicitly describe the sexual assault perpetrated by Hades, insinuations arise from descriptions of Persephone as "his buxom wife", and "[Hades] seated upon on a couch and his shy mate with him".

In the Greek version, similar words were used: *ἁρπάξας δ'ἀέκουσαν* (snatched away or carried off but unwillingly), *νόσφιν* (aloof, away), *ἐν λεχέεσσι σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι* (in couch or bed with claimed wife), *θαλερὴν ἄκοιτιν* (buxom wife), *ἀεκαζόμενος* (against one's will, unwilling). The terms *ἁρπάξας* and *ἀέκουσαν* were reiterated to emphasise Persephone's reluctancy, unwillingness, and the traumatic nature of the event in this Greek myth.

In the Polish iteration by W. Appel, most words employed to depict the abduction scene between Hades and Persephone closely mirrors the Greek version. Nevertheless, an intriguing play on words is apparent, as seen in the phrase *porwał ją gwałtem*. While *gwałt* can be directly translated to English 'rape', in this context, the author likely used this word as a condensed form of *gwałtownie*, meaning "suddenly", and/or "violently", the phrase fully translated to "abducted suddenly and violently". Here, H. G. Evelyn-White exhibits a small degree of creativity and artistic expression deviating only slightly from the Greek version during the translation process. In contrast to W. Appel, who while remaining faithful to the Greek language, employs a rhetorical device that not so subtly implies the fate of Persephone.

The myth of the Sabine Women by Livy in the "History of Rome",[4] includes a variety of verb conjugations emphasised with repetitions, associated with the historical context of the term 'rape'. The terms used by Livy describing the scene of abduction were *ad rapiendas virgines* (to carry off the maidens), *raptae* (carried off indiscriminately), *raptam ferunt* (carried off by a group); and the description of women as *raptis* (abducted maidens). These are all verb conjugations associated with *rapio* (to seize

and carry off, snatch, tear, pluck, drag, hurry away), *rapta* (a ravished one, seduced woman), or *raptum* (plunder, prey, booty).

While it is an appropriate translation from Latin to English, it does not validate the reason for the word 'rape' being used in modern English as a borrowing from its Latin linguistic 'ancestors' considering its modern meaning and consequences in shaping perception and understanding of the text by the reader.

The popular myth of Ganymede has produced several different retellings, in the ensuing discussion, I will include a brief overview and analysis of their disparities.[5] In Plato's "Opera", translated by J. Burnet, Ganymede is delineated as *ἐραστής,* a "lover" of Zeus, with no indication of reciprocal feelings from Ganymede towards Zeus in the English translation by H. N. Fowler. Euripides shortly alludes to Ganymede in "Orestes", translated by W. J. Oates and E. O'Neill characterising him as a "bedfellow of Zeus", closely echoing G. Murray Greek iteration, *Διὸς εὐνέτα,* a "bedfellow of the heavenly [Zeus]". Apollodorus in "The Library" translated from Greek to English by Sir J. G. Frazer, employs the phrase "the rape of Ganymede", despite the Greek quote *Γανυμήδους ἁρπαγῆς* literally meaning "abduction of Ganymede".

In a broader context, the Greek narratives exhibit a remarkable directness, devoid of unnecessarily descriptive details that often feature in alternate translations (Strolonga, 2018). Authors frequently use multifunctional phrases with nuanced meanings resulting in potentially stylistically and linguistically distinct sentences from the original translation upon initial examination. Each writer adapts the *topos* to fit the needs of their narrative. Importantly, a common theme among these adaptations is the portrayal of abduction as a positive event, bestowing honour upon Ganymede.

Whereas the Greek version by C. Gottlob-Heyne with Latin notes includes a reference to *a love raptum* in the context of Ganymede, where *raptum* is directly translated to "plunder, prey, booty"; but also derived from *rapio*, "to seize and carry off, snatch, tear, pluck, drag, hurry away"; and *raptus*, "a snatching away, wrench". Most noteworthy divergence in translations comes from Virgil's' "Aeneid", Book 1, translated by T. C. Williams. Line 26 "and Jove's smile that beamed on eagle-ravished Ganymede" significantly differs from the Polish T. Karylowski's *porwanego chwała* meaning "praise to the abducted" Ganymede, a close translation from Latin J. B. Greenough's *rapti Ganymedis honores*. Here, the compound adjective insinuates Ganymede's fate as falling prey to a predator, with Zeus metamorphosed as an eagle.

Notably the various terms associated with *rapti*, *raptum* can be translated to signify "prey". Thus, it can be inferred that, in this context, all variations hold some validity. Moreover, the ancient Latin speakers not only associated abduction with an animalistic idea of hunting denoted by "prey", but also intertwined it with the motif of *militia amoris* considering that *raptum* concurrently conveys the meaning of "booty" (Fletcher, 2012). Consequently, victims characterised with feminine traits - not necessarily females, fell prey to individuals, both divine and mortal, often situated in positions of authority, identified as predators. These figures grappled with internal struggle regarding their desires, often succumbing to their yearnings and thus, claiming the metaphorical "booty" or "prey".

Certainly, an interesting quote regarding Leda and Europa's fate comes from Ovids' "To His Mistress" in book 1 of "Amores" translated by C. Hopkins, where "Jove's sev'ral rapes" is not present in any of the other 6 different English translations I have found the fragment of Elegy III in. Here, Leda is "Rais'd by the secret godhead in the swan". Although, "The story of the rape Europa bore" from C. Hopkins is not present in most translations, C. Marlowe does include a short mention of the abduction scene, "And she the on a fain'd Bull Swamme to land, Gripping false hornes with her Virgin hand" and thus being a much better translation from

Latin "*Quaeque super pontum simulato vecta iuvenco Virginea tenuit cornua vara manu*". In regards to Leda, C. Marlowe writes of "she to whom in shape of Swamme love came", when compared to Latin "*quam fluminea lusit adulter ave*".

It appears evident that scholars whose native language is English, tend to exhibit a preference for remaining within the confines of English terminology, a phenomenon commonly referred to as 'Anglocentrism' in English-based disciplines in the humanities and social science subjects (Wierzbicka, 2013). Perhaps, it is best to acknowledge and accept the absence of direct translation rather than imposing an English equivalent fundamentally altering its intended meaning. Embracing the utilisation of direct linguistic borrowings emerges as a more appropriate approach in future discourses. Consequently, the true consideration for improvement for enhancing the comprehension of Classical Roman texts, particularly those addressing themes related to sexual assault and/or abduction (if explicitly mentioned), involves the acceptance of the term *raptum*. This is especially relevant as *raptum* stands as the closest equivalent to the Ancient Greek *ἁρπάζω*, serving as a word capable of standing on its own in the translation of classical texts, notably within academic contexts.

A differing narrative on the connection between phrases of 'abduction' and 'rape' can be described by analysis of literature with non-mythological context. Ovid in "Ars Amatoria" self-appointed as a teacher of Cupid, writes on how to find love and retain it (Kennedy, 2012). For the sake of the argument, a fragment I am particularly interested in, is in Book I, between the lines "[...] Kiss, if you can; resistance if she make, [...] Thank with their tongues, but curse you with their heart."

This fragment expressively highlights the 'natural' power scheme of 'rape' with the male aggressor being the superior controller over feminine passiveness (Robson, 2002). This concept becomes encoded in antique literature including mythology with an aim to control the 'weaker sex' and serve as a warning, regarding possible consequences of not

adhering to the social rules on chastity, submission. It is no coincidence that the ultimate symbols of power in Greek mythology (and their Roman equivalents), i.e. Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, and Apollo are almost synonymous with ‘heroes’ of ‘rape’ narratives.

Conclusion

Ultimately, inadequate translation presents a potential ethical concern, manifesting in two primary ways: firstly, the betrayal of the original author by assigning an entirely different meaning, consequently conveying a divergent message; and secondly, the generation of an altered portrayal of the author and their work, characterised by either unwarranted idealisation or insufficient credit. In this context, our contemporary interpretation of the words ‘rape’ and ‘abduction’ being used interchangeably, suggests that ancient Romans and Greeks may have defined these terms similarly or committed these crimes exclusively in conjunction with each other.

The primary outtake of this essay lies in the significance of context and the inherent nature of the topic. Indeed, the “to be lost in translation” methodology is applicable in literature, given the complexity of the translation paradigm. However, this application has certain exclusions, notably in the themes of crime, violence, and sexual assault due to enduring consequences on the past, present, and future society. Considering the consequential ramifications and the evident gap within the existing scholarly contributions, it is imperative to undertake further investigation into the historical discourse surrounding gendered terminology or expressions originating from a highly discriminative and inconsiderate androcentric world.

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The Epidemiology of Lassa Fever in West Africa

Alexander Pelaez [1]

Lassa fever is a viral haemorrhagic fever prevalent mainly in West Africa, where it is estimated to cause up to 2,000,000 cases each year. The natural reservoir of the Lassa virus are the Mastomys natalensis rodents, with these being responsible for all primary infections. The habits and behaviours of these rodents are believed to be the main factors behind the epidemiology of the disease. Every year up to 10,000 deaths are attributed to Lassa Fever, a number that is expected to rise with access to the area improving and population size increasing. The healthcare systems of the countries currently affected are understaffed and underprepared to deal with the issue. With no currently licensed Lassa virus vaccines or formally approved medication for the treatment of Lassa fever, it is imperative that the spread of this disease is adequately understood.

Background

Lassa fever is a zoonotic acute viral haemorrhagic fever disease caused by the Lassa virus, an encapsidated single-stranded negative-sense RNA virus of the *Arenaviridae* family (Balogun et al., 2020; CDC, 2022). Lassa fever (named after the small town in Nigeria where it was discovered) is endemic in several West African nations. Most prevalent in Guinea, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone (WHO, 2017), cases are also seen in lesser numbers in several other West African nations, with an estimated total of 2,000,000 cases annually resulting in up to 10,000 deaths (Happi et

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al., 2019). With access to the West African area improving, in addition to the increasing population size, an enhanced understanding of the disease is becoming a significant necessity as up to 180 million people are now at risk (Happi et al., 2019; WHO, 2017).

Lassa Fever Symptoms and Treatment

Lassa fever has an incubation period ranging from 2 to 21 days (Balogun et al., 2020). The overall case fatality rate is 1%, whilst amongst patients hospitalised, the case fatality rate is 15% (Balogun et al., 2020). Around 80% of patients present mild symptoms, which typically go undiagnosed (Balogun et al., 2020). In the remaining 20% of individuals, however, these mild may symptoms rapidly develop into a more serious illness (Balogun et al., 2020; CDC, 2022). While initial symptoms usually include a fever, malaise, and general weakness (CDC, 2022), individuals may subsequently develop additional symptoms including headaches, sore throats, coughing, muscle/chest pain, nausea, vomiting, and abdominal pain. Late-stage symptoms include facial swelling, respiratory distress, low blood pressure, shock and haemorrhaging from the eyes, nose, gums, vagina, or gastrointestinal tract (CDC, 2022). Several neurological symptoms have also been reported, including tremors, encephalitis, and, in 25% of patients, hearing loss. In the case of the latter, hearing partially returns after a few months in around 50% of survivors (Balogun et al., 2020; CDC, 2022).

Severity of infection and disease outcome are measured by the degree of viraemia (the presence of viruses in the blood), which occurs due to impaired or delayed cellular immunity (Richmond & Baglole, 2003). Most fatalities resulting from Lassa fever are due to multi-organ failure (CDC, 2022). Death rates from Lassa fever are particularly high for pregnant women, and spontaneous abortion caused by infection occurs in around 95% of these cases (CDC, 2022; Balogun et al., 2020). Individuals who recover from Lassa fever stay infectious, as the virus remains inside the body in immune privileged sites such as the testes, the brain or the anterior chamber of the eye. Recovered patients can continue to shed the virus in saliva, urine,

lacrimal fluid, vaginal fluid, and semen for up to a month, with semen potentially staying infectious for up to a year (Thielebein et al., 2022).

The current treatment for this disease consists of symptomatic treatment and providing supportive care focusing on oxygenation, control of blood pressure, and rehydration to maintain adequate fluid and electrolyte levels (CDC, 2022). The standard treatment for Lassa fever is ribavirin, an antiviral drug that attempts to inhibit the activity of viral RNA-dependent RNA polymerases (CDC, 2022; DrugBank, 2005; WHO, 2017). There are claims that ribavirin can reduce deaths by up to 90% when administered intravenously within six days of disease onset (Richmond & Baglole, 2003), however, clinical evidence verifying the effectiveness of ribavirin in treating the disease is quite poor. The only clinical evidence supporting the use of this drug up to now was from a study carried out in Sierra Leone in the early 1980s which was published in 1986 (McCormick et al., 1986). This trial, however, as well as the results and conclusions have been deemed unreliable and can no longer be considered evidence supporting the use of ribavirin. Recently, several systematic review papers have indicated the lack of evidence and questionable safety of ribavirin when used in Lassa fever patients (Cheng, H.Y., et al., 2022; Salam, A. P., et al., 2022). One paper even suggested an increase in mortality associated with the use of ribavirin. Needless to say, it is vital that our understanding of both the effects and mode of action of ribavirin increase, especially as the need for its use is likely to increase in the coming years.

Epidemiology of Lassa Fever

Mastomys natalensis, also known as Common African rats, natal multimammate rats, and African soft furred rats, are the main natural reservoir of Lassa virus and are found all over Sub-Saharan Africa (Hasche & Rösl, 2019). *Mastomys* rodents live near humans in rural regions, often inhabiting people's homes where they scavenge human food stores or leftovers, meaning most primary Lassa infections occur indoors. This proximity can cause direct transmission of the Lassa virus to humans. Indirect transmission occurs easily since these rats shed the virus in their

droppings and urine, which can infect humans via inhalation of aerosolised particles, ingestion of infected food, or contact with contaminated household items. Lastly, multimammate rats are considered a delicacy, so they are hunted and eaten by some people in these regions (up to 90% of the population, depending on the area) (Richmond & Baglole, 2003). This can lead to infection by consumption, and close contact can also lead to primary infections through skin lesions (CDC, 2022; Richmond & Baglole, 2003).

Secondary infections, i.e. person-to-person infections, occur when a susceptible person comes into contact with the body fluids of someone infected. These body fluids are blood, lacrimal fluid, saliva, vomit, sweat, urine, faeces, semen, vaginal fluid, amniotic fluid, and breast milk. These biofluids can also contaminate fomites such as household items or medical equipment (Balogun et al., 2020; CDC, 2022). Fomite infection occurs when someone touches a fomite and then proceeds to touch their mouth/nose/eyes, introducing the virus into their system. Secondary infections typically occur in hospital environments and are a serious issue due to rural regions of West African nations having low quality healthcare systems, with hospitals tending to lack adequate disease control measures (WHO, 2017).

Another important factor in the spread of Lassa fever is the epidemiology of its host, *Mastomys natalensis*. Significantly, while people of all ages are susceptible to infection, it is those living in rural regions that are at higher risk of encountering these rodents, as they are primarily found in rural and farmland regions (Richmond & Baglole, 2003). Consequently, the nations with the highest risk of suffering from a Lassa fever outbreak are those with the largest rural populations. Nigeria currently has an estimated 100,840,661 people living in rural regions, Guinea 8,489,377 people, and Sierra Leone around 4,768,441 people (MacroTrends LLC, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c). Another consideration with the multimammate rat which may explain certain trends in human infection rates is the West African climate and its effect on environmental conditions. West Africa is an area with a tropical monsoon climate, meaning there are essentially two seasons: a wet season and a dry season (Balogun et al., 2020). Studies conducted on arenaviruses in Guinea and Tanzania (where multimammate rats are the host for other arenaviruses such as Morogoro virus and Gairo virus) show that

although multimammate rats have a high breeding rate all year round, rodents have a higher fertility during the wet seasons. Makundi et al. (2007) carried out a study on the reproduction of Multimammate rats in Tanzania from 2002-2004. They found that the reproduction rate of these rodents was significantly increased during the wet season from Ferbruary to June, and population dips after the peak in August. This is potentially due to the increased rainfall increasing the food availability (Gibb et al., 2017). Higher fertility may lead to an increase in population numbers of the host, hence increasing the frequency of Lassa virus infections (Akhmetzhanov et al., 2019).

Another study carried out in three villages of northern Guinea, found that during the dry season, the number of multimammate rats was higher indoors, potentially due to a food shortage which led the rats to seek food indoors, where harvests are stored. (Fichet-Calvet et al., 2007). There is a notable spike in Lassa fever cases at the beginning of dry season, since that coincides with the time rats begin to infest homes in search of food (Garry, 2023). Clearly, therefore, rainfall patterns in West Africa are a major abiotic factor influencing the emergence and spread of Lassa fever.

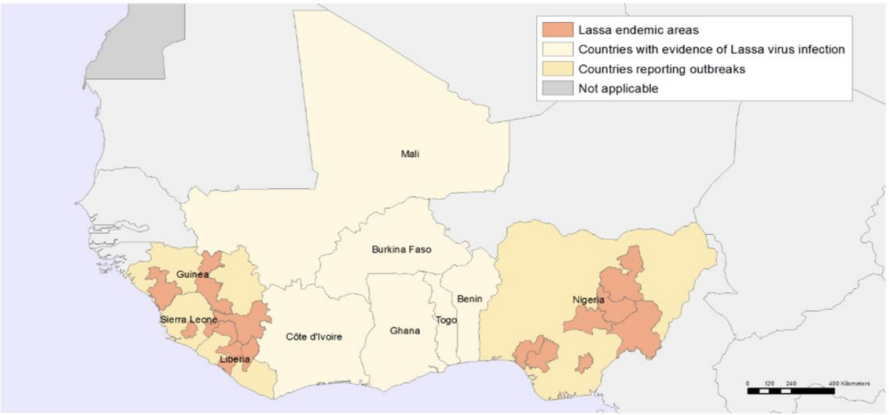
Lassa Fever Rates

In West Africa, an estimated 180 million people are considered at risk of being infected with Lassa virus. This disease causes 5,000 to 10,000 deaths annually, with the number of probable or confirmed cases ranging from 300,000 to 500,000 each year (Happi et al., 2019). However, due to insufficient surveillance and the fact that 80% of cases are very mild or asymptomatic, the total number of annual cases is likely closer to 2,000,000 (Happi et al., 2019). Thus, there is no definite “true incidence” of Lassa fever. In some regions of Sierra Leone and Liberia, 10 to 16% of all people admitted to hospitals annually are admitted because of Lassa fever (CDC, 2022; Tschismarov et al., 2023). However, many West African people who become infected with Lassa virus may not seek diagnosis from medical professionals, either because they are asymptomatic or only present with mild symptoms, or simply because they do not have access to medical care.

Moreover, some of the countries in question lack the proper diagnostic assays to confirm a Lassa fever diagnosis (Garry, 2023).

Figure 1.

Geographic Distribution of Lassa Fever in West Africa, 1969-2018.



Note. From *Geographic distribution of Lassa fever in West African affected countries, 1969-2018*, by World Health Organization, 2018 (https://cdn.who.int/media/images/default-source/health-topics/lassa-fever/lassa-fever-countries-2018png.tmb-1024v.png?sfvrsn=10af107d_7). Copyright 2018 by WHO.

Outbreaks of Lassa fever are a key public health concern in West Africa. From 2012 to 2023, there have been fourteen outbreaks in West Africa, with the most recent outbreak currently taking place in Nigeria (Africa CDC, n.d.). From the first week of 2023 until December 2023 (the last known update) there have been 1,201 confirmed cases and a further 8,800 suspected cases. The case fatality is 17.5% with 210 deaths. This current outbreak has mainly been controlled by Outbreak Response Teams (with mobile labs), Investigative Teams, and an Emergency Cooperation Center (WHO, 2023, n.d.-a, n.d.-b; "Outbreak Response," n.d.). The outbreak has been mainly located in the three provinces of Ondo, Edo, and

Bauchi, where 76% of cases have been recorded. Overall, however, 28 of the 36 states have reported at least one case (NCDC, 2023).

The eruption of Lassa fever cases in Nigeria is not completely unexpected as the public healthcare system in the country is very poor and currently dealing with multiple public health emergencies. Nigeria is the sixth most populous nation in the world with an estimated 230,842,743 inhabitants (CIA.gov, 2023). West Africa has one of the highest annual population growth rates of 3.3% with the populace expected to grow up to 400 million by 2050 (Worldbank.org, 2023; ITA, 2023). With a population of this size, the WHO suggests an adequate number of medical professionals would be around 237,000. However, Nigeria currently only has about 35,000 (ITA, 2023). This shortfall stems mainly from a paucity of funding: an issue that affects almost every other aspect of the healthcare system and is evident in the lack of infrastructure, insufficient sanitation and preventive controls, and limited access to vital medical resources including medication, equipment, and PPE (Personal Protective Equipment), (ITA, 2023).

This inadequacy has been coupled with several ongoing health emergencies which have overwhelmed the healthcare system in Nigeria, with several of these burdens currently of significant concern. Firstly, the ongoing armed conflict with Boko Haram/ISWAP (Islamic State in the West African Provinces) in the north-eastern provinces of Nigeria has resulted in the displacement of large groups of people, as well as a shortage of essentials such as food, water and medication (WHO, n.d.-b). The lack of resources and medical personnel, exacerbated by the displacement of people away from the healthcare infrastructure, has led to worsened sanitation and nutrition, increasing the risk of infectious/communicable diseases, such as Lassa fever. The second major strain on the country's healthcare system results from ongoing yellow fever immunization efforts as part of the Eliminate Yellow Fever Epidemics (EYE) strategy, which aims to complete this task by 2026 (WHO, n.d.-a); these efforts constitute a significant difficulty to the medical services of Nigeria by stretching thin the already scarce resources and health professionals.

Next Steps

There are currently no licensed vaccines for Lassa fever, but there are 26 prospective vaccines now. Three of these vaccines have ongoing Phase I trials, and one began Phase II trials in March 2024 in Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria, with results expected by February 2027 (Sulis et al., 2023). Three vaccines are Recombinant Viral Vector vaccines, two based on VSV (Vesicular Stomatitis Virus) and one based on the Schwarz Strain of the measles virus. Recombinant Viral Vector type vaccines consist of the insertion of viruses engineered to contain extra genes intended to produce proteins within the body. These proteins, in this case Lassa virus proteins, then act as antigens against which immunity can be generated (Isaac et al., 2022). The other vaccine in Phase I trials is a DNA-based vaccine, which works by inserting a plasmid containing DNA sequences coding for Lassa virus antigens that the body can then develop immunity against (Isaac et al., 2022; Sulis et al., 2023). In addition to vaccine development, the elaboration of drugs other than ribavirin to treat Lassa fever would be of great help. There is currently research into potential mechanisms of action, however there are no drugs being trialled yet.

More immediate action can be taken in West Africa to improve both the endemic situation of Lassa fever and the current outbreak in Nigeria. This could comprise of improved training of medical personnel in treating the disease, as well as minimizing its transmission in hospitals and treatment centres via the adequate use of PPE and other hygienic practices. The improvement of surveillance activities like contact tracing would be equally advantageous, as well as the expansion of laboratory testing capacities. Lastly, an increase in public awareness of the disease and how to avoid contracting it, would be highly beneficial as certain local customs such as the consumption of the carrier multimammate rats and traditional burial practices can result in both primary and secondary infections, respectively (“Burial,” n.d.; WHO, 2023).

Conclusion

Lassa fever is a common viral disease spread by rats in West Africa, where it infects hundreds of thousands of people annually across several nations, resulting in anywhere from 5,000 to 10,000 deaths annually. The epidemiology of this disease is determined mainly by the multimammate rats that carry it and the various factors that regulate their numbers such as climate patterns in the area or areas inhabited by the rats' communities. The rapid increase in the population size of the area in the coming decades, combined with the unlikelihood that the status quo in this region of the world will improve, suggests that the number of cases and possible outbreaks of Lassa fever will increase rather than decrease. It is therefore vital that West African nations enhance their outbreak response abilities and reform their healthcare systems by building new infrastructure, training more medical personnel and improving social outreach.

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The Importance of a Gendered Approach: The Impact of Gender on Terrorism and Counterterrorism

Bella Kama Welle [1]

This paper focuses on the effect of gendered stereotypes, both male and female, in the area of terrorism and counterterrorism efforts. It argues that both terrorism and counterterrorism are highly gendered activities that negatively impact men, women, and non-gender-conforming individuals. Using the terrorist group Boko Haram, mainly active in northeast Nigeria, as a case study, the way in which terrorist actors instrumentalise feminine stereotypes in maintenance and recruitment is highlighted. The paper equally investigates stereotypes surrounding men and masculinities, arguing that gendered stereotypes comparably impact men in terrorist organisations. An analysis of Osama bin Laden's rhetoric relying on gendered stereotypes is used to demonstrate this. Drawing upon Dharmapuri's (2016) framework, the paper analyses the predominant approaches in counterterrorism, emphasizing the urgent need for a nuanced understanding of gender and its impacts on all genders. Gender biases hinder the effectiveness of current counterterrorism efforts. Ultimately, this paper calls for a gender-sensitive approach both in academia and practice, to enable long-term sustainable counterterrorism solutions.

Introduction

[1] Bella Aimée Kama Welle is a fourth-year student studying Politics and International Relations. Coming from a German-Cameroonian background, she is especially interested in research focusing on the African continent and has just completed her dissertation on Sino-Cameroonian relations. Her other research interests include gender and security studies. She hopes to pursue a master's in international development after graduation.

In recent years, the field of terrorism studies has increasingly paid attention to the role of gender in terrorism and counterterrorism. According to the World Health Organisation (1998), gender is understood as "women's and men's roles and responsibilities that are socially determined. [It] is related to how we are perceived and expected to think and act […] because of the way society is organised" (p.10). Gender is a social construct and plays an important role in how societies worldwide are structured. Phelan (2020) identifies four main approaches to the study of gender in terrorism and antiterrorism: gender as a variable, men's and women's roles in terrorist organisations, gendered motivations, and the influence of gender on the radicalisation process. Additionally, much of the literature focuses on the representation of female terrorists in the media (see, for example, Nacos (2005)). I argue that terrorism and counterterrorism are highly gendered activities which often reproduce gender stereotypes that harm both men, women, and gender non-conforming individuals. Whether analysing feminine stereotypes or masculinity, there is a tendency to oversimplify and reproduce these harmful concepts both in academic literature and real-life counterterrorism efforts.

The way in which terrorism and counterterrorism are highly gendered activities manifests itself in various forms. This paper will first analyse how gender is instrumentalised by terrorists with a focus on the recruitment process and roles assigned to women within terrorist groups. Secondly, how gendered stereotypes affect not just women but also men will be discussed with a focus on the concept of masculinities. The implications gender has on counterterrorism efforts will be analysed using Dharmapuri's (2016) framework of different gendered approaches. Lastly, the importance of a gendered approach for more effective counterterrorism policies will be highlighted while also discussing the potential risks of a gendered approach. Throughout the paper, Boko Haram, an Islamist terrorist group mostly active in Northern Nigeria and the surrounding region, as well as counterterrorism efforts by the Nigerian government and the Civilian Joint Task Force (CTJF), will be used as examples.

Feminine Stereotypes in Terrorism

Women and girls are often the victims and specific targets of terrorist organisations. In the case of Boko Haram, there are many instances of women being kidnapped, forced into marriages, sexually assaulted, and abused. The most infamous case is the 2014 'Chibok' kidnapping when Boko Haram kidnapped 276 schoolgirls (Amusan & Ejoke, 2017). However, there is a tendency to exclusively focus on women as victims when discussing their presence in terrorism. In cases where women are involved in political violence, Gentry and Sjoberg (2015) describe the portrayal of women as "'mothers', women who are fulfilling their biological destinies; as 'monsters', women who are pathologically damaged and are therefore drawn to violence […] and/or as 'whores', women whose violence is inspired by sexual dependence and depravity" (p.12). These stereotypes reflect the most common roles of women in society and contain certain expectations and demands, for example, for a mother to prioritise her child over her own needs. These different categories draw a picture of violent women as being outside of the 'norm.' Women are typically seen as part of the private and domestic spheres and uninvolved in the public spheres, such as politics and terrorism. Any behaviour that falls outside of this becomes a symbol of deviance. Violent women, such as female terrorists, are not just seen as terrorists but rather as women terrorists (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015, p.8). The emphasis on their gender excludes them from the category of a normal woman and makes them something alien. Terrorist groups and actors strategically use this contradiction and gender stereotypes in several ways that will be discussed in the following. I do not claim that women do not choose to become terrorists out of their own free will. As discussed by Bloom and Lokmanoglu (2020), women's agency is often ignored in terrorism studies, which is counterproductive and reduces women to the very stereotypes mentioned above.

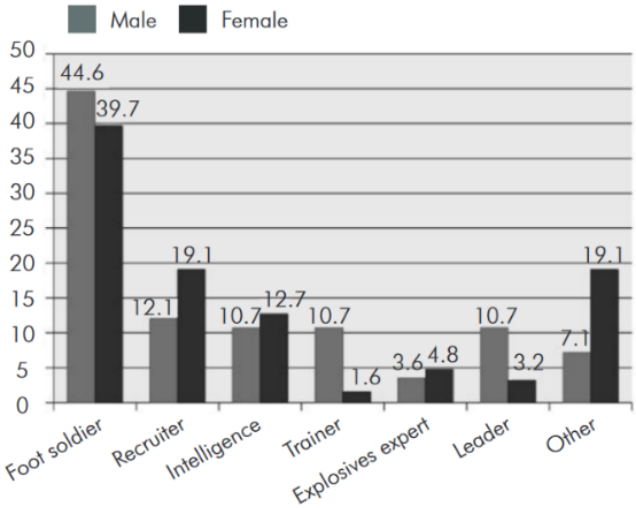
Boko Haram's Use of Women

The roles that women are assigned in different terrorist groups widely differ depending on which groups are analysed. Often, women act as

an essential source of labour in the background of terrorist organisations. A survey among former Boko Haram members found that the majority (57%) of female members in Boko Haram fulfilled domestic duties (Botha & Abdile, 2017). Despite their prevalence in domestic duties, women and girls are also used as fighters and recruiters, for example, as suicide bombers. See Figure 1 for the distribution of roles between men and women in Boko Haram according to 119 members who were interviewed.

Figure 1

Roles of Boko Haram Members by Gender



Note. Roles of Boko Haram members by gender. From Botha and Abdile, 2017, p.4.

According to Hassan (2017), Boko Haram has "effortlessly mainstream[ed] women into their operations, using them to gather intelligence, as recruiters, and promoters of radical ideologies". A report by Matfess and Warner (2017) found that in an unprecedented move, 57% of suicide bombers used by Boko Haram between 2011 and 2017 were women. It is unclear how many of them joined voluntarily or were coerced into becoming suicide bombers. In using women and girls for these bombings, Boko Haram relies on the stereotypes described above. They exploit that

women are seen as less of a potential threat than men, allowing them easier access to public spaces with security measures. In the case of Nigeria, women's traditional conservative clothing also allows them to conceal explosive devices easily (Matfess & Warner, 2017). Structural factors in Nigerian society are highly gendered, and Boko Haram has figured out how to use this to its advantage. It is worthwhile to note that there has been a decline in the use of (female) suicide bombers in Boko Haram since 2015 (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2020). However, the group continues to use female suicide bombers, with the most recent attack happening in December 2022 when two female suicide bombers attacked a military checkpoint in Maiduguri (CBN, 2022).

Many other extremist groups around the world also know how to take advantage of gendered stereotypes and use women to avoid detection. In several cases in Saudi Arabia, although women were arrested for terrorist activities such as bomb-building, they were not punished and handed over to their families instead (Dharmapuri, 2016, p.41). This makes women ideal members to carry out risky operations, such as bombings, as they are less likely than their male counterparts to be arrested and punished. Another factor is that female suicide bombers and other terrorist acts committed by women generate more (media) attention (Bloom & Lokmanoglu, 2020, p.11). Once again, terrorist groups exploit the contradiction between the image of a 'passive woman' and a female terrorist to create awareness for their goals. Gender and its implications create an advantage that terrorist groups exploit. Terrorist groups also rely on gendered stereotypes in the recruitment process. One example of this is portrayed by Bloom and Lokmanoglu (2020). They describe how the Islamic State (IS), a militant Islamist group, used so-called 'Jihadi brides' to recruit men into joining their group by presenting them as potential wives, typical feminine stereotypes and women as rewards were used as an incentive to not just join IS but also to remain in the group. Additionally, children born by these women are seen as a source of future IS fighters. In this case, the stereotype of 'mother' is employed by IS to both inspire men to join and also to upkeep the structure of the group.

To summarise, terrorist groups' use of women is highly strategic. As demonstrated by the examples of women's roles in Boko Haram and IS, they fulfil different roles and play an essential part in the success and upkeep of terrorist organisations. This makes terrorism a highly gendered area, as many terrorist groups heavily rely on women. Gendered stereotypes form the very basis of how terrorist actors operate. Understanding this is essential to both understanding how terrorist actors operate and how to counter their actions effectively. Excluding gender or treating it as an afterthought has grave consequences and can render counterterrorism efforts useless. The role of gender concerning men and terrorism will be explored in the following section.

Masculinities in Terrorism

While this paper has so far focused primarily on women and feminine stereotypes, masculinity and harmful narratives surrounding it are equally important in the discussion of gender and terrorism. The effect of masculinity can be observed both in the space of terrorist groups and in the space of counterterrorism. In the research surrounding gender and terrorism, there has been a tendency to overly focus on women (Dier & Baldwin, 2022). Often, stereotypes surrounding women are reinforced, and the study of masculinities is underdeveloped. Masculine stereotypes and their effects are ignored.

Dier and Baldwin (2022) define 'masculinity' as "the norms, practices, social expectations, and power dynamics associated with being a man, though people of any gender can perform masculinities" (p.2). It is essential to understand that masculinity, as well as femininity and gender in general, vary across cultures, time, and geographical locations. Therefore, masculinity may look different depending on the context, and one must be careful not to treat it as a fixed concept. Additionally, structural factors that lead to and contribute to radicalisation are often highly gendered. Poor economic and social conditions often hinder men from fulfilling goals seen as highly desirable in society, such as being able to provide for their families (Dier & Baldwin, 2022). Masculine stereotypes, like most stereotypes, are

often unattainable and lead to frustration and stigmatisation, thus increasing the likelihood of (young) men joining an extremist organisation.

Masculinities are exploited and reinforced by terrorist actors across the spectrum. Both extremist Islamist groups such as IS and Boko Haram, as well as far-right extremist groups, reinforce male stereotypes. Right-wing groups rely on masculine stereotypes that portray them as protectors of white women, the traditional family, and the nation from (non-Western) foreign threats (Dier & Baldwin, 2022). It is notable that in the case of many extremist groups in the Global South, the relationship between the Global North and South often characterises the ideology of extremist groups and overlaps with masculine stereotypes. An example of this is Osama bin Laden's rhetoric surrounding the Global North and, in particular, the United States (US). He constructs a hierarchical relationship based on gender stereotypes of the 'villain' (the US and Israel), the feminine 'victim' (umma, Muslim global community) and the male 'hero' (Bin Laden and jihadist fighters) (Messerschmidt & Rohde, 2018). It is the presence of the US and the rest of the Global North in the Global South that Bin Laden bases his call to action. He uses gendered language, describing the global Muslim community in feminine terms and jihadists as 'real men' to justify his fight and recruit more male Jihadist fighters. This is an example of how the presence of actors from the Global North in the Global South often reinforces gendered stereotypes (Rothermel, 2020). This leads to a cycle of mutual reinforcement that is hard to break and has extremely harmful consequences - for both men and women.

In the study of terrorism, men are primarily portrayed in a one-dimensional way. Myrttinen, Khattab, and Naujoks (2016) argue that men are almost exclusively seen as perpetrators in conflict situations, and the possibility of them being peacemakers and their vulnerabilities are ignored. They explore three aspects of masculinity that are understudied: 'thwarted' masculinities,' meaning that men are unable to live up to masculine stereotypes due to given circumstances, which lead to frustration and violence often exacerbated by interventions of the Global North. There is also an increase in men's vulnerabilities due to their constant perception as potential combatants. Lastly, non-heterosexual masculinities, meaning that

LGBTQIA+ individuals and the additional challenges they face are not considered. All of the different aspects mentioned above have one thing in common: they highlight how terrorism enacted by groups or individuals, as well as counterterrorism efforts, are highly gendered. Gendered stereotypes do not just affect women but also have negative consequences for men that terrorist actors exploit. The masculinities described here showcase how not considering men when studying gender is incredibly harmful and counterproductive. There is also an interplay between the Global North and the Global South that exacerbates and creates gendered perceptions for both men, women, and gender non-conforming people.

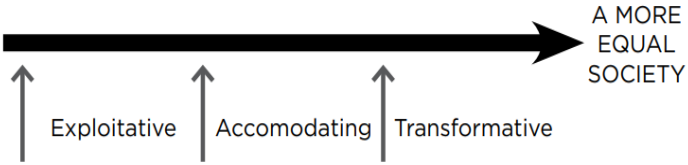
As demonstrated in this section, both men and women, as well as LGBTQIA+ individuals, are equally affected by gender stereotypes. Many terrorist actors have learned how to instrumentalise these stereotypes and use them to their advantage. Meanwhile, counterterrorism lacks a nuanced understanding of how gender interacts with different aspects. Gender continues to be ignored or not given enough weight, although, as shown, it plays a role in every area of life. It is essential to recognise the implications gender has on terrorism and counterterrorism. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The Importance of a Gendered Approach

The first part of this paper has focused on different ways in which terrorism is highly gendered in the form of gendered stereotypes and how terrorist groups exploit these. However, there have been many mentions of counterterrorism being equally gendered. Counterterrorism that focuses on gender adopts a gendered approach or perspective. This approach "entails an assessment of how issues related to violent extremism affect women and men differently and how they are differently involved in those issues" (Ndung'u & Shadung, 2017). A gendered approach aims to make counterterrorism efforts more effective by understanding how violence and structural factors are gendered in a specific context. Dharmapuri (2016) identifies three different gendered approaches commonly found in terrorism and counterterrorism. See Figure 2 for a graphic description.

Figure 2

Spectrum of Gendered Approaches in (Counter)terrorism



Note. From Dharmapuri, 2016, p.40.

1. Gender exploitative

First, a gender-exploitative approach relies on gendered stereotypes and hierarchical structures and exploits them to achieve its goals. This approach has been analysed in detail in the first section. It is the most common way in which gender can be analysed in terrorist groups. However, unintentionally, counterterrorism sometimes also relies on this approach.

2. Gender accommodating

A gender-accommodating approach acknowledges gender differences and wants to compensate for them. The aim is not to change the hierarchy but to improve the lives of the affected people, for example, by increasing the visibility of women in a given community. It is common in many counterterrorism operations.

3. Gender transformative

This approach aims to understand and change existing gender roles and hierarchies to strive for a more effective counterterrorism policy. It often overlaps with the gender-accommodating approach. Generally, this framework serves as a valuable basis for understanding different counterterrorism approaches. It highlights how a gendered approach can use

different methods to both understand and study gender in a given community or terrorist group while combatting its adverse effects.

The Impact of Gender on Counterterrorism

Counterterrorism measures often reproduce harmful stereotypes for both men and women. A report by Amnesty International (2015) found that in fighting Boko Haram, the Nigerian Military systematically targeted young men and boys. After arresting them, they were not charged or granted a trial. Thousands of men died because of thirst or starvation while in military custody or were executed. This happened in 2011-2012 before the escalation of the conflict in Northeast Nigeria. Amnesty International suspects that most of them were not members of Boko Haram. As discussed above, the gendered belief that men are inherently violent leads to the systematic targeting of boys and men in this case. This is why a gendered approach is vital in counterterrorism policies. Awareness of how gender can affect the perception of men and women in the general population and among counterterrorism agents can help prevent such instances. Biases such as the perception of especially young Muslim men as violent and potential terrorists are widespread, especially in military organisations and other counterterrorism agencies in the Global North. A gendered approach will help counteract these biases and lead to more effective policies both in the prevention and active fight against terrorism.

One has to note that counterterrorism agencies and other organisations often fall into the trap of reproducing gender stereotypes themselves. Stereotypes such as seeing women as inherently peaceful in their roles as mothers and caretakers are used by counterterrorism agencies without considering regional differences and individual situations (Ndung'u & Shadung, 2017). Therefore, a gendered approach runs a high risk of instrumentalising women and reinforcing masculinities, as demonstrated in the case above. This can lead to an exploitative approach on the side of counterterrorism agencies, which is highly counterproductive and harmful to local women and communities. In cases where counterterrorism agents commit human rights violations in the name of counterterrorism, this creates

anger and grievances in communities, which is, in turn, used by terrorist organisations. In this way, a circle of constant reinforcement of violence and gendered stereotypes is created that is incredibly harmful (Dier & Baldwin, 2022).

Additionally, counterterrorism institutions themselves are built on gendered norms. Dier and Baldwin (2022) discuss how counterterrorism, especially military organisations, is characterised as a traditionally male activity and ignores, for example, preventative measures that are stereotyped as 'soft' and feminine. Essential steps in counterterrorism operations are underdeveloped or ignored due to this. Often, counterterrorism efforts primarily focus on military intervention, a typically masculine approach, and ignore other areas that can be used to combat terrorism. There is an overall need not just to take a gendered approach when it comes to designing counterterrorism but also to question the gendered foundations of the very organisations that are responsible for counterterrorism. Another problem with counterterrorism efforts is that gender is treated as a synonym for women and masculinities, and the vulnerability of men is ignored (Dier & Baldwin, 2022). When considering gender as a variable, the focus is often exclusively put on women and men as well as LGBTQIA+ individuals are ignored.

An example of how counterterrorism is highly gendered is the presence of women in the Civilian Joint Task Force, a paramilitary group fighting against Boko Haram in Nigeria. According to Hassan (2017), it was the first group to incorporate women, and it had about 50-100 female members, while the Nigerian government's counterterrorism efforts included few to no women. The female members are responsible for patting down women in public spaces, gathering intelligence and acting as security guards for women in internally displaced persons camps. There have been reports of female guards abusing their power and targeting women in these camps (Hassan, 2017). This shows that the presence of women in counterterrorism does not necessarily equate to gender equality. Women are not inherently more peaceful than men and, therefore, better security guards. Although women are present in the organisation, the tasks they can handle are based on gendered stereotypes (Ogundiran, 2022). Women are only allowed to act

in ways that fit into feminine stereotypes. Once again, there is a need for a gendered approach that goes beyond gender stereotypes.

To summarise, counterterrorism often ignores gender, or its importance is underestimated. In many cases, counterterrorism actors reproduce harmful gender stereotypes themselves or fail to understand the impact of gender. As demonstrated, just like terrorism, counterterrorism is highly gendered in many different ways. A gendered approach beyond the exploitative stage is essential to create more effective counterterrorism policies. As shown in the example of the CTJF, it is not enough to simply include women in counterterrorism efforts to fulfil the requirements of a gendered approach. Gender stereotypes and their effects need to be investigated and actively understood to generate effective counterterrorism measures.

Conclusion

What this paper set out to do was to highlight how terrorism and counterterrorism are highly gendered activities. I have done this by exploring femininities and masculinities and the gendered stereotypes surrounding them that are prevalent in the study of gender. Using Boko Haram as a prominent example, how terrorist actors instrumentalise gender in a variety of ways has been demonstrated. Especially women play an essential role in the upkeep and recruitment process of terrorist groups. Nevertheless, stereotypes surrounding men are equally essential and exploited by terrorist groups, as shown in the example of Osama bin Laden's speeches.

Additionally, gendered stereotypes are deeply entrenched in counterterrorism operations. Gender is either ignored or not adequately understood, rendering many counterterrorism efforts ineffective or severely restricting their effectiveness. The framework offered by Dharmapuri (2016) provides a valuable basis for understanding the different approaches that dominate counterterrorism. Terrorism and counterterrorism are highly gendered at every level, from people's day-to-day lives to counterterrorism policies that aim to prevent or combat terrorism. There is a need for a more

nuanced understanding of gender and its impact on all genders, men, women and gender non-conforming. This can be done through a gendered approach to studying both terrorism itself and designing counterterrorism practices. I believe that only through adopting a gendered approach and considering all factors that affect communities dominated by terrorism, terrorism can be efficiently combatted in the long-term.

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Disparities and Economic Growth: Analysing the Impact of Innovation Capacities and Readiness in European Union and Candidate Economies

Patryk Filip Langer [1]

This paper assesses how innovation capacity and readiness impact economic growth and technological development in European Union (EU) economies. Utilizing the Network Readiness Index and the EU Innovation Scoreboard, the study categorizes EU countries into Innovators, Emerging, and Candidate groups, analysing disparities in innovation through Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Significant differences are found, particularly in financing, regulation, and corporate technology investment. The findings highlight the crucial role of government policies and institutional frameworks in fostering innovation. The study emphasizes the need for region-specific innovation strategies in EU economies, offering insights for policymakers to enhance innovation and economic development.

Introduction

This paper investigates the critical question of how varying innovation capacities and readiness levels across European Union (EU) economies impact their technological advancement. In an era marked by rapid technological change and global economic competition, understanding

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these disparities in innovation is essential for developing effective policies and strategies.

To frame this inquiry, the paper reviews extensive background literature that defines and explores the concept of innovation in its broadest sense. It goes beyond the traditional focus on technological advancements, drawing on the works of Acemoglu & Restrepo (2018), Kaynak and Dereli (2017), and Virglerova et al. (2020), among others. These studies collectively emphasize the multifaceted nature of innovation, including its role in economic indicators and societal well-being, and the impact of various determinants like institutional frameworks, human capital, and infrastructure. This review establishes a foundation for understanding innovation as a complex and dynamic engine of economic progress. The central thesis of this paper posits that the disparities in innovation capacities and readiness within EU economies significantly influence their economic and technological trajectories. This hypothesis is explored through an empirical analysis, utilizing data from the Network Readiness Index (NRI) and the EU Innovation Scoreboard. The paper argues that effective innovation strategies must consider these disparities and the multifaceted nature of innovation to foster sustainable economic growth. The paper begins with a detailed literature review, setting the stage for the research question and hypothesis. The methodology section describes the data sources and statistical methods employed in the analysis, including Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The results section presents the findings, highlighting the differences in innovation readiness and capacity across various EU economies. This is followed by a discussion that interprets these findings in the context of the existing literature, offering insights for policy and strategy development.

Literature Review

Innovation, in its most comprehensive sense, is a critical catalyst for economic progress, extending far beyond the introduction of new technologies. It encapsulates a broad spectrum of activities including the generation, adoption, and execution of ground-breaking ideas, processes, and

business models. This expansive view positions innovation not merely as a technological phenomenon but as a dynamic engine propelling value creation throughout national economies. Its scope, as outlined by scholars such as Acemoglu & Restrepo (2018), covers a wide array of dimensions from product and process advancements to revolutionary changes in market strategies and organizational structures. This extensive nature of innovation is further emphasized in studies by Kaynak and Dereli (2017), Paas and Poltimae (2010), and Virglerova et al. (2020), which highlight its pivotal role in driving the growth of various economic indicators and the overall well-being of society. Their research collectively underscores the notion that innovation is a fundamental element in a knowledge-based economy, significantly triggering a country's economic development.

The determinants of innovation are diverse, encompassing a blend of institutional, human, and infrastructural factors. The role of institutional frameworks, especially intellectual property rights (IPR), is paramount in cultivating environments conducive to innovation. Strong IPR regimes are essential for safeguarding the interests of innovators, thereby incentivizing, and encouraging continuous investment in research and development. The significance of these frameworks is reinforced by the World Intellectual Property Organization, as mentioned by Dutta and Lanvin (2021a) in their work and is echoed in the studies of Virglerova et al. (2020). Parallel to institutional aspects, human capital emerges as a crucial factor in the innovation process. The importance of ICT skills, as highlighted by the European Commission (2021 and 2022), and the role of knowledge-intensive employment, as discussed by Ciarli et al. (2021, pp. 3-5) and the OECD (2016), are indicative of a nation's capacity for innovative advancement. Furthermore, infrastructure and technological implementation are key determinants in shaping a nation's innovation landscape. The integration of advanced technologies, such as the use of robotics in manufacturing sectors, is often seen as a reflection of an economy's commitment to technological progress and efficiency.

The influence of government policies and the regulatory environment on the innovation ecosystem is profound and multifaceted. The creation of stable and supportive business environments, fostered by well-

conceived government policies and regulations, is essential for the growth of innovation. The impact of such policies and regulatory quality on innovation ecosystems is thoroughly explored in the works of Bird et al. (2022). These studies highlight how governmental actions and regulatory frameworks can either stimulate or hinder innovation. In emerging economies, the role of national innovation policies becomes even more critical. These countries face the dual challenge of fragile and underdeveloped financial and legal infrastructures, making the need for focused Research and Development (R&D) efforts more pressing. The research by Veugelers and Schweiger (2016) draws attention to this necessity, emphasizing the importance of intensifying R&D activities to enhance the innovative capabilities of developing countries amidst global competition. This comprehensive exploration into the varied determinants of innovation and the pivotal role of government policies underscores the complex nature of the innovation process as an integral driver of economic growth and technological progression across different national contexts. Innovation is not driven by a single element but rather by the synergy among various determinants, including institutional frameworks, human capital, infrastructure, and government policies. The effectiveness of innovation strategies relies on the integration of these elements into a cohesive approach. As some researchers argue (Ballardini et al., 2022; Herrera and Nieto, 2015), a holistic environment conducive to innovation must combine robust IP protection, skilled human capital, advanced infrastructure, and supportive government policies. This multifaceted nature of innovation is further underscored by considering the disruptive effects of digital innovation, which extend beyond traditional industries to economies, value chains, and business models. The importance of adopting knowledge and technology from external sources in innovation activities is critical for businesses, (Satı, Z. E. 2024, pp. 13-15). Effective innovation strategies must therefore consider these complex interactions among various determinants to foster an ecosystem that nurtures and sustains innovation, ultimately driving economic growth and technological advancement in national economies.

The assessment of national innovation performance is crucial in understanding how countries harness and implement innovation strategies.

Tools such as the Network Readiness Index (Dutta and Lavin, 2021 and 2023) and the EU Innovation Scoreboard play pivotal roles in this assessment (European Commission, 2021 and 2022; Hollanders et al., 2023a, and 2023b). The NRI evaluates a country's preparedness to leverage information and communication technologies (ICT) for increased competitiveness. It examines a broad range of areas from technology infrastructure to digital skills, encapsulating key aspects of a nation's digital readiness. The EIS, on the other hand, is highly useful in assessing innovation performance, particularly within European countries. It provides a nuanced view of innovation drivers, utilizing indicators that capture the multifaceted nature of innovation processes, from R&D activities to entrepreneurial efforts. These tools, while invaluable, come with limitations such as data availability and comparability issues, as well as potential biases inherent in secondary data sources, necessitating a cautious interpretation of their data.

Methodology

Data Source

The data for this paper was sourced from the NRI, which acts as a secondary data repository. The NRI compiles global data from a variety of sources and makes it publicly available, offering a comprehensive set of indicators on digital readiness and innovation systems across the globe. This dataset encompasses a multitude of variables, including numerical scores, survey responses, interviews, and questionnaire data, all of which are sourced from highly reputable sources, with the data being then treated for missing values, outliers and then normalized, to be comparable between the economies. For the current study, the indicators relevant to the scope of research were selected in alignment with the EU Innovation Scoreboard, allowing for a comparative analysis across different national economies with a focus on innovation capacity and technological advancement (Figure 1: NRI Indicators, Meaning and EIS Category). This was done as the NRI does not determine which variables are the causes and effects of innovation, but merely uses them to determine the NRI ranking and other metrics associated with network readiness, which is not equivalent to innovation level or

progress. This being the reason for the use of EIS, its focus on the innovation itself, as well as the availability of cause-and-effect aspects of innovation. The addition of EIS additionally allows for the justified grouping of the economies considered (Appendix). These being allocated into three groups, EU economies based on the EIS into Innovators meaning economies of above average innovation, and emerging meaning economies of below average innovation, the third group is that of the candidate members, which are not mentioned in the EIS classification.

Figure 1

NRI Indicators, Meaning and EIS Category

NRI Indicator	Meaning	EIS Input/Impact
Computer Software Spending	Total computer software spending (% of GDP)	Input
Mobile Apps Development	Number of mobile app downloads from global app stores, scaled by GDP	Impacts
ICT Regulatory Environment	ICT Regulatory Tracker	Input
Regulation of Emerging Technologies	Average answer to survey questions concerning the extent to which the legal framework is adapting to five types of emerging technology	Input
Regulatory Quality	Regulatory quality indicator	Input
High-Tech Exports	High technology exports (% of total trade)	Impacts
ICT Services Exports	Telecommunications, computers, and information services exports (% of total trade)	Impacts
Annual Investment in Telecommunication	Annual investment in telecommunication services (US$)	Input
GERD Financed by Business Enterprise	GERD: Financed by business enterprise (% of total GERD)	Input
GERD Performed by Business Enterprise	GERD performed by business enterprise (% of GDP)	Input
Investment in Emerging Technologies	Average investment in emerging tech by businesses per economy	Input
R&D Expenditure by Govt and Higher Edu	Gross domestic expenditure on R&D performed by government and higher education institutions (% of GDP)	Input
AI Publications	Number of AI research papers published per economy	Impacts
PCT Patent Applications	Number of Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) applications (per billion PPP$ GDP)	Impacts
ICT Skills in the Education System	Average answer to the question: In your country, to what extent is the workforce proficient in the skills technology skills.	Input
Knowledge Intensive Employment	Employment in knowledge-intensive services (% of workforce, 15+ years old)	Input
Robot Density	Number of industrial robots per 10,000 manufacturing workers in a country	Impacts

Note. The source of the information is from Dutta, S., & Lanvin, B. (2023, p.219-241)

The variables under study were derived from the NRI dataset and included REGR factor scores, which are quantitative representations of underlying dimensions of innovation capacity (Dutta and Lanvin, 2023, pp. 219-263). These factor scores were obtained through the application of Principal Component Analysis on the NRI dataset, which aimed to identify latent constructs that influence digital readiness and innovation. The relevance of these factor scores lies in their ability to quantify the complex, multi-dimensional aspects of innovation systems, thus providing a nuanced understanding of the data and facilitating the examination of hypotheses concerning innovation performance across different economic groupings.

Statistical Methods

The statistical analysis of the dataset was undertaken using several methods. Initially, PCA was conducted to reduce the data's dimensionality and to identify the principal components that explain the most variance in the dataset. The suitability of PCA was determined by conducting Bartlett's test of sphericity, which tests the hypothesis that the variables are unrelated and hence, unsuitable for structure detection. A significant test result rejected this hypothesis, justifying the use of PCA. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure was also calculated to assess the sampling adequacy for each variable in the model, and the overall model, where a KMO value greater than 0.6 is considered acceptable. Following PCA, and ANOVA was employed to test the differences in the factor scores across the three groups of economies. The justification for using ANOVA lies in its ability to compare means among multiple groups and to test hypotheses on the variance explained by these means. Post hoc analyses using the Tukey Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) test were then performed to identify which group means were significantly different from each other.

Prior to performing ANOVA, several assumptions were checked to validate the applicability of this statistical method. Levene's test for

homogeneity of variances was conducted to ensure that variances among the groups were equal, which is a prerequisite for ANOVA. A non-significant Levene's test result would indicate that the assumption of homogeneity of variances has not been violated, confirming the groups are comparable. Additionally, the normality of the distribution of residuals and the independence of observations were assessed to fulfil other ANOVA assumptions. Only upon satisfactory results from these preliminary tests was the ANOVA carried out.

Results

The PCA was conducted to identify the principal components (factors) that best represent the variance within the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was calculated, yielding a value of 0.778, which exceeds the commonly recommended threshold of 0.6, indicating that the data was suitable for factor analysis. Additionally, Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($p < 0.001$), suggesting that the variables were sufficiently correlated for PCA. The PCA revealed four distinct factors, each representing a different dimension of innovation readiness and capacity. These factors were named as follows: Factor 1: Financing and Regulation Framework; Factor 2: Digital Innovation Indicators; Factor 3: Corporate Tech Investment and Export; Factor 4: ICT Educational and Export Proficiency. The total variance explained by these four factors was 82%, indicating that they collectively captured a significant portion of the information present in the original variables (Figure 2: Communalities and Rotated Component Matrix of Indicators). The high percentage of variance explained reinforces the relevance of these factors in understanding the different dimensions of innovation.

Figure 2

Communalities and Rotated Component Matrix of Indicators

Indicators	Communalities	Rotated Component Matrix			
		F1	F2	F3	F4
ICT services exports	0.856				0.918
Mobile apps development	0.668				0.786
ICT skills in the education system	0.685				0.520
High-tech exports	0.783			0.836	
GERD financed by business enterprise	0.777			0.567	
AI scientific publications	0.856		0.921		
Computer software spending	0.835		0.864		
Annual investment in telecommunication services	0.838		0.545		
Knowledge intensive employment	0.832	0.691			
Robot density	0.831	0.701			
Regulation of emerging technologies	0.827	0.706			
PCT patent applications	0.815	0.736			
GERD performed by business enterprise	0.873	0.745			
Investment in emerging technologies	0.907	0.774			
R&D expenditure by governments and higher education	0.892	0.776			
Regulatory quality	0.884	0.822			

Before conducting the ANOVA, Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was performed to validate the assumptions of ANOVA. The results indicated no significant differences in variances across the groups for all factor scores ($p > 0.05$), confirming the assumption of equal variances and justifying the subsequent use of ANOVA (Figure 3: Factor's Significance Tests). The ANOVA was then applied to each of the four factor scores to investigate the differences across the three groups: EU-Innovator, EU-Emerging, and EU-Candidate economies. The analysis revealed significant differences in the means of Factor Scores 1 and 3. Specifically, the ANOVA results for Factor Score 1 and Factor Score 3 showed significance values of less than 0.001 and 0.012, respectively, suggesting notable differences in these aspects of innovation readiness and capacity between the groups.

Figure 3

Factor's Significance Tests

Factor	ANOVA F-value	ANOVA Sig.	Levene's Statistic	Sig.
1. Financing and Regulation Framework	13.437	<.001	1.15	0.329
2. Digital Innovation Indicators	1.874	0.17	0.268	0.767
3. Corporate Tech Investment and Export	5.029	0.012	0.403	0.671
4. ICT Educational and Export Proficiency	2.706	0.082	2.861	0.071

The Tukey HSD post hoc test, conducted following the ANOVA, provided a detailed and nuanced understanding of the specific differences between groups for each factor score where ANOVA indicated significant results. This analysis allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the group dynamics by identifying exactly which groups differ from each other and to what extent (Figure 4: Post Hoc Group Specific Differences). For Factor Score 1, the Tukey HSD test revealed significant disparities between certain groups, highlighting areas of divergence. The mean score for the 'Candidate' group was significantly lower than that of the 'Innovators' group, with a mean difference of -1.7146133. This difference was not only statistically significant ($p < .001$) but also notable in magnitude, suggesting substantial disparity in the underlying aspects captured by this factor score. Similarly, a significant difference was found between the 'Emerging' and 'Innovators' groups, with a mean difference of -1.1323270 ($p = .002$). Again, this points to a marked distinction in the attributes encapsulated by Factor Score 1 between these groups. Interestingly, there was no significant difference noted between the 'Candidate' and 'Emerging' groups, implying a relative similarity in these respects. Moving to Factor Score 3, the Tukey HSD test outcomes were somewhat different. Here, the 'Candidate' group differed significantly from both the 'Emerging' and 'Innovators' groups. The mean difference between 'Candidate' and 'Emerging' was -1.0986756 ($p = .017$), and between 'Candidate' and 'Innovators', it was -1.1032170 ($p = .027$). These significant differences suggest that the characteristics represented by Factor Score 3, which might relate to corporate tech investment or market dynamics, are considerably distinct in the 'Candidate' group compared to the other groups. However, no significant difference was detected between the 'Emerging' and 'Innovators' groups, indicating similarity in these factors between these two groups. The results of the Tukey HSD test for Factor Scores 2 and 4 revealed a different scenario. In these cases, no significant differences were found between any of the groups. This lack of significant disparities suggests that, for the attributes or characteristics represented by these factor scores, the groups are relatively similar. This similarity could indicate that aspects like certain types of innovation activities or infrastructural elements are at comparable levels or

follow similar patterns across the 'Candidate', 'Emerging', and 'Innovators' groups.

In conclusion, the Tukey HSD post hoc test results offer a detailed and comprehensive understanding of where significant differences lie among the groups in terms of innovation-related aspects. For Factor Scores 1 and 3, there are clear and significant disparities between certain groups, underscoring the heterogeneity in innovation capacities and readiness. Conversely, the lack of significant differences in Factor Scores 2 and 4 suggests a level of homogeneity in other aspects of innovation across these groups. These findings provide a nuanced and in-depth perspective on the innovation landscape across different economic contexts within the EU, offering valuable insights for targeted policy and strategy development.

Figure 4

Post Hoc Group Specific Differences

Factors	Group Comparison	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.
1. Financing and Regulation Framework	Candidate vs Emerging	-0.582	0.319	0.176
	Candidate vs Innovator	-1.715	0.344	<.001
	Emerging vs Innovator	-1.132	0.299	0.002
2. Digital Innovation Indicators	Candidate vs Emerging	-0.420	0.407	0.562
	Candidate vs Innovator	-0.847	0.439	0.146
	Emerging vs Innovator	-0.427	0.382	0.51
3. Corporate Tech Investment and Export	Candidate vs Emerging	-1.099	0.376	0.017
	Candidate vs Innovator	-1.103	0.405	0.027
	Emerging vs Innovator	-0.005	0.353	1
4. ICT Educational and Export Proficiency	Candidate vs Emerging	-0.108	0.398	0.96
	Candidate vs Innovator	-0.867	0.429	0.123
	Emerging vs Innovator	-0.759	0.374	0.121

Discussion

In this paper, a detailed exploration of the innovation capacities and readiness among various EU economy groups was undertaken, leading to significant insights that resonate strongly with the extensive literature on innovation as a critical catalyst for economic progress. The analysis focused on disparities in Factor Scores 1 (Financing and Regulation Framework) and 3 (Corporate Tech Investment and Export), revealing pronounced differences among EU-Innovator, EU-Emerging, and EU-Candidate economies. These findings align with the broad perspective on innovation as outlined by scholars like North and Lorenzo (2020) and Acemoglu & Restrepo (2018), who view innovation as an engine propelling value creation, extending beyond the introduction of new technologies to encompass a spectrum of activities including ground-breaking ideas, processes, and business models.

The paper underscores the multi-dimensional nature of innovation, echoing the scholarly consensus that innovation is not just about technological breakthroughs but also involves the generation, adoption, and execution of ground-breaking ideas and processes. This perspective is vital in understanding the disparities observed in the study, as it highlights the importance of a holistic approach to fostering innovation. The pivotal role of government policies and institutional frameworks in cultivating environments conducive to innovation becomes evident in our analysis. This is particularly noticeable in the significant variances observed in Factor Score 1, related to financing and regulation frameworks. These differences across different EU economy groups suggest that the effectiveness of innovation strategies is heavily influenced by the institutional and policy context within which they are implemented. Furthermore, our findings reveal the complexity inherent in innovation systems. Successful innovation strategies must account for a blend of factors, including institutional support, human capital development, and infrastructural enhancements. This complexity suggests that a one-size-fits-all approach to fostering innovation is likely ineffective. Instead, there is a need for strategies that are tailored to the specific contexts of individual regions or countries. This need for customization is particularly relevant for EU-Candidate and Emerging economies, where innovation capacities are still in the developmental phase.

Contrasting the findings with studies such as those by Aytekin et al. (2022), which utilize the Global Innovation Index (GII) for evaluating innovation efficiency, provides a broader context and understanding. While the GII identifies countries like the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden as leaders in innovation efficiency, our study paints a more complex picture within the EU itself. This contrast points to a significant discrepancy: while certain EU nations excel in innovation readiness, others, particularly Emerging and Candidate economies, struggle. This struggle can be attributed to varying institutional frameworks and infrastructural conditions, an observation also supported by the work by Virglerova et al. (2020).

These case studies starkly contrast with the findings of this study, where certain EU economies demonstrate robust innovation capacities in specific areas. This suggests that while some EU nations are effectively leveraging their innovation inputs, others are not capitalizing on their full potential. This reflects the observations of the disparities among EU economies in their innovation readiness and capacities. Moreover, the role of SMEs in the innovation ecosystem, as examined by (Satı, Z. E. 2024, pp.13-15) and Amaral and Peças (2021), holds relevance to the study. These SMEs, crucial to many EU countries' economies, encounter challenges in adopting digital innovation. This aspect is particularly critical considering our findings on digital innovation readiness, where certain EU economies, especially Emerging and Candidate countries, require more targeted support to enhance their digital innovation capabilities. In addition, the significance of regional differences in innovation capabilities, as highlighted in our study, cannot be overstated. The findings align with the research by Veugelers and Schweiger (2016), and Brodny and Tutak (2022), who emphasize the necessity for tailored national innovation policies, especially in less developed economies within the EU. These regional disparities also tie into the broader discussions by authors like Boschma (2014) and Majerova (2015), highlighting the importance of a holistic national system that includes both public and private institutions in driving innovation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the extensive discussion, grounded in the results of the study and enriched by contrasting it with related literature, provides a comprehensive picture of the innovation landscape across EU economies. It emphasizes the need for nuanced, region-specific innovation strategies and policies that consider the diverse institutional, human capital, and infrastructural realities across EU member and candidate countries. These insights are valuable for policymakers and stakeholders, guiding them in strategizing for enhanced innovation capacities, which are essential for fostering economic growth and maintaining a competitive edge in the global market.

The study demonstrates the critical need for tailored approaches in developing innovation policies and strategies. Given the marked differences in innovation readiness and capacity observed among EU economies, strategies successful in one context may not be as effective in another. Policymakers must consider the unique characteristics and requirements of their respective economies to devise strategies that can effectively foster innovation and drive economic growth. This approach is not only crucial for the emerging and candidate EU economies but also for the innovators, as continuous adaptation, and responsiveness to changing global trends are essential for sustaining their lead in innovation.

Overall, the research contributes a nuanced understanding of the innovation dynamics within the EU, offering actionable insights for crafting more effective innovation policies and strategies. By recognizing and addressing the distinct challenges and opportunities present in different EU economies, policymakers can better support their nations' innovation journeys, thereby contributing to a more robust and vibrant European Union in the global economic arena.

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Appendix A

Country	EIS	Assumed Group
Denmark	Innovation Leader	Innovator
Sweden	Innovation Leader	Innovator
Finland	Innovation Leader	Innovator
Netherlands	Innovation Leader	Innovator
Belgium	Innovation Leader	Innovator
Austria	Strong Innovator	Innovator
Germany	Strong Innovator	Innovator
Luxembourg	Strong Innovator	Innovator
Ireland	Strong Innovator	Innovator
Cyprus	Strong Innovator	Innovator
France	Strong Innovator	Innovator
Estonia	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Slovenia	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Czechia	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Italy	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Spain	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Malta	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Portugal	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Lithuania	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Greece	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Hungary	Moderate Innovator	Emerging
Croatia	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Slovakia	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Poland	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Latvia	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Bulgaria	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Romania	Emerging Innovator	Emerging
Albania	-	Candidate
Bosnia and Herzegov	-	Candidate
Montenegro	-	Candidate
North Macedonia	-	Candidate
Serbia	-	Candidate
Turkey	-	Candidate
Ukraine	-	Candidate
Kosovo	-	Candidate
Georgia	-	Candidate

	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
ICT regulatory environment	36	91.36	4.98	24.83	-0.76	0.39	1.66
Regulatory quality	36	69.55	14.25	203.01	-0.02	0.39	-1.01
AI scientific publications	36	11.05	10.88	118.41	1.16	0.39	0.42
Robot density	36	13.92	15.77	248.61	1.01	0.39	0.10
ICT skills in the education system	36	51.05	25.97	674.60	-0.82	0.39	0.06
Mobile apps development	36	72.94	8.58	73.65	-0.09	0.39	3.81
Adoption of emerging technologies	36	58.14	24.45	597.59	-0.45	0.39	0.24
Regulation of emerging technologies	36	59.01	21.98	483.29	-0.46	0.39	0.16
Government promotion of investment in emerging technolog	36	43.20	22.99	528.35	-0.03	0.39	0.01
Investment in emerging technologies	36	48.69	22.23	494.17	0.43	0.39	-0.90
Computer software spending	36	33.92	23.55	554.55	0.12	0.39	-1.69
GERD financed by business enterprise	36	53.22	21.99	483.65	-1.05	0.39	0.51
Annual investment in telecommunication services	36	77.92	14.69	215.75	-4.41	0.39	23.72
GERD performed by business enterprise	36	22.77	18.41	338.98	0.78	0.39	-0.41
R&D expenditure by governments and higher education	36	25.27	17.57	308.80	0.60	0.39	-0.63
Knowledge intensive employment	36	59.80	17.04	290.34	-0.13	0.39	0.01
High-tech exports	36	20.60	13.66	186.64	0.75	0.39	0.56
PCT patent applications	36	27.38	25.15	632.34	1.02	0.39	-0.02
ICT services exports	36	35.08	25.17	633.45	1.47	0.39	1.71
Valid N (listwise)	36						

Appendix A. Classification of the considered economies from Hollanders, H. (2023b) (left). Descriptive Statistics (right).

Are Seismometers Valuable Instrumentation for Monitoring Weather Events? A Northeast and Central Scotland Case Study

Emma Watt [1]

Flooding events in Scotland have become increasingly frequent and severe in recent decades. These events result in significant disruptions to transportation infrastructure, necessitating costly repairs and restoration efforts. To address this challenge, innovative techniques for rainfall and flood monitoring are imperative. This study explores the use of seismometers, traditionally employed for earthquake detection, to measure ground displacement caused by rainfall and induced flooding. Developing on previous research, particularly by Dietze, et al. (2022), the relationship between seismicity and rainfall frequency in Scotland is investigated. Across various frequency ranges, correlations vary in strength and consistency. Spatial analysis of seismometer and weather station pairings elucidates the dynamics of this relationship, considering factors such as proximity to water bodies, roads, and vegetation. Additionally, the paper discusses the lag between rainfall and seismic activity, attributing it to factors such as geographical distance and local environmental conditions. Analysis presents a compelling correlation between seismic signals and incident rainfall, particularly in the frequency range of 31-40Hz whereby peaks in seismic activity coincide with peaks in rainfall. This suggests the potential of seismometers as a low-cost, long-term solution for flood monitoring and prediction in Scotland. By leveraging existing seismic networks, this approach offers a promising avenue for improving flood resilience and

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reducing the socioeconomic impacts of flooding events. Recommendations for future research include enhancing monitoring capabilities by increasing solar panel sizes for seismometers and conducting further investigations into the characteristics of rainfall contributing to seismic signals.

Introduction

Scotland has seen a rise in heavy rainfall events in recent decades, leading to increased flooding incidents (Met Office, 2023). This has resulted in major disruptions to Scotland's travel infrastructure, requiring costly restorations (BBC News, 2023). Storm Babet, in October 2023, caused extensive flooding, estimated at over £4 million in repair costs (BBC News, 2023). Similarly, a significant rainfall event occurred in November 2022, resulting in widespread flash flooding across the Northeast (see Figure 1) (Floodlist, 2022). Existing methods for monitoring rainfall and river levels in Scotland are inadequate. Hydrometric stations cannot accurately assess flood potential, necessitating the development of new mitigation strategies. Seismometers, traditionally used for earthquake monitoring, can detect ground displacement from non-seismic sources, including meteorological events (British Geological Society, 2023). Seismometers measure the relative displacement of a mass caused by ground displacement (see Figure 2) (British Geological Society, 2023). Recent studies, such as those by Helmstetter & Garambois (2010), Lecocq et al. (2020), Dietze et al. (2022), and Diaze et al. (2023), have successfully utilised seismometers to measure rainfall-induced ground displacement. Dietze et al. (2022) specifically investigates rainfall frequencies to quantify flood characteristics for flood prediction. Scotland's seismometer network in the Northeast and Central regions can be harnessed to study the relationship between rainfall and displacement to enable informed decision-making and reduce repair costs. This approach offers a cost-effective solution for long-term climate and flood modelling.

Figure 1

Cumulative Rainfall for Six Locations in Scotland

Met Office

* SEPA rain gauge

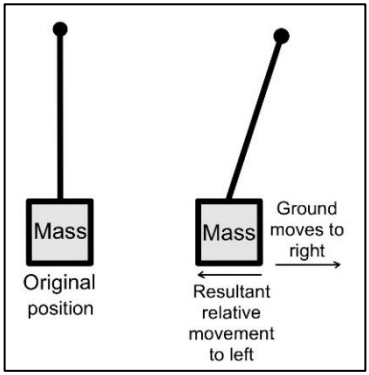
Rainfall totals (last 48 hours)

Charr, Aberdeenshire *	140 mm
Mongour, Aberdeenshire *	110 mm
Cabrach, Moray *	101 mm
Glenmuick, Aberdeenshire *	97 mm
Aboyne, Aberdeenshire	97 mm
Invermark, Angus *	90 mm

Note. Cumulative rainfall for 6 locations in Scotland. Recorded between the 16th and 18th of November 2023. Image: UK Met Office via (Floodlist, 2022).

Figure 2

Simplified Diagram of a Seismometer.



Note. Simplified diagram of a seismometer.

1. Background

1.1 Meteorology

SEPA (The Scottish Environment Protection Agency) collaborates with the Met Office to provide hydrological and meteorological data for informed flood forecasting (SEPA, 2024). Their "Flood Warning Development Framework 2022-2028" aims to enhance meteorological monitoring by exploring improved rainfall detection across Scotland using weather radar (SEPA, 2024). However, SEPA acknowledges, “This level may not directly represent the depth of water between the bed and the surface” (SEPA, 2023). River capacity influences flood likelihood, and ambiguous recordings hinder SEPA's ability to make assertive decisions, increasing infrastructure damage and restoration costs (Kazmierczak, Cavan, Connelley, & Lindley, 2015)**.**

1.2 Flooding

To assess flood threats, understanding flood behaviour (including magnitude, propagation velocity, and debris transport rate) is crucial (Dietze, Hoffmann, Bell, Schrott, & Hovius, 2022). In a study on flooding in Ahrtal, Germany - Dietze et al. (2022) utilised seismic data from a single seismometer deployed during a significant flooding event in July 2021. They analysed the spatial movement of the flood by examining the signal generated by the surface load carried by the water flow. With the calculated fluvial signature of the flow, decision-makers gain insights into future flood propagation, to implement mitigation strategies.

1.3 Seismology

Seismometers measure the energy produced by seismic waves, which can originate from the subsurface, surface, or atmospheric sources (Lecocq & al., 2020). Different attributes produce signals of different frequencies. The maximum frequency that a seismometer can record is limited by seismometer sampling rate[1] (Sensemore, 2023). Seismometers are highly sensitive to motion and record each vector component of motion[2].

[1] The number of samples the seismometer can record per second
[2] X, Y, and Z directions independently.

From the measure of the energy released, displacement is calculated, followed by calculation of the power spectral density (PSD). PSD is a measure of the distribution of power within a frequency range (Jana, Singh, Biswas, Grewal, & Singh, 2017). Following PSD calculation, the RMSD (Root Mean Squared Displacement) is calculated.

Different sources produce signals at various frequencies, with anthropogenic noise typically observed between 4-14Hz (Lecocq & al., 2020). Studies have reported rainfall frequencies above 40Hz (Diaz, et al., 2023), while car-induced seismic signals are under 30Hz (Meng et al., 2021). Rindraharisaona et al. (2022) identified anthropogenic noise between 1-45Hz, wind dominating at 5-30Hz and 40-140Hz, and rainfall frequencies ranging from 80-480Hz, using a seismometer with a 500Hz sample rate.

2. Data and Methods

2.1 Data Collection

Hourly rainfall data has been acquired from SEPA through a written request for access[1] (SEPA, 2023). Seismic data acquired from BGS (British Geological Society) and Certimus seismometers has been provided by Amy Gilligan[2] (Gilligan, 2022). Scotland's network of 6TD seismometers failed to record the November rainfall event. The instrumentation batteries failed to charge due to their reliance on solar power, which was lacking during this period of rainfall. The large batteries that 6TD seismometer run on require a large power supply but are reliant on a single 30W solar panel to charge them, which is insufficient. Data recorded by the Certimus seismometer (G3GB) requires less power to operate and so was able to record the data. Data acquired from BGS seismometers (INVG, MCD, DRUM and PITL) have very large solar panels so were able to acquire enough power despite the lack of sun.

2.2 Data Analysis Methods

[1] Further information in appendices
[2] From the PICTS seismometer network, acquired remotely and from site visits

2.3 Spatial Analysis

In this investigation, seismometers are paired with their closest weather station (see Figure 3). This enables a relationship between seismic noise and rainfall to be investigated. Stations in close proximity will have experienced the same precipitation at the same time. The comparative arrival times of rainfall and seismic activity are investigated. The use of several seismometer and weather station pairings increases the reliability of findings due to an increase in repeatability. GIS[1] software is used to produce maps that illustrate local and regional locations of seismometers and SEPA weather stations. The local geography of the surroundings of seismometers and weather station locations is investigated. To evaluate the meteorological and anthropogenic influence on recordings, the coordinates of stations are input into Bing Maps, and satellite imagery is analysed. Site visits were also conducted.

2.4 Graphical Analysis

The recorded seismic signals are processed using Python. Python packages include NumPy, Pandas, and Matplotlib[2], and were used for data processing and producing graphical representation. Line graphs and seismograms are produced. The time series of SEPA data has been modified from a datetime.time object to a datetime.datetime object to allow for plotting in matplotlib. Time is consistently plotted with ticks at 12-hour intervals. Time is displayed in the format of "month-date hour: minute". The dates of interest are November 16th, 17^{th,} and 18th (11-16, 11-17, and 11-18)[3]. Rainfall is plotted hourly, cumulative precipitation is plotted every 5 minutes, and seismic noise is plotted every 15 minutes. Seismic signals and rainfall data are analysed for coherence and correlation over time to

[1] ArcMap Geographical Information System package utilised

[2] NumPy is utilized for the mathematical manipulation of the seismic data, Pandas for data structuring, and Matplotlib for graphical representations.

[3] Dates correspond with days 320,321,322 of seismometer data

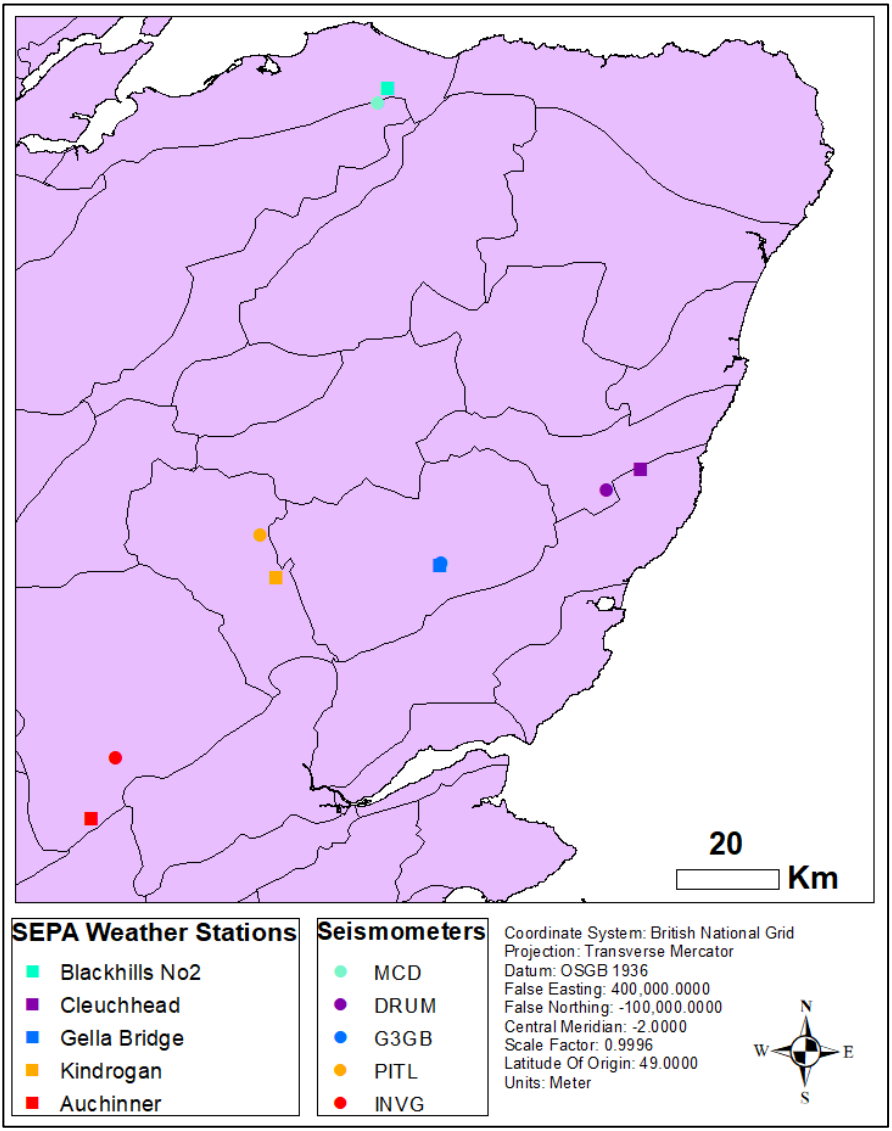
determine if a relationship exists between rainfall and seismic noise. This analysis is conducted for multiple pairs of seismometers across Scotland.

2.5 Power Spectral Density

The presented study investigates the vertical (Z) component due to the vertical direction of rainfall. In analysing the seismic signal, the Power Spectral Density (PSD) is computed by calculating the power of the signal in the chosen frequency range. The PSD is used to obtain the root-mean-square displacement value (RMSD) – calculated by obtaining the square root of the mean-square value (Vibration Research, 2018). PSD is a measure of the deviation of the position of the ground with respect to a reference position, over time.

Figure 3

Map of Northeast and Central Scotland with Locations of Seismometers and SEPA Weather stations.



Note. Seismometers that record displacement are represented by circles. SEPA Weather stations that record hourly rainfall data are represented by squares.

3. Results

3.1 Seismic Activity and Rainfall for Seismometer and SEPA Weather Station Pairings

Figures 4-8 (pages 96 – 100)

Graphical representation of seismic noise as a measure of displacement of the ground, and rainfall (mm) – with respect to time. Displacement and rainfall are recorded across a 72-hour period between the beginning of the 16th of November (11-16 00) and the end of 18th of November (11-19 00). Rainfall is plot hourly and displacement is plot every 15 minutes. Seismic noise is plot for frequencies of (A)1-10Hz, (B)11-20Hz, (C)21-30Hz, (D)31-40Hz and (E) 41-50Hz.

3.2 Seismic Activity and Rainfall for Seismometer and SEPA Weather Station Pairings in 31-40Hz Frequency Range.

Figure 9 (page 100)

placement and rainfall are plot for (A)G3GB & Gella Bridge, (B) INVG & Auchinner (C) DRUM & Cleuchhead (D) PITL & Kindrogan (E) MCD & Blackhills No2.

Figure 4

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time. INVG & Auchinner

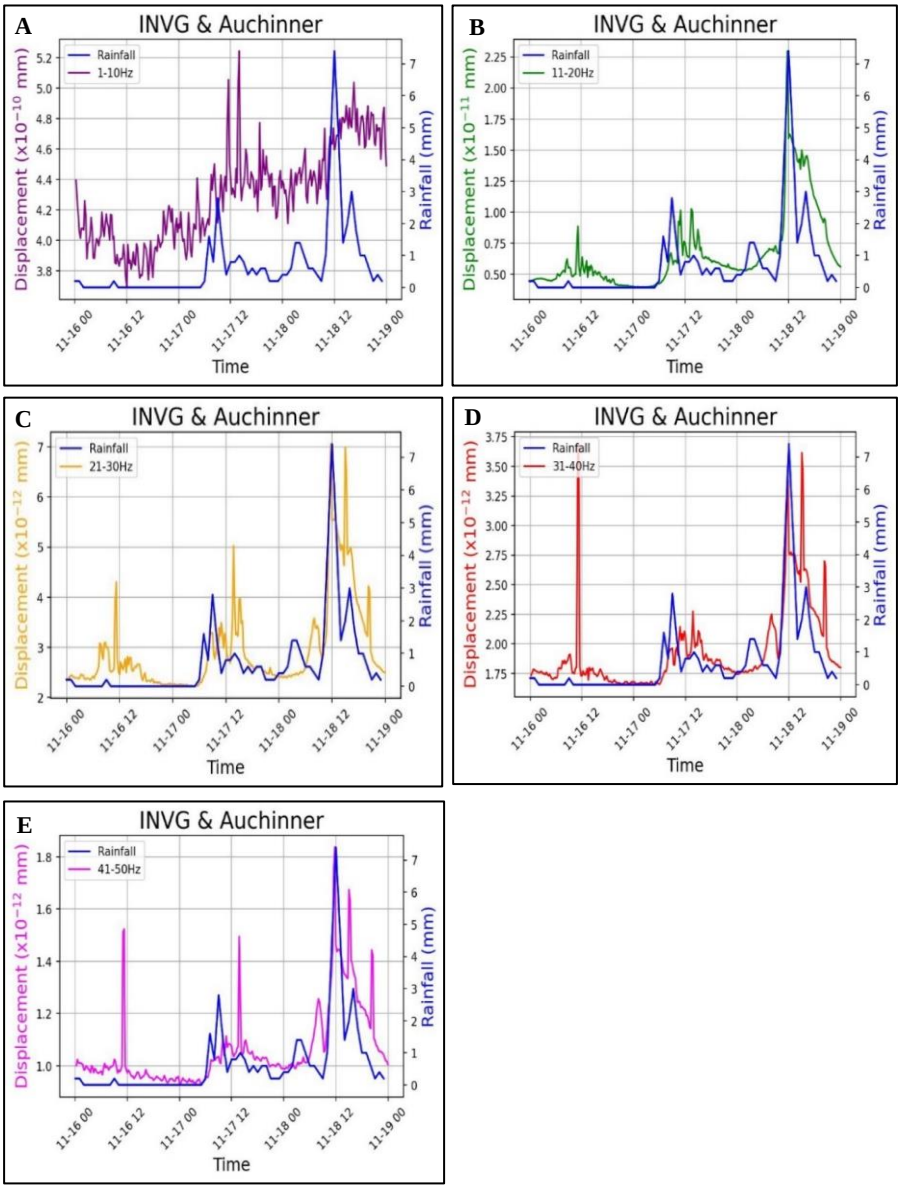


Figure 5

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time. DRUM & Cleuchhead

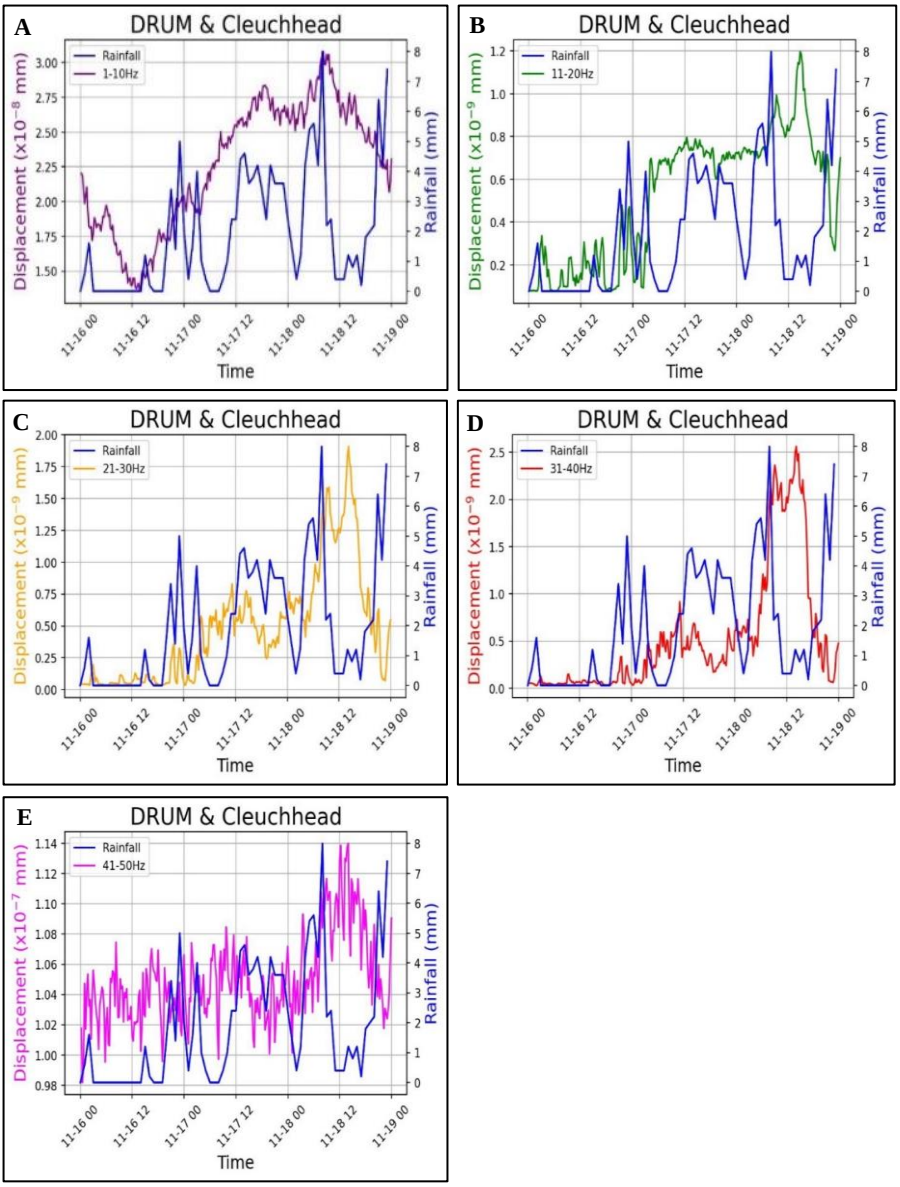


Figure 6

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time. PTL & Kindrogan

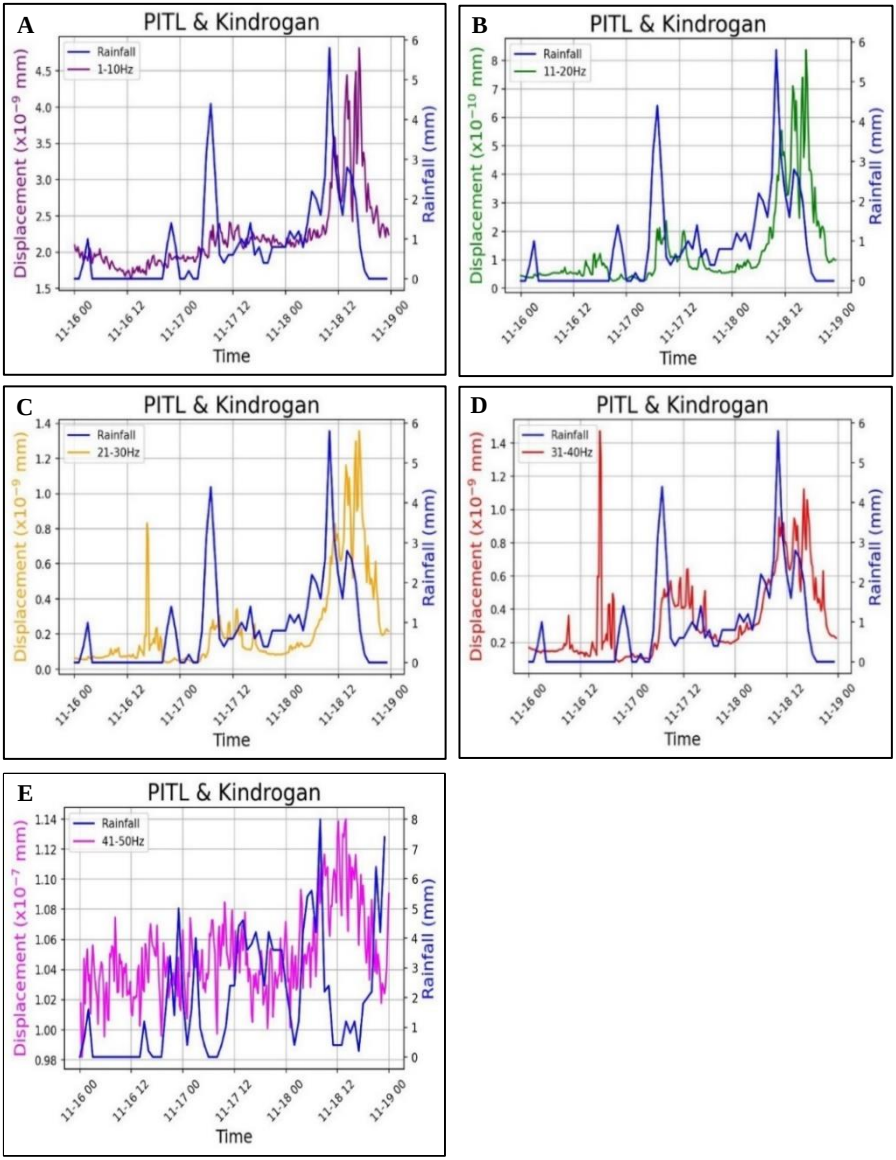


Figure 7

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time. G3GB & Gella Bridge

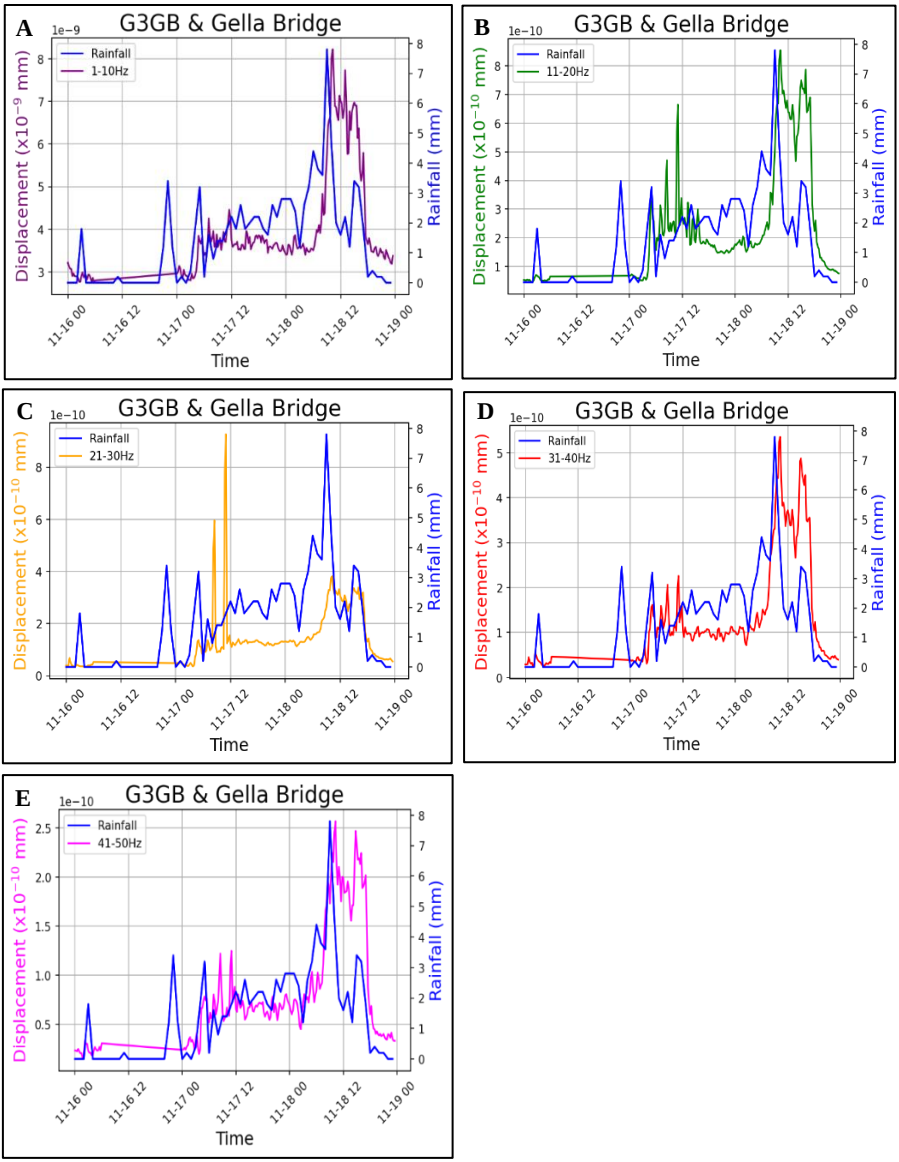


Figure 8

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time. MCD & Blackhills No2

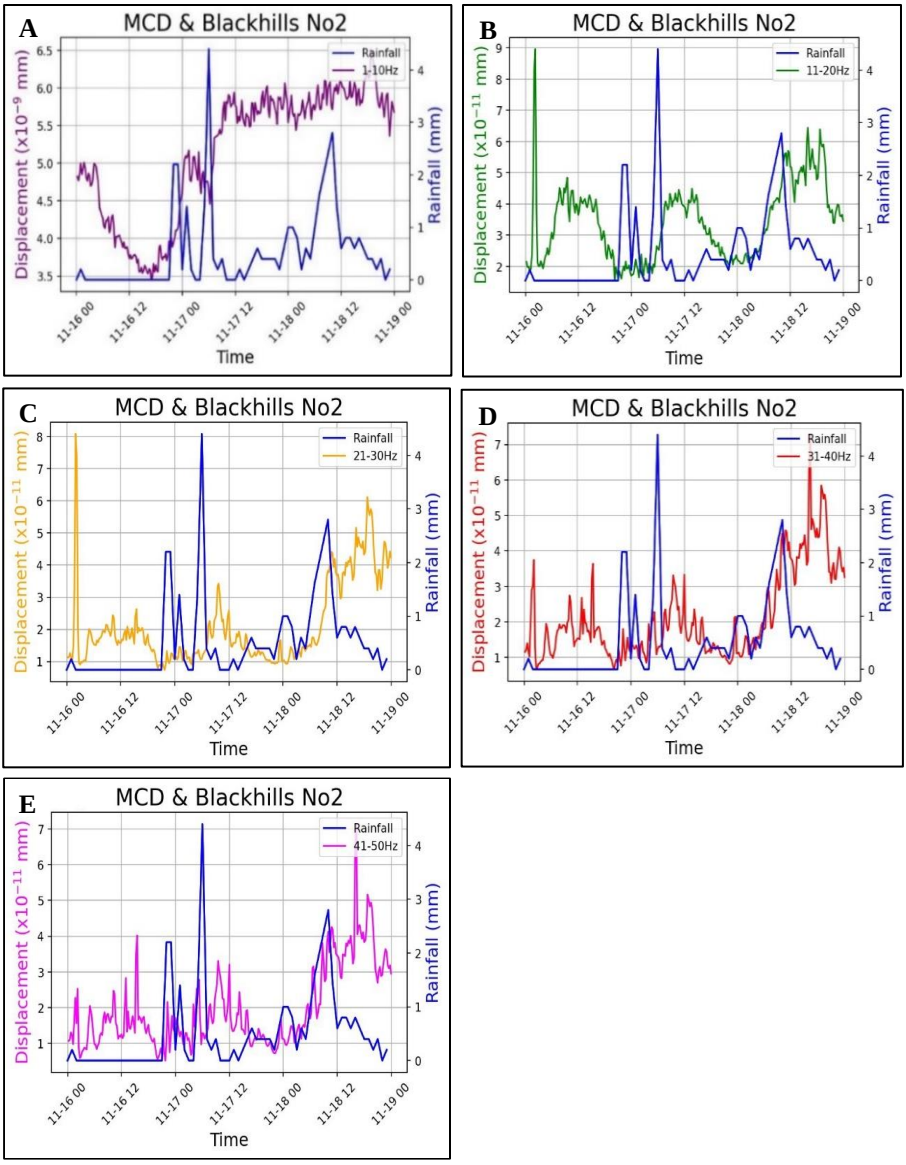
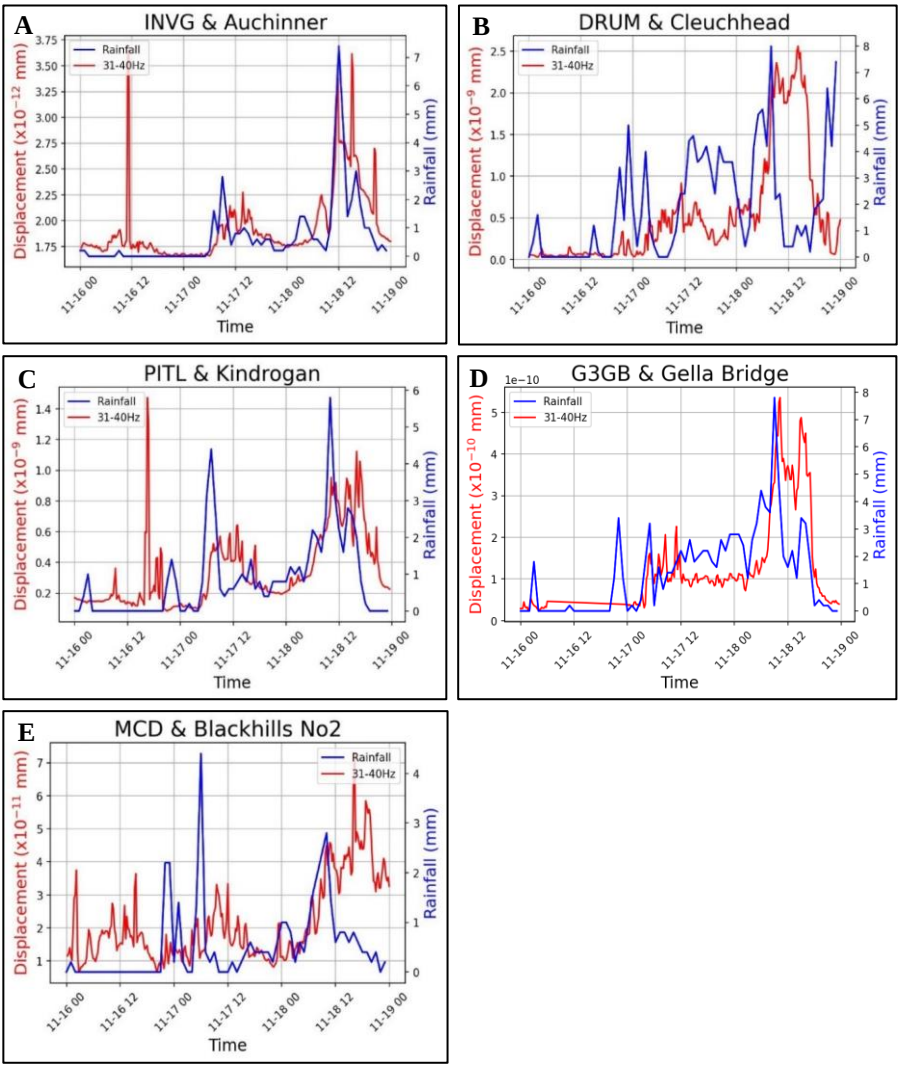


Figure 9

Rainfall and Displacement Over Time (comparison of locations)

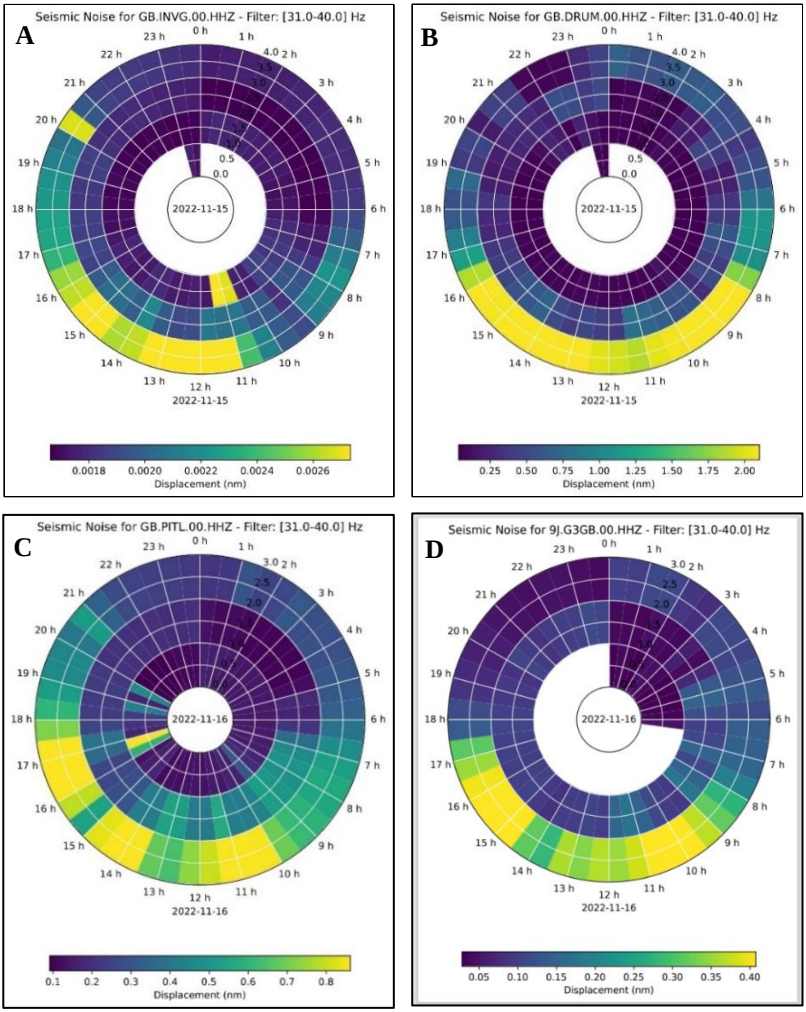


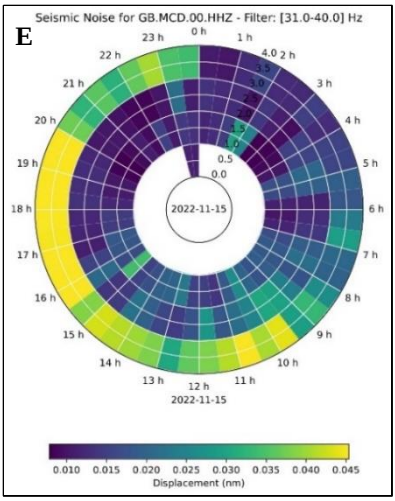
3.2.1 Seismograms

Variance in displacement with respect to time.

Figure 10.

Seismograms for INVG (A), DRUM (B), PITL (C), G3GB (D) and (E)MCD.





Note. (A), (B) & (E) includes the final 30mins of the 15th of November. (D) features a loss in seismic data between 11-16 06:30 and 11-17 00:00 due to a loss in power. One clockwise rotation of the circle illustrates one day. 3 days are illustrated.

3.3 Spatial Analysis and Local Geography

Table 1

Local Geography of Seismometers and SEPA Weather Stations

Local Geography of Stations						
	Proximal to					In Open Space
	River	Road	Trees	House/ Farm	Footpath	
Seismometer						
G3GB	N	N	N	Y (Farm, 100m)	N*	Y
INVG	N	N	Y - (In woodland)	Y (Farm 30m)	N	N
MCD	N	Y (1km)	N	N	N	Y
DRUM	N	N	Y - (In woodland)	Y (Immediate to a Farm)	N	N
PITL	Y (Allt Fearnach River 60m)	Y (Estate Track 5m)	N	N	N	Y
*In hilly region so may expect hillwalkers						
SEPA Weather Station						
Gella Bridge	Y		N			Y
Auchinner	Y		Y (Woodland)			N
Blackhills No2	Y (Stream / burn 200m)		Y (Edge of Woodland)			N
Cleuchhead	Y (Immedaite to Carron Water)		Y (5m away)			Y
Kindrogan	Y (Immediate to River Ardle)		Y			N

Note. Investigating the proximity of a seismometers to a river, road, trees, buildings, and footpaths and if it is located in open space. Also

investigating proximity of SEPA weather stations to a river, trees, and if it's located in open space.

Table 2

The Distance between Seismometers and Weather Station

Seismometer (A) & SEPA Weather Station (B)	G3GB & Gella Bridge	INVG & Auchinner	MCD & Blackhills No2	DRUM & Cleuchhead	PITL & Kindrogan
Distance from A to B	0.52km SW	12.9km S	3.42km NE	7.77km	8.71km SE

Note. The G3GB seismometer and the Gella Bridge SEPA weather station are the most closely located pairing, at 520m between stations. The farthest locations are INVG and Auchinner with 12.9km between the seismometer and the weather station (see Table 2).

3.3.1 Seismic Activity in Each Frequency Range

3.3.2 INVG and Auchinner

For Auchinner, two rainfall peaks are observed on November 17th at 07:00 and 09:00. Additionally, INVG exhibits two displacement peaks in the 1-10Hz frequency range and are detected on November 17th at 11:45 and 14:00 (see Figure 4A). The frequency bands 11-20Hz (see Figure 4B) and 21-30Hz (see Figure 4C) demonstrate simultaneous peaks in seismicity and rainfall on November 19th at 12:00. Notably, at the onset of the time series, a high-amplitude displacement recording coincides with a low-amplitude rainfall recording, particularly evident in the 31-40Hz range (see Figure 4D). Within this range, the largest displacement peak is recorded at 3.70x10-12mm on November 16th at 11:00, while the proximal rainfall peak measures 0.2mm on November 16th at 09:00. Moreover, simultaneous displacement and rainfall spikes on November 18th at 12:00 measure 3.35x10-12mm and 7.4mm, respectively (see Figure 4D).

3.3.3 DRUM and Cleuchhead

In the 1-10Hz range, Cleuchhead demonstrates a rainfall spike of 1.7mm on November 16th at 01:45 (see Figure 5A). Similarly, DRUM records a displacement peak of 1.98x10-8 on November 16th at 06:00. Moreover, simultaneous displacement and rainfall peaks are observed on

November 18th at 08:00. Apart from the mentioned spikes, displacement peaks coincide with rainfall troughs. Within the 11-20Hz range, two simultaneous displacement and rainfall peaks occur on November 16th at 21:00 and 23:40 (see Figure 5B). Similarly, in the 21-30Hz range, the final day of observation (November 18th) displays simultaneous rainfall and displacement peaks at 20:00 (see Figure 5C). The 31-40Hz range reveals a sequence of simultaneous peak-trough-peak events in rainfall and displacement on November 18th at 20:00, 22:00, and 23:45 (see Figure 5D). Lastly, the 41-50Hz range illustrates continuous erratic displacement peaks and troughs (see Figure 5E).

3.3.4 PITL and Kindrogan

In the 1-10Hz range (see Figure 6A), displacement peaks are indistinguishable until November 18th, where a peak-trough-peak sequence occurs at 08:00, 08:15, and 11:30. Similarly, a rainfall peak-trough-peak sequence is observed at 06:00, 08:00, and 10:00. These sequences are also discernible in the 11-20Hz range (see Figure 6B). However, the pattern is less prominent in the 21-30Hz range (see Figure 6C). It becomes more pronounced in the 31-40Hz range (see Figure 6D). Additionally, there is a notable rainfall spike on November 16th at 03:00, followed by a displacement peak at 10:00 on the same day. Moreover, simultaneous peaks are observed on November 18th at 00:30 and 03:00. Lastly, both displacement and rainfall exhibit a dip at the end of the dataset. The pattern in the 41-50Hz range is comparable to that observed in Figure 5E.

3.3.5 G3GB and Gella Bridge

In the 1-10Hz range, there is a notable displacement peak on November 18th at 11:15 (see Figure 7A). The middle portion of the time series for displacement shows numerous small peaks. Within the 11-20Hz and 21-30Hz ranges (see Figures 7B & 7C), displacement demonstrates less variability, maintaining a nearly constant displacement of approximately 1x10-10 mm. Moving to the 31-40Hz and 41-50Hz ranges, the middle of the time series displays displacement characterized by continual low-amplitude peaks and troughs (see Figures 7D & 7E). Notably, within the middle of the time series, there is a sequence of eight peaks and troughs in rainfall.

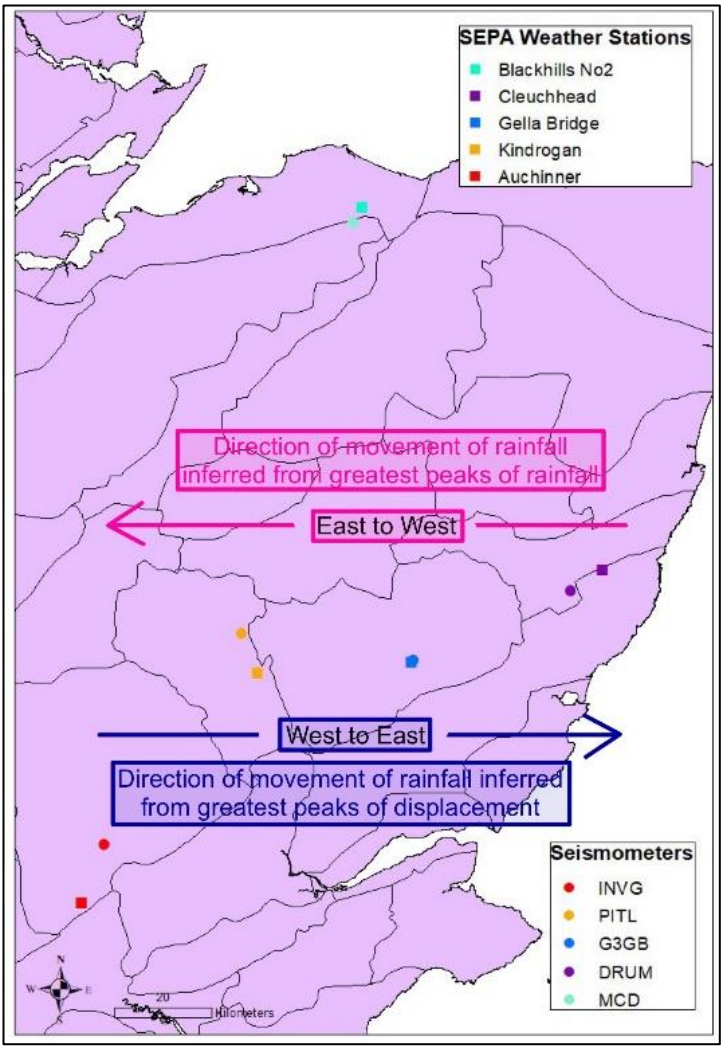
Additionally, simultaneous readings of rainfall and displacement peak-trough-peak occur at the end of the time series on November 18th at 12:00, 13:00, and 15:00. Calculating the correlation coefficient, R^2, between rainfall and displacement yields a value of 0.3. Statistically, a value of 0.3 indicates data sets with low correlation.

3.3.6 MCD and Blackhills No2

Rainfall demonstrates notable peaks on November 16th at 23:30, November 17th at 00:30 and 06:00, and on November 18th at 00:30 and 10:30. Notably, between 02:00 and 21:00 on November 16th, when there is a recorded spell of 0mm of rainfall, significant seismic activity is observed for MCD across all frequency ranges, with fluctuating patterns unique to each frequency range. Subsequently, within the 1-10Hz range (see Figure 9A), displacement drastically increases and maintains a peak range of 5.5-6.5x10^-9 mm. The displacement within the 11-20Hz range (see Figure 9B) peaks during periods of decreased rainfall. Within the 31-40Hz and 41-50Hz frequency ranges, numerous small peaks and troughs are observed in both displacement and rainfall on November 18th. While the amplitudes do not correlate, their periodicities exhibit synchronization. Seismograms (see Figure 10), illustrate the differing displacement values, and times of such, in an accessible format.

Figure 11

Map of Northeast and Central Scotland with Locations of Seismometers (circles) and SEPA Weather Stations (squares).



Note. Illustrated is the movement of rainfall with regard to rainfall and displacement findings. Items in legends appear in the order of the time of peaks, with the earliest peak appearing first.

Precipitation and seismic noise demonstrate their largest peaks at varying times across different locations. The sequence of stations exhibiting their greatest rainfall peaks is as follows: Blackhills No2, Cleuchhead, Gella

Bridge, Kindrogan, and Auchinner. Specifically, these peaks occurred on November 17th at 06:00, 09:00, 10:00, 11:00, and on November 18th at 12:00. It is noteworthy that Blackhills No2 experienced its second-largest spike on November 18th at 11:00. Similarly, the highest displacement peak at each location occurs at a distinct time. INVG registers its largest peaks initially on November 16th at 11:45, followed by PITL also on November 16th at 17:00, and subsequently by G3GB, DRUM, and MCD with peaks on November 18th at 11:15, 13:00, and 16:00, respectively.

Table 3

Time and Order of Highest Peak of Rainfall for SEPA Weather Station, and Highest Peak of Displacement for Seismometer.

		Peak Arrival Time			
SEPA Station	Seismometer	Rainfall	Arrival Number	Seismic Activity	Arrival Number
Blackhills No2	MCD	11-17 at 06:00	1	11-16 at 16:00	5
Cleuchhead	DRUM	11-17 at 09:00	2	11-16 at 13:00	4
Gella Bridge	G3GB	11-17 at 10:00	3	11-16 at 11:15	3
Kindrogan	PITL	11-17 at 11:00	4	11-16 at 17:00	2
Auchinner	INVG	11-18 at 12:00	5	11-16 at 11:45	1

4. Discussion

4.1 Correlating Rainfall and Displacement

The discussion of the observed relationships between rainfall and displacement data at various seismic stations facilities investigation of the dynamic interactions between these phenomena. Initially, analysing the two rainfall peaks from Auchinner on November 17th at 07:00 and 09:00, alongside the displacement peaks from INVG on the same day at 11:45 and 14:00 in the 1-10Hz range, suggests a potential relationship between rainfall and displacement with a discernible lag between the two. This observation is consistent with the assumption that seismic activity may follow rainfall with a certain delay. Subsequent examination of frequency bands 11-20Hz and 21-30Hz reveals simultaneous peaks for seismicity and rainfall on November 19th at 12:00, indicating an immediate correlation without apparent lag.

In the case of DRUM and Cleuchhead, the correlation between a rainfall spike on November 16th at 01:45 and a displacement peak on the

same day at 06:00 in the 1-10Hz range suggests a lag between rainfall and displacement. However, simultaneous displacement and rainfall peaks on November 12th at 08:00 show no lag, hinting at potential human activity influencing the observed noise, which aligns with findings from previous studies (Lecocq & al., 2020).

For PITL and Kindrogan, relationships in the 11-20Hz and 21-30Hz ranges are less definitive. However, the 31-40Hz range exhibits more convincing correlations, with nearly every peak and trough in rainfall corresponding to displacement events, albeit with a decreasing lag over time. Similar trends are observed in the 41-50Hz range.

The correlation between rainfall and displacement at G3GB and Gella Bridge is evident, particularly with a rainfall peak on November 18th at 09:00 correlating with displacement on the same day at 11:15 in the 1-10Hz range. Furthermore, consistent relationships between displacement and rainfall peaks and troughs are observed in the 31-40Hz and 41-50Hz ranges, indicating a significant connection between the datasets despite variations in amplitude and lag.

Lastly, at MCD and Blackhills No2, periods of zero rainfall coincide with prevalent seismic activity, particularly notable between November 16th at 02:00 and 21:00. While the 11-20Hz and 21-30Hz ranges display fluctuating correlations, the 31-40Hz range demonstrates consistent relationships between displacement and rainfall peaks, suggesting a consistent lag throughout the time series. Similar patterns are observed in the 41-50Hz range, further supporting the notion of a meaningful relationship between rainfall and displacement at these stations.

4.2 Determining Rainfall Frequency Range

In the 1-10Hz frequency range, the spectrum displays erratic behaviour characterized by consistent peaks and troughs. However, in the 11-20Hz, 21-30Hz, and 41-50Hz ranges, there is notable correspondence between rainfall and displacement, evidenced by matching peaks and troughs. Nonetheless, the presence of additional displacement peaks complicates the establishment of clearly defined relationships in these

frequency bands. Notably, the 31-40Hz range stands out for exhibiting the most compelling relationship between displacement and rainfall, as evidenced by the consistent matching of peaks and troughs. In this frequency range, there are fewer displacement peaks that do not align with corresponding rainfall peaks, which facilitates the definitive matching of peaks. The comparable patterns observed in precipitation and displacement allow for the deduction of a compelling relationship between rainfall and seismic noise in the 31-40Hz frequency range.

4.3 Investigating the Lag Between Rainfall and Seismicity

There is a prevalent relationship between the first arrival of rainfall and the second arrival of precipitation. The duration of lag between the two arrivals varies at different times in the series. Too, the lag is consistent at some stations and decreases at other stations. The lag between rainfall and displacement exhibited by DRUM, MCD, and PITL reduces with an increase in time. INVG and G3GB both exhibit a consistent periodicity of lag. Due to locational differences, rainfall may have fallen at the weather station location before it fell at the seismometer location. In 3 out of 5 instances, the weather station is located further East than the seismometer which complies with the direction of movement of rainfall from SEPA weather stations' first arrival of rainfall. The reduction in lag with an increase in time (exhibited by DRUM, MCD, and PITL) may be attributed to a reliance on the saturation of the ground before recording a signal. Potentially, the water table must reach a certain level before recording displacement. Definitively attributing a cause of lag is out with the scope of the current study.

4.4 Spatial Movement of Rainfall

Discounting MCD and Blackhills No2 which are located in northern Scotland - the central Scotland seismometers exhibit a movement of peak rainfall unanimously from West to East. In complete opposition, the SEPA weather stations show movement from East to West. Determining reasoning for opposing findings is outwith the scope of the current study (see Figure 11).

4.5 Distance between Seismometer and SEPA Weather Station

A relationship of the distance between the weather station and the seismometer can be discussed. G3GB and Gella Bridge are 12.4km closer to each other than INVG and Auchinner are to each other. Despite this, relationships are strong in both. Additionally, they are the only two to exhibit a consistent lag. Rainfall may have been widespread enough to result in the distance between the seismometer and the weather station as not an influential factor.

4.6 Local Geography

Proximity to a river can affect seismometer recordings, potentially capturing water flow rather than rainfall, leading to false readings. Additionally, trees can obstruct rainfall and introduce delays in precipitation arrival. Varying tree coverage contributes to consistent lag times. Tree movement in wind may also contribute to seismic activity. Despite the proximity to a farm, G3GB and Gella Bridge show strong correlation between seismicity and rainfall. This is likely due to the farm's inactivity and anthropogenic noise being outside relevant frequency ranges. INVG and Auchinner may be influenced by tree motion, possibly causing erratic 1-10Hz spectra, although nearby farms could also contribute. MCD, despite being isolated, experiences variable seismic activity - possibly linked to human activity during better weather. DRUM shows notable seismic activity in the 1-10Hz range, potentially due to a nearby farm. Seismic activity in the 41-50Hz range at DRUM and PITL may stem from nearby trees and river flow, respectively, with vehicle traffic also a possible factor.

4.7 Attributing Rainfall Characteristics to Seismicity

Although attributed to rainfall, the characteristic of rainfall that is causing the seismic noise can be investigated. Diaz, et al., (2023) attributed the seismic activity produced by the spatial movement of the Arhtal flood to the flow of surface load. They also discuss the relationship between raindrop size and seismic signal. Seismometers in this study are not located near anything that is susceptible to becoming surface load e.g. debris, disfavouring such as a seismic attribute. Conclusively attributing the rainfall characteristic producing seismic activity is beyond the scope of this current study.

5. Recommendations

In future investigations - to enhance monitoring capabilities, it is recommended to increase the size of solar panels for 6TD seismometers. This will expand the number of recording stations. Additionally, quantifying the lag between rainfall and displacement will allow for an increased understanding of the cause and characteristics of the lag. Lastly, conducting statistical analysis of the rainfall and displacement will increase the credibility of the relationship.

6. Conclusions

This study highlights the potential of using seismometers as a low-cost and effective tool for monitoring rainfall and quantifying flood parameters in Scotland. By analysing seismicity activity and meteorological data, demonstrated is significant correlation between seismic noise and incident rainfall, particularly in the frequency range of 31-40Hz. This approach offers a promising avenue for improving flood monitoring and mitigation strategies, ultimately reducing the impact of flooding events and associated costs in Scotland.

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Acknowledgments

With thanks to SEPA, Prof. Malcolm Hole, and Dr. Amy Gilligan.

Data Acquisition

Emailed: foi@epa.org.uk to obtain hourly rainfall data for the given stations for the 16th-18th of November 2022.

Jupyter notebooks for processing data sets are available upon request.

‘Modern’ Thought in the Crusades: Contextualising the 1229 Treaty of Jaffa and the Sixth Crusade

John Ferenczy[1]

In 1229, the Treaty of Jaffa concluded the Sixth Crusade without a single battle being fought and transferred portions of the former Kingdom of Jerusalem back into European Christian hands, including parts of Jerusalem itself. Since this reorganisation of power in the Holy Land lasted only ten years, the Sixth Crusade is often overlooked in popular histories of the crusades, but a deeper analysis makes it clear that the leaders on either side of the conflict held tolerant worldviews which dramatically influenced its conclusion. The Jaffa peace was achieved purely through diplomacy and negotiations between the leader of the crusade, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II and the Sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Kamil Muhammad. Through an analysis of contemporary accounts and modern scholarship, this paper establishes that these two monarchs held worldviews of tolerance and secularism and demonstrates how these perspectives enabled the 1229 Treaty of Jaffa and the peaceful resolution of the Sixth Crusade. This event demonstrates the open-minded worldviews shared by two individuals from vastly different parts of the medieval world.

[1] John is a PGT student at the University of Aberdeen studying mediaeval and early modern history. He is interested in late mediaeval English history and for his dissertation, he is researching the lives of the Lancastrian English kings and the connection between paternal relationships and governance in late mediaeval monarchy.

Introduction

The mediaeval period is often regarded as the primitive and barbaric precursor to the modern age of philosophical rationality and moral sophistication. The Reformation and Enlightenment are too often credited with the inception of contemporary morality and the tolerant worldviews that are now considered modern phenomena (e.g. Lecler, 1955; Schreiner, 1992). These presuppositions result in historical studies commonly using the sixteenth century as the starting point when discussing ideas of tolerance throughout history, ignoring relevant history in the Middle Ages (e.g. Peronnet, 1988; Gijswijt-Hofstra, 1989). This ignorance of mediaeval history and misrepresentation of its events lead to widespread misconceptions about the period and prevalent beliefs of the time.

The 1229 Treaty of Jaffa is a striking example of precisely why these presuppositions about the mediaeval period are overly simplistic and wrong. The treaty concluded the Sixth Crusade without any bloodshed; such an astonishing departure from the pattern of violent crusade raises questions about the circumstances of the Sixth Crusade and the parties engaged in the conflict. The Treaty of Jaffa was made possible by the personal philosophies of the two sovereigns negotiating it. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Hohenstaufen II and Sultan Malik al-Kamil Muhammad repeatedly displayed tolerant, rationalistic, and even secular approaches to settling what was typically an ideological conflict.

To appreciate the significance of the Treaty of Jaffa, it is necessary to understand the political circumstances of the principal negociants as well as pertinent crusade history. Frederick II and Sultan al-Kamil's activity in the Fifth and Sixth Crusades provides crucial insight for understanding how the Treaty of Jaffa came about and the meaning of its conclusions.

Historical Background

The crusades were a series of religious wars beginning in AD 1095 and lasting until the late fifteenth century. While the meaning of crusade changed over the centuries, its initial purpose was to defend the borders of Christendom and capture the Holy Land after the violent territorial expansion of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century. In 1095, the leader of the Byzantine Empire requested the military support of the Roman Catholic Church to defend against the Seljuk expansion. Pope Urban II responded by calling upon all Christians to defend the faith by taking up arms in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The First Crusade lasted until about 1099 and saw the capture of Jerusalem by crusader forces, as well as the establishment of four crusader kingdoms in the Holy Land. The following hundred years saw two more crusades and Jerusalem returned to Islamic control. In 1204, the Fourth Crusade failed to even reach the Holy Land and instead culminated in the sack of several Christian cities. The Fifth Crusade was launched in 1217, but stagnated after initial victories. The crusader forces were eventually defeated by Malik al-Kamil in 1221 (Riley-Smith, 2002).

In 1215, at his coronation in Aachen, Frederick II vowed to lead a crusade to reclaim the Holy Land. Not only did Frederick repeatedly delay this crusade, but he even failed to participate in the Fifth Crusade in 1217. Frederick's delays and broken promises of crusade strained his relationship with the papacy. Eventually, he vowed to begin his crusade in 1227, on threat of excommunication if he should fail to do so. In 1227 Frederick did set sail for the Holy Land, twelve years after his initial vow. Unluckily for Frederick, disease broke out amongst the gathering crusader forces in Apulia before his departure. The emperor himself fell ill and was forced to land almost immediately after leaving port. Upon learning that the emperor had broken his vow yet again and was still on the Italian Peninsula, Pope Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick (Abulafia, 1988).

Meanwhile in the Ayyubid Empire, Sultan al-Kamil struggled to temper the unrest following the Fifth Crusade (Abulafia, 1988). Al-Kamil had offered large swaths of the old Kingdom of Jerusalem to the belligerents of the Fifth Crusade to end their invasion of Egypt. When the crusaders

refused those terms, al-Kamil ordered the walls of Jerusalem and several fortresses west of the Jordan River to be demolished, presumably in preparation for a hostile crusader occupation. Despite defeating the crusaders in 1221, the sultan's policies were not unanimously popular amongst the Ayyubids and led to a period of civil strife that would last until the Sixth Crusade. In 1225, the internal conflict reached its boiling point when al-Kamil's brother and chief rival, al-Mu'azzam Isa, allied himself with the invading Turkic Khwarizmians. Al-Mu'azzam's efforts to accumulate power had brought tremendous turmoil to the Ayyubid Empire, but his alliance with an outsider led al-Kamil to open communications with the soon-to-be-crusader, Emperor Frederick II (Humphreys, 1977).

In June of 1228, Frederick set sail for Syria, this time in defiance of the pope and his excommunication, landing at Acre on September 7th. In 1229, he marched to Jaffa where he quietly negotiated with Sultan al-Kamil (Wasil, 1260). On February 18th, Frederick and al-Kamil signed the Treaty of Jaffa to establish a ten-year truce in which the Ayyubids retained control of the Temple of Solomon and the Mosque of Omar while the crusaders gained the rest of the holy city (including the Holy Sepulcher) as well as many territories in the old crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (Venning, 2015). Jews and Muslims were expelled from the Christian portions of the city, but provisions were made for both Muslims and Christians to visit their holy sites throughout Jerusalem (Hohenstaufen, 1229). While the Treaty of Jaffa achieved a peaceful resolution to a potentially violent conflict, the tolerant perspectives held by Hohenstaufen and al-Kamil clashed with prevailing ideologies from the Islamic and Christian worlds.

Tolerance

Frederick's respect toward Muslims throughout the crusade demonstrates a tolerance of Islam uncommon during the High Middle Ages. Hohenstaufen's tolerant attitude can be traced to his youth in Sicily and seen throughout his reign as Holy Roman Emperor. Sicily had a large Arab population during the 12th and early 13th centuries; Frederick's own tutor

was an Arabian Muslim (Abulafia, 1988). Even after the rebellions of Sicilian Muslims and their relocation to Lucera on the Italian mainland, Frederick went so far as to ban Christians from attempting to convert Italian Muslims in 1224, despite objections from the Church (Venning, 2015). Provided the Muslims in Italy paid a religious tax, the emperor was content to leave them to their own devices. Unlike other Christian rulers of the time, Frederick allowed Muslims to display their faith and culture, even at court (Abulafia, 1988). His infamous tolerance earned him the moniker "Sultan of Lucera," a jab at his amenable disposition toward Italian Muslims (Weltecke, 2011). His defence of Muslims and the practice of Islam continued into his time in Jerusalem. In the *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, Muslim chronicler Ibn Wasil gives an account of Frederick driving a priest away from the Aqsa Mosque and forbidding the clergy from entering the mosques of Jerusalem (Wasil, 1260). By agreeing to the cohabitation of Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem, Frederick acknowledged Islam's right to exist and diverged from the traditional crusader ambition of total conquest of the Holy Land and expulsion of indigenous Muslims. Furthermore, Frederick showed a reverence for Islamic holy places and religious practices by allowing Muslims to access their holy sites and maintain their mosques in the Christian portions of Jerusalem (Hohenstaufen, 1229). Frederick's documented tolerance and respect for Islam are corroborated by both Christian and Muslim sources.

Much like the Holy Roman Emperor, al-Kamil's tolerance of Christianity predated the Treaty of Jaffa. The most famous example of al-Kamil's tolerance of Christianity occurred during the Fifth Crusade, a religious war *against* al-Kamil and the Ayyubid Empire. In 1219, Francis of Assisi reached the war-torn city of Damietta on his travels preaching the Gospel. In *The Life of Saint Francis of Assisi*, Saint Bonaventure describes a meeting between al-Kamil and Francis in which the sultan encouraged the saint to speak about his faith and demonstrated a total lack of prejudice or bias against him or his religion at large. Francis approached the sultan with the goal of either converting him or being martyred in the attempt. Al-Kamil did not convert and instead gave Francis permission to travel to Jerusalem

and preach there (Bonaventure, 1263). The conclusion of the Fifth Crusade allowed the sultan another opportunity to demonstrate his magnanimity by providing food to the starving crusader army as they departed for Christendom in 1221 (Weeramantry, 1997). Even after the bloody four-year struggle of the Fifth Crusade, al-Kamil resisted what would have been an understandable acrimony for the crusaders. In 1227, the death of the sultan's greatest rival, al-Mu'azzam, afforded al-Kamil the chance to renege on his offer of Jerusalem to Frederick (Abu-Munshar, 2013). Despite this opportunity and his diminished desperation, he still chose to cede Jerusalem to the crusaders. These repeated expressions of clemency and fairness indicate a clear tolerance and open-mindedness within the sultan.

Rationalism and Pragmatism

The tolerance exhibited by these two sovereigns clearly affected their diplomatic and political careers, which were marked by realpolitik, rationalism, and the pragmatic execution of their political ambitions. The sultan and the emperor maintained a diplomatic relationship even before the Sixth Crusade, beginning a correspondence in 1226. Al-Kamil was desperate to withstand the threat of his brother al-Mu'azzam and saw the imminent crusading armies not purely as a foreign menace but as a potential ally against rival Ayyubids (D'Angelo, 2016). Indeed, al-Kamil repeatedly displayed his willingness to lose the kingdom of Jerusalem to the crusaders to protect Egypt and ensure the stability of the Ayyubid Empire. His increasingly generous terms offered to the leaders of the Fifth Crusade showcased his clear appraisal of the Holy City and understanding of the far superior value of Egypt (Humphreys, 1977). Islamic historian Dr. Maher Abu-Munshar argues in *The Submission of Jerusalem* that al-Kamil's willingness to cede Jerusalem to the crusaders was motivated by a desire to protect it, rather than a lack of appreciation for it (2013). Abu-Munshar's claims, however, are unsubstantiated by the evidence of al-Kamil's actions and contemporary accounts of his policies. Indeed, on the brink of the Seventh Crusade, al-Kamil commanded his son to sacrifice Palestine and Bait al-Maqdis "without delay" if Egypt were ever at risk of being lost (Little,

1990). These actions portray a man unswayed by public opinion and able to evaluate situations and political entities purely on their strategic merit, unaffected by dogmatic devotions to tradition or religion.

Frederick II understood his crusade pragmatically; he perceived the war in terms of his own imperial interests, not according to the traditional notion of holy war and crusade. Frederick began his crusade by declaring his disinterest in Jerusalem to al-Kamil; he openly regarded Palestine as "a goal [not] worth struggling for" (Wasil, 1260). In an earlier letter, he persuaded al-Kamil to uphold his offer of Jerusalem despite the death of the sultan's chief rival in 1227 (Little, 1979). He appealed to the sultan's experience as a sovereign and awareness of Jerusalem's lack of strategic and economic value:

> [T]he Pope and the other kings of the West are acquainted with my zeal and my goals. But Jerusalem is the root of their belief and the goal of their pilgrimage. The Muslims have destroyed it; therefore, for them it has no economic significance. If the sultan, may God strengthen him, could decide to confer on me the capital of the land with the right to visit the other Holy places. This would show his wisdom and I would raise my head among other kings. (Little, 1979, p. 183)

The emperor's appeals were ultimately successful, but his transparent interest in a peaceful resolution to the crusade betrayed his overwhelming concern for issues faced by the Holy Roman Empire instead of regard for the Holy Land. Frederick's fulfilment of the crusade was out of obligation and what he saw as a necessary means to undo his excommunication (Abulafia, 1988). Despite his success, he endured much resistance from both the clergy and crusading military orders (Lausanne, 1229). Frederick's efficient negotiations with the Ayyubids and his conflict with overzealous allies display an unrelenting determination to achieve his goals, unaffected by the absolutes of a crusading society and unmoved by irrational reasoning.

Open Mindedness and Secularism

Throughout the Sixth Crusade, Frederick II exhibited a balanced view of the world, unobscured by dogmatic principles. Frederick composed himself such that his tactical and political goals were never outweighed by his devotion to Christianity. The holiness of Jerusalem was clearly not enough to persuade him of its value, as Frederick himself stated in a letter to al-Kamil (Wasil, 1260). His choice to crown himself King of Jerusalem in the Holy Sepulcher further demonstrates his use of the crusade as a vehicle for his own Imperial ambitions (von Salza, 1229). Frederick's leadership of the Sixth Crusade itself was an act of defiance against the pope; rather than sapping his spirit, his excommunication strengthened his resolve (Abulafia, 1988). Frederick's commitment to a bloodless crusade was bemoaned by the patriarch of Jerusalem in a letter to the pope that complained of the emperor showing more hostility to the crusaders than the Ayyubids he came to defeat (Lausanne, 1229). When compared to the earlier years of his career, Frederick's tense relationship with the papacy during the Sixth Crusade is an anomaly (Abulafia, 1988). The pendulum swing between cooperation and pitched conflict with the Church plainly indicates a political relationship, not a spiritual one. Frederick's domestic policies sought to foster a culture of higher learning in Italy. He promoted science and philosophy at his court in Sicily and established the University of Naples in 1224 to create an institution of learning outside of the Church's sphere of influence (Haskins, 1922). According to Ibn Wasil, Frederick openly appreciated Islamic art and culture while he was in Jerusalem, treating it as worthy of respect and preservation (Wasil, 1260). In his personal life, Frederick directly rejected Christian sexual ethics by adopting the Islamic custom of keeping a harem (Cavendish, 2000). His political relationship with the Church, his lack of bias in art and culture, and his scholarly interests all point to a profoundly secular worldview within the emperor.

Al-Kamil's reign as Sultan of Egypt was marked by a lack of religiosity in his foreign and domestic policies. The Ayyubid empire itself was one of religious diversity; medieval Muslims were generally happy to leave "people of the book" (Jews and Christians) alone if they paid a

religious tax known as the *jizya* (Seed, 1995). Al-Kamil repeatedly treated the religious significance of Jerusalem as secondary to its political utility; his offer of the holy city to the crusaders of the Fifth Crusade showed this transparently. With the help of his brother al-Mu'azzam, al-Kamil oversaw the destruction of Jerusalem's defences in response to the threat of crusader occupation in 1219 (Humphreys, 1977). The terms of the Treaty of Jaffa allowed al-Kamil to demonstrate again how seriously he saw Jerusalem as a political tool rather than an invaluable religious site (Hohenstaufen, 1229). This ability to effectively negotiate with crusaders without a meaningful bias and prioritise his political goals over religious principles demonstrates an unmistakably secular predilection in Sultan al-Kamil.

Counter Arguments

While Frederick and al-Kamil clearly had open-minded tendencies, complete contemporary moral attitudes were lacking within their worldviews. The two tolerated *each other's* religions throughout the treaty of Jaffa, but the treaty made no provisions for the indigenous Jews of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Jews were expelled along with the Muslim inhabitants, however only the Muslims were permitted to return to visit their holy sites (Boas, 2001). Despite this exclusion of Jews from the tolerant policies of the Treaty of Jaffa, Hohenstaufen went on to grant Jews in the Holy Roman Empire legal protections in 1236 (Rubin, 2008). Both rulers engaged with contemporary sexual ethics in their keeping of harems. Harems typically included sex slaves, and while the emperor's participation in this practice may be seen as openness to Islamic culture, it exemplifies a lack of belief in universal human equality (Schrader, 2023). These examples of contemporary moral perspectives in Frederick and al-Kamil, while necessary to point out, do not invalidate the repeated proofs of open-minded sensibilities in the two monarchs.

Conclusion

Worldviews of tolerance, rationalism, and secularism were clearly present during the Middle Ages. Frederick and al-Kamil's contemporary moral attitudes do not diminish their engagement with realpolitik and other 'modern' practices. Each hailed from religiously diverse cultures and lacked the fanaticism embraced by some of their contemporaries; these traits made Hohenstaufen and al-Kamil uniquely able to compromise and negotiate. The principles embodied by al-Kamil and Frederick II indicate wider perspectives of mediaeval people at large. If two men from vastly different corners of the mediaeval world arrived at similar conclusions of secularism and tolerance, it begs the question of where else these perspectives appeared across Christendom and throughout the Middle Ages. The actions of Frederick II and Malik al-Kamil therefore challenge our understanding of mediaeval worldviews and our perception of the mediaeval mind.

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The Jeremiad as a Tool of Prophetic Black Voices in America Through the Centuries

Kimberley Kolb [1]

Prophetic voices, often defined as written or oral expressions of independent future events or focusing on the future consequences of current actions, have been present throughout human history. Within the realm of theology, multiple such examples are documented in the Jewish and Christian religious writings of the Old and New Testament, respectively. In this paper I show how one literary structure underlying such prophetic voices, the so-called jeremiad (as originally found in the book of Jeremiah), has endured through the ages as a vehicle of human expression under vastly varying conditions. The jeremiad typically consists of three parts: the promise or description of a longed-for ideal, the declension or admonishment of current misdeeds, and finally, the unshakable hope for the fulfilment of the promise or prophecy. Use of the jeremiad structure has already been analysed elsewhere with regards to early and contemporary African American civil rights leaders such as Frederick Douglas and Martin Luther King Jr. Yet, despite its powerful application at the hands of famous African American orators and social justice advocates, limited research has been conducted as to its use in music. I therefore utilise the jeremiad structure as an analytical lens to show how it has continued its influence into the present, particularly in the music genre of rap and its critical engagement with a wide range of social injustice issues in America. However, I feel this is an untouched area

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of research that could lead to a deeper understanding of the prophetic voice in the artistic expressions of Black Americans.

Introduction

From the Civil War to the Civil Rights movement, venerated Black American orators have turned to voices of the biblical prophets to craft their speeches and writings. It is not surprising that a people as oppressed as blacks in America would find congruency with the Israelite narrative (Stratman, 1993, p.379-400). Hinted at in the slave spirituals uttered across fields, perfectly formulated in the famous speeches of escaped slaves such as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, reflected in Ida B. Wells' fierce pamphlets on lynching and the poetry of W.E.B. Du Bois, and finally preached by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcom X, a specific rhetoric formula can be unearthed – that of the jeremiad. In this paper I argue that the same rhetoric device can be found today in the genre of rap music, specifically in selected songs of the rapper Common.

Based on the writings of Jeremiah in the Hebrew Bible (Howard-Pitney, 2005, p.5), this formula has three distinct elements: "affirmation of society's promise, criticism of declension, or current retrogression from the promise, and a closing prophecy that society will shortly complete its mission and redeem the promise" (Howard-Pitney, 1986, p.49). Selected lyrics of the rapper Common (formerly known as Common Sense) will demonstrate the formula of the jeremiad and its continued use in Black voices in America. Known as a "truth teller" (Ketchum, 2021) and writer of "conscious rap" (Adesioye, 2019), Common reveals his prophetic voice by reflecting the power and eloquence of the human rights giants that came before him. The following sections utilize the three key elements of the jeremiad and analyse their deployment in the lyrics of three of Common's songs.

THE PROMISE:

"…liberty and justice for all." [1]

Stratman (1993, p.380) outlines that "[t]he jeremiad is a type of literature that fuses religion with politics for a particular rhetorical purpose." Taken from the Pledge of Allegiance, the quote in the subtitle speaks to the meshing of religion and politics that is endemic to the American culture. The use of the American jeremiad formula was first developed by the Puritans for whom, after escaping the religious oppression of England, America became their 'Promised Land'. Finding commonality with the Puritan profession of a promised land of liberty and freedom, Frederick Douglass was one of the first to use this template to create the *Black jeremiad*. "Speaking as a jeremiah to whites, Douglass forthrightly condemned the practice of slavery as representing severe declension from the promise of a fully Christian democratic America." (Howard-Pitney, 2005, p.18)

Common speaks of this same ideal, and thus the first part of the jeremiad formula in his songs *Letter to the Free*, *Glory*, and *Black America Again:*

> The caged birds sings for freedom to bring
>
> Black bodies being lost in the American dream […]
>
> Sweet land of liberty, incarcerated country
> (Lynn, Glasper, Riggins, 2016)
>
> Glory is destined […]
>
> Freedom is like religion to us
>
> Justice is juxtapositionin' us
>
> Justice for all just ain't specific enough […]
>
> King pointed to the mountain top and we ran up […]

[1] Excerpt of the "The Pledge of Allegiance," https://www.ushistory.org/documents/pledge.htm.

Welcome to the story we call victory

The comin' of the Lord, my eyes have seen the glory
(Lynn, Smith, Stephens, 2023)

We hold these truths to be self-evident

All men and women are created equal

Including black Americans
(Lynn, Riggins, Wonder, 2016)

The themes of "freedom" and "liberty" take a central role; at the same time, the lyrics are interwoven with biblical imagery, such as the "mountain top" and seeing "the glory" or "coming" of the Lord. The promise of America living up to its potential as the land of the free is still surprisingly strong, considering the present state of Black oppression. Howard-Pitney (2005, p.71) asserts that "all forms of civil religion affirm America's millennial promise and destiny. Prophetic rhetoric, however, is further distinguished by its critical judgment of present society in light of this transcendent ideal". This judgment or condemnation is the second defining element of the Black jeremiad.

THE DECLENSION:

"America's moment to come to Jesus" (Lynn, Glasper, Riggins, 2016)

The central, and often longest, section of the jeremiad, for black and biblical Jeremiahs alike (Howard-Pitney, 1986, p.490), is the articulation and condemnation of present actions that are preventing the people from reaching their destiny. Most often expressed by the oppressed to the oppressor, this part of the formula encapsulates the idea of 'speaking truth to power' – a hallmark of prophets in the Hebrew Bible.

Common propels listeners into this analytical element, often starting his social criticism in his opening lines:

Southern leaves, southern trees we hung from

Barren souls, heroic songs unsung [...]

Since slave days separating, fathers from children

Institution ain't just a building

But a method, of having black and brown bodies fill them

We ain't seen as human beings with feelings

Will the U.S. ever be us? Lord willing!

For now we know, the new Jim Crow

They stop, search and arrest our souls

Police and policies patrol philosophies of control […]

Slavery's still alive, check amendment 13

Not whips and chains, all subliminal

Instead of 'nigga' they use the word 'criminal' […]

Prison is a business, America's the company

Investing in injustice, fear and long suffering

We staring in the face of hate again

The same hate they say will make America great again […] (Lynn, Glasper, Riggins, 2016)

As a denunciation against the prison system, *Letter to the Free* exposes the continued existence of slavery in the United States. This is a result of the wording in the 13th Amendment that allows it as a form of punishment.[1] Common intermingles imagery of slavery, lynchings, and Jim

[1] *"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject*

Crow with police brutality and the systematic imprisonment of black and brown bodies. Like divided families on the slave block, jailed black fathers are separated from their families, "criminal" has become coded language for black and brown men, and returning to when "American was great" means further oppression and suffering for Black Americans. Even the artist's use of drums and percussion echo the sounds of chain gangs with hammers and pickaxes. (Unknown author, n.d.)

In *Black America Again,* the brutal aspects of racism in the past are weaved together with recent shootings of unarmed black men:

> Trayvon'll never get to be an older man
>
> Black children, they childhood stole from them
>
> Robbed of our names and our language, stole again
>
> Who stole the soul from black folk? [...]
>
> And made the whip crackle on our back slow
>
> And made us go through the back door
>
> And raffle black bodies on the slave blocks […]
>
> The new plantation, mass incarceration
>
> Instead of educate, they'd rather convict the kids
>
> As dirty as the water in Flint, the system is
>
> (Lynn, Riggins, Wonder, 2016)

After describing three of the most abusive aspects of past racism (the *whip*, the *back door*, and the *slave block*), Common turns his critical artistic lens to degrading stereotypes and restrictions on Black life today:

> The roles of the help and the gangstas

---

to their jurisdiction." "13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Abolition of Slavery (1865)," https://www.archives.gov.

is really all they gave us

We need Avas, Ta-Nehisis, and Cory Bookers

The salt of the Earth to get us off of sugar

And greasy foods; I don't believe the news

Or radio, stereotypes we refuse

Brainwashed in the cycle to spin […]

The color of my skin, they comparing it to sin

The darker it gets, the less fairer it has been

The hate the hate made, I inherited from them

(Lynn, Riggins, Wonder, 2016)

For many poor blacks, the life of a "gangsta" seems like the only viable option for survival (Kubrin, 2005). As a native of Chicago's South Side, Common speaks to his lived experience growing up in a poor black community.[1] He further describes the cycle of black Americans believing the stereotypes and labels that are put on them by white society, often creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

This line from *Glory* succinctly emphasises the role of music in Black protest: "We sing, our music is the cuts that we bleed through." (Lynn, Smith, Stephens, 2023) In a society that continually strives to silence people of colour, music becomes one of the few available sources of expression, power, and criticism.

Yet, in accordance with the jeremiadic formula, Common does not stop at rendering visible the declension of American society from its hallowed and explicitly stated promise of liberty and justice. Instead, he turns

[1] *"[By 1979] hip-hop had already become an entrenched underground form: it was a black person's street music, derived from the social realities of inner city ghettos, created by people who intimately knew of those realities, and listened to by those who lived them." (Quinn, 1996).*

his lyrical gaze to a vision of the future when the original promise will be realised.

THE PROPHECY:

> *"One day when the glory comes, it will be ours." (Lynn, Smith Stephens, 2023)*

A defining characteristic of each of the storytellers mentioned in the introduction was that every one of them "had to confront the conflict between American's democratic promise and white American's undeniable racism and be able to prophesy confidently that the promise would triumph" (Howard-Pitney, 2005). As the final element in a jeremiad, this enduring confidence is necessary for the rhetoric formula to come full circle.

In *Letter to the Free,* the chorus hauntingly repeats the longed-for promise that began the jeremiad:

> Freedom (freedom)
>
> Freedom come (freedom come)
>
> Hold on (hold on)
>
> Won't be long (won't be long) (Lynn, Glasper, Riggins, 2016)

Another aspect of this closing element is the call for repentance and reform that will lead to the ideal becoming reality. In an interview on *Black America Again,* Common viewed the album as a "rewriting of the black American story… expressing who we are as human beings" (Lartey, 2016) which is echoed by Stevie Wonder's voice in the background of the song.

Unlike *Letter to the Free* and *Black America Again,* with only limited references to the future as they are speaking predominantly to the oppressors, *Glory* – a visionary anthem of endurance and empowerment – stands apart in that it is directed at black Americans, pointing them to their coming freedom. This ode to the Civil Rights era finds inspiration in

America's past achievements, which gives the hearer hope for the future (Howard-Pitney, 2005):

One day when the glory comes

It will be ours, it will be ours

Oh one day when the war is won

We will be sure, we will be sure

Oh glory (Glory, glory)

Oh (Glory, glory)

Now the war is not over, victory isn't won

And we'll fight on to the finish, then when it's all done

We'll cry glory, oh glory (Glory, glory)

Oh (Glory, glory)

We'll cry glory, oh glory (Glory, glory)

Oh (Glory, glory) (Lynn, Smith, Stephens, 2023)

Lyrics in the verses idolize Civil Rights figures, specifically Martin Luther King, Jr., deriving strength and courage from the battles that have already been won; this is then followed in the last few lines by an encouragement to join the movement:

Every day women and men become legends

Sins that go against our skin become blessings

The movement is a rhythm to us […]

One son died, his spirit is revisitin' us

Truant livin' livin' in us, resistance is us

That's why Rosa sat on the bus

That's why we walk through Ferguson with our hands up

When it go down we woman and man up

They say, "Stay down", and we stand up […]

They marched with the torch, we gon' run with it now

Never look back, we done gone hundreds of miles

From dark roads he rose, to become a hero

Facin' the league of justice, his power was the people […]

Somewhere in the dream we had an epiphany

Now we right the wrongs in history

No one can win the war individually

It takes the wisdom of the elders and young people's

Energy (Lynn, Smith, Stephens, 2023)

CONCLUSION

At any time in the short history of the modern United States, prophetic black voices have reflected the complexity of the society in which they existed. In this paper I have shown how the rapper, Common represents such a contemporary prophetic voice, thus continuing a long and rich tradition. Using the narrative device of the jeremiad, I analysed a selection of his songs to show how he speaks from within the oppressed community to the oppressors and oppressed alike, albeit with different messages. As is common with the black jeremiads of the past, as society changes and reforms, the vision of the future fulfilment of the promise pushes the line even further, “prodding it toward evermore thorough and inclusive social change” (Howard-Pitney, 1986). Yet, as of today, this remains a prophetic

ideal, because as John Legend sings in *Glory*, "the war is not over, victory isn't won."

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Appendix (full lyrics)

Letter to the free (Lynn, Glasper, Riggins, 2016)
Southern leaves, southern trees we hung from
Barren souls, heroic songs unsung
Forgive them father they know this knot is undone
Tied with the rope that my grandmother died
Pride of the pilgrims affect lives of millions
Since slave days separating, fathers from children
Institution ain't just a building
But a method, of having black and brown bodies fill them
We ain't seen as human beings with feelings
Will the U.S. Ever be us? Lord willing!
For now we know, the new Jim Crow

They stop, search and arrest our souls
Police and policies patrol philosophies of control
A cruel hand taking hold
We let go to free them so we can free us
America's moment to come to Jesus

Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)

The caged birds sings for freedom to bring
Black bodies being lost in the American dream
Blood of black being, a pastoral scene
Slavery's still alive, check amendment 13
Not whips and chains, all subliminal
Instead of 'nigga' they use the word 'criminal'
Sweet land of liberty, incarcerated country
Shot me with your ray-gun
And now you want to trump me
Prison is a business, America's the company
Investing in injustice, fear and long suffering
We staring in the face of hate again
The same hate they say will make america great again
No consolation prize for the dehumanized
For america to rise it's a matter of black lives
And we gonna free them, so we can free us
America's moment to come to Jesus

Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)

Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Freedom (freedom)
Freedom come (freedom come)
Hold on (hold on)
Won't be long (won't be long)
Oh, freedom, won't be long

Black America Again (Lynn, Riggins, Wonder, 2016)
Here we go, here, here we go again
Trayvon'll never get to be an older man
Black children, they childhood stole from them
Robbed of our names and our language, stole again
Who stole the soul from black folk?
Same man that stole the land from Chief Black Smoke
And made the whip crackle on our back slow
And made us go through the back door
And raffle black bodies on the slave blocks
Now we slave to the blocks, on 'em we spray shots
Leaving our own to lay in a box
Black mothers' stomachs stay in a knot
We kill each other, it's part of the plot
I wish the hating will stop (war!) and the battle with us
I know that Black Lives Matter, and they matter to us
These are the things we gotta discuss
The new plantation, mass incarceration
Instead of educate, they'd rather convict the kids
As dirty as the water in Flint, the system is
Is it a felony or a misdemeanor?
Maria Sharapova making more than Serena
It took Viola Davis to say this
The roles of the help and the gangstas is really all they gave us
We need Avas, Ta-Nehisis, and Cory Bookers
The salt of the Earth to get us off of sugar
And greasy foods; I don't believe the news
Or radio, stereotypes we refuse
Brainwashed in the cycle to spin
We write our own story, black America again

You know, one way of solving a lot of problems that we got is lettin' a person feel that they're important

And a man can't get himself together until
He knows who he is and be proud of what and who he is
And where he come from, and where he come from

Hot damn, black America again
Think of Sandra Bland as I'm staring in the wind
The color of my skin, they comparing it to sin
The darker it gets, the less fairer it has been
The hate the hate made, I inherited from them
But I ain't gon' point the finger
We got anointed singers, like Nina, Marvin, Billie, Stevie
Need to hear them songs sometimes to believe me
Who freed me: Lincoln or Cadillac?
Drinkin' or battle raps? Or is it Godspeed that we travel at?
Endangered in our own habitat
Them guns and dope, man, y'all can have it back
As a matter of fact, we them lab rats
You build the projects for, now you want your hood back
I guess if you could rap, you would express it too
That PTSD, we need professionals
You know what pressure do, it make the pipes bust
From schools to prison, y'all, they tryna pipe us
Tell your political parties invite us
Instead of making voting laws to spite us
You know, you know we from a family of fighters
Fought in your wars and our wars
You put a nigga in Star Wars, maybe you need two
And then, maybe then we'll believe you
See black people in the future
We wasn't shipped here to rob and shoot ya
We hold these truths to be self-evident

All men and women are created equal
Including black Americans

You know, you know, you know,
One way of solving a lot of problems that we've got is
Lettin' a person feel that they're somebody
And a man can't get himself together until he knows who he is,
And be proud of what and who he is and where he come from, and where he come from

We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story
We are rewriting the black American story

‘Baby, It’s Cold Outside’: The Cold War Context of the Civil Rights Movement

Anna Pizzuto-Pomaco[1]

Following the Second World War, the Civil Rights movement and the Cold War evolved quickly and simultaneously. Despite this overlapping development, both popular memory and historical analysis portray these periods as wholly separate. A deeper analysis, however, reveals that the Cold War produced a significant global context for the advancement and struggles of the Civil Rights movement. The post-war international reaction to American racism prompted the federal government to expedite civil rights legislation in order to preserve the country's image abroad. Domestically, anti-communist policy and fearmongering forced civil rights organisations to adapt their political involvement and allowed them to leverage cold war politics to favour civil rights aims. As many African countries quickly gained independence, poor foreign relations pushed the United States government to establish stronger civil rights protections at home. The combined force of these international and domestic factors propelled the United States' response to civil rights demands and ultimately changed the course of the Civil Rights movement.

A pivotal Supreme Court decision, the 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* ended legal segregation in American schools. At the

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same time, U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy waged war against perceived communists in public leadership (Dudziak, 2004). Over five years later in 1960, Black protesters staged the first of many lunch counter sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina. In that same year, seventeen African nations gained their independence in a wave of decolonisation now known as the Year of Africa (Dudziak, 2002; Noer, 2003). Despite these overlapping timelines, however, both historical analysis and public memory often recall the Civil Rights movement as wholly separate from Cold War influences. Drawing on extensive historiography, however, this essay will examine the successes and struggles of the classical Civil Rights movement in light of its global context with a particular focus on international reactions to the movement, domestic responses to Cold War politics, and the impact of post-war decolonisation.

Before exploring the implications of the Cold War context on the movement, this essay must first periodise the classical Civil Rights movement. Drawing from Hall's definition of the 'long civil rights movement', this essay will define the 'classical' phase of the Civil Rights movement as beginning immediately post-World War Two as Black veterans returned to the United States with renewed vigour to fight for full civil rights (Dowd Hall, 2005; Gaines, 2007). This essay will mark the end of the era, as Dudziak (2002) suggests, with the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. This definition extends beyond the narrower periodisation of the movement and allows for greater depth and nuance of the Civil Rights movement.

In order to address the full impact of this extended and global context, this essay must first acknowledge its historiography. In the years following the Cold War, scholars have worked to address the classical Civil Rights movement in its international context. Some, such as Plummer (1996) and Anderson (2003) have argued that the Cold War ultimately caused a delay in civil rights reform and resulted in a lack of full civil rights for Black Americans. Others, such as Horne (1996), have posited that the Cold War played a pivotal role in eroding the strongholds of Jim Crow segregation and in hastening decolonisation in Africa. Finally, some – including Von Eschen (1996), Borstelmann (2002), and Dudziak (2002) – have taken a more nuanced stance and argued that the Cold War forced the United States to

address domestic racism and discrimination in order to maintain its position as leader of the 'free world' and a promoter of democracy.

An Image Problem: The International Reaction

To begin, as the world began to grapple with the atrocities of the Second World War, international reactions to American racism and discrimination forced the United States to face its own hypocrisy. By the end of the war, most Americans believed that racism profoundly undermined American ideas of democracy (Dudziak, 1988). Likewise, the clear racial underpinnings of the Holocaust caused much of the world, including the United States, to decry every form of racism (Layton, 2000). Practically, however, the U.S. did not follow through as the government neglected civil rights and allowed blatant discrimination against its Black citizens. Upon their return, many Black veterans highlighted this discrimination, drawing international attention (Gaines, 2007). Foreign critics took notice and utilised this hypocrisy to discredit the U.S.'s hegemonic claims to leadership (Horne, 2003; Plummer, 2003). In response to this international criticism and to maintain the country's place as a global superpower, the Truman administration reluctantly moved to address the civil rights issues that plagued the nation.

Along with international criticism, the United States faced increased pressure to address racial discrimination with the establishment of the United Nations (UN) as a forum to protect human rights. Civil rights leaders seized the opportunity to utilise the UN to further expose the mistreatment of Black Americans to the international community (Dudziak, 1988). In 1946, 1947, and again in 1951, civil rights organisations petitioned the UN for protection from the United States government (Layton, 2000). As proclaimed to the world in the opening statement of *We Charge Genocide*, a 1951 petition to the UN, Black Americans 'suffer[ed] from genocide as a result of consistent, conscious, and unified [government] policies' (Civil Rights Congress, 1951). With the Holocaust fresh in the past, the international community took serious notice of these claims, forcing the United States to alleviate the intense oppression of the Jim Crow regime, if only to improve its image

abroad. As demonstrated by petitions such as *We Charge Genocide*, the United States would need to intensify its response to civil rights in order to maintain its position in the post-war order.

Coming at the height of this international criticism, the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling to desegregate schools significantly helped to mitigate the clamour from abroad. Desperate to improve the country's image, the Eisenhower administration took careful interest in the demands of civil rights leaders and hoped that the ruling would serve to distract from international criticism of the nation's fractured racial politics (Dudziak, 1988). The *Brown* ruling also contributed directly to Eisenhower's foreign policy as he sought to counter communist and Soviet influence abroad (Dudziak, 1988). Likewise, foreign policy desires significantly influenced federal support for *Brown*. An amicus brief, on behalf of the U.S. Department of Justice, argued that 'racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment… [in] its foreign relations; and it jeopardises our moral leadership' (United States Justice Department, 1954). Demonstrating the impact Cold War relations had on a pivotal civil rights decision, this brief revealed the motivations behind government support for desegregation.

Despite its mitigation of international criticism, the *Brown* ruling did not hold up domestically and ultimately resulted in the crisis at Little Rock, causing increased global disdain. As attempts to integrate the Little Rock high school in 1957 failed, the international community looked in at an increasingly polarised and violent situation. Motivated by the damage done to the American image abroad, Eisenhower reluctantly sent in the military to control protestors and allow for integration (Horne, 2003). The crisis in Little Rock demonstrates the pivotal role international attention played in key civil rights moments and highlights the progress of the movement despite federal motivations. As Dudziak (2002) points out, Little Rock pushed civil rights issues to the forefront as an international problem. With all eyes on the United States, the movement utilised this attention to intensify pressure on the federal government to enact meaningful reform.

Mobilised by the Little Rock crisis, violent images circulating from key civil rights moments – such as the Birmingham Children's Crusade in 1963, Freedom Summer in 1964, and Selma's so-called 'Bloody Sunday' in 1965 – further caught the attention of people and governments around the world, eventually leading to legislative reform. Horrified by images of Black child and teenage protesters brutalised by police dogs and fire hoses during protests in Birmingham, Alabama, onlookers around the world harshly criticised the Kennedy administration for its response. The following summer of 1964 once again brought international attention to the movement as the bombings of Freedom Riders prompted foreign backlash. In both situations, the intense criticism served to motivate Kennedy to intervene and ultimately led to the drafting of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Likewise, the blatant racial violence demonstrated by local authorities during peaceful protests in Selma, Alabama led to harsh criticism and culminated in the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (Dudziak, 2002). Motivated by concerns over its Cold War image and seeking to mitigate foreign criticism, the federal government enacted key legislation, resulting in crucial victories for the Civil Rights movement.

The Cold War at Home: Domestic Response to Cold War Politics

The post-war Red Scare and its subsequent hunt for perceived communists in public leadership often unfairly targeted civil rights leaders, affecting the movement's impact and ability to organise. While anti-communist arguments persisted on both sides, segregationists weaponised McCarthyism to target Black leaders, to argue that communism motivated desegregation efforts, and to gather support for their own agenda (Dudziak, 1988; Noer, 2003). Likewise, civil rights leaders also faced scrutiny from the federal government, especially as the Cold War intensified and accusations of communism accosted civil rights organisations and their leaders (Gaines, 2007). As such, the movement struggled to effectively engage popular support and federal reform. Even as international attention turned towards the United States, civil rights leaders struggled to utilise international pressure because of intensifying anti-communist suspicion from the federal

government (Dudziak, 2002). As the Cold War began, the civil rights movement faced increasing opposition to its politics, causing a notable delay in support and momentum for the movement.

Furthermore, while many Black organisations recused themselves from commenting on U.S. foreign policy, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) intentionally aligned themselves with anti-communist imperatives, thus angling themselves to further the cause of civil rights within the federal government. Seeking to avoid the communist label, many civil rights organisations fell silent by the mid-1950s. The NAACP, however, conformed to Cold War foreign policy and continued to speak on foreign policy issues (Plummer, 1996). This acceptance of Cold War doctrine marked a drastic shift for the NAACP, who reconsidered many of their more radical, World War Two positions (Horne, 1996). Departing from a more international, human rights platform, the NAACP branded itself as an "American organisation" and hoped to ignite more politically safe change within the legal system (Anderson, 2003). By drawing parallels to civil rights aims and Cold War imperatives, the NAACP built a foundation for key legal and judicial victories in the following years, thus paving the way for activists in the late 1950s and 60s to effectively engage popular support.

As the Cold War intensified, other civil rights leaders followed the NAACP's lead and utilised the federal government's preoccupation with Cold War policy to advance the aims of the Civil Rights movement. In the early years of the Cold War, many Black leaders recognised the benefit of foreign policies – such as the Marshall Plan – that allowed them to align civil rights motives with U.S. desires to advance anti-communism abroad (Von Eschen, 1996). Pressuring a government distracted with anti-communist measures, the movement made the most of international attention and pushed the federal government to act on civil rights reform. The culmination of these domestic and international pressures resulted in the passage of key civil rights legislation, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Layton, 2000). By leveraging the United States' Cold War concerns to force substantive action, civil rights leaders significantly

increased the speed of reform and highlighted the movement in both domestic and international arenas.

Despite this increasing pressure from Black leaders and the international community, Cold War proxy Wars in Korea and Vietnam shifted the federal government's attention from civil rights reform while anti-war protests simultaneously increased public approval for civil rights. Distracted by the war in Korea, the Truman administration neglected civil rights at home until it took notice of increasing Black protest as a potential threat to domestic security and acted to mitigate it (Von Eschen, 1996). Similarly, the Vietnam War swung Johnson's attention away from civil rights until anti-war criticism from leaders such as King forced him to address growing civil rights demands (Dudziak, 2002). Speaking at Riverside Church in April 1967, King explicitly criticised U.S. intervention in Vietnam and called for Americans to take 'the great initiative in this war…to stop it' (King, 1967). As he called for an end to the war, King critiqued U.S. foreign policy for neglecting issues of racial and economic justice at home – issues with clear global implications. As public disdain for both wars grew, civil rights leaders directed popular support and outrage towards the injustices highlighted by the Civil Rights movement, thus employing the global context to bolster the aims of the movement.

Finally, the executive leadership of both Kennedy and Johnson proved particularly important for this stage of the civil rights movement, especially as increasing civil rights demands coincided with Cold War crises. Violence against civil rights protesters marked the Kennedy years, and images of government-sanctioned brutality made their way across the world. Despite growing international calls for intervention, Kennedy resisted acting on civil rights reform until outcry over blocked integration at the University of Alabama forced an abrupt shift in Kennedy's civil rights policy (Dudziak, 2003). Likewise convinced by Black leaders that civil rights reform was imperative to his foreign policy aims, Kennedy addressed the nation in 1963 and wholly endorsed the aims of the Civil Rights movement, promising to 'preach freedom around the world…and here at home' (Dudziak, 2002; Kennedy, 1963). Kennedy's newfound civil rights agenda proved short lived, however, as his assassination threatened to derail the movement's progress.

With Kennedy's death, the global eye turned towards Lyndon Johnson, who motivated by Kennedy's attempts at reform, passed some of the most monumental legislation of the era. Responding to the upheaval and potential destabilisation caused by Kennedy's death on the United States' role as a global superpower, Johnson acted on civil rights reform to preserve stability and maintain the United States' grip on global hegemony (Dudziak, 2002). With the threat of communism underpinning both domestic and foreign policy, presidential administrations throughout the era realised the potential of civil rights reform to boost international confidence in the United States. In this way, foreign policy, and the desire to keep communism out of the home front motivated presidential action on civil rights.

Civil Rights Abroad: Decolonisation and Foreign Relations in Africa

With the end of the Second World War, the international world order shifted to a competition between two superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – and the U.S. sought to spread its brand of democracy to newly independent African states. In order to reign in a feared spread of communism, the United States crafted foreign policy that addressed these African states, despite the country's deeply rooted and flawed policies towards its Black citizens. International critics, however, took notice of civil rights criticisms and drew parallels between the totalitarian features of the Soviet Union and discrimination in the Jim Crow South (Borstelmann, 2002). As such, the United States struggled to establish positive foreign relations with African states as the hypocrisy of its stance on civil rights grew increasingly obvious. In order to improve such relations, civil rights imperatives informed the United States' African foreign policy and influenced diplomatic interaction.

As African states gained their independence, U.S. concerns also grew over Soviet endorsement of decolonisation, causing the United States to reconsider domestic policy in attempts to appeal to newly formed African governments. The Soviet Union weaponised racial equality and decolonisation to discredit the United States in the international community, forcing the federal government to intensify civil rights reform and justify its

actions towards Black Americans (Plummer, 1996). Furthermore, Soviet use of American racial discrimination in its anti-American propaganda pushed the United States to reconsider the effect its poor handling of the Jim Crow regime had on its international image (Dudziak, 1988). To combat Soviet influence, the United States acted on civil rights demands out of a desire to promote democracy and improve foreign relations, not necessarily based on moral obligation.

Fledgling relations with African states, however, quickly deteriorated as African diplomats faced the same discrimination and mistreatment as Black Americans when travelling in the United States. Diplomats faced segregation across the South, and many businesses refused to serve them, especially as they travelled along Route 40 towards embassies in Washington, D.C. (Dudziak, 2002). The situation escalated over time, eventually forcing Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, to throw 'its [the State Department] full weight behind the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965' in hope that foreign relations would improve (Rusk, 1990). Crucial to developing relationships with this new bloc of decolonised states, domestic civil rights reform played a pivotal role in dictating U.S. foreign policy. Likewise, the federal government's concern with prioritising foreign relations in Africa forced action on civil rights, particularly with regard to desegregation and public discrimination.

Deteriorating U.S. relations with Africa came to a head at the Conference of African Heads of State and Governments at Addis Ababa in 1963, and the threat of non-existent relations with African countries quickly forced the U.S. to intensify its commitment to civil rights reform and demonstrate tangible action. In the leadup to the conference, news coverage of violent mistreatment of child protestors in Birmingham garnered intense international criticism and significantly influenced the discussion of U.S. foreign relations at Addis Ababa (Dudziak, 2003). The Conference considered a break with the United States, an action that would devastate U.S. desires to maintain international influence and promote democracy. While the crisis was ultimately averted as African leaders forged new relationships with the United States, the high stakes at Addis Ababa

highlighted the importance of domestic civil rights reform in foreign policy (Dudziak, 2003).

Furthermore, the global context of the decolonisation movement had a direct impact on the Civil Rights movement in the United States. The Year of Africa coincided with a more pronounced phase of civil disobedience on the part of civil rights activists, thus highlighting the overlapping intersections of the Civil Rights movement and African relations. In 1960 – the Year of Africa – seventeen African nations gained their independence. At the same time, SNCC launched lunch counter sit-ins as part of an increasing move towards civil disobedience (Noer, 2003). As such, the newfound independence of African nations motivated civil rights activists to intensify their actions and rethink their means of protest to bring about substantive change.

In conclusion, the global context of the Cold War and decolonisation significantly influenced the success of the Civil Rights movement as international pressure, anti-communist imperatives, and U.S.-African relations motivated executive, legislative, and judicial action on civil rights reform. Concerned for the United States' image abroad, the federal government acquiesced to international criticism and enacted civil rights action in order to maintain the United States' role as leader of the 'free world'. Furthermore, with the government preoccupied with preventing the spread of communism at home and abroad, civil rights leaders leveraged foreign policy concerns to force civil rights reform. Likewise, with the rapid decolonisation of Africa at the forefront of U.S. foreign policy, foreign relations came to deeply influence domestic civil rights decisions. Ultimately, successive civil rights crises provided a platform for the United States to emphasise its commitment to Cold War imperatives, such as democracy and equality and vice versa (Dudziak, 2003). While the American Civil Rights movement remains deeply influenced by domestic factors, its global context played a pivotal role in motivating and shaping both the movement's leaders and their demands.

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How Matrilineal Enslavement Shaped Colonial Racial Perceptions

Skye Turner[1]

Partus sequitur ventrem was a legal principle which stated that the social status of being a slave was to be passed down biologically from mother to child. This meant that if a woman was a slave, all of her children would be too. Despite being introduced to the colonies around the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade, this principle continued to shape slavery and the colonies up until abolition. This essay will discuss the ways partus sequitur ventrem shaped colonial perceptions of race by looking at two of these perceptions: economic objectification, meaning people being seen as profitable objects, and sexual objectification, meaning people being seen as sexualised objects. These two forms of objectification will be compared firstly in terms of their prevalence, and then in terms of their impacts on interpersonal relationships, liberation discourse, small-scale resistance, and the sex industry. It will be argued that while both objectifications had substantial impacts on enslaved people, economic objectification was more pervasive.

By the late-1600s, the legal principle of *partus sequitur ventrem*, meaning 'offspring follows belly,' had become entrenched in laws across the British colonies. Unlike traditional norms of inheritance which followed the father, this doctrine asserted that the social status of being a slave passed biologically from mother to child (Morgan, 2018, pp.2-4). Historians such as

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Morgan (2004) argue matrilineal enslavement was vital to the plantation economy. Other historians such as Hartman (2008) have focused on the ways that enslaved women were impacted by white slavers' sexual indulgence. This essay will thus discuss how biological reproduction and the principle of inherited enslavement shaped colonial racial perceptions by focusing on economic objectification, meaning people being seen as profitable objects, and sexual objectification, meaning people being seen as sexualised objects. These two colonial perceptions will be compared firstly in terms of their prevalence, then their impacts on interpersonal relationships, liberation discourse, small-scale resistance, and the sex industry.

The notion that enslavement could be biologically inherited had a substantial impact on the economic objectification of enslaved people due to how universal it was. Despite the youthfulness of the colonies, most slave-owners and legislators decreed *partus sequitur ventrem* as law as early as the 1660s (Morgan, 2018, p.3). This decree allowed slave-owners to use enslaved black women to biologically reproduce more slave labourers, and in doing so set a precedent where blackness became associated with economic dehumanisation and subjugation. This legacy of economic objectification can be seen in ship records. Despite slave ships departing from the Gold Coast generally carrying around 10-30% female slaves during the early 1700s, by the late 1700s, this had increased to approximately 40-50% female slaves (Slave Voyages, n.d.). When abolitionists began to threaten the slave trade, but not yet the right to own slaves, the British government took steps to further safeguard the institution of slavery by offering tax relief to slave-owners who imported enslaved girls and women of reproductive age into the colonies, as these females could birth more slaves and therefore provide profits until total abolition was achieved. The idea that enslavement was inheritable thus had a substantial impact on the longevity of slavery.

The inheritability of enslavement also enabled the widespread sexualisation of enslaved women, though this was less prevalent than economic objectification. Despite the illegality of racial mixing in many regions, the sexual abuse of enslaved women by white men was

commonplace (Hopkins, 2010, p.294). These rapes were committed not just by the colonists who purchased them, but also by white male ship captains on the gruelling journey from Africa to America (Johnson, 2020, p.83). As Hartman (2008, pp.1-2) has highlighted, some men even boasted of committing these rapes in their journals, thus suggesting they viewed themselves as entitled to black women's bodies. The sexual abuse of women was not a solely racialised phenomenon, as indeed in 1655, Oliver Cromwell, a prominent English politician, proposed forcibly using Irish women and girls "for breeding purposes" in the colonies (Mair et al, 2006, p.20). However, unlike white females, enslaved women had very few legal rights and protections to discourage men from harming them. Moreover, slaves sometimes lacked a shared language which they could use to assemble and challenge their abusers, making them far more vulnerable to frequent sexual abuse. Nonetheless, sexualisation was not inflicted on every slave, unlike economic objectification, thus in terms of pervasiveness, sexual dehumanisation was less impactful on the colonies.

Partus sequitur ventrem had a large impact on enslaved people's interpersonal relationships due to the way it classed them as economic objects. While some legal protections for slaves existed, certain slave-owners openly admitted to feeding their slaves worse than their white servants (Mair et al, 2006, p.71). This racial discrimination forced enslaved people to watch their loved ones endure mistreatment. Forced separations were also inflicted by slave-owners. The sale of enslaved people's children was not unheard of, as one abolitionist's extensive account mentions an eighteen-month-old infant being sold all alone for the sake of "distribution" (Weld, 1839, p.168). The inheritability of slavery thus justified the removal of parental authority by treating both parents and children alike as mere merchandise. Enslaved women were allowed to breastfeed during narrow intervals of hard labour, but otherwise were so overworked they had little time to enjoy motherhood (Paton, 2021, p.14). Since fathers could not breastfeed or provide other economic incentives for their enslavers to let them see their children, they had even fewer chances to bond. Also, elderly couples who had been together for decades were subjected to forced estrangements (Godwin, 1800, p.53). Thus, the commodification of people under *partus sequitur ventrem* allowed

slave-owners to shatter familial relations regardless of any psychological consequences.

The practice of treating enslavement as an inheritable status also contributed to the ways in which slaves' relationships were sexually objectified. Turner (2017, pp.10-11) has highlighted that in the early plantation period, slavers tried to curtail slave pregnancies since childrearing was a time-consuming process. Many of the pregnancies that occurred during this period would have been the result of rapes intended only for sexual gratification rather than economic gain. After the development of nurseries, which removed this economic burden by allocating multiple enslaved babies to only one or two guardians, it became quite prevalent for slavers to force pairs of enslaved people to reproduce with or without ordaining these relationships (Paton, 2021, p.5; Hopkins, 2010, p.294). This meant that not only were slaves denied sexual agency, but also there were no longer substantial economic consequences or disincentives for impregnating enslaved women without their consent. Acts of sexual violence would have contributed to an oppressive atmosphere which slave-owners tried to cultivate to curtail slave revolts (Gaspar, 2010, p.13). Indeed, there were cases of white men using rape as a punishment for female slaves (Stevenson, 2013, p.119). However, economics were still a major motivator behind many of these sexual dehumanisations, thus making economic objectification more impactful on the colonies than sexual objectification.

Another significant way that notions of inheritability spurred economic objectification can be viewed in the debates surrounding slave liberation. While abolitionists did try to challenge *partus sequitur ventrem* to encourage the public to sympathise with slaves, much of their political success followed from their decision to focus on proposing different ways that slavery could be abolished without destroying the British and colonial economies (Godwin, 1800, pp.53-54; Fergus, 2009, p.760). In doing so, they were appeasing the slave-owners by agreeing with them that enslaved people were powerful economic tools. One anonymous abolitionist even proposed that a "Uterine Emancipation" should be carried out, in which only women

and girls of reproductive age would be freed as this would be cheaper than paying to free all slaves (*Hints on a Cheap Mode of Purchasing*, 1838, pp.9-10). Such reforms would have condemned the existing population of enslaved men, boys, and elderly women to a life of slavery with no hope of liberation. Even after slavery was banned, ex-slaves continued to be used as forced labourers with very few rights. Williams (1837, p.18), a freed slave, specifically pointed out that pregnant women still faced substantial abuse in the workhouses. By focusing their discourse on slave-owners' financial interests, abolitionists did not adequately challenge the idea that black people were a type of inherited property, therefore allowing the notion that black people were economic objects to prevail.

Sexual objectification resulting from *partus sequitur* ventrem also played a part in the debates over slave liberation. Many abolitionists tried to oppose slavery by suggesting it encouraged an "amalgamation" of races, meaning reproduction between white men and enslaved black women (Weld, 1839, p.51). While this argument was intended to challenge white slave-owners' sexual promiscuity and sinfulness, it did little to target the idea that racial mixing added "impure blood" into white lineages (Johnson, 2020, p.192). In fact, abolitionists often agreed with pro-slavery advocates that enslaved men and women were unchaste and therefore immoral like their white enslavers (Turner, 2017, p.39). Some abolitionists also criticised slavery on the grounds that it caused slave-owning white women to lose their "feminine loveliness" due to their cruelty towards their slaves (Godwin, 1800, p.66). This argument is notable as in its efforts to combat the abusiveness of white slave-owners towards their slaves, it reinforced the patriarchal notion that females needed to be attractive to men. Therefore, this notion fails to challenge the ways in which enslaved black women had been abused as a result of white men's sexual objectification of them. However, as mentioned previously, it was not until alternate economic arrangements were proposed by abolitionists that slavery reforms began succeeding, thus these debates over liberation were swayed more so by the economic objectification of enslaved people.

Small-scale acts of resistance against slavery were made more difficult by economic objectification and notions of inheritance. Contemporaries such as Wheeler (1837, p.4) pointed out that legal courts often faced trouble when determining whether slave statuses had been passed on to mixed-race people due to how blurred racial distinctions were. Despite this, *partus sequitur ventrem* had caused black physical traits to be associated with slaves, and as such these features played a substantial role in individual court cases. This occurred even prior to the emergence of Darwinian attempts to scientifically categorise race based on biology alone (Morgan, 2004, p.13). Due to the idea that blackness denoted inferiority, mixed-race people who possessed Caucasian features were given privileges over those who could not appear as racially white. Legal courts allowed their juries the freedom to place favour on white slave-owners by denying manumissions (the act of freeing an enslaved person) if they thought it would place too much of an economic burden on the enslaver. Wong (2009, p.135) has highlighted that the prioritisation of slave-owners' financial interests during these cases shaped the ways in which black people combated racism, since in order to free their family members they sometimes had to take them to court to be manumitted one-by-one. This applied even if the slave-owner did not personally attend the court session, but rather left a representative in their stead (Wong, 2009, pp.55-56). While there were relatively few manumission cases, meaning this impacted only a small fraction of the enslaved population, it further demonstrates that black people were seen as economic objects.

Partus sequitur ventrem also had the effect of making it harder for enslaved black women to resist sexual advances and sexual objectification. In many cases where sexual violence was imposed by white men on enslaved women, these assaults were coerced using assurances from those men that they would offer something in return, such as the woman's freedom (Stevenson, 2013, pp.115-116). One can argue that sexual abuses in these contexts were acted on for the sake of sexual gratification rather than a need to create more slaves, since mixed-race children had a higher likelihood of achieving manumission and thus carried with them a lesser guarantee of ownership. In a description of his experiences as a mixed-race slave, Moore

(1800, p.31) explained that he had seen white men such as his owner attempt to seduce enslaved women, and if they resisted, then he would proceed to force himself on them. The fact that attempts were made to obtain consent from enslaved women, despite these men being willing to rape them regardless, implies that these men wanted to acknowledge their target's personhood by obtaining consent only to reduce resistance. Miller (2003, p.35) has highlighted these assaults would have been especially damaging to these women's mental state and position in society due to the high value placed on chastity and traditional family structures. Economic objectification was still more impactful on the colonies, however, being perceived as merchandise made it harder for enslaved black women to seek help or justice in the event of an attempted rape.

Lastly, notions of inherited enslavement also influenced the ways economic objectification manifested in the sex industry. As Fuentes (2010, p.571, p,577) has argued, the racial hierarchical norms which were produced on the plantations transferred over to the brothels, but in contrast with the plantations, enslaved women in the sex industry were expected to create an "illusion of consent." Unlike white brothel workers who were generally paid, enslaved women had no such hopes as the money they earned went to their owner (Fuentes, 2010, pp.576-577). Since enslavement was a status that was inherited at birth, the enslaved women who were forced into the sex industry would have had no way to challenge this decision. Odumosu (2021, pp.14-19, p.23) has commented that "desire and disgust" were the two most prominent ways white Europeans viewed the colonies, and as such, brothels built in the colonies, including those that used slave labour, likely sought to capitalise on this taboo by presenting themselves as a "tropical playground." The construction of colonial brothels would have largely been done for economic gain since such decisions were huge investments. Even slave-owners who did not own brothels often engaged in "hiring-out" their slaves as sex workers for profit (Fuentes, 2010, pp.565-567). As such, it is clear that due to slave-owners' perception of enslaved women as economic merchandise, many of these women faced years of sexual exploitation.

The sex industry was also influenced substantially in terms of sexual objectification by notions of inheritability. Firstly, only the slave-owners

who were subjecting their slaves to sexual exploitation were profiting, thus the majority of the men involved in such services were losing money by participating. While *partus sequitur ventrem* authorised enslaved women to be legally treated like property, the clients themselves were engaging with enslaved sex workers for non-economic reasons, such as personal gratification. Appearance played a significant role in this sexual exploitation. Hopkins (2010, p.295) has pointed out that lighter-skinned black women in particular were vulnerable to commercialised sexual abuse. This was because such women were more able to meet European beauty standards due to possessing more Caucasian features (Stevenson, 2013, pp.106-107). Whilst Morgan (2004, p.14) has highlighted that black women were often judged as "unwomanly" and "monstrous," many men who held these dehumanising views were still willing to have sex with them. Indeed, black women were regularly portrayed by Europeans as having "exotic bodies" (Odumosu, 2021, p.14). Thus, even though brothels may have used this exoticisation to their economic advantage, the customers' interest in black women often stemmed from a desire to sexually objectify them.

To conclude, biological reproduction and the principle that enslavement was inheritable had a substantial impact on enslaved people as it allowed colonial racial perceptions such as economic objectification and sexual objectification to develop. Economic objectification arguably had a more significant impact on enslaved people as it was universal enough to impact slaves of all demographics, it pervaded into their interpersonal familial relationships, it made small-scale acts of resistance harder by minimising black people's autonomy in the interests of white people's finances, and it played a role in the commercialisation of sexual violence against enslaved women. As this essay focused on larger-socioeconomic trends in colonial societies, further research could contribute to this field by providing a case study for how inheritability shaped a specific colony, or by focusing instead on the sexual and economic objectification of black men.

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Murder on the Canvas: The Visual and Moral Parallels between Hieronymus Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights and Emerald Fennell's 'Saltburn.'

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In this paper, I explore the prescient connections between Fennell's film 'Saltburn' and Bosch's iconic artwork, 'The Garden of Earthly Delights'. While drawing attention to the vibrant composition of Bosch's masterpiece, it is revealed how significantly it mirrors the visual aesthetics and narrative of 'Saltburn.'. By dissecting key scenes from the film, particularly the party sequence, it is demonstrated how Fennell incorporates elements reminiscent of Bosch's intricate depictions of sin and moral decay. Furthermore, the symbolic significance of specific imagery, such as the red-robed figure in Bosch's painting is explored, drawing parallels to the deceptive nature of characters in 'Saltburn,' particularly the enigmatic protagonist, Oliver. Through careful examination of the themes of lust, deception, and the consequences of sin, the relevance of both works is highlighted by exploring the complexities of human nature. Ultimately, this analysis offers a compelling argument for the enduring impact of art across centuries, showcasing how 'Saltburn' and Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights resonate with audiences, inviting introspection and contemplation on the darker aspects of the human condition.

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As one of the first 'period' pieces to be set in the twenty-first century, one might say Saltburn is part of a cinematic Renaissance. Scenes as if pulled from the paintings of Caravaggio, Rembrandt and Joseph Wright litter the screen throughout the film. However, it is not these dramatic, candlelit masterpieces that are to be the focus of this article, it is the vibrant and sprawling composition of Hieronymus Bosch that best encapsulates the visual aesthetics and overall narrative of 'Saltburn'. As Oliver stands, looking out at the defiled grounds of the Saltburn estate, he places himself in the foreground of what, by no accident I am sure, looks like the centre triptych of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Firstly, I identify the striking visual resemblance this scene holds with the artwork, but delving beneath the surface will reveal the foreshadowing of events yet to be unraveled. This examination as a whole presents a strong case for the lasting influence of art through the ages. It demonstrates how 'Saltburn' and Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* continue to captivate viewers, prompting reflection and exploration of the more somber facets of human existence.

Although the grounds of Saltburn, extending far beyond Oliver's balcony [Fig. 1], are unpopulated, bar a single man, there is an aura that matches the centre panel of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* [Fig. 2]. The events that had previously transpired have left their mark, showing a night of unruly partying and sinful activities. Visually the same colour pallet has been utilized by both Bosch and Fennell, a spectrum of light to rich greens, prominent flecks of pink and blue and elements purifying white. On an incredibly close inspection, past Oliver's shoulder on the right there is a water feature in the grounds that has a circular pond at the base which can very clearly be identified in Bosch's *Garden*, a perfectly circular pond with crowds of people parading around it. Although probably not noticeable by everyone, this water feature is a firm, physical similarity between the two scenes that extends beyond aesthetics and emotional responses. The general aesthetic of disarray and nothing being in a purposeful place in both the 'Saltburn' scene, and *The Garden of Earthly Delights* gives them a strong overall resemblance. It should also be highlighted that during the party that was the precursor to this scene of dishevelment, animal masks and themed outfits featured heavily as the party was based on the Shakespearian tale of

A Midsummer Night's Dream. Notice again in this important middle panel, the impossible human sized animals, the large birds and owls, also the general inclusion of countless horses in the crowd of people. A connection has been made to demonstrate the animalistic nature of the characters in 'Saltburn', matching that of not only the human figures but the animals in Bosch's *Garden* too. This reference to the animals advances the visual comparison between these medias to the vast depth of social and moral themes shared between the film and painting.

Fig 1. *Saltburn still, Oliver on balcony* (2023)

Fig 2. *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (1490-1510)

Only as the film concludes is Oliver's' true self revealed to the audience, becoming aware that his character which we followed throughout the picture is not as he seems. Standing on his balcony adorning a wine-coloured robe we can see the figure repeated not in the central panel of Bosch's *Garden*, but in the Garden of Eden, to the left [Fig. 3]. A red robed Christly figure, or someone who is not as they seem?

Countless interpretations of this first panel speculate, based on the truly clear imagery of Eve, Adam, and God that this scene depicts the creation of man or the fall of Adam. Proposed by others is the idea that this image is the less commonly pictured marriage of Adam and Eve by Christ, however there is a theory, one that reflects in Oliver's character, that the red robed man is not Christ at all. Notice the idyllic surroundings of God and his first human creations, the scenery surreal and beautiful, the animals majestic, but only in the background. Things so out of place as you near the forefront of the composition. Hybrid animals, fish with wings, a miniature horse swimming in the pond and the not so peaceful imagery of other animals

hunting their prey [Fig. 4]. Would these strange beings and unsettling sights occur in the presence of Christ? “Was he really the Christ or did these intrusions suggest he was not what he seems, but the most dangerous of deceptions, the Christ-like imposter and images of ultimate evil, the diabolical Antichrist?”(Sullivan, 2014).

Fig 3. *The Garden of Earthly Delights, left panel*

Fig 4. *The Garden of Earthly Delights, left panel*

A beast, is that not what one thinks of when being faced with the imagery of the Antichrist? Before the 15th century this was the common depiction that was associated with the demonic figure, however after this point Satan often took the form of a Christly figure, a human-like embodiment. Aside from the animalistic misfits, a telling sign that the red robed man is not in fact Christ is his halo or lack thereof. The halo is a common piece of iconography that has been used in paintings to identify Christ and his disciples since the Italian Renaissance. Appearing most often as a golden circle behind the head of any holy man, often created by using gold leaf (Muller, 2012), its shining nature and ability to reflect light made these halos incredibly pronounced in any artwork. So where is it here? In other works by Bosch, he chooses to identify Christ with a three-tiered crown, also described as a tiara (Sullivan, 2014). In a written work Christ was described to be wearing “not a crown of thorns, but a kingly crown,

signifying his eternal heavenly lordship" (Carnes, 2017), a crown much like the one we see in Bosch's *Haywain Triptych* [Fig. 5]. Is such a mortal Royal crown what to be expected when associated with the name of Christ, or does a crown of thorns appear in one's mind's eye? While these adornments are not golden halos, they are known, especially the latter, as imageries associated with Christ. Does this not then mean that without any of these symbols the Christly figure in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, much like Oliver, is an imposter?

Fig 5. *The Haywain Triptych* (c.1516)

The unknown reality of who Oliver truly is, the killer disguised as the poor, innocent young man, his "evil masquerading as good" (Sullivan, 2014), is similar to the Devil in Bosch's *Garden*. Throughout the whole cinematic piece, Oliver is deceiving those closest to him and taking advantage of everything the Catton family had to offer, Oliver the Satanic mastermind playing the part of the lamb, taken in by the lions. However, in the words of the film's creator, "He's the pray that becomes the predator" (King & Fennel, 2023), this transition within the film mirrors the actuality of the pure and good figure in the red robes being revealed as the antichrist. Oliver wears his red robes following his first attack on the Catton family, seen to be representing this antichrist figure in the scene above [Fig. 3]. The murder of Felix was the first, but perhaps not the worst of the acts carried out

by Oliver, for Satan is never more deadly than when he is posing as The Angel of Light (Paul, 11:14). Oliver commits these acts of murder by lulling each member of the Catton family into a false sense of security. With Felix, he is his friend, offering him solutions and paths out of his problems. For his sister and mother on the other hand, Oliver is there for them in their times of need and grief, being a supportive figure while also being romantically involved with them both at one time or another. Acting as the 'light' in the Catton's time of darkness, Oliver steps into a position of power taking over their assets and estate by means of murder and manipulation.

While there is technically no murder on Bosch's canvas there are many displays of sin. The most prominent perhaps in both Bosch's artwork and 'Saltburn' being Lust. Accompanied by others of the seven deadly sins in 'Saltburn', such as Wrath, Envy and Greed, the film really captures the downfalls of human beings as identified in religious texts. Highlighted by Fennel in such a way that can connect with the timely paintings of Bosch, the behavior in 'Saltburn' may be looked upon in this manner, entwining the visible, known sins to the murders in the story. "For out of the heart come evil intentions, murder, adultery, sexual immorality, theft, false witness, slander." (Matthew, 15:19). So, although not a sin, murder stems from sinful activity and feelings, much like those displayed so enticingly in The Garden of Earthly Delights.

Having reached this point in the film [Fig. 1], where the party is over, and the audience is truly familiar with the lifestyle that is led at Saltburn, their traits can be traced in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. In the centre panel of the triptych, we observe humanity living a life of sin, after having been created [left panel] but before their afterlife of turmoil and punishment [right panel]. The wild and evocative images in Bosch's garden represent the sins of human life with a clear interest in Lust above all others. Those in the middle panel are engaged in carnal acts, succumbing to their most primal needs. But Bosch has coloured these sins in such an enchanting and beautiful way that this scene does not appear to be sinful, but an agreeable life filled with earthly pleasures. For the medieval man, the original audience of this artwork, sin presented itself in an attractive guise but under the façade of

physical beauty and pleasurable sensations, loomed the eventuality of death and damnation (Gibson, 1973). However vulgar you may find the lifestyle and use of finances by the Catton family, there must have come a point in 'Saltburn' where each member of the audience individually wished that the characters on screen could be them. Living a frivolous life of parties and sunbathing, being waited on hand and foot and playing tennis in clothes some of us can only dream of. Luring the audience into the sinful feeling of envy while again demonstrating the frivolous, sinful nature of the class of people associated with the Catton family in a most wonderful way that suggests their life perhaps is not wrong, but perfect.

Fig 6. *The Garden of Earthly Delights, middle panel*

Throughout the movie we are led to believe that to Oliver, the riches and lavish life at Saltburn were something that he did not agree with, especially as he did not fully fit in. However, it is revealed that in fact Oliver wanted to fit in, to live Felix's life, to have inordinate amounts of money, to party and have sex wherever and with whomever he chooses, a life of sin and depravity. Emerald Fennell constructed the party scene in 'Saltburn' to be so lively and chaotic, like the house party everyone wishes they had gone to during their university days but also an occasion so unattainable for us, the masses to attend. The theme of the party being the classic tale of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, giving the characters an excuse to wear outlandish and surreal costumes only adding to the spectacle. In the centre panel of the garden of earthly delights there are numerous depictions of

things that just cannot be, birds the size of humans and further issues with scale, fruit of impossible proportion and muscle shells that can hold a human body.

It has been suggested by many scholars previously that the fantastical arrangement in this centre panel is focused on the sin of Lust. So many of the naked figures engaged in sexual relations or self-gratification that it would be hard to argue against this theory. However, there are more details that point towards this being the most concrete reading of this artwork. The previously mentioned enlarged fruit makes the strawberries, especially the one in the foreground to the right, hard to miss. The interest in the strawberry's iconography, both positive and negative, the image of a strawberry is thought to symbolize love, lust and desire [Fig. 6]. Not only this, but there is also a connection to the form of female genitalia (Gibson, 2003) that again projects sexualized and improper imagery into this middle panel. Furthermore, in this part of the composition around the smaller, circular pond in the middle of the centre panel we observe a mass of people, many on horseback making laps around the pond in a perfect circle [Fig. 7]. Only adding to the idea that this is not a depiction of humanity in its pure form but of human depravity is an excerpt from the Bible, "The wicked walk around in a circle" (Psalm, 11:19). Further suggesting that those in attendance of the party, those who adorned animal masks, are 'the wicked' of society, the upper class that behaves so abhorrently they cannot be considered good or pure.

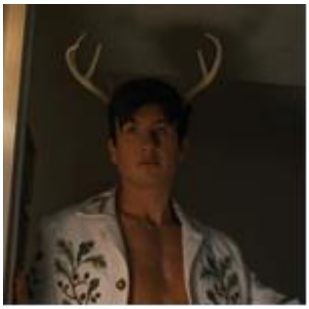

Fig 7. *The Garden of Earthly Delights, middle panel*

Fig 8. *Saltburn still, Oliver at the party*

The party is over now, we return to the point in the narrative where Oliver proudly stands in red on his balcony, Felix is dead. His death, another plot point that can be linked back to the fruit from *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Aside from the strawberries, there are multiple depictions of grapes in this centre panel. At first glance many observers would be convinced that there are no grapes depicted on the central panel. Much like the strawberries these grapes are not of correct proportions, bunches of them being held up by the figures like trophies [Fig. 9]. The other reason these grapes may not be identified immediately is that they are not the colour that would be expected. These grapes are not a crisp green or rich purple, they are uneasy shade of blue. It has been theorized that these grapes have come from the vine of Sodom, “Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps" (Glum, 1976). Jumping once again to the ending of ‘Saltburn’ we see the method in which Oliver used to kill Felix [Fig. 10]. A poisoned bottle of champagne. Now, as we all know champagne is the product of grapes, although not naturally poisoned, using this method of murder is a poetic link to the artwork of Hieronymus Bosch, and the poisoned grapes in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Yet another beautiful connection made to the medieval masterpiece by Emerald Fennel, giving her film another layer of depth and

meaning. It should be clear by this time that the similarities between ‘Saltburn’ and Bosch’s *Garden of Earthly Delights* go far beyond their visual similarities and including matching depictions of the sins of humanity.

Fig 9. *The Garden of Earthly Delights, middle panel*

Fig 10. *Saltburn still, Felix drinking champagne*

One would perhaps not expect there to be such a deep and meaningful connection between a film in the height of the digital age and an artwork from the medieval Netherlands. Made almost 600 years apart, both Bosch and Emerald Fennell were able to demonstrate the nature of mankind and make so many of the deadly sins pertinent to each time period. Something that has clearly not died out is the human race acting in sin, however recognising our actions in this biblical manor is not a contemporary mindset most people have. With such an immense connection on both visual and spiritual levels the recent interest and perhaps obsession with Emerald Fennell's ‘Saltburn’ is well deserved. There may be scenes in both of these artworks that viewers may find obscene and disturbing, but that is part of their charm. Intentionally designed to induce new thoughts in the viewers minds, encouraging us all to reflect on ourselves, on the sinful behaviours of humankind.

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Paul. 2 Corinthians. 11:14

Psalm 11:9

Born, Made and Chosen? How Dispositionalist Metaphysics Can Help Us Understand The Complexity of Sex and Gender

Simon O'Laocha[1]

In this paper I aim to convince the reader to adopt a dispositionalist account of modality and apply this approach to how they think about sex and gender. I first argue for the merits of a dispositionalist new actualist approach to modality. From there I examine the problematic nature of dispositionalism within a Humean framework and then argue that a dispositionalist framework as argued by Mumford (2003) and Anjum (2023) is a more comprehensive framework to use over the Humean framework, due to its merits in conversations around causality. I then go over the current cultural dialogue around sex and gender, arguing that the extremes of the current cultural dialogue around sex and gender of either a crude biological essentialism or social constructivism are philosophically lacking and practically harmful. I conclude that a dispositionalist account of sex and gender allows flexibility and nuance particularly around intersex conditions and Gender Dysphoria (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) allowing for a more rigorous and humane conversation.

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Part One: Exploring Dispositionalism

Dispositionalism is a type of New modal actualism, which is a collection of theories that all hold to two essential tenets. First, they eschew possible worlds as the place from which to start the conversation around modality. Second, they start instead from modal properties such as essences or dispositions (Borghini, 2016). This focus represents a shift in analysis from a possible worlds' view to a possible entities' view, a change in level and focus of analysis. Dispositionalism is one such new actualist approach.

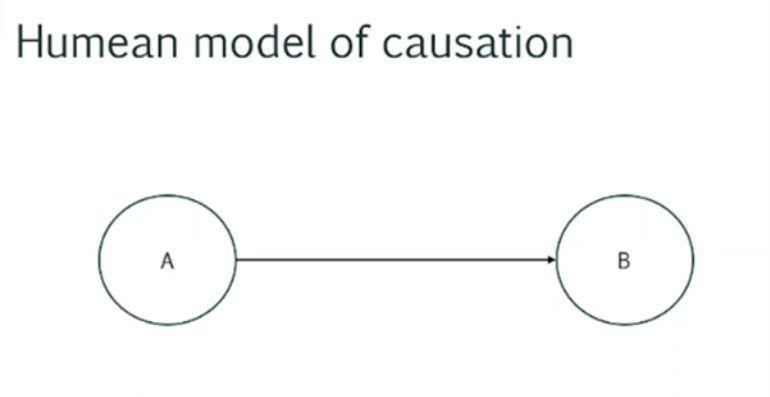
The starting point of dispositionalism is that we need dispositions to account for certain things in the world. For example, Maverick the black labrador is able to fetch the tennis ball in Seaton Park. In ordinary language we would talk about Maverick having a mouth big enough to hold a tennis ball and being able to run as properties of Maverick. So, in ordinary language we speak of dispositions as properties of the entities we are talking about. Dispositionalist approaches run with this, and aim to take the ordinary language meaning of modal sentences and ground them as actual properties within a metaphysic. Maverick's ability to fetch the ball becomes a property of Maverick himself. Our premises are that Dispositional properties exist and that Dispositional properties can explain the meaning of modal sentences.

Within the dispositional framework not all properties are dispositional, some are categorical. Categorical properties are always active, where dispositional properties are only sometimes active (or may never be in some instances) (Mumford, 2003). Maverick being black could be seen as a categorical property and his fetching a ball a dispositional property, indeed it is possible Maverick might never fetch the ball. What role do dispositions play within this framework? Firstly they are properties with particular characteristics that are not constantly manifesting (they may never manifest) and are attributed to an entity, for example, to Maverick the black Labrador being able to fetch the ball. This understanding of dispositions has to be taken as a first principle, and to some extent to be primitive, meaning we do not attempt to entirely grasp or further define what

a disposition fundamentally is metaphysically beyond this description (Borghini, 2016).

The most serious objection to dispositionalism cuts right to the core of the nature of dispositions themselves. The objection is that from a Humean perspective accepting dispositions means accepting an unacceptable connection to nature in that it would appear that the dispositions themselves have a sort of character (Borghini, 2009). To properly understand and respond to this objection we need to first understand a Humean model of causation (Anjum, 2023). Humean thought is based in empiricism, meaning we can only know truth in correspondence with experiencing it, this leads to a certain understanding of cause and effect. For example, I press the first domino in a row, I see it hit the other dominoes and so on. When we think about causation within this model we need to see what happened first (the cause), in this case, my finger pressing and what happened after (the effect), in this case, the domino falling. Within the Humean framework, you get a frequentist understanding of probability, so the first time something happens, we cannot claim causality, it is only over repeated instances that we can make causal claims (Anjum, 2023).

We can see this in the diagram below:



Note. Taken from Anjum, R.L. (2023) Humean Model of Causation. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

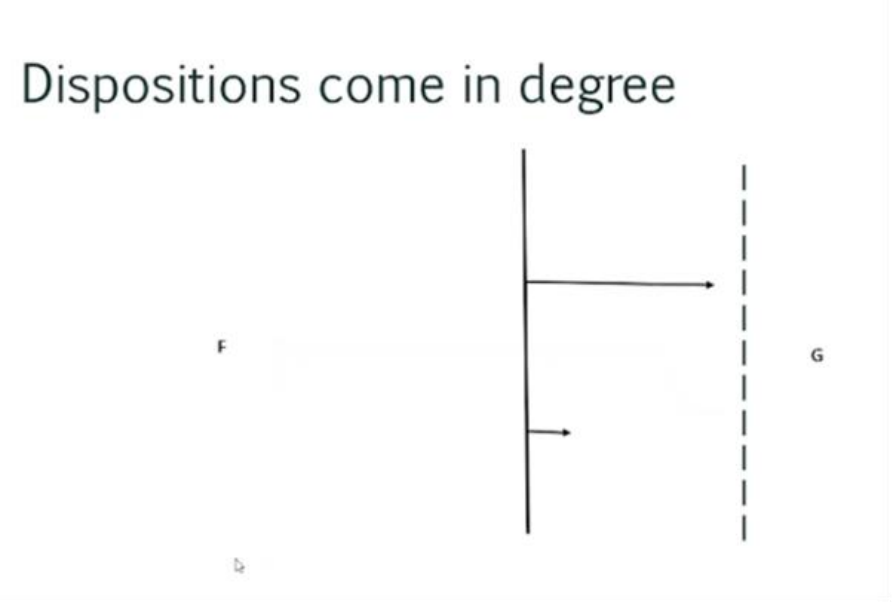
This is a very serious objection to dispositionalism, particularly in that this underlying philosophical understanding of causation underpins the scientific method, isolating variables to try and find cause and effect. An example in a smoking prevention advertisement on a cigarette package:

Note. Taken from Barradale, G. (2017) A Familiar Figure Identity Unknown https://shorturl.at/xCVW2

What is wrong with this framework? Why not keep it and abandon dispositionalism? Anjum (2023) uses an example about Covid-19 testing to highlight the issues of the Humean approach to causation: I can only confirm I have Covid-19 by taking a Covid-19 test, everyone who has ever been confirmed to have Covid-19 (rather than a common cold with similar symptoms) has had to take the Covid-19 test. Within this model, how can I say that the Covid-19 test is not what causes Covid-19? By seeing causality

in a Humean context we are left in the lurch when accounting for things that are not, and cannot be, observed to be cause and effect.

So what is the proposed alternative to Humean causality? We have to start with ontological speculation, understanding that dispositions come in degrees (Anjum, 2023). They may or may not manifest and that will be based on a variety of dispositional factors.

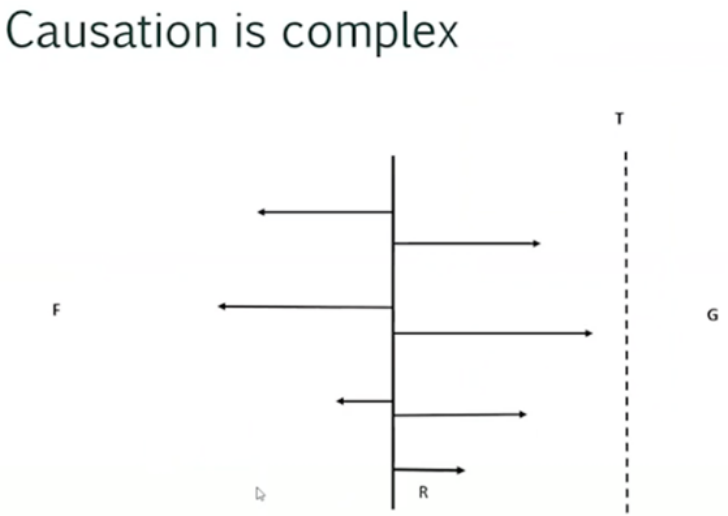


Note. Anjum, R.L. (2023) Dispositions come in Degree. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

If the dotted line (T) is the soaking through threshold, G is the state of being soaked through, and F the State of being dry, my t-shirt might be the longer line and the smaller line might be my raincoat. Both items can soak through, but the t-shirt has a disposition to do so more easily. The actuality of either happening, however, does not have a relationship to

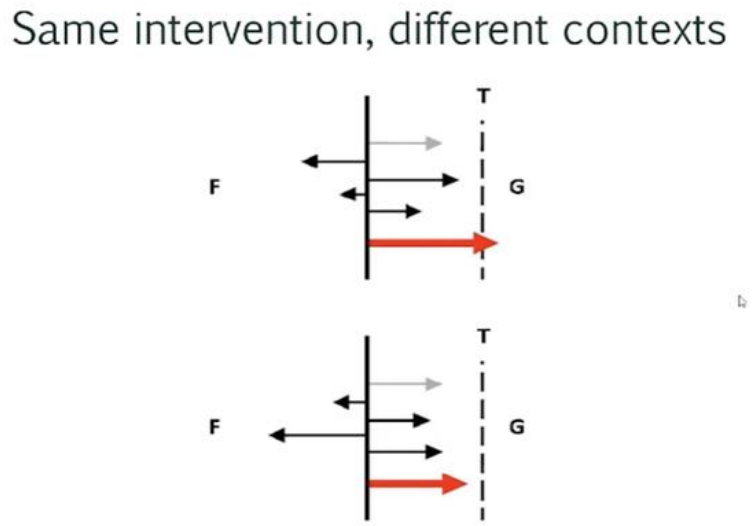
frequency. So my raincoat has actually soaked through more times than my summer t-shirt, this has to do with my raincoat having encountered rain more times, which has to do with my disposition to wear a raincoat when I see it is raining. We can see from this first step how different the process is from Humean causation. I am not looking at a simple cause and effect or frequency as a starting point. Rather, I am starting with the interactions of a variety of dispositions that are impacting what actually happens, so I do not get to observe the full cause and effect so simply.

We can think about this in the smoking example. Smoking a cigarette every day may put an arrow towards having a stroke, smoking a pack of cigarettes may make it longer. But there are other factors, going for a run every week might put an arrow in the other direction, a run every day a longer one. Our model looks more like this:



Note. Taken from Anjum, R.L. (2023) Causation is complex. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

Why is this preferable? When we use a Humean approach we engage in science from the vantage point of isolating variables, trying to fit everything into a monocausal model. This misses opportunities to learn from exceptions to the rule, and it is not only for the minority of cases this is beneficial. A total of 50% of medical problems involve unexplained symptoms: these are things such as generalised anxiety, irritable bowel syndrome and fibromyalgia (Anjum, 2023). All of these unexplained symptoms are symptoms we have failed to explain using a scientific method that looks for explanation through frequency and isolation of variables, a method underpinned by a Humean model of causation. This suggests that the Humean model is not properly accounting for all possibilities nor is it sufficient in explaining them. The practical implication of a dispositionalist approach to modality in this area means that I can understand situations and their interventions along these lines: (The red arrow being the intervention, with recovery being the dotted line and the dispositional factors towards and against being the black and grey arrows):



Note. Taken from Anjum, R.L. (2023) Same intervention, different contexts. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

Part 2: The Current Culture War Around Sex and Gender

With dispositionalism established, I will now move onto the conversation around sex and gender. Before explaining my suggested dispositionalist approach to this conversation I will go over the two predominant options for thinking about sex and gender on offer in the cultural (non-academic) 'marketplace of ideas', and my reasoning for believing both are lacking and harmful. These two approaches are very broadly generalised as a crude gender essentialism on one side and a crude social constructivism on the other.

A gender essentialist approach places the emphasis on a specific sex characteristic, such as chromosomes or gametes (Strachan, 2019 & Wright, 2021). Gender essentialist accounts lack nuance in deciding the primacy of one particular sex characteristic over others, notably choosing the most binary sex characteristics, such as gametes or chromosomes, rather than something more fluid and complex such as levels of oestrogen and testosterone. The ideological commitment of gender essentialists approaches are that sex and gender are black and white, they want to leave as little room as possible for any shades of grey.

Unfortunately for the gender essentialists, reality of biological sex is this is not always possible to do, an example of a person with XY chromosomes giving birth pits the chromosome and gamete gender essentialist accounts against each other (Dumic et al. 2008). However, it is when these approaches are practically applied medically and socially that they become really dangerous. In terms of health care, models that emphasise a rigidly binary approach were more commonly found a little under two decades ago, for example advisement on the genital alteration of babies with ambiguous genitalia that stated it is not feasible to raise an intersex child as

gender neutral due to distress of the parents and the cultural reality of the time that gender and sex variant people were treated as lesser (Nihoul-Fékété, 2005). Although less common in health care now, approaches like this are still rampant in some circles, such as in conservative evangelical expressions of Christianity (Strachan, 2019).The practical implications of the approach of someone like Strachan (2019) who prioritises chromosomes as the indicator from God about whether or not a person is essentially male or female would make the majority of people with complete androgen insensitivity syndrome (CAIS) who in a majority of cases identify as female wrong about who they are. Practically, a child who was discovered to have such a condition at puberty would have to then transition to living as male or else be going against God (T'Sjoen et al. 2011).

When we adopt a model of sex and gender that refuses to acknowledge complexity, we silence the experiences of people affected. This not only massively oversimplifies the reality of the science, but we also risk very real human suffering and isolation that is entirely preventable by adopting a more nuanced approach.

On the other end of the spectrum is a crude constructivism that sees gender and sometimes even biological sex as something socially constructed. This view emphasises the socially constructed elements of gender, and in doing this focuses on self-perception of identity as to be what's important. This approach is more common in Health Care now, with the most up to date Standards of Care from the World Professional Association of Transgender Health emphasises affirmation of diversity and the importance of self-identification rather than imposing a gender on particular body types (Coleman, 2022). These guideline's set forth by Coleman et al (2022) go so far as to suggest that the distress people with Gender Dysphoria face is due to societal prejudice, rather than anything innate about their experience in their body.

The glaring flaw with this model is that it ignores the importance of the body. The biological reality of the body's development and the impact of

that on the person, such as the impact of hormones on emotion and performance, matters. Additionally, the brain is part of the body, and preliminary research on neurobiological differences that may explain differences in gender identity and sexual orientation (Frigerio et al. 2021; Swaab, 2021, 2022). It is very hard to accommodate bodily Gender Dysphoria into this model when someone has extreme distress in regards to the conditions of their biology. Within this model, someone's internal distress at their body translates into a problem someone has with the way people are *perceiving* their body rather than the way the person themselves *experiences* their body, and so this model refuses to acknowledge and account for bodily Gender Dysphoria. The issue practically is that to state that gender is just a construction brings us to difficulty in understanding our relationship to the sex of our bodies filtered through our gender identity and does not help us with the bioethical issues of medical interventions (Giordano 2023 & T'Sjoen et al. 2011).

I am not saying there is no truth in either of these approaches: there are aspects of sex that are binary and for a vast majority of people sex is binary and their gender is aligned with that binary sex. Additionally, how we understand the interaction between the physical, experiential, and social is not something that is clear cut, and I am not claiming we can discuss sex and gender (or anything for that matter) without social constructs coming into play. What I have sought to lay out here is why neither of these approaches are sufficient and why both, when practically applied can be harmful. It is from here that I seek to offer an alternative.

Part 3: The Possibility of a Dispositionalist approach to Sex and Gender

Having established what a dispositional model of causation is and looking at why neither side of the dominant cultural conversation around gender and sex gives us adequate nuance, rigour, or practical implication, I

will present the case for applying a dispositionalist approach to our thinking about sex and gender.

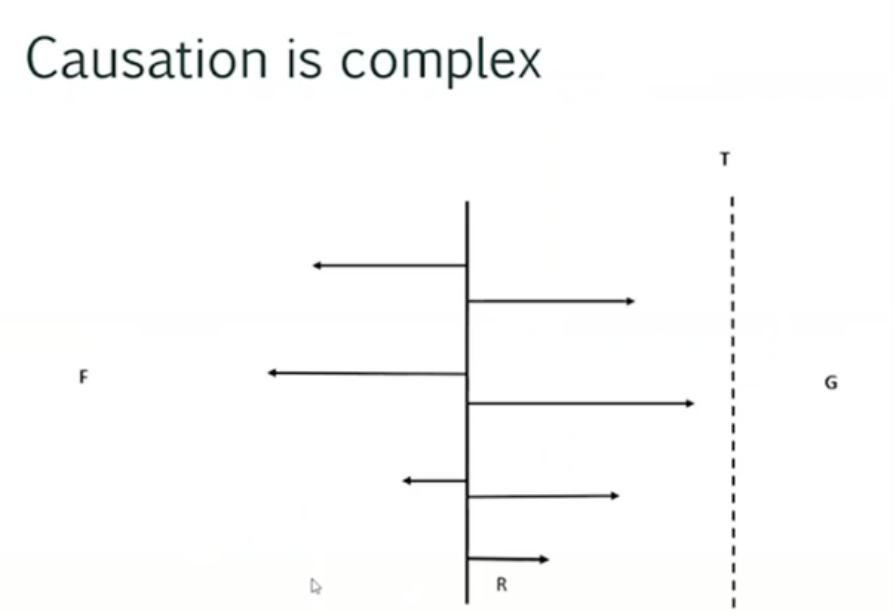
Intersex conditions and Gender Dysphoria (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) are largely unexplained, which is to say we do not know exactly why people are intersex or experience Gender Dysphoria, fitting into the unexplained medical problems category previously mentioned (Anjum, 2023).

Biological sex has multiple components to it including chromosomes, internal genitalia, external genitalia, gametes, hormone levels and secondary sex characteristics. And it seems to me that the examination of biological sex as "black and white" seems to be far too reductionist, but to see it as a "rainbow" also does not seem to properly illustrate the phenomenon of what biological sex is in humans. There are two human sexes, male and female, but there is obviously overlap between males and females in many ways that our bodies function; and within the ways bodies differ there is complexity and within individual bodies they can be varying shades of grey. I am not ideologically devoted to a view that uses intersex conditions to argue for an entirely constructivist account of sex and gender, saying that their existence makes either term impossible to define (Cooke, 2022; Fausto-Sterling, 2020; Sax, 2002). That said, neither am I willing to define "intersex" very narrowly as only "true grey" so to speak. Nothing in this claim is rather bold, and I do believe this is supported by the complexity and multiplicity of factors that make up biological sex and its development (Cooke, 2022; Fausto-Sterling, 2020; Sax, 2002).

I am also looking at gender identity particularly in how it pertains to relation to biological sex, I am looking at gender identity as relating to how someone experiences themselves in their body, using the diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). I am taking the premise that Gender Dysphoria (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) very likely has a neurobiological basis

(Baams & Kaufman, 2023; Colapinto, 2000; Hässler et al. 2022; T'Sjoen et al. 2011; Olson et al. 2022; Frigerio et al. 2021; Swaab, 2021, 2022).

Where Gender essentialism and social constructivist accounts are mono-causal, prioritising either a specific aspect of biology or the social, neither fully accounting for the complexity of the conversation. A dispositionalist model on the other hand allows for flexibility and nuance in this conversation, where the babies of either side need not be thrown out with their bath water. We can retain the importance of biology and the social and cultural, a dispositionalist approach allows for this complexity, we see again this diagram:



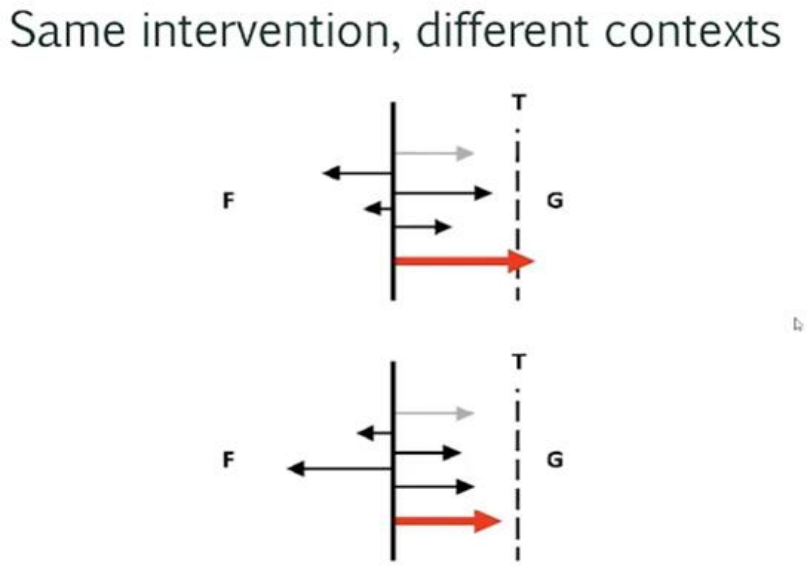
Note. Taken from Anjum, R.L. (2023) Causation is complex. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

Within this understanding we can take an act that is generally sexed and gendered as something female, and make sense of it within the complex case of someone with an XY chromosome giving birth (Dumic et al. 2008). I can take as a starting point that the ability to give birth is a biological disposition. Having XX chromosomes gives someone a much greater disposition towards this than someone with XY chromosomes, but there are other factors to the ability to give birth. For someone to have gone through female puberty to be phenotypically female, being another factor. By taking this approach we don't have to abandon the fact of the matter that XX chromosomes are almost always a necessary part of the make-up of a person who gives birth, but we equally don't have to abandon the rare exception, as we are able to unproblematically look at the additional factors. When we think about biological sex and its formation, we can see how this fits our dispositionalist understanding of causation. Note what I am not saying here is that sex and gender are themselves dispositions, rather that the dispositionalist model of causation can help us understand aspects of the elements that make up sex and gender, and that elements of them may be dispositions, but I can also still say some properties of sex and gender are categorical, like having XX or XY chromosomes.

How might this be applied to one of the real-world controversies that is currently going on around sex and gender? Let us look at women's sports. I will here look at two examples, Lia Thomas and Caster Semenya. Lia Thomas has a female gender identity, and she was born a seemingly typical biological male and underwent male puberty, but she has and is receiving feminising hormone replacement therapy which she started as an adult (Ingles, 2022). Caster Semenya also has a female gender identity, she was born a seemingly typical biological female but was found to have CAIS as an adult, she has not received hormonal intervention (Mokoena, 2023). When we start from a dispositionalist model, what we do not have to do is decide whether Thomas or Semeneya are essentially male or female. Rather we can consider how a variety of factors impact the specific situations. This one is: "Is it fair for person X to participate in sporting event Y?" We are answering a specific question, not making a generalised claim, this cuts down

a lot of controversy and ideology and allows us to approach the specific situation at hand.

With a dispositionalist model we are philosophically comfortable with the multiplicity and complexity of different factors and can further try to understand them without attempting to find the singular cause only to again and again run into exceptions to the rule. Stating that human development and some aspects of sex and gender develop as dispositions while others may be categorical aligns with the science of the two sex pathways being intimately linked and the evolving and complex nature of culture, society, personal experience and identification of one's self (Cooke, 2022).



Note. Anjum, R.L. (2023) Same intervention, different contexts. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QNlPU-Lp1wM

(A small note on "T" in this diagram. If "T" is the Threshold for being Male or Female, in this binary example, we can argue the location of "T" from a essentialist or social constructivist perspective, allowing for cultural, social, community and individual perspectives on where the threshold lies and whether it is fixed or dynamic. Notwithstanding this, the multi-factorialism of both categorical and dispositional elements allow a greater flexibility and commonality to us as we discuss this subject area in a more nuanced, sensitive, and human-centred manner).

I thus argue for this thesis from the place of hope that the dispositionalist model as proposed by Mumford (2003) and Anjum (2023) if adopted and incorporated into the wider conversation around sex and gender could improve the rigour and kindness of this conversation. That this model would allow gender and sex variant people to be able to consider their situation within a nuanced and rigorous conversation with their well-being and human dignity at its heart, rather than being tossed back and forth in a culture war. No human life is an experiment or an opportunity to score an ideological point. When we take a dispositionalist approach to the conversation of gender and sex we acknowledge the innate dignity of the person in front of us and humanely engage with the complexity of their situation, there is a moral onus on us all to better engage in this conversation, and dispositionalist metaphysics can help us do this.

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